Linguistic and Near-Linguistic Academic Journals

JOURNAL OF Pidgin and Creole Languages
Research into pidgins and creoles with applications to other study. Volume 9 © 1994
Editor: Glenn Gilbert. Associate Editor: Salkikoko Mufwene

HISTORIOGRAPHIA LINGUISTICA.
Editors: E. F. Konrad Koerner. Associate Editor: Hans-Josef Niederehe

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE. International journal sponsored by the Foundation "Foundations of Language". Volume 18 © 1994
Traditional areas of linguistics, but especially the typological and the functional.
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Editors: Sheila Emberton, Brian D. Joseph & E. F. Konrad Koerner

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Editors: Kristin Davidse, Dirk Noël and Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen

Editor: Manfred Görlach

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MEETING HANDBOOK

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY
BOSTON UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE ON LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT
NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES
SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS

SHERATON BOSTON HOTEL
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
6-9 JANUARY 1994
Introductory Note

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 68th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). In addition, this handbook is the official program for a meeting of the American Dialect Society (ADS), for the Boston Conference on Language Development, and for the Annual Meetings of the North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS) and of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL).

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (Catherine Ringen, Chair; Stephen Crain; Matthew Dryer; James Huang; Junko Ito; Pauline Jacobson; and John Victor Singler) and the help of the following members who served as consultants to the Program Committee: Stephen Anderson, Mary Beckman, Diane Brentari, Greg Carlson, Wallace Chafe, Susan Curtiss, Scott Delancy, Suzanne Flynn, Lyn Frazier, Victoria Fromkin, Andrew Garrett, Kristine Gjerlow-Johnson, Jay Jasanoff, Karen Jensen, Peter Ladefoged, Diane Lillo-Martin, Barbara Lust, Geoffrey Pullum, Deborah Schiffrin, Roger Shuy, Edward Stabler, Gregory Stump, and G. Richard Tucker. We are also grateful to Aleka Blackwell and Dalia Cuhana-Amitay (BU Conference); Douglas Kibbee (NAAHoLS); Allen Metcalf (ADS); and John Victor Singler (SPCL) for their cooperation.

A special thank you to Geoffrey Pullum who read the program for typographical errors and noted infelicities of style.

We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the Boston Local Arrangements Committee (Wayne O'Neil, Chair; Joan Maling; Carol Neidle; Colin Phillips; and Hoskuldur Thrainssson) and the contributions of the LSA Committee on Computing, for help in organizing the Computer Software Exhibit.

We hope this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of the 1994 Annual Meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, where the 70th anniversary of the Linguistic Society was observed.

January 1994
General Meeting Information

Exhibit

There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications and software in the Grand Ballroom. The exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fri, 7 January</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 2:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:00 PM - 6:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat, 8 January</td>
<td>10:00 AM - 2:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:30 PM - 6:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun, 9 January</td>
<td>8:30 AM - 11:30 AM</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 AM on 9 January, the proceeds to be donated to fellowships for the Linguistic Institute. (These display copies have been generously donated by the publishers exhibiting in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit.) Advance orders for display copies, at a discount of 5% greater than that given by the publisher, will be taken prior to 9 January if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 9 January between 8:30 and 10:00 AM. Unclaimed books will be resold and the advance payment donated to the Linguistic Institute fellowships.

Paper Copy Service

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fri, 7 January</td>
<td>8:00 AM - 4:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat, 8 January</td>
<td>8:00 AM - 2:00 PM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Job Placement Center

A Job Placement Center will be set up in Liberty E-F during the Annual Meeting. On 7 and 8 January, the Center will be open 8:30 AM - 6:00 PM. It will also be open 9:00 - 11:30 AM on 9 January. Lists of openings will be available, and the staff will arrange interviews between applicants and employers. Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Center so that an interview schedule can be arranged. Applicants should bring an adequate supply of curricula vitae---enough to submit one copy to each interviewer. The Center will have no duplication facilities available.

S.N.A.P.

Liberty A has been set aside for the use of students attending the meeting. Designated as Students Need a Place---S.N.A.P.---the room will be open on 7 and 8 January, 9:00 AM - 6:00 PM, and on the morning of 9 January until 11:30 AM.

Membership Status

Members wishing to renew their membership and/or register change of address will be able to do so on Friday and Saturday, 7-8 January, in the Republic Ballroom foyer near the registration desk.

Language Editor

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fri, 8 January</td>
<td>3:00 - 4:00 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat, 9 January</td>
<td>9:00 - 10:00 AM</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Fri, 7 January 10:00 - 11:00 AM
4:00 - 5:00 PM
Sat, 8 January 10:00 - 11:00 AM
4:00 - 5:00 PM
Sun, 9 January 10:00 - 11:00 AM

National Institutes of Health

Howard Kurzman of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) will meet with members interested in learning more about research and training grants support available from the National Institutes of Health. Members may talk with him in the Kent Room at the following times:

Fri, 7 January 10:00 - 11:00 AM
4:00 - 5:00 PM
Sat, 8 January 10:00 - 11:00 AM
4:00 - 5:00 PM

Highlights

Thursday, 6 January

- LSA Executive Committee Meeting

The Officers and Executive Committee (Lila Gleitman, President; Kenneth Hale, Vice President-President Elect; Arnold Zwicky, Past President; Frederick J. Newmeyer, Secretary-Treasurer; Sarah Thomason, Editor; Laurence Horn; Christopher Manning; Sally McConnell-Ginet; Marianne Mithun; Ellen Prince; Susan Steele; and Anthony Woodbury) will meet beginning at 9:00 AM.

- Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics

COSWL will host an academic session in the Commonwealth Room, 7:30 - 8:30 PM. Shulamit Reinharz, professor of sociology and director of women's studies at Brandeis University, will speak on the topic "The Impact of Feminist Research on the Social Sciences." The open COSWL business meeting will be 8:30 - 9:00 PM, followed by a reception. The Cornell Lectures: Women in the Linguistics Profession (1989), edited by Alice Davison and Penelope Eckert, and The COSWL Collection of Language and Gender Syllabi (1993), edited by Elizabeth Hume and Bonnie McEneaney, will be on sale during the reception.

Friday, 7 January

- Boston University Conference on Language Development

The Boston University conference will meet 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM, 1:45 - 6:00 PM, and 8:00 - 10:15 PM in the FairFax Room and the Exeter Room. The schedule of papers is on pages xxvi-xxviii.

- Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

SPC will meet 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM and 2:00 - 4:45 PM in the Hampton Room and the Exeter Room. The schedule of papers is on page xxxi.

- American Dialect Society

ADS will host a session in the Dalton Room, 10:00 - 11:30 AM. The schedule of papers is on page xxxvi.

- Computer Software Poster Session

The LSA Committee on Computing is sponsoring a software poster session on Friday, 7 January, 12:00 noon - 2:00 PM in the Clarendon Room. Participants are LSA members who have developed software of interest to the discipline and which may be purchased for less than $100 in addition to the cost of distribution media. The Software Exhibit List which contains abstracts of the programs to be demonstrated will be available during the session.

Saturday, 8 January

- Boston University Conference on Language Development

The Boston Conference will meet 9:00 AM - 12:30 PM and 3:30 - 6:15 PM in the FairFax Room and the Garten Room. The schedule of papers is on pages xviii-xix.

- North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

NAAHoLS will meet in the Dalton Room, 9:00 AM - 12:30 PM and 3:30 - 5:00 PM. The schedule of papers is on page xxx. The Association's business meeting will convene at 5:30 PM in the Dalton Room.

- Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

SPC will meet in the Hampton Room and the Exeter Room, 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM and 3:30 - 4:30 PM. The schedule of papers is on page xxxi. The Society's business meeting, chaired by John Victor Singler, will begin at 4:30 PM in the Hampton Room.

- Poster Session

The poster session will be in the Clarendon Room, 12:30 - 2:00 PM. For those who have never attended one: In a poster session, research results are presented in visual rather than in auditory form. This means that a number of colleagues can simultaneously present in the same room where audience can circulate among them, browsing and talking to presenters as desired. All posters deal with psycholinguistics. Presenters will be available to talk about their projects.

- Preview Screening: "The Human Language Series"

Filmaker Gene Searchinger will show the first two programs in his four-part series for public television and educational distribution. Principal advisor to the series is George A. Miller. Other advisors are Daniel Slobin, Ivan A. Sag, D. Terence Langendoen, and Judith Kegl. Over 50 linguists were filmed for the series. Part One: Discovering the Human Language--"Colorless Green Ideas" will be shown in Redbird Room A, 12:30 - 1:30 PM.

- North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

NAAHoLS will meet in the Dalton Room, 2:00 - 5:00 PM. The schedule of papers is on page xxx.

- LSA Business Meeting

The business meeting has been scheduled in the Constitution Room, 5:30 - 7:00 PM. This meeting will be chaired by Lila Gleitman, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee include: Morris Halle, Chair; Sally McConnell-Ginet; and Susan Steele. The Rules for Motions and Resolutions may be found on page xvi.

- LSA Committee on Endangered Languages

Endangered Languages will host an open meeting in the Kent Room, 1:00 - 2:00 PM.

- LSA Committee on Language in the School Curriculum

Language in the School Curriculum will host an open meeting in the Jefferson Room, 1:00 - 2:00 PM.

- 1993 Presidential Address

"Lila Gleitman, the 1993 LSA President, will deliver her presidential address at 2:00 PM in the Constitution Room. The address is entitled "A picture is worth a thousand words, but that's the problem."

- LSA Birthday Party

To mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Linguistic Society, members are invited to have coffee and birthday cake in the Constitution Room foyer immediately following the presidential address.
Meeting Rooms Floor Plan

PLAZA LEVEL, 2ND FLOOR

CONSTITUTION ROOM

GRAND BALLROOM

REPUBLIC BALROOM A

REPUBLIC BALROOM B

REPUBLIC FOYER

CONSTRUCTION ROOM

CONFERENCE LEVEL, 3RD FLOOR

CONSTRUCTION ROOM

GRAND BALLROOM

REPUBLIC FOYER

REPUBLIC BALROOM A

CONSTRUCTION ROOM
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Friday, 7 January

Morning

Syntax: Derivation, Movement and LF
Chair: John Whitman (Cornell U)
Room: Constitution

9:00 Joyce Brouws-Gosselin (McGill U), Alan Libert (McGill U), & José Bouma (McGill U): Strengthening Agent

9:20 Hiroshi Sakai (U CA-Irvine): The uniformity measure for derivations

9:40 Mihoko Zoshi (McGill U): Long distance NP movement and the notion of equidistance

10:00 Hartmut Klasera (Harvard U): Deriving cross-linguistic movement variation from a universal locality requirement

10:20 Chiko Takahashi (Cornell U): On the nature of nominative assignment in Japanese

10:40: Shin Watanabe (USC): Japanese scrambling as A'-movement

11:00 Jun Ate (U CT) & Hiroshi Hoshi (U CT):Gapping and F-stranding

11:20 Alm Murata (U MO): On the LF of coordinate structures

Phonology: Syllables and Spreading
Chair: Michael Konowtiz (MIT)
Room: Independence

9:00 William J. Stuyven (Stanford U): The history and structure of the "Dead syllables"

9:20 Stuart Devine (U IN) & Michael Hammond (U AZ): The c-glide asymmetry in English syllable structure

9:40: Mary Ellen Scollon (U Louisville): French final consonant revival. Implications for mimesis theory

10:00 Chris Geaton (Lexicon Naming, Inc.): The geometry of rhyme

10:20 Rebecca Laderman (Cornell U): Nominalization in Sinhala and its implications for the status of pronominal suffixes

10:40 Rolf Noy (Peirce Corp.): Palatalization and vowel place in San Mateo Hava

11:00 Chip Gefken (U AZ): Cross-segmental opacity without line crossing: The case of Greek: Mitrek

11:20 Colin Phillips (MIT): Spreading values

Romantic 1
Chair: Irene Heine (MIT)
Room: Republic Ballroom B

9:06 *Craig Roberts (OH SU): Unipositional suppositions in definite noun phrases

9:45 Chris Barker (U Rochester): Individualization and quantification

10:00 *Friederike Mollmann (U CA-Los Angeles): Together and alone

10:50 Deborah Mandelbaum (CUNY Grad Coll): Genitives in predicate NPs

11:15 *Harry Howard (Tulane U): The lattice structure and update potential of epistemic selection in Spanish

Phonology: Syllables and Spreading
Chair: Michael Konowtiz (MIT)
Room: Independence

9:00 William J. Stuyven (Stanford U): The history and structure of the "Dead syllables"

9:20 Stuart Devine (U IN) & Michael Hammond (U AZ): The c-glide asymmetry in English syllable structure

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11:00 Chip Gefken (U AZ): Cross-segmental opacity without line crossing: The case of Greek: Mitrek

11:20 Colin Phillips (MIT): Spreading values

Historical Linguistics: Syntax/Morphology
Chair: Edwin Reinisch (Wayne SC)
Room: Commonwealth

9:00 Joseph T. Eska (VA Polytechnic): Syntax and the morphology of the Old Irish resumptive and imperative

9:20 Nathalie Schapansky (Simon Fraser U): Breton lir: A case study in grammaticalization

9:40 Orit Gener (U CA-Berkley): Why should an article turn into a preposition? Welsh productive yes

10:00 P.R. Higgins (U MA-Ambleside): Power verbal loss of "w" in Old English: An Anglian dialect feature

10:20 Whitney Tabor (Stanford U): Reanalysis in analogy

10:40 Elizabeth Traugott (Stanford U): Uness, bar, and if: two conditions of a historical perspective

11:00 Gary Holland (U CA-Berkeley): Homeric Greek prepositions and prepositions in diachronic typological perspective

11:20 Jeong-Young Park (U CA-Berkeley): The morphological affective construction in Korean

11:40 Susan D. Fischer (RIT): By the numbers: Language-internal arguments for collocation

Sociolinguistics
Chair: Crawford Frager
Room: Republic Ballroom A

9:00 Khalid Walrus (U TX-Austin): The changing political economy of code choices in North African television

9:20 Grace Wieseman (Hong Kong Polytech): Writing and identity: A problem in Tai sociolinguistics

9:40 Craig Silin (DePaul U): The role of diaphones in language planning processes

10:00 Neil J. Jacobs (OH SU): Borrowing vs language shift among 19th century Yiddish speakers


10:40 Lounedes Torres (U KY): Discourse markers in bilingual speech

11:00 Emiply Matsumoto (U PA): Acoustic markers of referential delimitation in Tokyo Japanese: A quantitative perspective

11:20 Shigoro Okamoto (CA SU-Fresno U CA-Santa Cruz): Japanese women's speech styles: Evidence for diversity

11:40 Makoto Yager-Druck (U AZ): Cognate silence and the sociolinguistic variable

Friday, 7 January

Afternoon

Poster Session: Computer Software
Room: Clarendon
12:00 noon - 2:00 PM

Christopher Culy (U LA): Grammatic and Trees (I.9) (Macintosh)

Evon Antworth (Sum Int Lino): PC-KIMMO (Version 2) (PC/Macintosh)

Richard Laron (SONY-Story Board): SYNTAXICA (NOXT486)

John Lawler (U MI): A World of Words (Macintosh)

Christina Thibodeau (University of Idaho): TX (PC)

I. Randolph Valentine (U W Ontario): Rook 1.1 (Macintosh)
### Friday, Afternoon

**Syntax/Semantics: Wh-Constructions**  
Chair: Eamon Bach (U. MA-Amherst)  
Room: Constitution  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Abstract/Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Elisa Heineger (USC)</td>
<td>A semantic difference between full and partial wh- movement in Korean</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Lauren P. DeKemp (Cornell U.)</td>
<td>Wh-colligative: A syntax/semantics interface account of multiple questions in situ wh</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Venessa Srivastava Deyal (Budapest U.)</td>
<td>Another look at long-distance wh answers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Hozé Rollman (U. MA-Amherst)</td>
<td>Negative islands aren't islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>Runko Kawaihara (Cornell U.)</td>
<td>A unified approach to adnominate wh- pronominalization and morphine mo</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:40</td>
<td>Kanako Yabushita (UI, TX, Austin)</td>
<td>Who + Q = someone: A compositional interpretation of Japanese dare + &quot;someone&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Kyoko Hirose Obara (U. CA-Berkeley)</td>
<td>A correlational analysis of so-called internally headed relativization in Japanese</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Sunag Barun (Budapest U.)</td>
<td>Semantic constraints on the distribution of infunival relatives</td>
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**Phonology: Features**  
Chair: David Michaud (U. CT)  
Room: Independence

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<th>Time</th>
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<th>Title</th>
<th>Abstract/Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Deborah S. Davison (York U.)</td>
<td>The geometry of voice quality-contrasting pitch register systems</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Wendy Wiswell (Northeastern U.)</td>
<td>Queasness: Evidence for constraints having height features</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Linda Uyechi (Stanford U.)</td>
<td>Selected joints in American Sign Language handshapes</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Daniel Silverman (U. CA-Los Angeles)</td>
<td>A case study in Higashinakagoe [spread glottis] and tone in Queanbeyan languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>Israel Shyrock (U. CA-Los Angeles)</td>
<td>The replication of voicing: Evidence from Money</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:40</td>
<td>Ellen Buell (SUNY-Stony Brook)</td>
<td>Large dialectal contrasts</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Joyce McDonough (U. CA-Los Angeles)</td>
<td>Asymmetry in nasal/nasal nasalization</td>
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**Pragmatics/Discourse**  
Chair: Laurence Haddad (U. Yale)  
Room: Commonwealth

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<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>Betty J. Balzer (U. PA) &amp; Gregory Ward (Northwestern U.)</td>
<td>Definite, unique, and speaker interest</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td>Anna Tikkonen</td>
<td>On a discourse-sensitive notion of information packaging</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:40</td>
<td>Andrew Kohler (Harvard U.)</td>
<td>A discourse processing account of gapping and causal implicatures</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Michael Newman (Wisconsin-Madison)</td>
<td>The meaning of promise/interest in English</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>Andrej Bekes (U. Tsukuba)</td>
<td>Pragmatics of Japanese anaphoric reference: Kono and sono in a wider paradigm</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:40</td>
<td>Dina Rudolph (U. HI-Maui)</td>
<td>The pragmatics of the Japanese sentence-final particle yo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Jan van Kuppevelt</td>
<td>On determining relative personne in discourse structure</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4:20</td>
<td>Janet Bing (Old Dominion U.)</td>
<td>Identifying the boundaries of proclitic units in narrative</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:40</td>
<td>Glenn Frankenhoff (U. ME-Farmington)</td>
<td>Type-token ratios and discourse function</td>
<td></td>
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### Friday, 7 January

**Evening**

**Business Meeting**  
Chair: Lila Gerstman  
Room: Constitution  
Room: Constitution  
Time: 7:00 PM

**Rules for Motions and Resolutions**  
The rules for motions and resolutions are approved by the Executive Committee at its June 1971 meeting. LSA members are urged to follow these rules in order to have their motions and resolutions considered at the Business Meeting.

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

2. **Procedures Regarding Motions.**
   2a. Motions are in order only at the duly constituted annual business meeting. Voting is restricted to members of the Society. Motions may be initiated by the Executive Committee or from the floor.
   2b. Motions initiated by the Executive Committee require for their passage a majority vote of the members voting at the meeting.
   2c. Motions initiated from the floor, if they receive affirmative vote of a majority of members voting at the meeting, are then to be submitted by the Executive Committee to a mail ballot of the membership of the Society in the next issue of The LSA Bulletin. Passage requires: a) a majority of those voting, and b) that the total of those voting in favor must be at least 2.5% of the personal membership.
   2d. If a member wishes to introduce a motion, but prefers to avoid the delay involved in 2c above, the member may be submitted in advance to the Executive Committee (before their regular meeting preceding the business meeting at which the motion is to be introduced) with a request that the Executive Committee by majority vote of the Committee approve the introduction of the motion at the business meeting as a motion initiated by the Executive Committee (see 2b above).

3. **Procedures Regarding Resolutions.**
   3a. Resolutions may be introduced at the annual business meeting or at any special meeting of the Society, such as the summer meeting.
   3b. A Resolutions Committee consisting of three members will be appointed by the president prior to the beginning of each regular or special meeting. Any member wishing to introduce a resolution must submit it in advance to said Resolutions Committee which, in addition to its traditional duty of formulating resolutions of thanks to the LSA and the like, will have the duty to make sure that the language is clear, and that duplication is avoided. The Resolutions Committee may meet in advance for this purpose or may, if necessary, retire to consider during the course of the meeting.
   3c. A resolution expressing the sense of the majority of the meeting requires for its passage the affirmative vote of a majority of the members voting at the meeting.
   3d. If at least two members present at the meeting to discuss, a resolution may be broadened to express 'the sense of the majority of the membership,' regardless of whether or not it has passed the procedure in 3b above, by the following steps: the resolution is forwarded to the Executive Committee for submission to the membership by mail ballot in the next issue of The LSA Bulletin. Passage of such a sense of the majority of the membership resolution requires the affirmative vote (more than 50%) of the membership responding.
Workshop: Perspectives on Computational Linguistics

Organizer: Judit Kiralets (UCYCN Grad Co) Room: Commonwealth 8:00 - 10:30 PM
Panelists: Judit Kiralets (Columbia UCYCN Grad Co), Computational linguistics overview; Lior Levan (Columbia-Mellan U); Syntax in applied natural language processing; Edward Poston (Rotterdam U): Lexical semantics and computational systems; Janet Pieresbiedt (Northern U); Pragmatics, interaction, and speech technology; Stephen R. Anderson (John Hopkins U): Parsing problems and computational morphology; Evelyne Tonneman (AT&T Bell Labs): Applications and the real world.

Syntax: Clause Structure 1
Chair: Margaret Spence (U MA-Ambient) Room: Constitution
8:00 Lee Hadd (U Paris VIII): The possessive in the meaning of the English
8:20 Edward Gulliford (U Calgary): External argument in constituent clauses
8:40 Diane Jones (Harvard U): Parameters and Paroxysm syntax
9:00 Erich M. Gross (Harvard U): A minimalist account of English expletives

Phonology: Prosody 1
Chair: John McCrary (U AM-Ambient) Room: Republic Ballroom B
8:00 Chris Collett (Lesions Naming, Inc.) & Tomas Reid (Saskatoon U): Prosodic metrics
8:45 Chang Yong Jiao (Stanford U): The bimorphic tone in Old English
9:05 Megan C. Elwood (Yale U): The maximal-prosodic stress parameter: An alternative to a proposal
9:25 Curt Rice (U Tromsø): Prosodic tapping, stress reassociation, and some issues
9:45 Hynouky Nagahara (U CA-Los Angeles) & Shizuki Ismaili (U CA-Los Angeles): The directors in the history of Japanese

Semantics 2
Chair: Elizabeth Trelgent (Sanford U) Room: Independence
8:00 Eve Sennet (U CA-Berkeley): Role and individual readings of change-predicate subjects
8:20 Christopher J. Paffen (Stanford U): Inside in English
8:40 Paul D. Deane (U Cari FL): Prototype structure, polysemy, and the diachronic semantics of a verb, mod, and against
9.00 Kathleen O'Connor (Drew U): Manner metaphors in Spanish: Solid, liquid, and gas in the abstract domain of money and finance

Syntax: Noun Phrases and Topics
Chair: Mona Anderson (UCT) Room: Constitution
8:00 *Silence Ron Simons (U SC): True vs pseudo possessive ascription in Chinese
8:45 Nancy Max (UCSC): On the definiteness of possessives in Romance
10:05 Judy R. Jasmin (U Utopia): The definite article in Romance: elliptical normal constructions
10:25 Andrew Corr (MIT): Complex nominal predicates and head movement in Modern Irish
11:05 Lijie Xing (University of Hong Kong): Indefiniteness effects on quantified NPs as the foot
11:25 Tenya Sano (U CA-Los Angeles): On the so-called Japanese relative sentences
11:45 Toshihiko Mondahashi (Trinity U): Who's in the history of Japanese

Morphology
Chair: Richard Sproat (AT & T Bell Labs) Room: Independence
9:00 Gregory T. Stump (U KY): Real and apparent uses of the H-application default
9:20 Hynouky Nagahara (U CA-Montreal): A view from suffixation and a structure alteration
9:40 Anna Maria DiSavino (U Quebec-Montreal) & Elizabeth Klipps (U Quebec-Montreal): Prefixes as adjoints
10:00 Robert H. Hoberman (SUNY-Brooklyn): Subjunctive morphology and syntax in Arabic
10:20 Julie Auger (CN) A morphological approach to subordinating inversion in Romance
10:40 Jean Pierre Moretti (U TX-Austin): Prosodicization in modern French
11:00 Julie Auger (CN) & Richard D. Janas (U Chicago): Clitics as affixes and the process morphology of Romance verbs

Semantics/Syntax: Events and Argument Structure
Chair: Roy Jackendorf (Brandeis U) Room: Republic Ballroom B
9:00 Tahle MacFarland (Northwestern U): Event arguments: Insights from cognate objects
9:20 Tatibolaki Ophelia (U WA): Events and events in discourse
9:40 Linda Deblin (Northwestern U): Pynn verbs: Agency and the nature of complex events
10:00 Sara Thomas (U KS) & Elizabeth Ritter (U Calgary): Weak and strong predicates
10:20 Stephen Wachter (U TX-Austin) & Yasahito Lai (U TX-Asis): Accusative adverbials in Korean
10:40 *Yu Matsuzono (Tohoku U): A semantic constraint on the argument structure of Japanese verbs
11:05 Nenomi Trujillo (ON U): Unaccusativity and manner of motion verbs in Japanese
11:25 Alonzo Jacques Tobioka (U CA-Santa Barbara): Syntactic reanalysis of morphological operations: The case of accidental passive

Discourse/Pragmatics
Chair: Ellen Prince (U PA) Room: Commonwealth
9:00 Yoriko Suzukioka (U Tokyo): Word order in Japanese: Pragmatic of clitic constructions
9:20 Gregory Wer (Western U) & Betty J. Soner (U PA): Constituents out in left field: The functions of fronting in English
9:40 James Z. Xing (U WA): Patient fronting in Chinese
10:00 Arne Bertram (Western U): A quantitative analysis of intransitive pronominal verbs
10:20 Polly Szaszowski (U MD-Memphis): The cooperative organization of Japanese conversations
10:40 Susan Randquist (St. Cloud SU): Apologies: A gender study
11:00 Katheryn Reminger (U Tech U): Student talk and the culture of the classroom: The linguistic construction of gender and gender relationships
11:40 Kristin M. Pedrickson (U ME): Linguistic form and institutional rationality: Judicial openness from two legal systems
Phonetics
Chair: Anthe Abraham (U CT)
Room: Republic Ballroom A

9:00 K. Botassual Cohen (OH SU): Vocal tract evolution and the acoustics of vowel production
9:20 Raquel Wilkerman (U TX-Austin): Jaw position for pharyngeal: Optimizing articulation
9:40 Dmi Byrd (U CA-Los Angeles): Rate and reduction in consonant sequences
10:00 Judy Kegl (Rutgers U) & Howard Peiper (Rutgers U): The phonetics of contraction in American Sign Language
10:20 Loom A. Sutur (U CA-Berkeley): "Secondary articulations" of Irish consonants
10:40 Sivara Janwy (OH SU): General analysis of fast and slow speech in German
11:00 Sun-Abi Jun (U CA-Los Angeles): Syntax and accentual phrasing in Korean

LSA Presidential Address
Room: Constitution
2:00 - 3:30 PM
"A picture is worth a thousand words, but that's the problem"
Lila Gleitman (U PA)

Syntax: Clause Structure 2
Chair: Jane Grimshaw (Rutgers U)
Room: Constitution

3:30 C. Jan Wuyts Zwir (U Comenius): Raising and incorporation in complex PPs
3:50 Leslie Barrett (New York U): Underlying features in German infinitives
4:10 Charles Jones (George Mason U): A & ing
4:30 Christopher Culby (U IA): Empty categories, structure sharing, and control
4:50 Peter Svenonius (U CA-Santa Cruz): Two classes of verbs taking small clause complements

Phonology: Prosody 2
Chair: Robert Vago (Queen's CUNY)
Room: Republic Ballroom B

3:30 Steve Hoenigs (U DE): The rhythm role, prosodic domains, and rhymes in French
3:50 Hisayuki Nagahara (U CA-Los Angeles): Focus and phonological phrasing in Japanese
4:10 Ronnie B. Wilcox (Purdue U): Syntax, focus, and extrametricality in American Sign Language
4:30 Sir G. Tottle (U WA): Metrical structure and prosodic constituency in Sakhja Athesbakan
4:50 Mary Jack (Rutgers U) & Caroline Carruthers (Rutgers U): Prosodic vs segmental level impairment in aphasic narrative speech
Semantics 3
Chair: Gregory Carlson (U Rochester)
Room: Independence

3:30 Laura Michelson (U CO): Temporal scope and the preterite-perfect contrast in English
3:50 Graham Katz (U Rochester) & Bevley Stjepan,ski (U Rochester): Temporal adverbial and the English present perfect
4:10 Seiko Yamaguchi Fuji (U IL-Urbana): Epistemic and speech act conditionals in Japanese
4:30 Shoun O'Connor (U AY): The implications of Coastal Caus for semantic theories of evidentials
4:50 Virginia Brennan (Swarthmore C): Types of English modal auxiliaries

Mathematical and Computational Linguistics
Chair: Roes Berwick (MIT)
Room: Republic Ballroom A

3:30 *Philip Miller (U Lille 3): Strong generative capacity at the semantics of linguistic formalisms
3:55 *Mickael Laniuk (U TX-Austin): Interactive context-free languages

Typology
Chair: Kenneth Hale (MIT)
Room: Commonwealth

3:30 Maria Polinsky (UCSC): Existentials as complex predicates: Evidence for incorporation
3:50 Ronald P. Scafer (U IL-Urbana): Event's schematic core particles
4:10 Maria Polinsky (UCSC) & Ramazan Rajbhum (UCSC): At, by, or with? Quasi-synonymous locative series in Tsez

Symposium: Distributed Morphology
Organizers: Morris Halle (MIT)
Room: Republic Ballroom B
8:00 - 11:00 PM
Panelists:
- Stephen J. Anderson (Johns Hopkins U)
- Mark A. Ansonoff (UNY Stony Brook)
- Mark Baker (McGill U)
- Robert Beard (Bucknell U)
- Andrew Cerrene-McCarthis (U Canterbury-New Zealand)
- Rochelle Lisse (U N.H)
- Roll Noyne (Princeton U)
- Richard Snod (AT & T Bell Labs)
- Susan Sneath (U AY)

Syntax: Causatives, Resultatives, and Inversion
Chair: Paul Postal (T. J. Watson Res Ctr)
Room: Constitution

8:00 Ezepel Mejas-Bikandi (U NE) & John Moore (U CA-San Diego): Spanish causatives and indefiniteness: Evidence for VP-complementation
8:20 *Anne Abeille (U Paris VII), Danielle Godard (CNRS/U Paris VII), & Philip Miller (U Lille 3): The syntactic structure of French causative constructions
9:05 Christopher Manning (Stanford U), Masayu Iida (Stanford U), Patrick F. O'Neil (Stanford U), & Ivan A. Sag (Stanford U): The lexical integrity of Japanese causatives
9:45 Ke Zuo (U CA-Los Angeles): V-V complement with the de construction in Chinese
10:05 Theodore F. Fernald (U CA-Santa Cruz): Interpretation of causatives
10:25 Maria Luisa Jimenez (George Washington U): Subject-verb inversion in Spanish
10:45 Akira Watanabe (U Tokyo): Locative inversion: Where unsuccinctivity meets minimalism
Sunday, 9 January

Morning

Semantics/Syntax: Binding and Focus
Chair: Pauline Jacobson (Brown U)
Room: Constitution

9:00 Arild Haukå (U Stavanger) & Søve
Berman (U Stavanger): Disent
reference and the theory of reference relations
9:20 Andrew Bass (U AZ) & D. Terence
Langendoen (U AZ): Reference
and reciprocitivity
9:40 *Hyunsoo Lee (OH SU): Toward an
atomatic account of crossover
10:25 Mandy Kita (U TX-Austin): Focus
and operator scope in German
10:45 Matthew S. Dyer (SUNY-Buffalo): The
pragmatics of focus-association with
only
11:05 *Roger Schwartz (NY U): De-
Viel a De-Verbs: From basic contrast
11:50 Chris Brockett (U WA): Topic, focus,
and the proportion problem: Japanese
evidence

Syntax: Wh- Constructions
Chair: C. L. Rober (U TX-Austin)
Room: Republic Ballroom B

9:00 Tina Krasnow (U PA): Slavic multiple
questions: Evidence for wh- movement
9:20 Jakub Kramski (Syracuse U): On the
syntax of (non-)inflating and free
relative clauses in Turkish
9:40 Tracy Holloway King (IN U): Russian
clitics and the structure of wh-
questions
10:00 Michele Sigler (UT): Subject/object
asymmetries in Armenian relative
clauses
10:20 Eric Heekstra (Royal Netherlands
Acad.): Complementizers preceding
wh-phrases against Generalized
Alignment
10:40 John B. Whitman (Cornell U) & Yoko
Yamada (Cornell U): Wh- head
dependence
11:00 Zoljko Borkovic (U CT/Haskins Labs): On
the categorical status of null operator relatives
and its theoretical implications
11:20 John Boyd (U MA-Amherst): INFL-
binding and exceptions to island conditions
11:40 Paul Law (U Quebec-Montreal): On
inflated infinitives and subject extraction
in Portuguese
12:00 Erhard W. Hirtius (U Twente) &
Tassio Nakazawa (NTT): An HPSG
analysis of split-NP topicalization in
German

Phonology: Optimality
Chair: Elia Boulevard (SUNY-Stony Brook)
Room: Independence

9:00 Kathleen Hurd (U CA-Berkeley): Opti-
mality and tone: Evidence from Baras
9:20 Jill Beckman (U MA-Amherst): Fill 'er up!
An optimality theory of Sense height
harmony
9:40 J.-P. Hodge (U IL-Urbana): Optimality
and complex rule order: Reanalysis
and nasua assimilation in Basque
10:00 Caroline P. Whitham (Brown U): The need
for PARSSE FEATURE Covariances
10:20 William Labov (U DE): Optimality,
signification, and Polish stress
10:40 Thomas B. Klein (U DE): The directional
nominalization of German unimalt: A case
against Generalized Alignment
11:00 Sam Rosenbach (U MA-Amherst): Vowel
distribution in Lakaad
11:20 Roderic P. Casali (U CA-Los Angeles): Vowel
vowel and glide formation in Niger-
Congo: A harmony theoretic approach
11:40 Sharon Hagges (U WA): The first person
plural prefix in Babite-Wisi Wili

Psycholinguistics
Chair: Diane Lillo-Martin (U CT)
Room: Commonwealth

9:00 Miehoarung Nakama (OH SU): Are there
lexical and functional stages in Japanese?
9:20 Danielea Kuta (U Ottawa), Helen Goodnow
(U Ottawa), & Ljiljana Pugac (Wayne
SU): The acquisition of long-distance
linking in Serbo-Croat
9:40 Cecile Mckee (U WA): Object-control
adjectives: Lexical factors in synthetic
development
10:00 Karin Snonceov (Rutgers U): The nature
of children's early grammar: Evidence from
inversion errors
10:20 Barbara Zora Pusa (U WA): Cross-
linguistic evidence for an early bilingual
lexicon: One language or two?
10:40 Karen M. Smith-Lock (Marquette U): The
acquisition of the passive by normal and
specifically language impaired children
11:00 Wiesia Ni (U CT/Haskins Labs) & Stephen
Crosen (U CT/Haskins Labs): The rapid use
of semantic information in ambiguity
resolution
11:20 Magdelena A. Rikiz (U Buenos Aires):
Agreement as a syntactic deficit: Evidence
from Spanish
11:40 Valerie Shaw (SUNY-Buffalo) & Jeri J.
Jaeger (SUNY-Buffalo): The acoustic cues
infants use in identifying their native
language

Sociolinguistics
Chair: John Rickford (Stanford U)
Room: Republic Ballroom A

9:00 *Natalie E. Enes (NC SU) & Walt Wolfram
(NC SU): Sociolinguistic explanation and
alternative morphologization: Warrener
in vernacular English
9:45 Crawford Frangie: Real time change in
Southern States dialects?
10:05 Michael B. Montgomery (U SC) & Janet M.
Fuller (U SC): What was polite? in 19th
century African-American English?
10:25 Shea Walson (Tulane U): Microethnog-
raphy and Cajun register shifting
10:45 Ronald E. Bucklew (PA SU): The history of
singer's Aye
11:05 Angela Karsnoff (U N-Winnipeg): Relative
markers and social identity in
Swedish-American English
11:25 Alirez Zoloshegh (Uke University):
Linguistic markers of cultural identity
11:45 Julie Roberts (U PA) & Shawn Ash (U PA):
The acquisition of linguistic variation by
Philadelphia children
12:05 Scott Fabuis Kieling (Georgetown U):
Toward a practice-based approach to the
notion of power
**American Dialect Society**

**Friday, 7 January**

**Morning**

10:00 Charles F. Meyer (U MA-Boston), Edward Blackman (Snowleaf, Inc.), & Robert Norris (U MA-Boston):
Can you see whose speech is overlapping?

10:45 Connie Ebsa (U NC-Chapel Hill):
American English and the Roaring Twenties

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**Boston University Conference on Language Development**

**Friday, 7 January**

**Morning**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session 1</th>
<th>Chair:</th>
<th>Room:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Jane Grinstead (Rutgers U): English speakers as lexical bilinguals</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Janet Biddle (Northeastern U/Max Planck Inst.), Angelique van Houw (Max Planck Inst.), &amp; Jürgen Weissweiler (Max Planck Inst): Approaching linking</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Cheryl Pentuzi (U CA-Los Angeles): The acquisition of aspect and argument structure</td>
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<td>10:45</td>
<td>Luigi Rizzi (U Genova): Root inflections as internal structures in early grammars</td>
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<td>11:15</td>
<td>Lynn Santorin (Cornell U): Early wh-questions: Evidence for CP from child Swedish</td>
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<td>11:45</td>
<td>Monica Melaom-Makowski (Boston U): The structure of IP: Evidence from acquisition data</td>
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**Session 2**

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<th>Chair:</th>
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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Matthew Rissol (U AZ): Paradigms and prepositional case errors</td>
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<td>9:30</td>
<td>John Griesedieck (U CA-Los Angeles): Consequences of the maturation of number morphology in Spanish and Catalan</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Aujum Perez Salema (NUS U Singapore): Developmental constraints in early Urdu syntax</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Clara C. Levit (Leiden U): How does place fall into place?</td>
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<td>11:15</td>
<td>Judith A. Gora (U) &amp; Laryngeal-super-laryngeal crosscurrents in acquisition</td>
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<td>11:45</td>
<td>Paula Fischler (Leiden U): The acquisition of Dutch syllable structure with special reference to vowel length</td>
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**Friday, 7 January**

**Afternoon**

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<tr>
<th>Session 3</th>
<th>Chair:</th>
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<tr>
<td>1:45</td>
<td>Nathalie Grenée (McGill U) &amp; Lydia White (McGill U): Functional categories in child L2 acquisition of French</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>Samuel D. Epstein (Harvard U), Suzanne Flynn (MIT), &amp; Gia Mantardouno (Queens C-CUNY): Contras &amp; similarities in child &amp; adult SLA: Some evidence from the acquisition of functional categories</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>William Philip (U MA-Ambros) &amp; Saskia Verrips (U Amsterdam): Dutch prepositions' Elke</td>
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<td>3:30</td>
<td>Carol Morgan (Brigham Young U): From quantity to quantifier: Strategies for interpreting personal indefinites possessive</td>
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<td>4:00</td>
<td>Carole O'Leary (U CT) &amp; Stephen Coates (U CT): Negative polarity (a positive result) and positive polarity (a negative result)</td>
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<td>4:45</td>
<td>Heim Smith Cairns (Queens C-CUNY), Dana McDaid (U S ME), Dadda Konarayou (Queens C-CUNY), Jennifer Ryan Hou (Wm Paterson C), &amp; Sandra Pancor (Wm Paterson C): The pronoun correspondence requirement: Grammar or pragmatics?</td>
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<td>5:15</td>
<td>Sigridur Sigurjonsdottir (U Umech) &amp; Peter Crempin (U Umech): The acquisition of anaphors and pronouns in Dutch</td>
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**Session 4**

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<tr>
<td>1:45</td>
<td>William E. Mertens (Kent U) &amp; John Manzini (Kent U): The effect of processing similar-sounding words on two-year-olds' fast mapping</td>
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<td>2:15</td>
<td>Ruxin Shi (Brown U), James Morgan (Brown U), &amp; Paul Allen (Brown U): Mandarin input characteristics and grammatical category assignment</td>
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<td>3:00</td>
<td>Anne Fernald (Stanford U): Infants' sensitivity to word order</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Denise Mandel (SUNY-Buffalo), Peter W. Jeschyk (SUNY-Buffalo), &amp; Deborah Kemler Nelson (Swarthmore C): Does conceptual prosody help infants organize and remember speech information: A prosodic whole is better than two parts</td>
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<td>4:00</td>
<td>Gerald W. McRoberts (Stanford U): Prosodic bootstrapping: A critique of the argument and the evidence</td>
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<td>4:45</td>
<td>Letitia Nagler (Yale U): Using multiple frames to bootstrap syntax</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:15</td>
<td>Sundaray Prasad (U PA): Children's use of structural cues in learning adjective meanings</td>
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Session 9
Chair: Salkia Strobell (Boston U)
Room: Fairfax
3:30 Edward T. Kato (U PA): Novelty in word and
4:00 Melissa Bowerman (Max Planck Inst)&
5:15 Barbara Zurer Pearson (U Miami) & Sylvie C.
5:45 Heather Burfield (SUNY-Stony Brook) &

Session 10
Chair: Monica Mahon-Makovics (Boston U)
Room: Gardner
3:30 Suzanne Lederer (U Amsterdam): Lan-
4:00 Ruth C. Loew (Rutgers U), Jody Kegl
5:15 Karen Emmorey (Salk Inst.), Ronit Ewan
5:45 Patricia Siple (Wayne SU), D. Dayn

On behalf of the 1994 Conference Committee (Down Ma & Laing, Monica Malafelmukowski, Salkia Strobell, Bin Gu, Zhao, Maria Zlataza, and Andrea Zuzwinski), we are extremely grateful to the following reviewers for their assistance in the selection of abstracts:

David Birdsong
Paul Bloom
Ellen Breslaow
Harald Choleen
Stephen Crain
Lyn Frazier
James Paul Dae
Jean Berko Gleason
Jane Greenhaw
James Holgson
Nina Huyse
Dale Kaufman
Judy Kegl
Marcel Karmosz
Bab Levi
Line Mens
Paula Mereny
Carol Nefha
Wendy Waxman
Mary Catherine O'Connor
Steven Pinker
Thomas Rooper
Hickok-Thalassino
Lisa Tave
R. L. Rember
Anne van Klank
Kendric Wexler
Lydia White

We are also grateful for the advice from Program faculty and from the Program Director, Professor Carol Nédélec.
North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences
Friday, 7 January
Afternoon

Session 1
Chair: E. F. Keesom (U Ottawa)
Room: Dalton

2:00 Margaret J. Leechey (St Michael's): Native people as linguistic informants in the Jesuit relations

2:50 Dominique Linnet (U A-L-Birmingham): Relation de la Riviere des Amsours: Language and the new world's discovery in 17th century France

3:00 Lucia Bizet (U NC-Chapel Hill): "La lengua componera del império": Revisiting a topic

3:30 Break

4:00 Michael MacKenzie (AUS): Heredia Hiai’s linguistic ethnology

4:30 Regina Demott (U W Ottawa): Linguistic relativity, Amerindian talk & primitive man as a philosopher

Saturday, 8 January
Morning

Session 2
Chair: Regina Demott (U W Ottawa)
Room: Dalton

9:00 George Giannakis (U C-Los Angeles): The system of the Kwanan in Pedi and its position in the history of linguistics

9:30 Daniel Taylor (Lawrence U): P. The biography of a book (Varro’s De Lingua Latina)

10:00 John E. Joseph (U Hong Kong): Native grammar, arbitrary lexicon: An enduring parallel in the history of Western linguistics

10:30 Break

11:00 Maria Taitner (U NC-Chapel Hill): Language and literacy during the Latinizing Period in Cyprus (1191-1489)

11:30 Brian Morris (U Toronto): Horizontal and vertical organization in the medieval dictionary

12:00 Werner Buuren (U Essen): The complex background of the simple style

Session 3
Chair: John E. Joseph (U Hong Kong)
Room: Dalton

3:30 Anders Albrigtsen (U College-Cloeywr): A short history of the study of Old Irish absolutism and conjunct verbal endings

4:00 Kurt Janowsky (George-town U): Wilhelm Wackernagel (1806-65): A philologist in need of being rediscovered

4:30 E. F. Keesom (U Ottawa): William Dwight Whitney’s contribution to linguistic methodology during the last third of the 19th century

Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics
Friday, 7 January
Morning

Serial-Verb Construction
Chair: Donald Windsor (OH SG)
Room: Hampton

9:00 Kenneth Swadesh (U Papua New Guinea): Serial verb construction in Toli Plains

9:30 Bettye Meger (OH SG): Substratum influence in creole grammar: The case of serial verb constructions in Sranan

10:00 Jacques Arnaud (U Amsterdam): The syntax of the Sarawak Maromin letters

10:45 Elizabeth Dayou (U Puerto Rico): The verb in vernacular African-American English be done

11:15 Donald Windsor (OH SG): The verb complex of Bellazed creoles

11:45 Arthur K. Krapas (UW Grad C): The TMA systems of Lesser Antilles and Haitian creoles

Syntax
Chair: Claire Lefebvre (U Quebec-Montreal)
Room: Exeter

9:30 Paul Law (U Quebec-Montreal): On the contribution of linguistic theory to creole studies

10:30 Vladimir Brikov (Inst Olten Studiies-Moscow): Word order in Rusesork

11:30 Michael DeCoff (U MD) & Yves Deyans (Inst Ling App-Hanoi): On Haitian creole’s "very strict" adjacency principle

Tense/Mood/Aspect
Chair: Julienne Mader (Loyola U-New Orleans)
Room: Hampton

10:45 Elizabeth Dayou (U Puerto Rico): The verb element in vernacular African-American English be done

11:15 Donald Windsor (OH SG): The verb complex of Bellazed creoles

11:45 Pauline Krapas (UW Grad C): The TMA systems of Lesser Antilles and Haitian creoles

French-Lexicon Creoles
Chair: Michel DeCoff (U MD)
Room: Hampton

2:00 Susanne Miklitsch (Free U Berlin): Attitude change toward language varieties in Trinidad

3:30 G. Tucker Childs (U Washampldy): Notes on Venetian: An aging sociolinguist, extinct pidgin

3:00 Christine Jocques (Wanda U., Ingrid Milmanmanuget (Wanda U.) & Robbin Sller (Wanda U.): Lead me you ears: Language interference and transcription

Pluralization
Chair: Pauline Krapas (UW Grad C)
Room: Hampton

3:45 Peter Stedman (Georgetown U.): Functional pressures on plural marking in Jamaican patwa

4:15 Salu Togumme (U Ottawa), Shana Poplor (U Ottawa), & Eka Ee (U Ottawa): At two no bread: At two no code: Pluralization in Nigerio fulen English

Friday, 7 January
Afternoon

Speech Communities/Transcription
Chair: Selkirk Mofune (U Chicago)
Room: Hampton

2:00 Sussanne Miklitsch (Free U Berlin): Attitude change toward language varieties in Trinidad

3:30 G. Tucker Childs (U Washampldy): Notes on Venetian: An aging sociolinguist, extinct pidgin

3:00 Christine Jocques (Wanda U., Ingrid Milmanmanuget (Wanda U.) & Robbin Sller (Wanda U.): Lead me you ears: Language interference and transcription

Pluralization
Chair: Pauline Krapas (UW Grad C)
Room: Hampton

3:45 Peter Stedman (Georgetown U.): Functional pressures on plural marking in Jamaican patwa

4:15 Salu Togumme (U Ottawa), Shana Poplor (U Ottawa), & Eka Ee (U Ottawa): At two no bread: At two no code: Pluralization in Nigerio fulen English
**Surinamese Creoles**  
Chair: Silvia Kruwemberg (U W Indies-Mona)  
Room: Hampton

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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Ingo Piat (Philips U)</td>
<td>Complex prepositions in Sranan: Prepositions as nouns or nouns as prepositions?</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Michael Azen (UTX-Austin)</td>
<td>Syllable structure &amp; synchrony in Sranan</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>John McWhorter (Stanford U)</td>
<td>Skeptics in the closet: Anomalies in the behavior of the Sranan copula &amp; their implications for &amp;</td>
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<td>continuum theory, &amp; electronic studies</td>
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<td>Morphology</td>
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<td>Chair: John McWhorter (Stanford U)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Norval Smith (U Amsterdam) &amp; Tonjes Veneta (U Amsterdam)</td>
<td>Affixation in a radical creole: The morphology-syntax interface</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Silvia Kruwemberg (U W Indies-Mona)</td>
<td>On morphology in creole</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Norval Smith (U Amsterdam)</td>
<td>The meaning of Basem prefixes in Sranan</td>
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**Pidgin/Creole History**  
Chair: John Victor Singler (New York U)  
Room: Exeter

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<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Cynthia McColle (Teachers C-Columbia U)</td>
<td>The genesis of African-American vernacular English: Sociolinguistic insights from Virginia (1619-1760)</td>
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<td>9:30</td>
<td>Armin Schwager (U CA-San)</td>
<td>On (dis-) innovating the creole origin of popular Caribbean Spanish</td>
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<td>10:00</td>
<td>Hans den Beesten (U Amsterdam) &amp; Paul Robert (U NC-Chapel Hill)</td>
<td>Tracing the pidgin/creole elements in Afrikans</td>
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<td>10:45</td>
<td>Andre Kapange (U SLU)</td>
<td>A socio-historical linguistics approach to the study of Shaka Swahili: Recreating the parent language</td>
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<td>11:15</td>
<td>Salikoko Mufwene (U Chicago)</td>
<td>The founder principle in creole genesis</td>
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<td>11:45</td>
<td>Richard Rath (Brandeis U)</td>
<td>Historicality and the problem of synthesis in pidgin and creole studies</td>
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**Saturday, 8 January**

**Discourse**  
Chair: Arthur Spears (CUNY Grad C)  
Room: Hampton

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<td>Patricia Nichols (San Jose SL)</td>
<td>Language patterns in a propositional setting</td>
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<td>4:00</td>
<td>Himatni Maseda (U HI-Menea)</td>
<td>Verifiability and retionalism in Hawai'i creole English</td>
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| 4:30  | Business Meeting | Chair: John Victor Singler  
SPCL Vice President |

**Pidgin/Creole Genesis**  
Chair: Jacques Arends (U Amsterdam)  
Room: Exeter

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<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Eduardo Figueroa (SUNY-Stony Brook)</td>
<td>The development of the article system in language acquisition, creolization, and history</td>
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<td>4:00</td>
<td>Zyzadana Vrizza (New York U)</td>
<td>Salience of object pronouns and problems of pidgin/creole genesis</td>
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Statement from the Program Committee

The sessions 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.

(FRI MORN. Constitution)

Jim Abe (University of Connecticut)
Yukiko Hashi (University of Connecticut)

Gaping and P-stranding.

Lassnik and Salto (forthcoming) propose that the gaping construction involves rightward movement to explain the ungrammaticality of the sentence, John talked to Mary and Bill saw. Under their analysis, Mary undergoes rightward movement to make a copying site for the second conjunct. The ungrammaticality of the above mentioned sentence is thus attributed to a constraint which prohibits P-stranding for rightward movement. Importantly, however, the Japanese counterpart, Bill saw, Mary saw, John saw, is grammatical. Hence, the Japanese gaping construction seems to allow P-stranding.

In this paper, we argue that the Japanese sentence above is an instance of the gaping construction, by showing that it exhibits locality conditions on movement as the English gaping construction. Furthermore, we propose that the difference above comes from the difference in the head parameter. Due to this distinction, Mary in the full-fledged conjunct can move leftward in the Japanese example, unlike that in the English one. Due to the nature of leftward movement, P-stranding is allowed in the Japanese gaping construction.

Our proposal thus provides substantial support for Huang’s (1992) proposal that P-stranding is allowed in Japanese universally.

Anne Abeville (University of Paris VII)
Danielle Godard (University of Paris VII)
Philip Miller (University of Lille 3)

The syntactic structure of French causative constructions

The analyses of the syntactic structure of causative constructions in French and other Romance languages classically assume that a hierarchical structure involving an S or a VP complement to the causative verb. We argue that French causatives have a flat structure (a. Marie [vs fera [y courir] [fean]], Marie will make Jean run; b. Marie [vs fera [y passer] [son examen] [a fean]], Marie will make Jean take his exam), where the infinitive, the subcategorized arguments, and the causee are all sisters of faire. Indeed, the causee and the complements of the infinitive behave like sister complements of a V rather than like non-sister complements in a control structure, and there is no evidence from classical tests that the infinitive, its complements and the causee form a VP. Our analysis of causatives, cast in the framework of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Pollard/Sag ’93), and drawing on that proposed by Abeillé and Godard ’93 for French tense auxiliaries, assigns a schematic lexical entry to the verb faire which takes as arguments its unfaithful infinitival verb, with its COMPS but L unsatisfied, and the complements L subcategorized by that infinitival verb. The complement cliticization rules of Miller and Sag ’93 apply to faire providing a natural account for “clitic climbing” and we provide a pragmatic account for well-known restrictions on climbing. Our treatment, based on a lexically controlled use of the division type shift, provides a principled account of the distinction between unbound and intermediate distance dependencies.

Michael Acevedo (University of Texas-Austin)

Syllable structure and eponthesis in Saramacca.

This paper presents a diachronic description of syllable structure and eponthesis in Saramacca, a Maroon language of Suriname. The approach taken in this work is a syllabic template one adapted from CSL (1988). This paper assumes that eponthesis is licensed by unsyllabified consonants (characterized by one skeletal rule a → V/C____), which generate empty slots in the creole’s syllable structure, and that the quality of the eponthesized paragogic vowel is determined via a series of rules called vowel correspondences. That is, vowels in the rhyme largely determine the features of the eponthesized vowel in the subsequent creole lexical form. For example, boat [boat] → botv → bdtv and bed [bed] → bedv → bdis. This paper also questions the validity of the standard notion that creoles adhere to a CV phonotactic rule. It demonstrates that the essential CV structure currently displayed by Saramacca is a relatively recent development (post-1778), and that in the years closer to its genesis (pre-1778), Saramacca actually included some complex onsets. For example, the 1778 Saramacca word for ‘smoke’ was smoko, but currently it is the more canonical CV form sum/ku.

(SAT MORN. Hampton)
Anders Ahlqvist (University College-Galway)  
The history of Celtic linguistics

EVER SINCE Irish linguistics joined the mainstream of European scholarship, with the publication of Zeuli's monumental Celtic grammar, scholars have been puzzled by the existence, in Old Irish, of two distinct sets of endings in the Old Irish verbs, one — conjunct — when the verb is preceded by a conjunct particle and the other — absolute — when it isn't. The paper will first give a brief account of the linguistic facts involved and then attempt to describe the chief ones among the numerous attempts that have been made to explain them, by scholars ranging from Zeuli 1853, 1871 himself, through Thurneysen 1884, Zimmer 1890 and Pedersen 1908-1911 to Meid 1963, Watkins 1963, Cowgill 1975, McCone 1979, Sims-Williams 1984 and Koch 1987.

Takako Aikawa (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
Reflexiviser in Japanese and LF-analyses of zibun: binding

This paper examines the binding behavior of the Japanese anaphor zibun 'self' and zibun 'self' in LF. The goal of the paper is two-folded: first, following Reinhart and Reuland (1991, 1992), I will show that zibun is an anaphor that lacks the ability to reflexivize a predicate and that the true reflexiviser in Japanese is zibun:zibun 'self' -self'. Second, I will explore LF-analyses of zibun-binding without movement. I will propose that zibun is bound to the first accessible AGR at LF by coindexedness. I will argue that long-distance (hereafter LD) binding of zibun to the anaphoric nature of AGR in Japanese (cf. Borer 1989). Our LF-analysis of the LD-binding of zibun will provide not only a new approach to LD-anaphors but also a refinement of the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981) with respect to the governing category for anaphors.

Manuela Ambar (University of Lisbon)  
Verbal selection, functional categories and control in Haitian creole

The purpose of this paper is to offer a unified treatment for the distribution of you and control phenomena in sentential complements of declarative-epistemic, volitional and factive verbs in HC. Our analysis is based on the distribution of indicative, subjunctive, infinitival and control in the same sentential complements in Portuguese, as developed in Ambar 1992, Ambar & Vinet 1992. We illustrate how the verbal selection of a semantic Tense feature and RT can play an important rule over control phenomena - bearing on obligatory and non-obligatory coreference vs disjoint reference - of embedded subjects with immediately superordinate subjects. The literature on this research topic has mainly focussed its attention on grammars which present a subjunctive complementation. For example, English and French, have rather been poorly studied from this point of view. We claim that the apparent diversity observed in this area between the two grammars depends on the interaction of the following factors: (i) selection properties (ii) the relation that functional heads (T and Ag) establish with the positions they are L-related to and checking of morphological features of lexical items (as in Chomsky 1992). (iii) sentence structure and (iv) Binding Theory.

Nancy Mae Aastrup (University of Southern California)  
On the definiteness ofpossessives in Romance

This paper builds on the insights revealed in Giorgi and Loporcaro (1991), Zubizarreta (1987) and Tremblay (1991) on the nature of the possessive in Romance. It proposes that possessive pronouns are both adjectival and pronominal; and as such are marked for definiteness. In Spanish and French, these pronominal adjectives are marked shift and as such do not register tense and are barred -BEF and as such require licensing. The other hand, are marked -BEF and as such require licensing. The access article with a possessive in Spanish and French would be redundant, since the article would mark the definiteness of the already -BEF possessive.

Jacques Arends (University of Amsterdam)  
The syntax of the Saramaccan Maroon letters

This paper will discuss some syntactic characteristics of the Saramaccan 'Maroon letters' - the earliest known native documents for Saramaccan, or any Saramaccan creole. The syntactic constructions to be discussed include serial verb constructions (SVCs) and subordination. The only types of SVC that occur in these letters are the directional and the active/benefactive SVC, which are only used with the first type to emerge in Sranan (Arends 1990). Subordination, both subject and object clauses and final/consecutive clauses are solely marked by zu, not by ta. In this case too, the situation seems to parallel the development in Sranan, where ta does not emerge as a subordinator until the middle of the 19th century (Pleg to appear). This paper suggests that, contrary to what one might expect on the basis of the differential socio-historical and historical-geographical development of slave and maroon societies, the first stabilization of Sranan did not proceed significantly faster when compared to Sranan.

Julie Auger (Indiana University)  
A morphological approach to subject-clitic inversion in Romance

Miller & Ság 1993 argue for a morphological rather than syntactic treatment of object clitics in clitic climbing constructions in Romance. This paper looks at another Romance clitic construction, namely subject-clitic inversion (SCI) — see (1) below — and argues that a similar conclusion must be reached concerning subject clitics. The widespread view according to which only syntactic analysis of most Romance clitics (cf., e.g., Haiman 1991 and di Sciuillo 1990), is thus called into question here.

(1) *Ven-‘a’-tu * ‘come-you’ = ‘Are you coming?’ (French)

Haiman 1991 claims that the absence of (1) in Colloquial French (CF) is interpreted as the sign that CF subject clitics have lost all syntactic relevance and must be analyzed as affixal agreement markers. While this conclusion is correct, the premise upon which it is based is wrong: SCI is used with second person subjects in CF (Coveney 1989 & Picard 1992). Instead of rejecting the affixal analysis, I suggest that SCI in some Romance dialects is better handled by morphological processes than by syntactic rules. Arguments supporting this position will be discussed: (i) in many dialects of French, application of SCI is restricted to a small number of forms; (ii) in Picard and in Franco-Provençal, the form of the postverbal pronoun differs from that of the preverbal one, and no phonological rule can derive this alternation, and (iii) the postposed clitic replaces the verbal ending -en in Norman French. Implications for object clitics will also be pointed out.

FRI MORN: Constituency

(SAT MORN: Constitution)

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(THURS EVE: Constitution)

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(SAT MORN: Hampton)

(SAT AFT: Exeter)

(SAT MORN: Independence)
Julie Auger (Indiana University)  
Richard D. Janda (University of Chicago)

Clitics as affixes and the process morphology of Romance verbs

Partly following the criteria of Zwich & Pallum 1983 for distinguishing clitics from affixes, numerous analyses have recently argued for the assignment of affinal status to the so-called "pronominal clitics" in Romance verb-forms like French je te donne 'I give it to you' and equivalent Spanish te lo dado 'I gave you it'. Both mean 'I give it to you' (cf. the respective surveys in Auger 1993 and Rico & Gillois 1995). But there have not as yet been released few concrete proposals which specify for the elements in quies, on the details of such a morphological (rather than syntactic) treatment. In the current paper, we present a complete and explicit set of rules which account for both the simple and the complex forms in a substantial portion of the verbal systems in French and Spanish. Our analysis adopts an approach of the (Extended) Word-and-Paradigm type advocated by Anderson's 1992 A-Morphous Morphology, and we adduce evidence showing that this procedural treatment can avoid several problems among others couched within frameworks which treat morphemes as things (e.g., templatic approaches making use of position-classes, as well as analyses where morphemes are (sub)lexical items organized according to their subcategorization restrictions). Finally, we discuss the support provided by these data for the claim that morphology is not subject to the same Elsewhere-Condition which governs phonology. For all these issues, we make frequent reference to non-prescriptive forms whose commonness is validated by sociolinguistic corpus-studies.

J.-Marc Authier (University of Ottawa)  
Lisa Reed (University of Ottawa)

A French pronominal subject to Condition C

How can one distinguish between the three basic types of expressions which fall under the Binding Theory? Both semantic and syntactic criteria seem irrelevant. For example, in regards to the latter, the coreference property of so-called French "demonstrative" ci (a nominal element restricted to the subject position of raising constructions) is subject to the following restrictions:  

(1) Puis, je te laisserai mon fils lui. 

Paul heard that Peter said that he was a genius.

The evidence suggests that the reference of ci is constrained by Condition C, which makes ci a member of the set of R-expressions. However, if we consider the syntactic behavior of ci, we notice that ci patterns with personal pronouns but not with full NPs, which suggests that ci is syntactically a pronominal. Thus, it would appear that one left with no way of determining which expressions of a language should obey which principle of the Binding Theory. However, one obvious difference between so-called personal pronouns like lui and the pronominal element ci is that while personal pronouns take forms corresponding to every number/person combination, the pronominal ci is restricted to third person. This restriction on ci is what we believe to be the key to identifying R-expressions. That is, we will suggest that the following defines the term "R-expression".

(2) ci is an R-expression iff it is part of an inessential paradigm restricted to third person.

Sergey Averbach (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
William Phillips (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Quantification in agrammatic aphasia

In this study, we examine the comprehension of quantificational sentences by three agrammatic (Broca's) aphasics. We suggest that, due to processing difficulties, aphasics resolve to a more parsimonious restriction, namely quantification over events. This results in a pattern of responses different from normal control subjects in a systematic way. We provide a psycholinguistic model that shows why such a quantification is less resource-consuming. We also show that when patients are presented with sentences where the event variable is suppressed, their performance improves significantly, which is consistent with our analyses. Finally, we provide an explanation why this pattern of responses parallels exactly the pattern observed in preschool children and tired adults.

C. L. Baker (University of Texas-Austin)

Locality free reflexives, contrast, and discourse prominence in British English

In recent years, increasing attention has been given to attested examples of locally free reflexives (LFRs) in English. Some authors have proposed that these reflexives are "logophoric," referring to the "subject of a clause," which is represented by a reflexive pronoun. Others have proposed that LFRs are the contrastive coreference pronouns. The logophoric reflexive of Jane Austen and other British authors shows that the logophoric reflexive is not a necessary condition for LFRs, and that contrast is not a sufficient condition. These problems are resolved by a simple syntactic analysis, namely, that LFRs are intensified versions of ordinary pronouns, with "herself" related to "her in the same way that "Elisir herself" is related to "Elisir." Two conditions that govern the use of intensified NPs in general also define the behavior of LFRs. The first is that intensive NPs must satisfy a condition of discourse prominence. The latter restriction, when applied to LFRs, accounts for many cases in which positions of contrast are occupied not by LFRs, but instead by stressed pronouns. Under the proposed analysis, LFRs are tied only indirectly to Ss: a character functioning as SC at a certain point is often personified, and the character with the greatest discourse prominence. Several properties of proximate-marking in Algonquin carry over to English intensives, and thus, to British LFRs. A concluding methodological point is that, despite the conceptual distinctness of binding relations and discourse prominence, any investigation of the former in a particular language should be supplemented by a simultaneous investigation of the latter.

Chris Barker (University of Rochester)

Individuation and quantification

Recognizing indeterminacy in the criterion for individuating entities can lead to a satisfying explanation of certain facts noted in Krifka's (1990), e.g., 4000 ships passed through the locks last year. In a context in which there is no clear and present need to keep track of which ship is which, we may quantify over 4000 ship individuals even if some of those ships happen accidentally to be stages of the same vessel. A number of arguments in favor of this approach will be given. For instance, note the continuation: They each took their horn when they cleared the lock, but the last gets entitled 4000 passing events on Krifka's analysis, the discourse antecedent of the pronoun remains a mystery, while on the individuation hypothesis it simply refers to the collection of the 4000 ship individuals.

Leslie Barrett (New York University)

Underlying features in German infinitives

The purpose of this paper will be to argue that the German bare infinitive can be associated with two different syntactic categories: N and V. German bare infinitives may appear in matrix-clause subject positions or they may appear as small-clause predicates. It will be argued that they are a subclass of the class of verbs which take small-clause complements that are manifested as bare infinitives and are actually subcategorizing for VP rather than VP small-clause predicates. These NPs can be distinguished from the look-alike VP infinitivials on the fact that they cannot assign case of take verbal modifiers.
Andrew Bars (University of Arizona)
D. Terence Langendoen (University of Arizona)
Reference and reciprocity

This paper proposes a modification of the analysis of the reciprocity in Helv. Ladin and May (1991), in which the range argument of other in each other is taken to be an *A*-anaphor, rather than an *A*-anaphor. This accounts for the fact that when the antecedent of the reciprocal phrase is an NP, as in Only God and Lucifer pity each other, two interpretations are possible: one in which no other pair pity each other, and the other in which no other pair has the property that one pities God and the other Lucifer. In this regard, reciprocals pattern like simple pronouns (cf. *Only Mary pities her son* which is ambiguous in the same way) rather than like reflexives (cf. *Only Satan pities himself*, which is unambiguous). Our account also explains the ambiguity of the ambiguity when the focusing element does not form a constituent with the focused element (cf. *I only believe Mary pities her son*; *I only believe God and Lucifer pity each other*).

Jill Beckman (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
*Fill er up*: An optimality-theory of Shona height harmony

In this paper, I provide an Optimality Theory (McCawley and Prince 1993, Prince and Smolensky 1993) analysis of height harmony in Shona (Bantu). Rather than invoking derivational rules, the OT analysis relies on ranked, violable constraints which govern feature distribution and association. Shona height harmony may be accounted for by invoking constraints which are independently motivated in the prosodic phonology literature (Weltner). In addition, Fill er up, as well as constraints on feature specification and licensing.

In Shona, there is a three-way contrast among high, mid, and low vowels, with mid vowels occurring underlyingly only in stem-initial syllables. Underlying low vowels harmonize in height with a preceding mid vowel; only vowels in initial syllables carry an underlying [-high] specification. The restriction of underlying [-high] specifications to stem-initial position results from a constraint, ALIGN Expr., which requires that any [-high] specification be aligned with the left edge of the stem. *Spreading* of [-high] to subsequent vowels is achieved via FILL PLACE, which requires that segments have a PLACE specification. FILL PLACE outranks *SPREAD, meaning that a representation with multiply linked [-high] is more optimal than one with a singly linked specification, even though the addition of association lines carries some cost (Gebhart and Paget 1993). The current analysis marks an interesting foray into Optimality Theoretic analysis of segmental phonological processes, as well as suggesting interactions between feature under specification and FILL constraints.

Helke Behrens (Max Planck Institute)
The acquisiton of pretn tense: A semantic problem?

Based on the analysis of longitudinal data of seven German children between ages 1:6 and 4:0, this paper investigates the semantics underlying the acquisition of present tense. German children start out with tenseless infinitives. Subsequently, present tense and infinitives coexist for a period of almost two years. It has been assumed that the contrast between nonfinite and finite forms expresses a semantic contrast such that infinitives encode modality (intention, desire), i.e., future reference, and such that present tense forms encode simultaneous reference. This finding could not be corroborated. Instead, the children used infinitives and present tense in the same set of functions. Hence, the data do not support the principle of contrast (Clark 1988), which predicts that children use different forms to express different meanings. The children's sensitivity to the form-function patterns of the input language becomes obvious in their use of present tense for both simultaneous and future reference, as appropriate in the target language. Consequently, there is no restructuring of the initial semantic system because of a fairly narrow use of present tense that was implied by the contrast hypothesis. On a theoretical level, the course of development can be described as one from morphologically unmarked to morphologically marked temporal reference.

Asgjørg Birk (University of Oslo)
Conjugation of Japanese anaphoric reference: Kono and son in a wider paradigm

Previously the Japanese demonstratives KONO ‘this’ and SONO ‘that’ were analyzed exclusively within the KO-, SO-, A- paradigm. I reexamine the pragmatics of their anaphoric reference within a wider paradigm that also includes elliptics of NPs and NPs unmodified by KONO or SONO, using Givon’s notions of TOPIC CONTINUITY (TOC) and REFERENTIAL DISTANCE (RD). This study also presents a methodology for paradigmatic studies of anaphoric reference using parameter: A parameter was used to elicit texts from 45 participants. The analysis is based on the RDs for the NPs in the elicited texts, referring to the major topic entities of the original text. These RDs were: 1) unmodified by KONO or SONO, 2) elided, 3) modified by KONO, or 4) modified by SONO. The distribution of these four forms over RDs and in topic chains indicated that: 1) KONO+NP and unmodified NP are opposed to [SONO+NP and ELLIPSEIS and are associated with longer RDs and (re-)introduction of topic entities. 2) ELLIPSEIS is associated with short RD and with strongly acceptable topics in long topic chains. 3) SONO+NP is associated strongly with short RD, and it marks less acceptable topics within the short RD range, and is opposed to ELLIPSEIS in this respect.

Vladimir Belikov (Institute of Oriental Studies-Moscow)
Word order in Rassenskor

Rassenkor is a trade pidgin used in 19th-early 20th century in the northeastern part of North America by people of Russian and Norwegian background. Six texts from Olaf Broch's collection (Rassenkor tekstmateriale, Misa og minne, Heft 4, 1930) were analyzed. (SVO) order predominates in one text (the only one written down by a Russian), but nevertheless, the total rate of (SVO) to (SVO) sequences is 20:14. The most usual combination of a sentence with a transitive verb as its predicate is: SUBJECT + an TIMEPLACE + an DAT. OBJECT + DET. OBJECT + TR. VERB. Verbs of motion, like transitive verbs, often also occupy the final position in a sentence with the definite expression of a non-core member of the clause (marking [by] placed before them).

In Rassenkor, the negator precedes the verb, but it can be separated from it by subject and object constituents: *Ku* kake po moja masku kladti? "Why haven't you brought flour for me?" (lit: why you not in floor bring). The same syntax is not uncommon in Finnish, cf. the Finnish translations of the Rassenkor example: Miksi et minulle juohoa tuoma? (lit: why NEG:2sg:pres. term. floor bring). Presumably the grammatical features contrary to those not found in Indo-European languages may be the heritage of some Finnish-Russian or Finnish-Scandinavian medieval pidgins.

Heike Behrens (Tel Aviv University)
Narrative theory and narrative development

An analysis of children's storytelling abilities is proposed which derives from two independently activated models, one of narrative structure and the other of language development. The data are texts produced by Hebrew-speaking children aged 3 to 9 years compared with adults in three narrative settings: a personal experience, a pictured storybook, and a file without words. The texts are analyzed for how selected linguistic forms are deployed—e.g., choice of grammatical tense—and how speakers organize discourse to meet particular narrative functions—e.g., scene-setting. Two lines of development are identified. Knowledge of narrative structure develops linearly, from isolated event to local temporal chaining, to local causal relations and eventually global action structure, and each successive level entails the next lower level. Storytelling develops in a partially U-shaped curve, with performance at the early phase superficially sharing features of equivalent ability, and an apparent dip in the middle in such areas as task construal, expressions of affect, and linguistic forms.
Judy B. Berstein (University of Utrecht)
The definite article in Romance elliptical nominal-constructions
Romance elliptical nominal-constructions may be formed with the definite article plus a
descriptive adjective (1) or with an indefinite-plus-adjective (2):
(1) Sp: el pequeño
(2) Sp: uno pequeño

Ca: el petit
Pt: un petit
the small (one)

I begin the talk by providing several arguments against equating (1) and (2). I will
argue, instead, that although the construction in (2) may conform to the standard case of
taking a (null) NP complement, the construction in (1) is to be related to the
predicative NP structure assumed in Chomsky (1992), following Stowell (1983) and others.
Specifically, I propose that the definite article in Romance languages like Spanish
and Catalan may take NP as a complement, turning a predicative NP into an argument. The
SPE-PR position in an example like (1) is occupied by pro. I attribute the relative
absence of (1) in standard Italian to a difference in its definite article, which I claim
does not take NP as a possible complement.

If (1) is an argument, then the construction in (1) should be barred as a small
clause (SC) complement of a verb like considerar (‘consider’). This is exactly what we
find. The construction in (2), on the other hand, appears in SC contexts, supporting
the distinction made between (1) and (2), as well as the structure proposed for (1).

Anne Bertram (Northwestern University)
A quantitative analysis of transitive phrasal verbs
A perennial problem in the discussion of transitive phrasal verbs is what factors govern whether the direct object precedes or follows the particle. Formal approaches consider the following factors to be crucial: 1) direct objects type (pronoun or NP?); 2) direct object NP length or complexity; 3) level of stress on the direct object and the particle. In contrast, functional approaches claim focus or discourse status determines position. Quantitative analysis of a corpus of 116 spoken phrasal-verb VPs suggests that neither a purely formal nor a purely functional approach is adequate; instead, a hierarchy of both formal and functional criteria is proposed.

Paul Roberge (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
Tracing the pidgin/croole element in Afrikaans
In the present paper we attempt no more than a sketch of what will require for more
detailed study. We argue that it is possible to extrapolate out of Afrikaans those
elements that belonged to the former Cape Dutch pidgin/croole. Den Besten (1987, 1988)
has marshalled the evidence from the seventeenth century and first half of the
eighteenth century. In the present paper we turn our attention to pidgin/croole
features in literary and nonliterary representations of non-European Cape Dutch
from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Of special predilection are
features of non-European representation of non-standard Afrikaans. In
particular, informs our evaluation of the written evidence that has come down
to us from the previous centuries.

Hans den Besten (University of Amsterdam)

(SAT MORN: Exeter)

(SAT MORN: Commonwealth)

FRI AFT: Commonwealth

FRI AFT: Exeter

(SAT MORN: Commonwealth)

(SAT MORN: Commonwealth)

(SAT MORN: Commonwealth)

Betty J. Birner (University of Pennsylvania)
Gregory Ward (Northwestern University)
Definitions, uniqueness, and speaker intent
Felicity use of the definite article has been argued to require the referent of the NP to be either
familiar in the discourse (e.g., Heim 1992, Green 1995) or uniquely identifiable (e.g., Clark &
entity may be felicitously referred to with the (1a), as may a familiar but non-unique entity (1b):

(1a) Kineset's book makes the claim that syncretism is universal.

(1b) [a noon with three windows] It's her in here. Somebody open the window.

Identificational sufficiency is not necessary for felicity of use of the; however, when the referent
is not uniquely identifiable it must be unidentifiable and unidentifiable in context (cf. Karmod 1996).
These cases include unidentifiable mass or plural NPs (e.g., Hand me the salt) and singular NPs which
are not necessarily unidentifiable (e.g. Open the window). Given that felicity is dependent on relevance,
increasing relevance decreases acceptability:

(2) (where the room in question has three windows) As a test of your physical dexterity, Chris,
you must stand the second room on the left # and try to open the window. Thus, the speaker’s (inferred)
goal is crucially relevant to evaluating the felicity of the definite, and
the purely semantic account of the meaning of the definite article is insufficient to fully account for its
distribution in discourse.
We examined lexical choice and vocabulary acquisition by non-native speakers in conversations with native speakers. Subjects did a referential communication task, where they matched pictures of common objects six times. Native speakers were paired with either non-native or other native speakers. Vocabulary acquisition by non-native speakers was measured by having them name the objects before and after the communication task. We found similar amounts of lexical entailment (convergence by two partners on the same terms) in native/native and native/non-native pairs. Native speakers were more likely to adopt perspectives and terms proposed by non-native speakers than the other way around, even when this resulted in unusual descriptions. The best explanation for our data is that each partner (native or non-native) adjusts individual effort so that collectively they expend the least collaborative effort. We discuss the consequences for L2 acquisition and for communication between native and non-native speakers.

In this paper I provide evidence that null operator relative clauses are not introduced by the complementizer that are IPs and explore theoretical implications of the IP status of relative clauses in question. I argue that the IP status of the construction in question is forced by the Principles of Economy of Representation. I provide evidence that finite propositional complements not introduced by that are also IPs and give a uniform account of the IP status of that-less null operator relatives and that-less propositional complements.

Spatial semantic categories differ across languages, e.g., the familiar cut between containment (at) and support (at) is not universal. In previous research based on spontaneous speech data, we found that learners of English and Korean show a productive grasp of certain language-specific categories by as early as 17-20 months (Choi & Bowerman, 1991). The present study tests and extends these findings in a three-way crosslinguistic elicited production experiment with children learning English, Korean, and Dutch, age 2:0 to 3:6, and adults. In a play-like setting, speakers were encouraged to describe a standard set of familiar and novel topological spatial actions that are categorized differently in the three languages (e.g., cassette IN/OUT of case, ring ON/OFF pole, suction hook ON/OFF wall, Brittle Blocks TOGETHER/ APART). Children of all age groups, including the youngest (2:10-2:6), extended words according to language-specific patterns. Within each language, learners made certain characteristic errors, however, which demonstrates that their knowledge was productive and also suggests that spatial semantic learning involves a complex interaction between the categories of the input language and learners' own nonlinguistic spatial sensitivities.
Hilary Sara Bromberg (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Michael Ullman (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Gary Marcus (University of Massachusetts Amherst)
Kara B. Kelly (Children’s Hospital)
Karen Levin (Children’s Hospital)

A dissociation of memory and grammar: Evidence from Williams Syndrome

People with Williams Syndrome (WS) have demonstrated anomalous word finding patterns but intact grammatical abilities (Belfugi et al., 1990). This dissociation suggests that the neural mechanisms computing grammar might be distinct from those responsible for lexical memory. In order to evaluate this dissociation, we have compared normal children and adults and children with Alzheimer’s disease and agnomic aphasia. While both groups correctly identify the noun in object naming tasks, the children with WS produce anomalies in their responses that are not found in the normal group. These anomalies include perseverative errors (a type of perseveration in which the last word of the previous response is repeated) and perseverative errors of AgO (or Xaton) subjects. However, since AgO is weak in Spanish transitive sentences, movement to object, AgO occurs only at LF. This suggests that the WS group is impaired in producing irregulars at the lexical level but not at the grammatical level. The WS group’s performance suggests that the neural mechanisms computing grammar might be distinct from those responsible for lexical memory.

Ellen Bronklowe (State University of New York-Stony Brook)

Laryngeal contrast

This paper offers additional support for the hypothesis that laryngeal features are privative (Heester and Ito 1989, Ch 99, 1990, Ladefoged 1991), and provides an alternative to allowing some languages to mark laryngeal voicing by means of a nonlaryngeal feature (Immanent Voice (IV)) as proposed in Rice 1993. I argue that laryngeal features may yield a two-way surface contrast in voicing and/or aspiration either by distinguishing (XV) on voiceless obstruents (with the option of assigning redundant voicing or aspiration to unmarked elements). This makes it possible for the language to have two different patterns of facts—a sound change in the Armenian stop system, and Dahi’s Law in Bantu.

Cindy Brown (McGill University)

The role of the LI grammar in the L2 acquisition of segmental structure

Acquisition of segmental structure in first language acquisition is accomplished by the interaction of Universal Grammar (UG) and the learner’s detection of phonemic contrasts in the input (Jakobson, 1941; Rice & Avery, 1991; Brown & Matthews, 1992). This paper investigates the acquisition of the English /r/ contrast by second language learners whose LI’s do not contrast these two segments phonemically. It is proposed that the observed decline in infants’ ability to acoustically discriminate certain non-native contrasts (Werker & Tense, 1984) is due to the construction of phonological representations. This proposal predicts that if a learner’s LI grammar lacks the phonological structure that differentiates a particular non-native contrast, he or she will be unable to acquire the novel segmental representations.

In order to evaluate these predictions, Chinese and Japanese subjects completed an AX Discrimination Task, which measures the subject’s ability to perceive the /r/ contrast. Results indicate that the acquisition of a non-native contrast is constrained by the learner’s LI: Japanese speakers are unable to discriminate /r/ from /t/ either acoustically or phonologically, although both Chinese speakers perform both tasks with native-like accuracy. The differential performance of these two language groups is shown to reflect the differences in the structure of their respective LI’s. The findings of this study demonstrate that a speaker’s LI grammar may actually impede the operation of UG, preventing the L2 learner from acquiring a non-native phonemic contrast.

Ronal E. Buckalew (Pennsylvania State University)

The history of singular that

Despite prescriptive counsels, singular, indefinite they is commonplace in speech and writing: 'Someone called.' 'What did they want?'/ 'A new student just met her advisor promptly.' Yet apart from its inclusion in discussions of sexism in language, it has received little notice. And the history presented in these pages illustrates how the abstract history of singular they is inextricably interwoven with the specific social and sociolinguistic factors at work. The development of singular they is historically tied to OE indefinites and distributives like both (OE both) and singular indefinite (everyone, none, etc.), which were of common gender in meaning but not form, governing singular he.


Bradd Garavito (McGill University)

A Law (McGill University)

R. B. G. (McGill University)

Sustaining AgO

In this paper we argue that certain elements (the Spanish clitic se, overt case markers, pronoun affixes, and pronominal) strengthen AgO (or Xaton) when movement to object occurs at LF. We further argue that since AgO is weak in Spanish transitive sentences, movement to object is restricted to be weak. However, the question of whether these elements strengthen AgO and allow movement of the object. This analysis extends to the In the extension of the NPI construction movement to object is only allowed at LF, unless overt pronominal features are present at the object.

Craig A. Hornes (McGill University)
Dani Byrd (University of California-Los Angeles) 

Rate and reduction in consonant sequences

Which aspects of articulation are varied as speech rate increases? The duration of each component of a sequence might simply be shortened, perhaps causing a parallel reduction in the magnitude of the articulation. However, phonologists have also suggested that a change in the relative overlap of units yields the overall faster rate. This paper compares these two mechanisms, which need not be exclusive, for talking faster. It also considers whether the component units' place and manner or syllabic position affect the rate in which speech rate increases. Four sequential speech rates, produced by five talkers at a variety of rates and were recorded using electrolaryngography, ling, plk, plk, plk, and lnt1, was also performed by five talkers at a variety of rates and was recorded using electrolaryngography. (A video tape of computer-generated S-O displays of the palatal contact data will be shown.) Individual consonant duration, temporal overlap relative to C1, and maximum lingual-palatal contact for each consonant were evaluated with respect to speaking rate. The results evidenced both mechanisms of faster speech: individual consonants shortened in duration and a relatively linear increase occurred in the overlap of the articulations. The sequences showed that the rate had only a minimal effect on duration, which was almost completely overcome by articulatory rate. Reduction treatment, using articulatory measures, then demonstrates that talking faster means decreasing articulatory durations and increasing the overlap between successive articulations. At the same time, it shows that how we adjust our speech rate depends on linguistic factors, both lexical and prosodic.

Helen Smith Cairns (Queens College-City University of New York) 
Dana Me Daniel (University of Southern Maine) 
Dubia Konstanty (Queens College-City University of New York) 
Jennifer Ryan Hsu (William Paterson College)

The pronouns and coreference requirement: Grammar or pragmatics?

This paper reports a study of 37 children between the ages of 4;0 and 6;11. It investigated an interesting phenomenon we have discovered in previous research, which we have called the Pronoun Coreference Requirement (PCR). Children who have the PCR requirement, which is conventional, do not. Our study was designed to determine whether the PCR is attributable to a grammatical or a pragmatic requirement. We presented sentences like (1) and (2), as well as (3), in either a non-plural context or following a story that biased preference of the pronoun element to a character external to the sentence. Children with (as opposed to those without) the PCR allowed outside reference rarely, with no difference between PRO and overt pronoun, but they did not. We argue that these data confirm the hypothesis that the PCR is a grammatical phenomenon.

Andrew Carnie (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) 

Complex nominal predicates and head movement in Modern Irish

I will argue that complex phrasal nominal predicates are allowed to undergo head movement in Modern Irish. VSO is assumed to follow from the head movement of the V to some functional category higher than the subject. Irish shows an additional construction, where there is no verb and a nominal predicate appears in Spec, V. Paralleling the sentences with verbs, these nominal appear to have raised to the highest position. This is consistent with the fact these predicates are marked with a tense clitic (t). The problem with such sentences, however, arises when the predicate is complex.

Frieda P. Caselli (University of California-Los Angeles) 

Syllable elision and glide formation in Ngor-Congo: A harmony theoretic approach

The most prominent feature of the phonology of the Ngor-Congo languages is the elision of a vowel when it directly precedes a vowel. This rule is found in all the languages and is a very strong rule. In this paper, the elision rule is described in a survey of approximately 45 Ngor-Congo languages. I discuss a number of cross-linguistic generalizations concerning the behavior of these processes. I argue that these generalizations are not accounted for by the surface elision and glide formation. I propose an alternative approach, based on principles of harmonic phonology (McCarthy & Prince 1995).

G. Tudor Childs (University of the Witwatersrand)

Voicing in Tswaisthal: An aging sociolinguist, erstwhile pidgin

Tswaisthal is an Afrikaans-lexifier South African sociolinguist spoken primarily by elderly urbanized Africans. This paper discusses its current status and an analysis of a set of language in hospital. After reviewing the received opinion on the historical background to Tswaisthal, I discuss other more plausible accounts based on more comprehensive evidence, and perhaps less politically tinged, knowledge than that which was available to earlier writers. The synchronic description of the language is contrasted with both Afrikaans and IsiXhosa, which form the basis for the description of Tswaisthal as Tswaisthal for a younger generation. I next present a phonological analysis. The same comparisons are made between Tswaisthal and Tswatsetse, showing the distinctiveness of Tswaisthal and a linguistic profile that separates it from both. Despite the fact that it is an age-graded variety, Tswaisthal retains much of its original socio-symbolic value, and retains its creativity and vitality for its speakers.

Hyen-woon Cho (Stanford University) 

The Vo combination in Korean: A complex predicate composed in syntax

I examine the structural and argument-taking properties of a complex predicate construction in Korean (main verb + object verb, e.g., bi-e po 'read try'), and show that it has a dual characteristic, i.e., it behaves sometimes as a single predicate, but in other cases, as two separate syntactic entities: a compound predicate like mantal-e cuw (transitive) 'give' takes two non-subject arguments like a normal ditransitive verb, and also patterns together with ditransitives in passive and double accusative constructions; a light verb can take a conjunct VP or IP as its entire complements in a coordinate structure, which shows the compound verb's structural separability.

This dual characteristic of the construction challenges any uniform analysis, which treats it either as a strictly "lexical" unit (Cho 1988), as a purely 'syntactic' combination (Yoon 1959), or as an intermediate X' category (Selkirk 1991). It can be accounted for by allowing a systematic mismatch at different levels of representation, i.e., the argument structure and the constituent structure (Bresnan 1989). I propose that this verb combination, like the Romance 'rest-structuring' verbs (Ross 1989, Alex 1991), or the South Asian verbal templates (Bunt 1993), are complex predicates which have composed argument structures at the argument structure level, so that the constituent structure or S-structure level, the components are syntactically independent. This account not only captures the valence change in the merged predicate and the coordination fact, but also explains related phenomena such as the scope of the negative adverb for not and the clausal "copying" in this construction. The presence of this construction, along with other complex predicates of various languages, confirms the existence of argument structure and of a many-to-one mapping from it to surface syntax.
Pauline Christie (University of the West Indies-Mona)

Relative clauses in Jamaican

The relativization strategies identifiable in Jamaican represent different stages in the development of this variety. Some relative structures combine retention from the very early stages of creole with patterns borrowed later from standard English. At the same time, there has been some innovation. All this is examined in the context of the interaction between focusing and relativization which is still very evident in the use of relative clauses.

Harald Clahsen (University of Essex)

Defete Hanssen (University of Cologne)

Monika Rothweiler (University of Bremen)

The missing agreement account of specific language impairment: New evidence from longitudinal studies and therapy experiments

A focus of recent SLI research has been to characterize the grammatical deficits of SLI children in linguistic terms. According to the approach developed in our project, many of the grammatical problems of SLI children involve an impairment in grammatical agreement, i.e. the process by which two phrase-structure elements in a sentence are conjoined with respect to some grammatical feature such as PERSON or NUMBER. Results from two recent studies of our project support the missing agreement hypothesis. On the basis of longitudinal data from 19 German-speaking subjects, we will show that SLI children typically do not acquire subject-verb agreement (SVA), whereas the same children acquire the complete system of participle inflection, indicating selective disruptions in their inflectional systems. The second study is a therapy experiment designed to teach the SVA affixes to four German-speaking SLI children over a period of extensive training. We show, however, that those SLI children who acquired the agreement paradigm in the course of the therapy also had the syntactic rule of generalised Verb-Second, with a short delay after the acquisition of agreement. This finding supports the missing agreement hypothesis and suggests that head movement is unpaired in SLI.

K. Bretonnel Cohen (Ohio State University)

Vocal tract evolution and the acoustics of vowel production

Evolution has left the modern human with a supralaryngeal airway which is qualitatively different from that of all other animals. The source-filter theory of speech (the dominant theory of speech production in modern phonetics) relates articulations to their acoustic outputs by means of the action of a "filter," the supralaryngeal vocal tract, on a "source," air coming from a pharynx lining. Since the human "filter" is qualitatively different from that of other animals, we should expect that the acoustic outputs that a human could generate would be different from those that other animals can produce. However, no satisfactory account of the nature of these differences has yet been given. I use published x-ray and MRI data to show the inadequacy of Lieberman's account (the classic treatment of the issue; see, e.g., Lieberman 1975, 1984, 1991). I used a computer model to calculate variations in vocal tract transfer functions in human and non-human supralaryngeal airways as a vocalic constriction is varied. My results suggest that the nature of the acoustic differences between human and non-human supralaryngeal airways is qualitatively different than that of other animals. For the human, the non-human supralaryngeal airway is metaphorically the same as the human supralaryngeal airway, the high vowels /i/ and /u/ these nonlinearities lead to areas of formant stability in the human airway which are continuously larger than those of a non-human airway. For the low vowels, my results suggest that the non-human vocal tract should not be able to produce a front/back contrast for low vowels, though without any increase in areas of formant stability.

Megan Crewehurst (Yale University)

The minimal-maximal stress parameter: An alternative to conflation

Consequent-based metrical theories have long assumed that all metrical constituents are earmarked for stress at some point in a derivation. This view mandates the phonetic implementation of stress on the heads of constituents at every metrical level, making possible an uncomplicated analysis of alternating stress patterns in which heads of binary feet surface with secondary stress and the head of a dominating word constituent bears primary stress, (e.g. Maranungku (wetele/penqe/munna) 'duck sp.'). However, the 'prominence-to-all-levels' assumption is challenged by the existence of (i) languages like Seminole, in which only a single peripheral foot is assigned stress (e.g. (poqua/tleu)).) 'to run (pl. nahu).'), and (ii) languages like Dyirbal in which every foot receives an equal degree of prominence, with no unique primary peak (e.g. (minua/medda) 'duck it is'). To account for the behaviour of languages like Seminole, Hallo & Vergnaud (1987) propose that a mechanism of Conflation removes unwanted secondary stresses assigned under prominence-to-all-levels. However, Conflation offers no insight into languages like Dyirbal. This paper proposes that prominence-to-all-levels and Conflation should be abandoned. Once this step is taken, the three patterns described above can be unified under a parameter which determines whether prominence is assigned to feet (minimal projections, e.g. Dyirbal), (ii) heads of words (maximal projections, e.g. Seminole), or (iii) heads of feet and words (e.g. Maranungku) in a metrical representation.

Christopher Culy (University of Iowa)

Empty categories, structure sharing, and control

Control is a relation of referential dependence between a matrix argument (the controller) and a Subject immediately subordinate to it (the control). This Subject is usually unexpressed, as in English, but need not be, as in Korean. Control constructions in the literature share two important properties: (1) the overseer of the controller is independent of any properties of the controller, and (2) the controller is either unexpressed or is an overt pronoun. However, Dongo Ss (DS), a Dogon (Niger Congo) language, has control constructions which lack both of these properties. In particular, either the controller or the controlled, but not both, can be overt, and the controller can be an R-expression. These constructions are problematic for analyses involving empty categories. First, if the controller and controller positions are realized asrepresented but otherwise independent NPs as in various analyses of control, there is no reason for their overt occurrence to be relayed. Second, if the co-commanding controller of an R-expression control is an NP, then the controlled R expression would not be free. These constructions are problematic for analyses involving structure sharing, as is shown by providing an analysis of the constructions using Lexical Functional Grammar's functional control. In functional control, the controller and controller have the same functional structure, and hence only one of them can be realized as an NP. In addition, if there is only one NP, then there is no question of a controlled R expression not being free. Structure sharing, then, and not empty categories, seems to be appropriate for control in DS.
Kim Darnell (Ohio State University)
The influence of orthographic dominance on the processing of nouns in Japanese

We investigated the role of orthographic familiarity in the processing of Japanese nouns by comparing the reading times of words that were kampi dominant (the kampi form is preferred by native speakers), kana dominant (the kana form is preferred), and orthographically neutral (both forms are acceptable). In a phrase-by-phrase reading task, the kampi form was found to be read faster when it was used in its orthographically dominant context.

This evidence supports our hypothesis that the orthographic dominance of a word is crucial to its reading time when investigating lexical processing in Japanese. In the neutral condition, there was no difference between the reading times for kampi and kana. This evidence may also have relevance to the current discussion about the phonological encoding of kampi in temporal relation to semantic access.

Regina Darnell (University of Western Ontario)
Linguistic relativity, Amerindian societies, and primitive man as a philosopher

Anthropology as practiced in North America differs from its British and Continental counterparts primarily because of its emphasis on language, an emphasis which entails a symbolic and ideational dimension to the culture and an unavoidable dependence on the words of members of Amerindian cultures (expressed in texts in their traditional languages). The foregrounding of texts stands alongside the relativity of grammatical categories as a core theoretical position of the Boasian school. The consequence of that position, in practice, has been an ethnocentric stance which those Amerindians who shared the anthropologist’s fondness for what Western culture calls philosophy are truly “comes” (Fabian 1983) with the anthropologist as philosopher. Although the political implications of this position have emerged relatively recently, the core position itself was clearly articulated by Paul Radin in 1927 in “Primitive Man as Philosopher.” This paper will trace the core argument as above.

Stuart Davis (Indiana University)
Michael Hammond (University of Arizona)
The on-glide asymmetry in English syllable structure

In this paper we argue that the [w] on-glide functions as an onset-segment while the [y] on-glide functions as part of the nucleus in tautosyllabic CW-sequences and standard NW-sequences. We account for this asymmetry by positing an underlying diphthongal [wi] (*[yu]) and argue against Halle & Mohanan’s (1988) y-insertion analysis of (C)y-sequences. The phonotactics of tautosyllabic CW- and CW-sequences are different. Crucial is the observation that the [y] in CW-sequences can follow a nasal consonant whereas [w] in CW-sequences cannot. Words like mule and music are common while tautosyllabic NW-sequences are nonexistent. The observation is relevant because English onsets cannot contain nasal-initial clusters. The fact that [w] joins this constraint while [y] does not strongly argues for [w], but not [y], being an onset-segment. Moreover, the pig Latin (PL) form for [wa] is [inwe] while cute is [iyute]. The different treatment of [w] and [y] in PL reflects an asymmetry which is well supported for the onset analysis. Halle & Mohanan’s (1988) analysis of (C)y-sequences. We argue against Halle & Mohanan’s (1988) criticism of the y-insertion analysis of [C]y-sequences by reiterating previous works’ arguments and by showing that the y-insertion analysis cannot account for the PL form of cute being [iyute] while tune is [inute].
Paul D. Deane (University of Central Florida)
Prototype structure, polysemy, and the diachronic semantics of with, amid, and against

This paper will examine the diachronic semantics of the English prepositions with, amid, and against in the light of core meaning, unitary prototype, and lexical network models of word meaning. It will argue that their historical development is best explained as involving shifts in a unitary prototype in which polysemous senses appear if the new prototype motivates them, and disappear if it does not. In Old English, with meant 'against', and the exact preposition amid meant 'with'. Against (OE ongæg) could mean 'back,' facing,' or 'towards.' In the transition to Middle English against came to have the same range of senses that with had in Old English, while with supplanted amid in all of its senses. In Early Modern English against shifted prototypes again, developing the meaning 'location in forceful contact with' which had hitherto been absent. When this happened, several Middle English senses, including 'towards,' facing,' and 'exposed to' dropped from use, while a new sense, visually blocking the view of, appeared. These shifts make sense if we interpret them as the consequences of shifts in prototype, they make less sense interpreted as alterations in a lexical network or a set of homonymous lexical items.

Michel DeGraff (University of Michigan)
On Haitian Creole's "very strict" adjacency principle

DeJarnatt (1992) observes that in Haitian Creole (HC) a transitive verb and its direct object must be strictly adjacent. On the contrary, French (one of HC's source languages) allows adverbs to intervene between the transitive verb and its objects. With respect to the position of the direct object, HC seems more similar to English than to French, although adjacency between verb and object is even 'stricter' in HC than in English, as shown, inter alia, by the distribution of locative and activing modifying adverbs in the two languages.

What are the shortcomings of what DeJarnatt calls HC's 'very strict adjacency principle'? We primarily explore a variety of data bearing on this 'principle' in HC and then try to explain these data within the principles-and-parameters framework.

In addition to the distribution of adverbs and direct objects, the relevant data from DeJarnatt (1992), implication (i) the distribution of PP's; (ii) the order of NPs within nominal small clauses used as complements of certain verbs; (iii) the behavior of ditransitive verbs; and (iv) the distribution of parentheticals. Facts related to (i)-(iv) are examined both in HC and in French.

Laurent P. Dekydtspotter (Cornell University)
Wh-cliticization: A syntactico-semantics interface account of multiple questions and in-situ wh

Chomsky (1992) argues that wh-movement is a reflex of morphological licensing. In multiple questions, an interpretive rule of absorption allows a single wh-quantifier to satisfy morphological requirements on all quantifiers (1) (cf. Higginsbotham and May 1981).

(1) Who bought what?

I propose an analysis of wh-questions which eliminates the need for absorption. Wh-questions are licensed by movement to Spec, but wh-questions can also cliticize onto the verb. LF movement of the verb to C expresses that wh-questions are licensed by C. Hence in multiple questions each wh-expression is independently licensed (2).

(2) [CP Who, [caw, [what, [bought]], in [p, 4, 4, [p, 4, 4]]]]

Following Greenberg and Stockhof (1982) I assume that the function of a wh-comp is to abstract over indices. I propose that wh-words introduce the Comp projection index dependent variables. (2) thus denotes the set of situations such that two individuals stand in the boy relation at the real world.

Kun Drog (Max Planck Institute)
A discourse analysis of child English 50

We present a discourse-analysis of the syntactic uses of no as they appear in the utterances of three English-speaking children (Adam, Eve, Peter). We argue that these children use 'no' neither as a suppletive alternative for nor nor as an auxiliary used in sentence negations, contra standard assumptions (Bloom 1993, Brown and Pierce 1983). We argue that 'no' is used as a determiner, e.g., 'no pen', as grammatical adult colloquial negations, or as a metalinguistic (Horn 1989) exclamationary negative operator, e.g., 'no the sun shining' means 'I didn't say the sun is shining', not 'The sun isn't shining.' 'No eating that ice cream' means 'like hell I'm eating that one!'. We show that child English 'no' exhibits a completely different syntax and discourse semantics. This research illustrates the importance of carefully looking at discourse context when interpreting child language utterances.
Matthew S. Dryer (State University of New York-Buffalo)
The pragmatics of focus-association with only

A standard view is that there are grammatical rules that associate differences in meaning with differences in placement of focal accent in English sentences containing only, as in (1) and (2).

(1) John only gave a BOOK to Mary.
(2) John only gave a book to MARY.

I argue that this apparent difference in meaning is not associated by grammatical rules with the difference in focal accent between (1) and (2), but rather that the semantics of only is such that in typical discourse contexts, both readings are generally assumed to be the sole readings of these sentences. Crucial evidence is provided by examples like (3B) and (4B), in which the constituent semantically associated with only is not the element on which the focal accent falls.

(3) (A): I hear that John only gave a BOOK to Mary.
    B: True, but John only gave a book to ANY PEOPLE

(4) (A): Is it true that there is nobody that John only gave a book to?
    B: No, John only gave a book to MARY, and John only gave a book to SALLY.

These examples follow the general pattern that the focal accent falls on the constituent representing an element which is predicted of whatever is under discussion. Typically, this coincides with the element associated semantically with only. But not always, as in (3B) and (4B).

Michael Dukes (University of California-Los Angeles)
Artifact and agreement in Cherokee

This paper examines the treatment of agreement marking in Cherokee within a head-driven [Xbar structure] framework. The data support a theory of grammar in which non-aphrasial information may be linked directly to morphosyntactic representations, as in HPSG. Agreement marking on Cherokee verbs is constrained by the A(na)my, as shown by (1):

(1) a. 1st, 2nd person p>3rd pers., human > 3rd pers., nonhuman, animate > 3rd pers., inanimate

A verb must agree with a 1st or 2nd person argument. (2) is a transitive verb that has at least one 3rd person argument, the verb shows agreement only with the argument which is highest in the AH in 1st.

The agreement facts are accounted for via constraints on the matching of referential indices in the lexical entries of verbs. One constraint guarantees that a verb always agrees with a 1st or 2nd person argument. A second constraint is given which reconstructs the 3rd person part of the AH in terms of a formal set of lists of background references. These lists are structurally distinguished in the CONTEXT matrix of Cherokee verbs. 'Obligatory advancement' of indirect object to object is described by another constraint on lexical forms. However, 1st and 2nd person objects may not be demoted by this process. Thus determinative sentences with a 1st or 2nd person themes are impossible in Cherokee because the verb cannot agree with the obligatorily demoted theme, conflicting with the AH.

Connie Ebbe (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
American English and the roaring twenties

Language was part of the life of the republic that in the 1920s was felt to be moving, progressing, having a good time, and protecting itself. It is no happenstance that this milieu generated the receptive audience for H.L. Mencken's The American Language in 1919 and propelled him to revise it twice within four years, in 1921 and 1923. It is also no mere coincidence that the journal American Speech was born in 1925, in the middle of the Roaring Twenties. This paper examines the new-found interest in American English in the decade following World War I as part of the spirit of the times and as one component of Americaness.
This paper examines the sociolinguistic principles that account for the development of vernacular regularization (e.g., I weren’t there) as an alternative to the more common vernacular English use of regularization (e.g. You was there). Principles essential to understanding this pattern involve grammaticalization, salience, and symbolic social projection. A variation analysis of internal factors affecting are generalization for a quasi-isolated dialect community in the Outer Banks of North Carolina shows that earlier generations of residents employed general are regularization whereas the present generation limits its use to negative forms. The pattern of change thus shows a morphologization of regularized weren’t as a negative (e.g. I weren’t but I went). Weren’t is also less socially marked and perceptually less obtuse than the highly stigmatized was regularization. And ethnographic evidence indicates that this form is becoming significant as a symbolic indicator of inland identity. The sociolinguistic interpretation of weren’t regularization in Outer Banks Vernacular English shows how internal linguistic and sociolinguistic principles interact to account for the development of changing patterns of morphologization.

Eduardo Faingold (State University of New York-Stony Brook)
The development of the article system in language acquisition, creolization, and history

This paper studies natural morphological processes in the development of the article system in first language acquisition, creolization, and history, and examines these changes in the light of Hickson's bioprogram. It reveals possible correspondences in the article, coronation, and history of the definite as well as the indefinite articles, with particular detail to Latin and the Romance languages, Spanish- and Portuguese-based creoles (Papoum, Palempeco), Koinos (Luker-Bobo-Kononic), and fusion (Francesi), with some reference to English, English-based creoles (Barbadian Creole), the classical languages (Latin, Greek, Arabic), and language change in progress (Finnish, Hebrew). Grammaticalization starts with the least marked structures (definitional pronouns, zero indefinite article), while more marked structures (grammaticalized definite and indefinite articles) are the last to appear. These developments are driven by a universal hierarchy of markedness that reflects natural language processes. First, grammaticalization of the definite, then the indefinite article. Finally, the first cardinal number is grammaticalized as the indefinite article.
Astrid Ferdinand (Leiden University)
The development of the verbal system in child French

It is usually assumed that tense and agreement on verb forms in French child language are acquired independently. Following this scenario, the first finite verbs have only tense, agreement appearing as a postulate. In this study, a comparable pattern shows up in the development of Subject Clitics and auxiliaries expressing Tense. Initially they may be phonologically empty or have an unspecified form, which entails their obligatory appearance in fixed positions. The default character of Agreement and Tense marking in child language supports the idea that the development of functional category is dependent on features that need not be lexically specified from the beginning on.

Anne Fernand (Stanford University)
Infants' sensitivity to word order

Between 6-10 months infants become sensitive to certain features of the phonology of the ambient language. When do infants begin to show awareness of higher order regularities in the speech they hear? Such as language-specific sound patterns associated with grammatical vs. ungrammatical word order? How do word order cues inform the development of grammatical knowledge? This study explores the sensitivity of infants to word order as a functional category.

Theodore B. Fernand (University of California-Santa Cruz)
Interpreting relativizers

This paper argues against the standard view (cf. Carletti & Randall, 1992; Dowty, 1979, Goldberg & Hockett, 1992, etc.) that transitive relativizers (e.g., Robin shot Kim dead) are derived from the lexical entries of transitive verbs and that intransitive relativizers (e.g., Pat laughed herself silly) are derived from entries for intransitives. Verbs which are obligatorily transitive can appear in the restrictive construction without the customary transitive reading (e.g., Robin shot himself free, Kim gushed himself silly, The president appointed himself dictator). We propose a lexical rule which removes the internal structure argument from the input verb (following Jayaseelan, 1984), while maintaining the basic eventuality description and its lexical entailments. The lexical rule adds the property of having an effect to the interpretation of the verb; everything else follows from this.

Paula Fikkert (Leiden University)
The acquisition of Dutch syllable structure, with special reference to vowel length

I discuss developmental patterns in the acquisition of Dutch syllable structure with special reference to vowel length based on longitudinal data from 12 Dutch children. I argue that the acquisition of syllable structure takes place along parametric dimensions. A child acquiring Dutch has to learn (i) that codas are allowed, and (ii) that Dutch has a vowel length contrast in closed syllables. Therefore, my hypothesis is that Dutch has a vowel length contrast in open syllables. Vowel length is non-distinctive. At the next stage consonants are produced. In some children's systems sonorants are more prone to deletion after long vowels than after short vowels, but this is not true for obstruents. Vowel length is non-distinctive before obstruents, but not before obstruents. For obstruents, vowel length is non-distinctive, irrespective of the following consonant. These children have branching rhymes, not branching nuclei. These results have important consequences for syllable and moraic theories, which I will discuss.

Joseph C. Finney (American Institute of Higher Studies)
Sound changes bound to syntactic class in Central Pacific

This study proposes a single theory to account for a number of high-frequency sound changes as exceptions to phonological laws in the central Pacific languages of the region (Polynesian, Pijin, Nukum). The domain of the proposal consists only of function words that in Western Central-Paciic (PCP) (the common ancestor of Polynesian, Pijin, Nukum) took the form *-a or *-a, preceded by a consonant which may be zero. The changes occur in all syllable function words but in no words of other syntactic classes, such as *xié (*two*).

Each such word developed multiple alternate forms (doubllets) by deletion as follows: *-a to -e or -m, -i, and -a; and *-a to -o or -a, -a, and *-a. Doubllets and even triplets survive. Twelve PCP's words following this pattern were found. Syntactic reinterpretations for determiner *xié include predication, adnential or ablative coöccur, verb "be", aspect, complementsizer, and conjunction.

Susan D. Fischer (Rochester Institute of Technology)
By the number: Language-internal arguments for creolization

It has been argued (Fischer, 1978; Ladd & Edwards 1983) that signed languages have many of the characteristics of creoles. Most of these arguments were made on sociolinguistic or systemic grounds, although Woodward 1978 suggested that a creolization process occurred when French Sign Language was integrated into the United States. In this paper we take a different approach, using the number system in ASL as evidence for the creolization process at the morphological level as well. The evidence is of 4 types: 1) The numbers 1 - 5 and 10 - 29 in ASL incorporate features of both American and French counting systems; 2) French numbers occur in active handshapes in a small set of signs including WHICH, SECOND-HAND, STEPMOTHER, and (with an additional assumption about the environment of the number 1 with the person classifier) signs such as BAPTIZE and COMMUTE; 3) Other French numbers occur in the passive hand in other signs such as one variant of FOURTH; 4) The number 6 - 9 are genuinely innovative, having no obvious source in either French or American gesture systems. We thus have language-internal evidence for creolization having occurred in ASL.
Sharon Flank (SRA Corporation)
Carol Van Ee-Dykema (U.S. Department of Defense)

A generative grammar approach to large-scale text understanding

We have developed a linguistically-based automated text understanding system for use in multiple languages and domains. Our system employs syntactic parsing, and relies on a phrase structure grammar to identify syntactic structures in the text. Each language has its own set of grammars, which share a X-bar-like structure (Jackendoff 1977, Speas 1990 and Rothstein 1991) and methods for determining syntactic and semantic felicity. Our implementation has advantages over both principle-based parsing (cf. Berwick 1987, Ford and Berwick 1989), in which one grammar serves multiple languages, and over ad-hoc grammar design, in which commonalities are ignored. We show how use of X-bar theory and language-independent semantic constraints facilitate grammar development. Our grammar development has progressed to the stage where we are able to focus on complex phenomena, whose handling requires more than content-free phrase structure rules. Our implementation research includes innovative handling of (1) syntactic gaps, (2) logical structure alternations, and (3) conjunctions.

Glenn Frankenfield (University of Maine-Farmington)

Type-token ratios and discourse function

Examination of thirteen texts which vary substantially in their type-token ratios indicates that the rates at which authors repeat vocabulary within a text are a function of the differing goals of the discourse. Texts with a high rate of repetition focus on interpersonal goals and shared information, and tend to foreground definite nominals such as proper names against a background of bounded time such as dates. Texts with a low rate tend to introduce new information and foreground pronominal verbs against a background of unbounded space (mass nouns).

Steven Frank (Indiana University)
Linda Schwartz (Indiana University)

Nondistinctness, pseudo-agreement and binding

Burzio (1991) proposes a significant new characterization of the notions of 'anaphor', 'pronoun' and 'R-expression', based on their absolute and relative morphological content. Crucial aspects of his analysis are the claim that anaphors are featureless and the assumption of 'pseudo-agreement', necessary to effect a matching between a featureless anaphor and its feature-specific antecedent. We argue that Burzio's analysis can be substantially improved by relaxing the absolute claim that anaphors are featureless, making the distinction between anaphors, pronouns and R-expressions into a relation based exclusively on relative feature content. This change has the advantage of obviating the need for the problematic mechanism of pseudo-agreement required in Burzio's analysis. We present a cross-linguistic hierarchy of anaphor-antecedent relations based on the lexical feature specification of anaphors and show that a similar feature content hierarchy may exist for impersonal expressions across languages.

Krysta M. Fredrickson (University of Michigan)

Linguistic form and institutional rationality: Judicial opinions from two legal systems

Institutional discourse analysis and genre analysis come together in this analysis of American and Swedish legal documents, which explores how and why differences in legal systems affect discourse structure. The study analyzes the structure of judicial opinions from the United States and Sweden. Thematic analysis shows the organizational structure of the texts to be quite different, in terms of both the linear ordering of text parts and the proportion of space allocated to each text part. Pragmatic and cognitive analyses show that the American opinions are more oriented toward legal theory and argumentation while the Swedish texts center more on the practical world of the courtroom and the policies that cases will have before the court. The textual differences reveal in this large-scale, multi-faceted linguistic analysis can be traced back to differences in the jurisprudential philosophies and procedures in the American and Swedish legal systems, thus revealing how the institution is embedded in its texts.

Shige Yamaguchi Fujii (University of Illinois-Urbana)

Dynamic and speech-act conditionals in Japanese

The paper examines "epistemic conditionals" and "speech-act conditionals" (Sweetser 1990) in Japanese, paying particular attention to special grammatical devices which characterize these conditionals. Whereas English (F)Conditionals can be used in all three domains (content, epistemic, and speech act) with no significant variation in grammatical form, Japanese epistemic and speech-act conditionals often involve additional grammatical markings. For example, an epistemic conditional often requires the consequent clause to take an extended predicate, the NO-DA construction, or some other epistemic modal expression clarifying that the speaker's judgment is less definite. Going beyond form, the functions assumed by conditionals in the epistemic and speech-act domains differ across languages. Thus Japanese but not English has conventionalized conditional expressions which serve in discourse as "speech-act modifiers," (E.g. Sathyakku ni itte-Bau no dou dama i-te kare. I tell him all the truth. If I tell Frankly, I really don't care, I feel > Frankly. Frankly speaking, I don't give a damn.) My analysis provides crosslinguistic support for English. It also suggests that, of the two recognized alternative modes of accounting for the many-to-one mapping of function to form—polymers and association (Sweetser 1986)—it is the former, which clarifies the specific function-form pairings for each construction, that has crosslinguistic validity. Above all, this study shows that an understanding of the multiple uses of conditionals and of their formalizing pairings in all three domains is fundamental to making sense of the several formally distinguishable but semantically related conditional constructions in Japanese.

Hitomi Fukuda (McGill University)
Shigji Fukuda (McGill University)

To voice or not to voice: Kodanaka in the Japanese developmentally language impaired

Kodanaka is a well-documented phenomenon in Japanese phonology (McCawley 1968, Itô & Mester 1986, Inoue 1989, among others) in which a word-initial voiceless obstruent becomes voiced when it is the second member of a compound (e.g., dri - kusa = - origami). We hypothesized that developmentally language impaired Japanese children would not show evidence of the voicing process and reanalysis grammatical errors would not differ in the second members of unfamiliar and nonsense compounds. Six developmentally language impaired children were given a word formation task (involving four different language domains) in which the second member's word-initial obstruents were replaced with homophones. Two matched groups' performance was found. The data indicates that these impaired children did not distinguish between the second member's word-initial obstruents in the unfamiliar and initial compounds whereas the non-impaired controls did voice the appropriate word-initial means (e.g., a grammatical rule of voicing or a lexical rule). The children did not voice, in conclusion, the results from this study provide empirical support for the statement that what is affected in at least some cases of developmental language impairment is implicit procedural memory for phonological rules.
Orin Gnessen (University of California-Berkeley)  (FRI MORN: Commoner)  
Why should an article turn into a preposition? Welsh predicative yn

Welsh predicative yn (Mae John yn ffyfrisi = "John is (in) a student"), found nowhere else in Celtic and homophonous (arguably identical, but for mutation) to the Prep "yn" in synchronically, plausibly derives diachronically from the Celtic definite article "*σίνος". This remarkable categorial metamorphosis has been explained formally (Arwyn Watkins, BCS 9) but heretofore never examined functionally. The particle does occur throughout old Celtic (including Old Welsh) as an adverbializer; in either use, its oldest spellings have a t (in CM int), arguing for a link to *σίνος. Now the original Celtic adverbial mark was surely native case (Old Irish); but when Brythonic lost case, int metanalyzed and itself reconstituted as the adverbial mark. The predicative use, however, is explicitly indefinite, and in most of Celtic int was still "moored" to definitiveness via its former association with the article. Only in Welsh did a different article yn arise, allowing yn (CM int) to cut loose and "shred" in the sphere of the preposition yn "in" — a natural metanalysis for an adverbial/predicative particle, both functionally (Prep provides a natural mark of adverbiality) and crosslinguistically, (cf. parallel predicative constructions with Prep in other languages, e.g. Egyptian and Celtic-interchangeably (association with the very common Celtic construction "he is in/at VERB-ing").

Chip Gerfen (University of Arizona)  (FRI MORN: Independence)  
Cross-segmental opacity without line crossing: The case of Coatsapn Mixtec

This paper argues for the use of feature cooccurrence constraints to characterize phonological opacity across segment boundaries rather than within a particular segment in non-linear phonology. I focus on regressive nasal harmony in Coatsapn Mixtec (CM). In CM, regressive vowel nasalization marks the 2nd-person familiar (Pike and Small 1974). Of interest is the behavior of intervening consonants. Voiced consonants are transparent, as in *k'awet>ka'wet, whilst voiceless consonants block the process, as in k'awet>ka'wet *you are playing*. First, I show that a CM crossing constraint (Goldsmith 1976) fails to account for the CM data. Secondly, I show that plausible assumptions about the role of feature cooccurrence constraints make equivalent predictions about the behavior of transparent consonants. And finally, I argue that the use of the constraint IF [+NASAL] THEN NOT [+VOICE] (cf. Arambchad and Pulleyblank in press) as a constraint on the spreading of harmonic [+nasal] across voiceless segments in the language provides the simplest account for the data.

George Gianakos (University of California-Los Angeles)  (SAT MORN: Dahan)  
The system of the Karakas in Paliin and its position in the history of linguistics

The term "karakas" is used by Paliin in a technical sense, meaning the capacity in which a thing can participate in the accomplishment of an action. Six different capacities are distinguished: apādāna, samveda, karaṇa, adikaraṇa, karman, and karū, which correspond roughly to the following notions-functions of western linguistics: source, recipient, instrument, place, patient or goal, and agent, respectively. In modern terminology one could perhaps say that a karakas stands for the deep or underlying relation of a NP to the VP, whereas vikarukti (case form) is the representation of the karakas in the surface structure, but there is no perfect one-to-one correspondence between the deep and the surface structures. The karakas are semantic units subsuming various shades of meaning relations which are expressed by vikarukti in actual sentences of the language. This system resembles in some ways modern theories of "Case Grammar," as proposed by Fillmore and others, but the differences between them, both in structure and functional relation, are substantial.

Judith A. Glert (Indiana University)  (FRI MORN: Gardner)  
Laryngeal-supralaryngeal cyclicity in acquisition

This paper reports an experimental evaluation of the principle of Laryngeal-Supralaryngeal Cyclicity in acquisition for the emergence of phonetic distinctions. The principle predicts that acquisition of phonetic structures proceeds as a continuous cycle, with expansion of the inventory alternating between additions and subtractions. In particular, this cycle could be seen as reflecting the transition of the vocal apparatus from a system that is both laryngeal and supralaryngeal to a system that is supralaryngeal only. In the study, children were taught or reacquired a new set of phonetic categories, and then exposure to their existing sound system demonstrated at least 2 repetitions of the bifurcation pattern, with phonetic categories from the new set and those from the existing system then shown to alternate in a cyclical manner. This result is consistent with a cycle of development, and suggests the possibility of a universal developmental milestone.

Chris Goleton (Lexicon Naming, Inc.)  (FRI MORN: Independence)  
The geometry of rhyme

An analysis of 2,874 rhymes in Bob Dylan's lyrics (1961-1991) supports two claims about the representation of English rhyme types and segments: (a) word-final apical obstruents are extrametrical, even post-tonically, (b) only Final and Laryngeal open class rhymes; other features link directly to or are part of roots. Rhyme patterns other evidence that [t, d, s, z] are extrametrical post-tonically. Some 340 rhymes (12%) in the corpus are perfect rhymes but for an extra t, d, s on one of the rhyming words: frame-james, pen-friend. 5% of the rhymes differ by a single distinctive feature. C-features that differ in rhyme include place (3%) and voicing (5.5%); there are no (non-coronal) rhymes that differ in nasality, continuancy, etc. This is shown to argue against a monosyllable node (Clements 1985) and support feature geometries that put only place and voicing features into one node (Sandow & Scow 1986; McCarthy 1988; Clements 1990). Place and laryngeal nodes block and laryngeal features from c-commanding the root. Assuming that features which c-command the root are most essential to phonological similarity yields a formal explanation of why only place and voicing are overlooked in rhyme. The only vowel features that are overlooked in rhyme are high and low, supporting Clements' (1980) open-syllable node but arguing against his claim that C-place dominates V-features.

Chris Goleton (Lexicon Naming, Inc.)  (FRI MORN: Independence)  
Tomas Ritz (Stockholm University)  
Prepositional Merics

We propose a theory of Prepositional Metrics which is templatic, binary, prosodic, and non-derivational. Prepositional Metrics extends Prosodology sub specie Optimality Theory to the realm of poetic meter. We analyze 38 types of meter from Classical Greek and Arabic. Traditional transformations, ternary feet and dubious prepositional categories found in Alexandria-based and AI Xalililias-based metrics are dispensed with entirely. Consequences for Greek include abolishing contraction and resolution; confining Ionic trochaic and iambic meters; and eliminating ternary feet (dactyl, anapest, etc.). Consequences for Arabic include analyses exactly parallel to those of Greek; a formal account of the statistical popularity of the meters in terms of Clash and Lapin; the elimination of metrical positions that are inauthentic units of prosody (the traditional "pigs", P and Q of Al Xalililias's system); and the elimination of ternary and center-headed feet. Additional support comes from corpus-based studies which show that 4 of the 18 Arabic meters account for fully 93% of the verse (4). On our analysis these four meters form a natural class; this is not true of any traditionally-based analysses (Halle '66, Malling '73, Prince '89). Given our analysis, four prosodic constraints correctly rank the 18 meters such that rhythmic well-formedness goes hand in hand with popularity; this is impossible on previous analyses.
John Grinstead (University of California-Los Angeles)

Consequences of the maturation of number morphology in Spanish and Catalan

Adult Spanish and Catalan are characterized by the occurrence of both post-verbal and pre-verbal subjects as well as rich subject-verb agreement. At a very early stage however, (18 - 24 months) children do not use either post-verbal subjects or plural subject-verb agreement. In the next stage (25 - 30 months) they begin to use both. To explain this correlation, it is hypothesized that the maturation of the number projection, within a more highly articulated IP, allows nominal case assignment by the verbal complex to post-verbal subjects. Before this maturation, nominative case assignment may only take place in a specifier-head relation within the highest functional head to which the verb moves, producing strictly pre-verbal subjects. The child data used in this study comes from Hernández Pina (1984) and the CHILDRES data base (MacWhinney and Snow, 1985).

Erlich M. Great (Harvard University)

A minimalistic account of English expletives

This paper accounts for the basic behavior of English *there-* and *it-* expletive constructions within the Minimalist framework of Chomsky (1992). It argues that a natural stipulation concerning the lexical item *there*, namely that it bears Case features but not Agreement features, may replace the stipulation in Chomsky (1992) that there is an "LP-shift." This avoids stipulating a class of *phrasal* affixes, a welcome result, since XP affixes (as opposed to X affixes) are otherwise unattested in natural languages. In contrast, expletive *it*, unlike *there*, additionally bears Agreement features for third-person singular. Finally, postulating a null interpretation for expletives combines with Diez (1992)'s definiteness analysis to correctly predict that there-expletive constructions tolerate only indefinite subjects.

Elisabeth Guelzboy (University of Calgary)

External arguments in nonfinite clauses

Hale & Keyser (1990) and Travis (1991) suggest that VPs have a bipartite structure consisting of a higher VP headed by an empty light verb, and a lower verbal noun phrase (VPN) headed by a nominal, a verbal noun. The upper light V assigns a theta-role to the external argument of the VPN, while the internal arguments are licensed by the VPN itself. In this paper, we suggest that some languages allow the VPN to surface without the higher VP, but they do so only when the VPN lacks an external argument. We show that in Southern dialects of Modern Irish, and in English, the VPN surfaces without a higher VP in nonfinite clauses, and that the resulting structure places strong restrictions on the number and types of arguments that can be theta-marked by the VPN, especially with respect to subjects. In effect, the VPN has no external argument. This analysis allows us to explain several facts about the distribution and interpretation of subjects in Irish nonfinite clauses. We then extend our analysis of Irish nonfinite clauses to other English.

Susan G. Goalan (University of Texas-Austin)

The syllable structure of Arcado-Cyprian Greek

The traditional view of Greek syllable structure (Hermans 1923, Molles 1957), holds that all intervocalic consonant clusters are heterosyllabic in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Greek, and that by the fifth century B.C.E., the Attic dialect of Ancient Greek had developed a syllable structure that allowed stop + liquid and voiceless stop + nasal as onsets word internally. Steriadis (1982) has proposed quite a different view of syllable structure development from Proto-Indo-European to Attic, ir which the original intervocalic consonant clusters was to maximize the onset to the extent allowance by sonority. Possible onsets became more restricted over time, due to a stricter sonority constraints. Based on a complete examination of the surviving evidence of the Arcado-Cyprian branch of Ancient Greek, I propose that Arcado-Cyprian had a syllable structure closer to that proposed for the Greek by Steriadis: consonants of equal or rising sonority are allowed to occupy the onset position. On this view, Arcado-Cyprian would be seen as preserving important archaisms lost in Attic, thus providing valuable information on the syllable structure of Proto-Greek.
Barbara Hancin-Bhatt
University of Utah
Feature composition and transfer in L1 perception

There is an ever-growing body of literature which supports the claim that second language (L2) learners perceive L2 sounds within the phonetic categories of their first language (L1) (Leaver and James 1991). How L2 sounds are mapped onto L1 categories is an open question which is addressed in this paper. I propose an account, based on feature competition, which explains why German and Japanese speakers of ESL perceive the interdental more like a shiblabial, while Turkish speakers perceive it more like a stop.

Sharon Hargus
University of Washington
The first person plural prefix in Babine-Witsu Wet'en

The first person plural prefix in Babine-Witsu Wet'en, an Athabaskan language, has two predictable allomorphs: syllable-initial [a] as in [a]tset'ene 'we cook', and syllable-final [a] as in [a]tset'ane 'we'll cook'. An ordering paradox arises in a linear analysis of the phonology and morphology of this prefix. The phonological shapes of adjacent prefixes create a syllable environment which determines the shape of the lpl prefix, indicating that the lpl prefix must be added after all other prefixes. However, subject prefixes found in a position different from that occupied by the lpl block the affixation of the perfective prefix. If all subject prefixes are added at the same point in the derivation, then some subject prefixes (i.e., the lpl) must be added after the perfective prefix (since the latter determines the shape of the lpl), and some subject prefixes must be added before the perfective prefix (blocking it). I argue that the non-phonological allomorphy of the lpl prefix is determined by Optimality Theory output constraint.

Michael Hegarty
University of Pennsylvania
Critic placement and the derivational composition of phrase structure

The basic facts regarding the placement of an object clitic with respect to the verb in standard Italian are that the clitic precedes the verb in a finite clause, and follows the verb in an infinitival. These facts are analyzed in Kayne (1991), invoking nonstandard instances of head movement. The same array of facts can be captured, invoking only standard instances of head movement, if phrase structure is composed in the course of a syntactic derivation, along the lines sketched in Chomsky (1992). Adopting Chomsky's distinction between V-features and NP-features, and a version of the split-infubar hypothesis (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990), the clitic need move only to Agr to check Agr-features. In a finite clause, the verb moves to the clitic, adjunction to its left, when the verb moves through Agr-features, on its way to T. In an infinitival, Agr-features no Agr-features, an Agr-features enter the phrase structure after the verb moves to T; the clitic then adjoins to Agr.

(SAT MORN: Gardenai)

Elena Herburger
University of Southern California
A semantic difference between full and partial wh-movement in German

Little attention has been given to the fact that full and partial wh-movement in German are not synonymous (cf. von Riemsdijk 83, McDaniel 89, Rizzi 91, Srivastav Dayal 89,93). But, whereas in full wh-movement the embedding can be interpreted as de re or de dicto, the matrix verb, in partial wh-movement the embedding only has a de re interpretation. I show this semantic difference to favor Srivastav Dayal's (89,93) general approach over approaches that unify partial and full wh-movement at some syntactic level (von Riemsdijk 83, McDaniel 89, Mr, Mahajan 90). Following Dayal, the scope marker is not an expletive but rather an argument of the matrix verb, and the embedding serves as a topic of the matrix. I propose that the embedding is a restrictor extraposed from was. Extraposition accounts for the syntax of partial wh-movement in a principled fashion. It furthermore derives the impossibility of matrix negation in partial wh-movement (Rizzi 91) without stipulation, reducing it to the interaction of independently-given, contradictory specificity requirements on extraposition (Guerron 80, Reinhar 87) and extraction across negation (Cinque 91).

Arild Hestvik
University of Stuttgar

Steve Berman
University of Stuttgar

Disjunct reference and the theory of referential relations

This paper concerns the theory of referential relations. We contend this amounts to a statement of conditions of uniconceptuality or nonconceptuality between (referential) NP denotata. This conclusion runs counter to the visually unconnected position within the syntactic literature that the notions of disjunct reference and (partially) overlapping reference play essential roles in the theory (see Lassnik 89 and Chomsky/Lassnik (to appear)). We argue that referential relations are best characterized as an extrareferential—i.e., discourse—level of representation; consequently, we employ the formalism of Discourse Representation Theory (DRT). Lassnik argues that both (1) and (2) involve disjunct reference: (1) Mary is spread of her. (2) Mary is spread of them. However, we present data such as (3), in which a sentence like (2) is clearly acceptable with overlapping reference between Mary (= she) and them. (3) Mary wrote a paper with John that got accepted by J. She's really proud of John. On our analysis, the resolution of pronoun reference ensures as part of the discourse processing of the text in which the pronoun and its antecedent(s) occur. We invoke a DRT principle by which, for example, the reference of them can be identified with the conjoint references of John and Mary. Such identification amounts to nothing more than congruence at the discourse level. True cases of disjunct reference, as in (1) or (4) John told Mary about them, are excluded by a requirement (in specified configurations) of nonoverlapping reference between the pronoun and the "sum" of the individual antecedents (in (1) this sum is one). This requirement can be easily incorporated into the DRT construction rule for processing pronouns, which thus becomes the appropriate locus for BT principle B. An analogous treatment of full NPs is given in the paper.

F. R. Higgins
University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Preposing of be in Old English: An Anglian dialect feature

Evidence is provided that a commonplace absence of be preceding the finite verb in a clause otherwise characterized as negative is a feature of Anglian dialects and not, for instance, a matter of literary genre. Analysis of data from the Old English corpus and comparative examination of variant manuscript readings both yield this conclusion. The absence of be is restricted to clause-final verbs in all but the final continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle, and therefore cannot in the general case be attributed to loss by protogeneses or, for chronological reasons, to Norse influence. The loss of be in Middle English must be investigated with this distribution in mind.

(FRI AFT: Constitution)

(SUN MORN: Independence)

(FRI AFT: Republic Ballroom B)

(SUN MORN: Constitution)

(FRI AFT: Commonwealth)
Erhard W. Hinrichs (University of Tuebingen)  Tsuneko Nakazawa (NTT Laboratories)

An HPSG analysis of split-NP topicalization in German

Split-NP topicalization in German has received considerable attention among GB syntacticians. Two fundamental questions about split-NP topicalization have yet to be satisfactorily answered: 1. What is the categorical status of the topic and its corresponding non-topicalized remnant? 2. Is the topic extracted out of a complement NP the Mittelfeld (cf. Riemsdijk 1987 and Fanselow 1988), or is the topic base-generated and connected to a second NP in non-topicalized position (cf. Haider 1990)? Our analysis of split-NP topicalization will provide an answer to both of these questions and will make the following claims. 1. The topicalized material has the status of the full NP. This assumption is supported by the fact that split-NP topics exhibit the same deletion patterns as full NPs and by the fact that some dialects admit not only bare plurals and mass nouns as split-NP topics, but also allow singular count nouns. The non-topicalized remnant constitutes an NP well, since remnants exhibit the same syntactic behavior as elliptical NPs. Determiners in such remnants and in other elliptical NPs always appear in the strong declension. Moreover, some of these strong determiners (kein, einer) can only appear in elliptical NPs and in remnants of split-NP topics. 2. The topicalized NP is not the result of head extraction out of a complement NP. In our analysis, split-NP topics are extracted complements of main verbs in the syntax and are linked to an elliptical NP in the Mittelfeld in the semantics. The resulting analysis of split-NP topicalization will be presented in the framework of HPSG. Split-NP topicalization is accounted for via a lexical rule which is a variant of the complement extraction rule proposed by Pollard and Sag (in press) for topicalization in English.

Robert D. Hoberman (State University of New York-Stony Brook)  (SUN MORN: Independence)

Subtractive morphology and morpheme identity in Arabic

At the end of major syntactic constituents ("in pause") in Classical Arabic most words are truncated, losing up to one whole syllable and the whole of as many as three morphemes. The following are some examples (forms followed by pause forms): kitab-in-kitsa: yaktub-u-yaktub; yaktub-u-nas-yaktubun; khatat-at-n-khatat; khatat-at-t-khatat (no change). The difference is not simply phonological: several morphological conditions determine how such is truncated in a pause form. The following points will be argued: (1) The pause/full alternation is at least in part indeed truncation or subtractive morphology, rather than the failure to add some elements. (2) The morphological rules of truncation must recognize not only morpheme boundaries but also specific morphemes. They cannot be stated in terms of phonological properties alone, nor with a combination of phonological and morphosyntactic information. This is a strong counterexample to the ‘morphous’ hypothesis of Anderson 1992.

Eric Hoekstra (Royal Netherlands Academy)  (SUN MORN: Republic Ballroom B)

Complementizers preceding wh-phrases

Some city dialects oppone allow a complementizer to precede a Wh-phrase:

(1) Ik woei niet of wie er allemaal op het instituut werken
I know not who they are at the institute work

A preceding complementizer is insensitive to the distinction between relative and embedded questions, whereas a following complementizer is. These arguments are presented to support the claim that there is a functional projection housing "of" and taking CP as its complement. This projection semantically designates comparison, as of together characteristically used to express this.

Gary Holmblad (University of California Berkeley)  (FRI MORN: Commonwealth)

Anticric Greek postpositions and prepositions in diachronic typological perspective

In anticric Greek the placement of the `proper prepositions’ (π) varies: they may precede or follow their nouns or be expressed as two noun-adjunct (NA) sequences: πo, ka π, (π 1.33) ‘from the ground’, πo, ka π, (π 1.62) ‘from the knapsack’ (π 1.62) ‘from his paternal land’. Proposed to a solution to these problems is the view that prepositions are prototypically, are they are accented (anastrophe). Traditionally, their placement has been explained by the absence of ‘Ap’ or ‘Na’ in Homer. Hesiod and Odyssey offer only one such example: πo, ka π, (π 1.62) ‘from the knapsack’ (π 1.62) ‘from his paternal land’. Yet the proposed order has been substantiated, often in anastrophe does the accommodation of the Hesperic postpositions agree with that of their Vedic cognates. On the other hand, a shift from base NA to order is not common. It is more than a few times in the text of prepositions to preposition in Greek, since in Homer the ratios of NA or πo π, NA πo are more than 2:1, while that of preposition to postposition is about 1:3:1. Moreover, a simple change in order or in position will not account for the frequent interposed structures NA πo πo, although change in position order can have a cause. In πo πo, there are similarities in the paths of change taken. Just as an 'amplified' (Nouns) VO sequences are transitional between SOV and VSO orders (Hymen 1975: McCone 1970: 39: Gudla 1959: 50-60) NA sequences are not considered as 'amplified,' transitive phrases.

Steve Hokens (University of Delaware)  (SAT AFT: Republic Ballroom B)

The rhythm rule, prosodic domains, and schwa in French

The Rhythm Rule (RR) has been much discussed in English phonology but it is known about it in other languages and propose that French also has the RR as part of its phonology, the RR interacts with the prosodic domains (Nespor and Vogel 1986), and the RR triggers what is known as the Triconsonant Law (TCL). The TCL is a prohibition on consonant clusters of three in certain contexts: a schwa is inserted between the second and last consonant. The TCL will be shown to be an artifact of resyllabification caused by application of the RR, my analysis assumes a difference in the permissible syllable structures for stressed and unstressed syllables, and that the RR deletes a stress in a clash. TCL obeys when the RR deletes the stress on a syllable with a structure not possible for unstressed syllables.

To test this hypothesis, I gathered data from six native speakers, using sentences with TCL environments, clash, and several prosodic domains. The results, presented in my paper, support my hypothesis and show that the RR in French explains the distribution of schwa in the data and furthermore the RR appears to have the same domain in French as it does in English.

Harry Howard (Tulane University)  (FRI MORN: Republic Ballroom B)

The lattic structure and update potential of copula selection in Spanish

The difference between the two copula verbs ser (characteristic or permanent properties) and estar (temporary properties) in Spanish is stated in terms of the update potential in Dynamic Predicate Logic (DPL) the two below.

Ser presupposes a lattice generated by an unordered set of the same property assignment different entities, in which the asserted property n(a) is added. It does not perm the definition of complementation, so it is possible for n(a) to presuppose its contrary. Estar presupposes a lattice generated by a linearly ordered set of different properties assigned to the same entity, so that the asserted property n(a) is added. It permits the definition of relative complementation, so it is possible for n(a) to presuppose its contrary.
The Negative Polarity Item (NPI)/ban-Classifier (CL) phrase behaves differently from the renhe 'any' phrase. First of all, while renhe 'any' can be licensed by clausematic negation, superordinate negation (in the subject position), yes/no questions, conditionals, and others, a ban-CL phrase can only occur with clausematic negation. Second, although multiple occurrence of renhe phrases is permissible, that of ban-CL phrase is not. Furthermore, renhe phrases are not allowed to intervene between the negation and a ban-CL phrase. The above facts strongly suggest the dependence of the ban-CL phrase on negation. Following Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1989) that NEG heads its own maximal projection, NegP, we would like to suggest that the ban-CL phrase be analyzed as an agreement-inducing element and it must move to the SPEC of NegP at LF. The analysis gives an account to all the above facts. Evidence of the movement comes from the WCO test.

José L. Huvalde (University of Illinois Urbana)

Optimization and complex rule order: Palatalization and nasal assimilation in Basque

Complex rule orderings constitute a case where we may ask whether the complexity is in the facts or in the analysis. One such case is studied in this paper. It is proposed that, when the facts are viewed as involving constraint interaction, the complexity vanishes. In some Basque dialects, nasals (and other coronals) palatalise after /l/. Nasals also assimilate to a following consonant. In a standard generative analysis within lexical phonology, one must conclude that N-ASSIM applies both before and after PAL. N-ASSIM has a lexical application which creates inputs for PAL in certain cases. It also has a post-lexical application, which can obliterate the effects of PAL, cf. 'Marcaribikatik berrikitik 'only N'. These complications disappear when we view the facts in terms of well-formedness constraints. The two constraints (PAL and N-ASSIM) are in conflict when /n/ is preceded by /l/ and followed by a consonant. Since /n/ is the dominating constraint, in a sequence such as /lnd/, on the other hand, both constraints can be satisfied simultaneously, since the consonant following the nasal is a palatalizable one. The optimal and actual result is /ipl/, where the nasal is both palatalized and shares its point of articulation with the following consonant. There is no complex rule order.

Kathleen Hubbard (University of California Berkeley)

Optimality and tone: Evidence from Bantu

Tonal phenomena in Bantu languages have long shaped our notions of appropriate rules and representations in phonological theory: yet the derivational analyses of non-linear phonology often require inelegant ordering, blocking, repair rules and the like to account for the data. In this paper I show that an analysis based on Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993) more satisfactorily accounts for tonal patterns in Kikereve and Runyambo, Bantu languages of Tanzania. In both languages, certain tonal phenomena involve penalties on tone position in the word: in Runyambo, a lexical final /a/ surfaces on the penult if the word is phrase final, even if the penult and ultima are in different morphemes. In this case an optimality account would rank the constraint of FAITHFULNESS to lexical tone lower than the NONFICIAL constraint on /a/ tones. In Kikereve, where a future tense assigns /h/ to the penultimate syllable of verb forms, that /h/ surfaces finally on monosyllabic verb roots (ndaa-bala but ndaa-rya). If additional morphemes appear within the stem domain of that monosyllabic, the /h/ surfaces on the penult (ndaa-ga-lya). So why not /ndaags-lya/? Because the constraint of FAITHFULNESS to tonal domain-free constraints outranks the constraint which includes the object marker of ndaa-ga-lya but not the tone marker of ndaa-lya. This is the reverse of Runyambo, giving an elegant account of apparently unrelated rules in the two.

Werner Hüllen (University of Essen)

The complex background of the simple style

Francis Bacon's innovation of scientific thinking contained linguistic deliterations on the role of language in the accumulation and spreading of knowledge. He defined conditions for the congruence of res et verba and the construction of a simple adequate style. Bacon's ideas echo in the writings of many scientists of the 17th century, especially those around the Royal Society, and in the linguistic ideals of the society itself.

Nina Hayama (University of California-Los Angeles)

The acquisition of the Germanic verb particle construction

In this paper, we investigate the acquisition of the verb particle construction in English, Dutch, and German. There are two phenomena of interest. First, there is an early stage in the acquisition of English in which children obligatorily place the object either the particle, as in "Papa took baby off." This contrasts with the adult language in which the object may precede or follow the particle, as in "Sue looked up the reference/Sue looked the reference up." Second, the "stranded particle stage" of early English also contrasts with earlier German and Dutch. In these languages, children show a strong tendency to use separable prefix verbs as root infinitives in which the particle fails to separate from the verb, as in "Niej pep openen" (Not porridge up-eat). This contrasts sharply with regular verbs in Dutch and German which are most often finite and occur in second position. "Horgon koum Thomas" (Tomorrow comes Thomas).

In this paper, we provide an analysis of the acquisition of the verb particle construction which explains this difference between early English, Dutch, and German. We also provide an account for the "stranded particle stage" in early English.

William Iedaard (University of Delaware)

Optimality, alignment, and Polish stress

Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993, McCarthy and Prince 1993a,b) eliminates rules in favor of an ordered set of universal surface well formedness conditions. McCarthy and Prince offer a sketch of Polish word stress (Rubach and Boog 1985), proposing the constraint ranking in (1). This paper will examine the modifications required to extend this account to cover clitic stress and exceptional stress in Polish.

(1) F-Inb >> ParseSyll >> Align (Word.R.Foot.R) >> Align (Foot.L.Word.L)

In syllabically words the main stress is located on the penult, with alternating stresses starting at the beginning of the word, v. (2) With proclitics, words can lose their initial stress while retaining other stresses, cf. (3).

(2) a. skosfońobuty b. konstantny polnicażyka (3) a. d. taksfonisty b. d. konstantny polnicażyka

The constraints in (1) stipulate that: feet should be binary (F-Inb), all syllables should be parsed (ParseSyll), there should be a foot at the right edge of the word (AlignL), and feet should be aligned with the left edge of the word (AlignR). Because more highly valued constraints take precedence, for example, words with an odd number of syllables will contain one unfooted syllable (F-Inb >> ParseSyll) whose location is determined by the Alignment conditions. Forms such as (3) are problematic on this account because they contain two impared syllables. An alternative parsing of (3) - the konstantny polnicażyka - would satisfy ParseSyll completely. To correctly deal with clitic stress, calculations on two levels - word and clitic group - must still be performed (cf. Haile & Kenstowicz 1991). Words with exceptional stress cause similar complications.

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Alexei Isserlach (Duques University)

Linguistic markers of cultural transition

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THIS PAPER ANALYZES, FROM LINGUISTIC AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES, THE LINGUISTIC CHANGES WHICH OCCUR IN FIRST GENERATION RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN THE US. THREE TYPES OF LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE ARE DISCUSSED: FIRST, LEXICAL AND STRUCTURAL BORROWING IN WRITTEN IMMITRANT RUSSIAN, WHICH ARE USED IN EITHER "UNASSIMILATED" FORM (ORIGINEAL ENGLISH AND "ASSIMILATED" FORM (CYRILLIC SPELLING AND RUSSIAN MORPHOLOGY). SECOND, NEWLY PRODUCED CONSTRUCTIONS (IN SPOKEN IMMIIRANT RUSSIAN) WHICH NO EXIST IN EITHER STANDARD RUSSIAN OR ENGLISH. THIRD, "SEMANTIC BORROWING" - A REPLACEMENT OF THE THEMATIC ROLES IN RUSSIAN CONSTRUCTIONS BY THE SEMANTIC ROLES IN THE CORRESPONDING ENGLISH CONSTRUCTIONS. IT IS ARGUED THAT THE THREE TYPES OF LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE FUNCTION AS LINGUISTIC MARKERS OF TRANSITION AND PRODUCTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND MEANINGS.

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Mary Jack (Rutgers University)

Caroline Carruthers (Rutgers University)

Prosodic vs Segimental level Impairments in aphasic narrative speech

Studies that seek to distinguish segmental from prosodic level aphasis deficits (e.g., Blumstein, 1990 and references therein) deal mostly with foreign accent syndrome, the term applied to selectively impaired prosody. However, an aphasic subject without a foreign accent, who nevertheless exhibits a pattern of errors which suggests a diminished role of syllable structure, may be impaired at the prosodic level of phonology. Our analyses of 120 paraphasias in the narrative speech elicited from two aphasic subjects (one fluent, atrophic conduction aphasia, and one non-fluent, atrophic agrammatic) supports the hypothesis of selectively impaired phonological levels - segmental and prosodic. FOK's distribution of onsets to codas conforms to two generalizations gleaned from segmental and prosodic errors that occur in onset than coda position, and b) the maximization of onsets in stressed syllables, which will increase the complexity of the onset relative to the coda of any). This can be true only if the phonological component of the speaker's language production mechanism is indeed the onset and coda position is a relational bias toward codas as an onset locus, and b) his onset errors occur in the syllable following stress. This suggests that FOK's phonological deficit is at the segmental level, while JMD's is at the prosodic level.

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Neil G. Jacobs (Ohio State University)

Borrowing vs language shift among 19th century Yiddish speakers

The 19th century marked the simultaneous virtual disappearance of once-dominant Western Yiddish (Wy) and the development of a modern Standard Yiddish (SY) based on Eastern Yiddish dialects. In both instances, the role of New High German (NHG) was significant. In the former, the majority of 19th c. YW speakers took part in language shift to coteritorial German. In the latter, NHG was used as a conscious model and anti-model in the development of SY (Schachter 1969), emerging SY borrowed heavily from NHG. Incorporation of modern Germanisms was thus in one case part of a process of language decline and death, in another of language development and expansion. The traditional scholarism (Wenscher 1926) and the phoneticist (Lowenstein 1935 and Ort 1938, 1980) incorporated NHG into SY, thereby creating a new YW. The present paper, using the model of Thomason & Kaufman (1986--T/K), shows that the nature of the NHG influence differs along lines with T/K claims about shift-induced change vs. borrowing. Examples are given from phonology, morphology, and syntax. Thus, for example, shifting WY > NHG typically (Ort 1926; Jacobs 1993) incorporated NHG in both situations, 19th c. Yiddish speakers used NHG as a linguistic variation at the strategies and impersonal level, differently so in ways important for general linguistic discussion. The historical relationship of Yiddish and German, structural closeness, and tightness of the control groups make the sociolinguistic situation of 19th c. Yiddish speakers a particularly complex and challenging testing ground for the claims of T/K.

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Maria-Luisa Jimenez (Georgetown University)

Subject-verb inversion in Spanish

Previous approaches to subject-verb (S-V) inversion in Spanish have claimed that only argumental W-Phrases trigger obligatory inversion, while non-argumental do not. This paper argues that the reason behind obligatory vs optional S-V inversion is not the argumental/ non-argumental opposition, but rather the relation of the W-Phrase to the discourse. Following Pesetsky (1987) and Horvath (1986), we propose that non- discourse-linked W-Phrases trigger obligatory inversion because they need to be locally focused by the verb in 1st to be assigned the feature FOCUS; thus, the subject remains VP maximal. Discourse-linked W-Phrases, on the contrary, are not assigned the feature and, consequently, are not licensed by the verb; consequently, the subject may intervene between the verb and the W-Phrase.

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Kurt R. Jankowsky (Georgetown University)

A philologist in need of being rediscovered

Jacob Grimm wrote in 1833 that he knew of no one better qualified than Wackernagel, then barely 27 years old, to serve as locutus in German language and literature at the University of Basel. Karl Lachmann years later, in his famous "philological" and "scientific" evaluation. Made a full professor in 1835, Wackernagel taught in Basel for almost 40 years, during which time most eventually suffering numerous offers from prestigious German universities. At the death of Jacob Grimm in 1863 many of his peers ranked Wackernagel as now being the leader in Germanistics. Strangely, even though he was a great philologist and a master in his field, his work was almost forgotten in his lifetime. His multi-volume dictionary was never completed, and his scholarly contributions have been largely overlooked. The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate that Wackernagel's work has been almost entirely forgotten, and to show that his work is still relevant today. It is argued that Wackernagel's isolation at a "paradisiacal" university accounts for some of his work's failure to gain him the recognition he deserves. It is also argued that Wackernagel's primary interest in teaching led to research which is dirt discarded as subversive primarily in the specific needs of his teaching. Perhaps precisely because of this, Wackernagel's work today may find it fascinating and rewarding to rediscover Wackernagel's work.

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Stephanie Janny (Ohio State University)

General analysis of fast and slow speech in German

English and German are characterised by the rhythmic alternation of strong and weak syllables. Reduction of weak syllables in fast or emotional speech has been observed for both these languages. In this paper, we report results of a series of experiments in which native German speakers were asked to read words in a neutral, fast, or slow manner. The foci of our experiments were: (a) the role of stress in the production of word sequences, (b) the influence of prosody on the perception of rhythm, and (c) the effect of different speaking rates on the perception of rhythm.

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SUN MORN: Republic Ballroom A

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(SAT MORN: Republic Ballroom D)

(SAT MORN: Republic Ballroom E)
Dianne Jonas (Harvard University)
Parameters and Faroese syntax
Holmberg and Platzack (1990, R&P) claim that the presence versus absence of morphological inflection splits modern Scandinavian languages into two groups, Insular (Faroese and Icelandic) and Mainland (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish). R&P maintain that this accounts for several syntactic differences between the two groups. Attempting to account for certain aspects of syntactic variation within Germanic, Bobaljik and Jonas (1986) propose that the availability of SpecTP as an A-position in an articulated IP structure is an important parameter. A positive setting of this parameter implies that SpecTP will be available for an indefinite subject in transitive inflected constructions (TEC) and as a "higher subject position" in intransive passives. New data from Faroese confirms that the SpecTP parameter proposal is on the right track. Faroese speakers split into two groups: One group (speakers of Faroese 1) has a positive setting of the SpecTP parameter, allows TECs and indefinite subjects in the "higher subject position" in passives. The other group (speakers of Faroese 2) allows neither. There appear to be no morphological differences between Faroese 1 and Faroese 2.

Charles Jones (George Mason University)
Aiding
The main proposal of this paper is that XP-external projection of a 9-role is mediated not by a special "external" marking, but by a kind of ECM licensing requirement: externally projected 6-roles must be either (i) governed by Inf, or (ii) lexically marked as direct (in the sense of Levin & Rappaport 1985). The immediate consequence of the proposal is that the forever problematic amus/running contrast in John seems amusing/running can be accounted for (without denying that both are adjectives and without appeal to explicit thematic relations. Other puzzles that are illuminated by the proposal include: (i) differing properties of intransitive participles: wiled leuca vs. roughed up (Bresnan 1982), (ii) dual interpretational predicators like amus (Bresnan 1985), (iii) differing properties of short and long forms of Russian adjectives (Siegel 1976), (iv) the difference between raising adjectives and raising verbs with respect to "external arguments": That John will leave is certain (Borer 1988), (v) the question the is "certain" (Borer 1988), (vi) the property of raising and raising verbs with respect to "external arguments": That John will leave is certain (Borer 1988), (v) the question the is "certain" (Borer 1988), (vi) the property of raising and raising verbs with respect to "external arguments": That John will leave is certain (Borer 1988), (v) the question the is "certain" (Borer 1988). The book is a very forceful argument by the use of data gathered over the last ten years in the capital city of Honla, I will show that this form of grammaticalization is not the prerogative of children learning Plinj as a first language. Adults also children who grew up with Plinj as a second, but main language of daily interaction, use prepositional verbs in the same contexts and amounts. Moreover, the adults do not seem to lag behind the children in terms of linguistic creativity.

Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)
Rex E. Wallace (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
PIE voiced aspirates in Italic: a test for the glottalic theory
The Glottalic Theory (GT) for Proto-Indo-European stops is best known for reinterpreting the traditional theory's voiced plain stops (*b/*d/*g/*-*d/*g) as glottalises. However, GT also revives the phonetics of all the other PIE consonants, allowing for direct comparison of the two theories. In particular, both theories reconstrue voiced aspirated stops in PIE, but with a different status: distinctively voiced and aspirated in the traditional theory (*Dh), but distinctively voiced with nonaspirated feature in GT (*Dh). The theories diverge on how they account for various phenomena affecting *Dh/Bh: changes traditionally explained by individual language sound changes ("Grassmann's Law") deascribing the first of two aspirates are accounted for in GT by PIE allophony between voiced plain and voiced aspirated realizations, governed by constraints requiring roots with *Dh/Bh) to show at least one but no more than one aspired realization. As a result, the two theories make different predictions for the outcome of PIE diapason roots in a branch like Celtic with no/Grimsmo's Law effects; GT predicts reflexes of just one aspirate in such roots, while the traditional theory predicts reflexes of two aspirates. These data have several relevant phonetic forms from diapason: Oscan fehel/sta 'had' have, Umbrian furfart/ sheen, and Latin forbars 'pieces.' To account for these forms, GT must resort to all hoc explanations (e.g. distant manner assimilations), while in the traditional theory, these forms are exactly as expected. Thus, GT requires extra machinery (aspiration restrictions), and cannot give a natural account of Italian developments of PIE diapason, and so on at least this count the traditional reconstruction is preferable.

John E. Joseph (University of Hong Kong)
Grammatical, arbitrary lexis: An enduring parallel in the history of Western linguistics
The ancient dichotomy between the natural and the arbitrary (or conventional) has never disappeared from Western linguistic thought, but has been incorporated sub rosa into theories of grammar and rhetoric through the present day. A particularly significant parallelism exists between this dichotomy and the equally ancient division of languages into synchronic and diachronic and logical and syntactical systems. The parallel originates in Vann's proposal that while the link between words and their meanings is conventional, the grammatical processes that words undergo-syntactic, broadly defined—is natural. In other words, the idea that the logical meanings of words exist on a more conscious plane than do rules of syntax, so that the former fall within the domain of the historical and political process of conventionalism, while the latter, being unconscious, are natural in origin and operation. This paper traces the parallel through medieval and modern linguistics, where it is linked with yet another dichotomy: that between nouns and verbs, with the latter perceived as more heavily "invented" in grammar, hence in nature. The goal of the paper is to understand how recent treatments of grammar and lexicon may have been affected by this obscure ancient parallelism, which lends covert power to certain theoretical formulations and metathetical modes and denies it to others.

Christine Jordan (Concordia University)
Prepositional verbs in Solomon Islands Plinj: Grammaticalization and creolisation
Speakers of Solomon Islands Plinj have been making extensive usage of prepositional and directional elements to qualify movement and action verbs. They are increasingly making usage of prepositional verbs to achieve the same ends. The result is a more direct and less cumbersome speech. When data gathered over the last ten years in the capital city of Honla, I will show that this form of grammaticalization is not the prerogative of children learning Plinj as a first language. Adults also children who grew up with Plinj as a second, but main language of daily interaction, use prepositional verbs in the same contexts and amounts. Moreover, the adults do not seem to lag behind the children in terms of linguistic creativity.

Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)
Rex E. Wallace (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
PIE voiced aspirates in Italic: a test for the glottalic theory
The Glottalic Theory (GT) for Proto-Indo-European stops is best known for reinterpreting the traditional theory's voiced plain stops (*b/*d/*g/*-*d/*g) as glottalises. However, GT also revives the phonetics of all the other PIE consonants, allowing for direct comparison of the two theories. In particular, both theories reconstrue voiced aspirated stops in PIE, but with a different status: distinctively voiced and aspirated in the traditional theory (*Dh), but distinctively voiced with nonaspirated feature in GT (*Dh). The theories diverge on how they account for various phenomena affecting *Dh/Bh: changes traditionally explained by individual language sound changes ("Grassmann's Law") deascribing the first of two aspirates are accounted for in GT by PIE allophony between voiced plain and voiced aspirated realizations, governed by constraints requiring roots with *Dh/Bh) to show at least one but no more than one aspired realization. As a result, the two theories make different predictions for the outcome of PIE diapason roots in a branch like Celtic with no/Grimsmo's Law effects; GT predicts reflexes of just one aspirate in such roots, while the traditional theory predicts reflexes of two aspirates. These data have several relevant phonetic forms from diapason: Oscan fehel/sta 'had' have, Umbrian furfart/ sheen, and Latin forbars 'pieces.' To account for these forms, GT must resort to all hoc explanations (e.g. distant manner assimilations), while in the traditional theory, these forms are exactly as expected. Thus, GT requires extra machinery (aspiration restrictions), and cannot give a natural account of Italian developments of PIE diapason, and so on at least this count the traditional reconstruction is preferable.

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Sun-Ah Jun (Ohio State University)

Syntax and accentual phrasing in Korean

Prosodic Phonologists (Selick 1984, 1986; Nespor & Vogel 1986) define the Phonological Phrase by the edges of maximal projections, or the head-complement relationship. Cho (1989), Silva (1990), and Kang (1992) use this syntactic algorithm to account for the domain of rules such as Korean Lenis Stem Voice. However, phonetic experiments (Jun 1991, 1993) show that the domain is better accounted for by the Accenntual Phrase, a unit which is also the domain of phrasal tones in Korean (Jun 1989), and in the same level as the maximal Projection, but differing in that it is not exclusively defined by the factors determining Accenntual Phrasing, using a corpus of thousands of utterances produced by more than twenty native speakers. (For many of these utterances, pitch tracks and waveforms also have been examined.) The data showed that the phrase in phrasing of a sentence in a group of sentences containing two words into one Accenntual Phrase, and it seems that these places can be predicted by the syntactic constraint: A Prosodic Word, w, cannot form one Accenntual Phrase together with the preceding Word(s) excluding the following Word(s), if w is the left element of a branching constituent. As long as this syntactic constraint is not violated, any Accenntual Phrasing is possible, and the phrasing is free to vary to fit the requirements of the other factors. Thus we can explain the variable domain of the phonological rules.

Edward T. Kabo (University of Pennsylvania)

Novelty in word and deed; Children assign new verbs to unfamiliar actions

To account for how the language-learning child so readily resolves the ambiguities of the multiple interpretable world, researchers have sought evidence of mechanisms that reveal the proper meanings of new words. Such evidence is thought to exist in the "dissimulation effect" (Merrill & Bowman, 1989): Preschoolers asked to select the referent of a novel noun in the presence of two objects, one familiar and one novel, more often chose the novel object (Mukamkan & Wachtel, 1984). The various accounts offered to explain this effect are based almost exclusively on work with nouns. The research presented here asks the following: Do preschoolers evidence the dissimulation effect in the learning of verbs? Four-year-old children were shown a series of videotaped actions with a novel and familiar object to select the referent of a novel verb, they consistently chose the novel action. The results of this study suggest that we rethink the mechanisms proposed to account for the dissimulation effect. Two of these accounts, the Mechanism of Attention (Mukamkan & Wachtel, 1984) and the Novel Concept Principle (Golinkoff et al., 1992), rely heavily on a hierarchical notion of concept structure which applies to nouns, but probably not to verbs (Hemenhofer & Lin, 1979; Graesser et al., 1987). A more plausible account of these findings is from studies of animal language (Premack, 1990) and human conditioning (Dixos, Dixon & Spreinlin, 1983) that the mechanism responsible for the dissimulation effect may not be specific to language at all.

Christina Kakava (Princeton University)

Stylistic variation and macrovariables: Testing Bell's hypothesis

This paper tests Bell's (1984) hypothesis about the role addressers play in stylistic variation by examining macrovariables such as the digression strategies used by the same speakers during an hour-long conversation in Modern Greek. Bell proposes an 'audience design' framework, according to which the addressee is the most important variable affecting a style shift, while 'occasional factors' such as setting and genre are derivatives of the audience style shift. This study shows that factors such as topic discussed and personal involvement with it (Chafe 1985, Tannen 1989) affect the type of digression strategy used, ranging in force from strong to minimal. The more involved a participant or the more argumentative the topic, the stronger the digression. This study is significant for two reasons. First, in contrast to most sociolinguistic studies that focus on interviews or situations with speakers of different status, this examines a natural setting with speakers of similar status discussing a variety of topics. This enables a control over different participants and a thorough examination of different topics and different degrees of involvement with each topic. Second, in contrast to claims of the secondary importance of topic in quantitative sociolinguistic studies, it shows that topic and personal involvement—the latter not even considered in the literature—seem to affect the speakers' stylistic choices. This implies that Bell's hypothesis needs to be further tested for its application on macrovariables in studies falling within the scope of interactional sociolinguistics.

Angela Karstadt (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)

Relative markers and social identity in Swedish-American English

This study investigates the variety of relative markers that older Americans use when speaking English in a casual context--narrative interviews. Transcriptions of lengthy interviews reveal that these speakers use a variety of correlative and codenaming strategies in phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon, 

by analysis of the relative marker repertoire of these speakers will be two-fold: (1) A description and summary of the syntactic conditioning factors for the variants represented in the transcripts, including variables such as: (a) relative marker: restrictive/non-restrictive; (b) animacy/inanimacy of the antecedent; and (c) (an application of Social Network theory in order to assess the use of relative markers and extra-linguistic variables. Questions addressed will include, for example, how does the use of relative markers vary according to gender, topic, and the strength of an individual's ethnic identity? This paper expands the scope of previous pilot studies and has relevance for issues of language context, identity, and aging.

David Kalmthun (University of Chicago)

Chicagow verb agreement and levels of syntactic representation

Chicagow verbs agree with subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects, with a distinct set of agreement markers corresponding to each (NOM, ACC, DAT). However, subjects of some verbs (both transitive and intransitive) are marked with ACC rather than NOM agreement, and subjects of other verbs take dative agreement; still other verbs have DAT agreement for their direct object, and some of these (ACC subjects as well. Davies (1986) argues that these agreement patterns combine with other facts to provide evidence for multiple levels of syntactic representation, as in Relational Grammar.

I argue in this paper that, contra Davies, each argument bears only a single GR in Chicagow, and that the agree phenomenon a verb takes is determined on an Agreement Tier which is parallel to but separate from syntactic subcategorization (much like the Case Tier proposed by Vayanan 1980). Subjects of all agreement type pattern together by various syntactic tests such as case and reflexives. Subjects of other types remain constant; I suggest that in addition to syntactic arguments, each Chicagow verb subcategorizes for agreement markers, which are linked with syntactic arguments via a layer of Agreement. Agreement Tier can only deviate from the default tier according to a set of lexical rules. All of this requiring reference to more than one syntactic level can also be handled by reference to the Agreement Tier, since none require reference to more than one syntactic level. Furthermore, I will show that the mechanisms proposed here can be extended to a diverse range of phenomena in other languages.
Graham Katz (University of Rochester)
Beverly Spejewski (University of Rochester)

Temporal adverbials and the English present perfect

We provide an interpretation for the English present perfect which accounts for differences with the simple past and indefiniteness in the use of temporal adverbials with the present perfect (e.g., John has been killed today). On our account of the present perfect, speech time is included within the reference interval for the event, rather than after it as for the simple past. This difference gives rise to different implicatures for the two tenses. Furthermore, temporal adverbials are contrastive in the present perfect, and so there exist multiple possibilities for the occurrence of a given type of predicate in order for a temporal adverbial to be used with that predicate in the present perfect. Certain events (e.g., Fido was bitten) are repeatable and have multiple reference intervals, while others (e.g., John was killed) are non-repeatable and have a single reference interval. A temporal adverbial cannot be used with a non-repeatable event because there is no contrast to be made among reference intervals.

Ruriko Kawashima (Cornell University)

A unified approach to indeterminate WH-pronouns and morpheme do

This paper is concerned with accounting for the varying quantificational force exhibited by the combination of an indeterminate WH-pronoun and the morpheme do (henceforth, WH/do) in Japanese (Kuroda (1965), Nishiguchi (1987), Ohno (1989)). WH/do behaves as (a) a Negative Polarity Item (existential) under a negative operator, as (b) a Free Choice ‘stay’ (univocal) under an affective operator, and as (c) a universal quantifier in the absence of any explicit affective operator. Following Kadow & Landman (1993), I argue that this seemingly paradoxical contrast (existential vs. universal) exhibited by WH/do follows naturally from the semantic properties of do; widening and strengthening. Furthermore, a difference in domain selection for widening explains the contrast between (b) and (c).

Judy Kept (Rutgers University)
Howard Polner (Rutgers University)

The phonetics of contraction in American Sign Language

This paper presents a phonetic analysis of contractions in American Sign Language (ASL). Analysis of sign reductions, such as those involved in contractions, not only reveals how movements generated at more proximal joints (shoulder and elbow) can be shifted to more distal joints (wrist and fingers), but also highlights those aspects of sign articulation that are essential to its representation. We report the results of 3-D motion analyses performed to contrast ASL contractions and phrases (such as KNOW YOU (phrase) AND KNOW (contraction); YOU KNOW (phrase) AND YOUR KNOW (contraction), YOU NOT MUST (phrase, ‘you don’t have to’) and YOUR NOT MUST (contraction), etc. and to characterize their respective kinematic properties. Infra-red emitting diodes were strapped to the subject’s shoulder, elbow, wrist, 1st joint, and index finger. Movement trajectories were digitized from neighboring views with two optoelectronic cameras (OPTOTRAK), reconstructed graphically, and then analyzed numerically and graphically using custom software for the interactive manipulation and dynamic display of the reconstructed trajectories. Differences between phrases and contractions are characterized in terms of angular motions at the shoulder and elbow, and temporal characteristics of the movement profiles of the wrist and fingers, laying a foundation for further systematic, visualizable, and quantitative investigations of ASL phonetics.

Andrew Kohler (Harvard University)

A discourse processing account of gapping and causal implicature

Levin and Prince (1982) note that gapped sentences do not give rise to causal implicatures often associated with their ungapped counterparts. For instance, the sentence (1a) can have both a symmetric and a non-symmetric (causal) reading, whereas (1b) can only have the symmetric reading.

(1a) Sue became upset and Dan became down right angry.
(1b) Sue became upset and Dan is downright angry.

We show that this fact falls out from a discourse processing architecture that accounts for VP-ellipsis data (Kohler 1993). Evidence is given that VP-ellipsis requires a surface-syntactic antecedent in ‘parallel’ constructions (e.g., symmetric ‘and’) but only a suitable semantic antecedent in co-occurrence (non-parallel) constructions (e.g., non-symmetric ‘and’). The architecture predicts that the syntactic gap-filling operation is unacceptable in those contexts where VP-ellipsis obtains semantic antecedents. This accords with the facts noticed by Levin and Prince as well as the lack of gapping in other non-parallel constructions.

Scott Fabius Kletting (Georgetown University)

Towards a practice-based approach to the notion of power

In this paper I use discourse from an ethnographic study in an American all-male social club to show that the notion of power is much more complex than usually assumed in sociolinguistic studies. The use of the term in an unqualified and undefined manner has led to confusion and imprecise theories. There are many problems with the use of power as an analytical category in sociolinguistics in addition to the one I focus on here. My goal is not to present a full-blown theory of power in a short presentation, but simply to highlight the problem of power as a monolithic notion, and suggest a direction in which this problem may be remedied. I contrast power with status and influence, discussing how each one of these is relevant in the social club, and suggest that power is situated, depending largely on the goals of speakers in each interaction.

Hyeonsoo Kim (Cornell University/University of Paris III)

A phonetic characterization of release/release: The case study of Korean and English

In the literature, release means the oral burst following the oral closure and release the oral closure with no oral burst. McCawley (1967) and Kim-Renaud (1974) claim that Korean nasalization is the effect of the unreleasedness of consoants, thus being represented as the change of the feature [voiceless] (or presence of the oral burst) into [-release] (or absence of the oral burst) in coda position. Based on the same notion of the feature [+release], Selkirk (1982) proposes that when an English [t] is not released, it gets glottalized, otherwise it is flapped. In this paper, however, I argue that release/release are associated not with the presence/absence of oral bursts as usually assumed in the literature, but with the presence/absence of aspiration and tenseness in the case of Korean and with the presence/absence of aspiration in the case of English.
Tracy Holloway King (Indiana University)
Russian clitics and the structure of wh-questions

This paper discusses the structure of Russian 'clitics', (1), and its implications for the structure of [wh] questions in Russian and Slavic. Citing evidence from case marking, the lack of a copula and subordinating element, negation, and adverbials, I argue that the clitics are monovalent and involve a projection, Focus CP, above IP. When the clitic is realized, the constituent must move to SpecIP to satisfy the focus feature of the head. The pronoun ̀to adjoins to FP, resulting in the desired structure and interpretation:

$$1 \text{ ̀to vo drik înna vyplik} \quad 2 \quad [p \text{ ̀to vo drik } [p \text{ f-i-S-O] } [p \ldots]]$$

It is vo drik that has drank

When [wh] questions are formed from 'clitics', the wh-word is obligatorily the focus of the clitic. Why can't a constituent move to SpecCP, while the wh-phrase moves to SpecCP? I argue that wh-words move to SpecIP via SpecFP, whose head license [wh]-elements. SpecFP cannot be filled by a wh-trace and a clitic constituent; instead, the wh-phrase moves to SpecFP, making it the focus of the clitic, and then to SpecCP. Ruda (1988) proposes that in multiple wh-questions either all wh-words move to SpecIP + SpecF (MFS languages) or the wh-phrase moves to SpecCP (-MFS) while the rest adjoin to IP. I suggest that non-SpecCP wh-phrases remain in FP. Their clause-initial position is explained since all wh-phrases move to SpecFP.

Thus, FP in Russian provides the needed monovalent analysis of 'clitics', as well as an explanation for the distribution of wh-phrases in 'clitics' and in -MFS languages.

Hiatusu Kitaibara (Harvard University)
Deriving cross-linguistic movement variation from a universal locality requirement

Huang's (1982) Condition on Extraction Domains (CED), prohibiting extraction from non-complements, accounts for both adjunct-adjunct effects and subject-adjunct effects. This unification and the universality of the CED are challenged by Icelandic (an SVO language), exhibiting adjunct-adjunct effects but lacking subject-adjunct effects (cf. Zaanen (1980)).

With the Minimalist framework (outlined by Chomsky (1992)), I argue that these cross-linguistically variant (and invariant) CED effects, problematic for previous analyses, follow from natural interaction of a Universal Locality Requirement (subsuming CED) and an independently motivated AGR-Parameter (concerning AGR-mediation of Case-checking).

Tove Klausen
Language mixing reconsidered

Bilingual children's language mixing has often served as material for discussing whether children who are able to develop two languages separately from early on (two-system mode) or a phase of temporary language mixing precedes differentiation as part of development (one-system mode). In previous studies it has been argued that language mixing is related to the organisation of the parental input and that languages must be kept separately to each parent in order to avoid language mixing (one-person one-language mode). This explanation of language mixing is problematic and it is suggested that types of language mixing might be related to the structural similarities of the two languages in the bilingual environment. Results from earlier studies of bilingual development seem to support this speculation. A notion of shared space is developed which refers to shared features between languages. Results from a study of bilingual English-Danish children's development in the age range from 0;8 to 2;6 show that the languages are used interchangeably and in a shared space, it is argued that types of language mixing can be regarded as acquisition patterns of a shared space. Finally, a model which can explain individual as well as cross linguistic differences in early language development is proposed.
Silvia Kouwenberg (University of the West Indies-Mona)

On morphology in creole

Many studies of the formal characteristics of creole languages have approached their subjects as if creole languages conformed to a single pattern, a "pap-croële" set of properties. However, there is a growing awareness of the existence of plurality among creole languages. In the area of morphology, the Creole Workshop on Morphology (University of Massachusetts 1987) challenged the long-held belief that creole languages share a lack of morphology and could be characterized as belonging to the "analytic" type. Morphological processes in these languages cover the range from analytic to synthetic, and there is little if any cross-creole uniformity in this area. This paper will give a characterization of morphological processes in Beebe Dutch Creole along lines proposed in Anderson (1983), who argues that morphological processes -- not languages -- should be examined on parameters such as domain of application, type of change involved, etc. We will see that this language has processes which range from analytic to synthetic, including incorporation. Each of these processes can be compared to the presence or absence of such processes in other creole languages of the Caribbean. Beebe Dutch Creole is thus no more representative of a "pap-croële" morphology than it is of any other imaginable morphological type.

Tina Kraskiew (University of Pennsylvania)

Slavic multiple questions: Evidence for wh movement

Based on evidence from multiple questions in Slavic and Romanian, I will argue against the standard view of wh-Movement, which is taken to be a relation between a wh-phrase in (Spec, CP) and a [+4] C. Drawing upon Radn's (1983) observation that the Slavic languages and Romanian must be viewed as separate from each other, I present evidence that Slavic wh-Movement, in previous work, I argued that wh-fronting in these languages was a movement to the scope position, wh-Raising, and that the two structures of multiple questions fall out of the interaction between wh-Movement with different sets of locality constraints. In Slavic, the wh-phrase is in Inf in these languages. Wh-Raising produces the derivations below.

(1) Wh-phrase in Spec, CP
(2) Wh-phrase in Inf

In the Swahili-IP language, there is a null Q particle in C, and the leftmost wh-phrase moves to Spec, CP to satisfy the clitic/second constraint. See (3).

(3) Wh-phrase in Spec, CP

I will argue that wh-Movement consists of (i) the requirement that the abstract Q morpheme in C be licensed, i.e., bears a [\not\not Q] feature, and (ii) wh-Raising. In the Slavic-CP languages, the abstract Q morpheme is licensed by Spec, CP, and in the Swahili-IP languages, by the null Q particle in C. Our theory gives a unified account of wh-fronting and a direct representation in the syntax of the semantics of wh-questions.

Manfred Kriftka (University of Texas-Austin)

Focus and operator scope in German

Frey (1980) derived the readings of sentences like (1), (2) from the relative positions of the operators in deep structure and surface structure. Roughly, an operator a is in scope of an operator b if and only if a trace of b is c-commanded by a.

(1) [Mindestens einem Kind] hat Hans fünf Jahre alt gemacht.
(2) [Fast jedes Bild] hat Hans mindestens ein Kind.

However, (1) also has a (V-3) interpretation with rising stress on mindestens eines Kind and falling stress on fast jedes Bild, the so-called "I-topicalization" (Jacobs 1982). I will explain why this interpretation arises, making the following, independently motivated assumptions: (i) Focus assignment is governed by constituents in preverbal position. (ii) Focus assignment may occur before movement. (iii) Multiple focus is realized by a rise-fall pattern. The (V-3) reading of (1) originates because mindestens eines Kind, in order to receive focus, has to go through a preverbal position. There it leaves a trace, which is c-commanded by fast jedes Bild.
Paul Law (University of Quebec-Montreal)
On the contribution of linguistic theory to creole studies

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the usefulness of linguistic theory, a general theory about natural language, i.e., Universal Grammar (Chomsky 1965), as a tool in studying creoles. Specifically, it argues that, despite their impoverished morphology, creoles have the same grammatical properties of which there are overt morphological manifestations in languages with richer morphologies like English and French. It shows that the distribution of lexical subjects as well as the coreference restriction on pronouns have the same properties across creoles and non-creoles, and that the serial verb construction (SVC) which is characteristic of both creole and some non-creole language like Chinese, is possible precisely because of the lack of inflectional morphology. Linguistic theory thus reveals the specific mechanisms underlying the morpho-syntactic properties of creole grammars, and provides an account of how they are related. Moreover, it gives principled explanations for the ways in which creoles resemble or differ from non-creoles, and for why the resemblances and differences should hold. Linguistic theory is thus a very useful tool in creole studies.

Margaret J. Leachey (St. Michael’s College)
Native people as linguistic informants in the Jesuit relations

By the mid-seventeenth century, a number of French Jesuit missionaries understood and spoke one or more of the indigenous languages of Canada. They had also produced radices, dictionaries, and grammars of those languages, some of which survive and have been studied by linguists, anthropologists, and historians. However, very little of the Jesuits’ language work could have been accomplished without the help of native people. This paper will identify some of those native people, describe the circumstances of their collaboration, and examine the nature of their contributions, as reported in the Jesuit relations.

David LeBlanc (Tilburg University)
An activation model of parameter setting

We present a model of parameter setting based on an activation model. Triggers are seen as individual activation points and innate groupings of activation points correspond to parameter settings. The activation points relate to the entirety of the phenomena the parameter controls rather than trying to identify one unique phenomena which distinguishes parameter settings. Points which receive input increase in strength while those receiving no input atrophy. When the parameter becomes available for use by the child all settings are available; the child must choose probabilistically between them based on their relative strengths. Strength is measured as a function of (accumulated strengths/maximun strength) where maximum strength is a measure of potential strength. Eventually the child chooses a single parameter; by this time all points not corresponding to the language of exposure have atrophied, so the child simply selects the minimal setting which includes all remaining points.

As an example, the model is related to the null-subject parameter and we demonstrate that only overgeneralisation and retreat but also account for why Italian children delete subjects about twice as often as English children.

Hyun-soo Lee (Ohio State University)
Towards an algebraic account of crossover

We argue first that the effects of crossover must be ascribed to a principle which is motivated independently from a necessary condition on bond morphers such as the Bijection Principle or the Parallelism Constraint on Operative Binding. We then propose the Principle of Referential Autonomy (PRA) and deduce the ungrammaticality and independence of examples of crossover from the PRA plus language-specific facts obtained from positive data.

For each natural language L, there is an isomorphism invariant function fL such that
i. Dom(fL) includes the nuclear sentences of L and
ii. For each nuclear sentence S, fL(S) is an independent referentially autonomous (RA) NP occurring in S.

Independent principles guarantee that (1a) would be syntactically isomorphic to (1b) if we were grammatical.

(1a) The relatives of his, wife had some daughter of every author.
(1b) Some daughter of every author had some relatives of his, wife.

The referential autonomy function for English, RAF, which must identify some daughter of every author as an RA NP in (1b) must also identify some relatives of his as an RA NP in (1a) since RAF(English) is isomorphism invariant and since (1a) and (1b) are assumed to be isomorphic. Since some relatives of his wife is not RA, this leads to a contradiction. Hence, (1a) cannot be a grammatical string.

Claire Lefebvre (University of Quebec-Montreal)
Toward a unified analysis of predicate doubling phenomena in Haitian creole

In Haitian Creole, several constructions involve a copy of the main predicate (cf. Hutchinson, 1989). This phenomenon will be subject of study in this paper, in particular in the predicate cleft construction (cf. Pous, 1981a, Koppman, 1984; Lamou and Lefebvre, 1989; Lefebvre, 1990). Lamou and Lefebvre, 1989), refer to the paper). Then, the referential autonomy function for English, RAF, which must identify some daughter of every author as an RA NP in (1b) must also identify some relatives of his wife as an RA NP in (1a) since RAF(English) is isomorphism invariant and since (1a) and (1b) are assumed to be isomorphic. Since some relatives of his wife is not RA, this leads to a contradiction. Hence, (1a) cannot be a grammatical string.

Second, it is argued that this twofold proposal permits a unified account of the predicate doubling phenomena in Haitian Creole.

Rebecca Letterman (Cornell University)
Nominal generation in Siinhali and its implications for the status of prenasalized stops

A major issue in Sinhala phonology is gemination in nominal declensions. I argue that the primary insight in this phenomenon is a matter of underlying weight, represented morally. I show that this approach provides insight into the representation of prenasalized stops and argue that they are indeed single complex segments. Several alternations occur between the singular definite and plural nominals in Sinhala, e.g. (a) [pǒ todavía] ‘book’ and [po'te] ‘books’ vs. (b) [məd] ‘cloth’ and [məd] ‘cloths’. I attribute this contrast to a difference in underlying forms, posting a floating mora in the root forms of stems which geminate in the singular (b) as opposed to those which do not (a). In forms containing no floating mora in the underlying representation, e.g. (c) [sə] /pə/, simple concatenation with the singular definite morpheme /ə/ and the zero plural morpheme yields no gemination. In contrast, in forms with an underlying floating mora, e.g. (d) [mədə] ‘red H’, the mora associates with either the root-final consonant in the singular definite or a vocalic default melody in the plural, based upon syllabification constraints. In both cases, however, the underlying floating mora crucially contributes weight to the surface form.

This analysis explains the prenasalized stops, e.g. (h) [pəməd] ‘child’ vs. (h) [pəd] ‘child’ and argue that Sinhala shows a singleton [f] vs. geminate contrast [fi], not a prenasalized stop [fi] vs. cluster contrast [fi]. The behavior of prenasalized stops in other phonological processes such as A-reduction, Nasal Neutralization and Long-vowel Shortening provides further evidence for this analysis.

(FRI MORN: Forzat)
(FRI MORN: Composition)
(SUN MORN: Composition)
(FRI MORN: Exeter)
(FRI EVE: Fairfax)
(FRI MORN: Independence)
Clara C. Levett (Leiden University)
How does place fall into place

In this paper it is claimed that the development of a representation for the Place of Articulation features Labial, Coronal and Dorsal is best viewed as a de-autonomization process (Goldsmith 1976). These features enter the speech production system as genuine autosemantics, linking to all the consonants and vowels in a word. Gradually and systematically they become 'segmentalized'. First, feature specifications appear to be located at specific positions in the word; and it is only in a later stage that Place features may occur freely anywhere in the word.

This is concluded from a longitudinal study of the phonological development of 11 children, between 1;1 and 2.0 years old at the start of a one-year data collecting period, acquiring Dutch as their first language. Instead of focusing on certain segments or child language phenomena, the Place feature composition of every single production of 6 of these children was taken into account. This way a model of the acquisition of Place feature specifications in lexical representations could be constructed, where both matches and adaptations of adult targets have their place and function.

Dominique Linchel (University of Alabama-Birmingham)
Relation de la Rivière des Amazones: Language and the new world’s discovery in 17th century France

Comparing Cristobal de Acuña’s chronicle of the discovery of the Amazon river (Nuevo descubrimiento del grano del Amazonas 1541) to its later translation by the French novelist Marin Le Roy de Gobenville (Relation de la Rivière des Amazones, 1682), this paper will analyze the linguistic differences between the two texts, and demonstrate their ideological, historical and literary implications.

It will then try to measure the importance of such a text in the history of French language and literature and offer a contribution to the study of the impact of the New World’s discovery in 17th century France.

Ruth C. Loew (Rutgers University)
Judy Kegl (Rutgers University)
Howard Poizner (Rutgers University)

Role play: Evidence from deficits in a right hemisphere damaged signer

Role play, a narrative device relying critically on the linguistic reference system of ASL, also appropriates extralinguistic devices such as affective facial expression and signing style idiosyncrasies for the linguistic purpose of differentiating roles. We hypothesize that the signer makes demands on left hemisphere functions; whereas, the latter require right hemisphere processing. To investigate this issue, we analyzed role play in a 38-year-old, ASL-fluent, female hearing signer (AS) with a right parietal-occipital lesion. Although AS correctly reenacts 1st person reference (signaling attempted use of role play), she has difficulty both in maintaining spatial coreference relations and in distinguishing roles through caricatures using facial affect and sign style variation. We compare failure to maintain disjoint reference in the ASL language acquisition process (Loew, 1984) with the deficit exhibited by this signer. Analysis of her deficits in the use of a language subsystem which crucially requires both right-hemisphere and left-hemisphere processing helps us to refine our conception of the dissociation between language and non-language functions in the brain.

Mark L. Louder (University of Texas-Austin)
Identifying the Slavic determinant in the history of Yiddish

Max Weinreich and others have traditionally advocated a componential view of the origins of Yiddish by identifying four "determinants" which were "fused" to produce modern Yiddish: Semitic, Romance, Germanic and Slavic. Recent work has revealed the role of the first two determinants to have been marginal at best in shaping the basic (phonological and syntactic) structures of Yiddish.

The hypothesis advanced in this paper is that Yiddish is of basically Germanic character in its phonology and syntax, but that there has been change effected through contact with (territorial) Slavic languages by two general mechanisms: (1) semanticization of Germanic input by pre-Ashkenazic, Slavic-speaking Jews residing in Eastern Europe prior to the 12th century, and (2) borrowing from Slavic languages for sociolinguistically constrained purposes (i.e. with affective or pejorative connotations). Structural features of Yiddish phonology and morphosyntax deriving from the first source include: loss of final devoicing and distinctive vowel length, shift to SOV, verb-framing, use of definite/definite initial markers to form yes-no questions, and the development of pre-verbal tense-aspect markers. Language-internal evidence of borrowings includes: effective lexical items, derivational suffixes, and phonological rules.

Suzanne Ludéris (University of Amsterdam)
Language loss in bilingual Alzheimer patients

We will present longitudinal data on the language behavior of three late German-Dutch bilinguals suffering from probable Alzheimer’s Disease. The language behavior of the subjects was assessed three times in both languages with intervals of six months. In two subjects an increasing unavailability or ‘loss’ of one of the languages was noted, evidenced by an increasing extent of intersentential usage of the other language in intended monolingual interactions. In one subject this apparent loss involved the native language: in the other subject it involved the second language. Results are discussed within the framework of models of bilingual language processing and in the light of hypotheses put forward to explain patterns of language loss and recovery in bilingual aphasia and language attrition in bilingual elderly.

Tolke Macfisland (Northwestern University)
Event arguments: Insights from cognitive objects

Recent work in semantics has extended the role of event arguments to domains beyond the action sentences for which they were originally introduced (Davidson 1967). Keams (1988) argues that light verbs take event argument complements, and Mittwoch (1993) suggests that cognitive objects (COs) are event arguments. In the literature, CO constructions are often compared to light verb constructions since they paraphrase one another as well as the simple verb expression. COs and light verb complements are also similar in that both are categorically ambiguous: the nominal complement is zero-corresponding and related to the corresponding verb. However, in these areas relevant to the status of event arguments, light verb and CO constructions differ crucially. Categorizing both light verb complements and COs as event arguments so broadens the concept ‘event’ that it no longer constitutes a useful, unified linguistic phenomenon. By comparing light verb and CO constructions, I provide new evidence that COs in English are not event but result arguments, thus delimiting the notion ‘event’.

FRI MORN: Gardner
THURS EVE: Republic Ballroom B
SAT MORN: Republic Ballroom B
Michael Mackert (Arizona State University)
Horatio Hale's linguistic ethnology

Horatio Hale's (1817-1896) linguistic ethnology formed an alternative to John Powell's ideas and set the parameters for Franz Boas' work for the BAA. Powell (1887) claimed that ethnology as a science did not exist and linguistic groupings were inadequate ethnic classifications. Hale (1888) refuted Powell's views, and the latter, Hale (1883, 1886) aligned Cherokee with Trogodia and argued that the languages of Polynesia were not related to those of Western America. Powell relied on lexical evidence for linguistic classifications and considered types of grammar merely as an indicator of progressive cultural stages. Hale rejected such schemes and proposed that monosyllabic, agglutinative, and synthetic types of languages existed because the original frames of each type were endowed with natural language faculties of different degrees of strength. Hale's ideas guided his supervision of Franz Boas' work in British Columbia. Hale ensured that Boas based his work on linguistic stocks, and his views on the principles of genetic classification informed Boas' (1889, 1890) early reports for the BAA.

Julianne Maher (Loyola University-New Orleans)
A French source for creole ka? Aspect marking in St. Barth patois and Lesser Antillean creole

Goodman 1964 sub-classifies the Atlantic French Creoles by the aspectual markers k and discusses a number of possible sources for the predicate marker: African, Carib, Portuguese and French. For the latter, he points to the k\(a\) construction in the non-creole French variety of St. Thomas, an off-shoot community from the island of St. Barth. This paper, drawn from an on-going study of St. Barth Patois, provides an analysis of the St. Barth Patois k\(a\) construction as currently used on St. Barth and as a possible source of Antillean Creole k\(a\). It concludes that a direct derivation of Creole k\(a\) from Patois k\(a\) is not impossible, though rather forced. A further discussion of Creole aspectual k\(a\), as presented in the 19th century grammars and in 20th century analyses, permits speculation on the evolution of k\(a\) whether from progressive or non-punctual to imperative, or vice-versa.

Monica Malamud-Makowski (Boston University)
The structure of IP: Evidence from acquisition data

It has been proposed that the IP projection actually incorporates a cluster of features, and that each one of them is the syntactic head of its own maximal projection. In this study, I examine the early manifestations of tense and agreement in English-speaking children, following the assumption that the acquisition of these elements reflects the development of the corresponding syntactic projections. The data used come from the CHILDES database. The markers studied include forms of be and does/'t for agreement and the ending -ed and instances of didn't in the case of tense. I consider that tense or agreement has emerged when the child uses a marker in spontaneous speech, and there is at least one semantically appropriate example in two consecutive files. This study shows that tense and agreement do not emerge simultaneously. Furthermore, the data strongly suggest that there is a specific sequence in the order of acquisition that is constant across children: tense appears before agreement.

Denise Mandel (State University of New York-Buffalo)
Does sequential prosody help infants organize and remember speech information: A prosodic whole is better than part

Theories that propose a mapping between prosodic and syntactic structures require that prosodic units are perceptually salient in fluent speech for infants. Although previous studies have demonstrated that infants are sensitive to prosodic markers of syntactic units, they do not show that infants actually use prosodic information to encode the linguistic information. The results of a recent study in our laboratory provided the first evidence that the prosodic organization of speech into clause units enhances infants' memory for spoken information. The present study extends these findings by demonstrating that infants are more apt to retain information that occurs within the same clause unit that information that spans two contiguous units.

Deborah Mandelbaum (City University of New York Graduate Center) (FRI MORN: Republic Ballroom B)
Genitives in predicate NPs

Given the ambiguity in interpretation between a predicative reading and an identificational reading for sentences of the form those are Salty's friends I argue that there is an "adjectival" interpretation for genitives in the sense proposed for weak determiners in Higginbotham (1987). Distributional facts and facts relating to focus are provided as evidence for the adjectival behavior of genitive forms. Finally, I examine the proposal in the context of the theory of predication Higginbotham employs to support his claims.

Christopher Manning (Stanford University)
Japanese causatives (like those of many other languages) have long been treated in terms of complex syntactic structures that appear to simplify the relation between syntactic constituent structure and semantic interpretation. We examine critically the various arguments for this position (e.g. possible te-phrase interpretation, Principle B effects, and anaphor binding), arguing that once argument-structure representations are recognized, Japanese causatives are best analyzed as simple lexical items, thus allowing their phonological and syntactic constituent structure to be reconciled, in keeping with the strongest version of the lexical integrity hypothesis. In our analysis, 'construal' phenomena such as pronounization, anaphor and pronominal binding, and quantifier 'floating' are treated in terms of a hierarchical a-structure, whereas case marking, agreement and word order phenomena are all determined by more general lexical principles. The lexical domains of variable-phonological processes is also correctly predicted. Our analysis thus enables us to posit a uniform syntactic constituent structure whose relation to lexical structure is transparent and to offer the beginning of an explanation for why causatives act in some respects (wrt lexical/a-structure properties) like simple words and in other respects (wrt a-structure properties) like syntactically embedded constructions.
Hirokuni Masuda (University of Hawaii Manoa)

Versification and reiteration in Hawaiian creole English

[Hawaii Creole English, habitually called 'Pidgin' by the locals in Hawaii', is frequently regarded as a type of bastard form of Standard English. Needless to say, such a biased idea possibly derives from understanding about creole languages in general. Opposed to this pervasive misconception, HCE, as well as other creoles, presents autonomous structures as Bickerton and Sato indicate in syntax and discourse respectively. This confirms the fact that HCE is not a corrupted version of SE but a newborn linguistic system, created by the first generation of creole speakers on the plantations between 1900-1920. This paper explores and examines the rule-governed characteristics of HCE in terms of two different discourse processes - VERIFICATION and REITERATION. Hyme's VERSE ANALYSIS is applied. It will be argued that HCE narrative structure manifests not only a hierarchical patterning but also the number preference of 3-5 in lines and verses. HCE narrative also shows quite a lot of repetition and rhyming, which functions as a cohesive device. These two discourse processes are very poetic and literary, and such structures might constitute part of narrative grammar in creole languages.

(SAT AFT: Hampton)

Rachel Mayberry (McGill University)

The critical period is most critical for first language acquisition: Evidence from American Sign Language

The hypothesis that the 'critical period for language acquisition is absolute for first-language acquisition but not for second-language acquisition' was tested using American Sign Language at the test centre. Subjects were obviously born deaf and began to acquire ASL as a first language at ages ranging from infancy to late childhood. Nine control subjects were native ASL learners. Nine additional subjects were born with normal hearing and lost suddenly in late childhood; they subsequently learned ASL as a second language. Learning among these groups was matched by age, sex, and length of sign usage. Syntactic production was analyzed for elicited sentences containing multiple embedded and conjunction clauses. Native learners produced an average of the stimuli in an intact fashion. Among subjects who acquired ASL after childhood, the syntactic structure of the stimuli was matched for elicitable sentences for elicited languages; however the non-native speakers produced the overall structure of the stimuli which made errors that crossed clausal boundaries, such as merging the two clauses of the main clause with the verb phrase of an embedded clause. By contrast, the late first language learners produced little sentence structure; instead they frustrated complex sentence structures into strings of language constructs. The results indicate that first-language acquisition is more deeply linked to developmental timing than second-language acquisition. The possible nature of this relationship is discussed.

(SAT AFT: Gardiner)

Kenjiro Matsuda (University of Pennsylvania)

Accusative case marker deletion in Tokyo Japanese: A quantitative perspective

There have been a number of studies on what exactly conditions optional deletion of accusative case marker on Tokyo Japanese (Tsutsui 1984, Satoh 1985, Shubitomo 1985, Mannagata 1988, Hosaka et al. 1992). In this paper, we will approach the problem from a quantitative perspective, using 1,800 tokens of transitive sentences taken from natural discourse by native speakers of Tokyo Japanese. It will be shown that the variation is actually a multivariate phenomenon, which has to be accounted for by a number of factors in a quantitative manner including object NP-Verb adjacency, the types of NP complexity of the verb, degree of embeddedness of the clause in the sentence and the perseverence factor, where a preceding clause with the accusative marker deletion makes it more likely for the next transitive clause to have the case marker deletion than otherwise. Lastly, the will mention the social aspects of the variation, with age, sex and residential area of the speaker as the determining factor of the variation in the speech community.

(FRI MORN: Republic Ballroom A)

Yo Matsumoto (Tokyo Christian University)

A semantic constraint on the argument structure of Japanese verbs

In this paper, I will discuss a semantic constraint of the well-formedness of a verb's argument structure in Japanese on the basis of the behavior of certain V-V compounds and other complex predicates which mix the argument structures of two verbs into one (Matsumoto 1991, 1992). An argument, but is constrained, so that certain argument structures are ruled out. For example, the goal, mixing the argument structure of the two member verbs, but it cannot take the argument of the first verb of the compound in addition. I propose that various restrictions observed boil down to one general semantic condition on argument structure. All the locative arguments (i.e., locative, source, and goal) of a predicate must be interpreted with respect to the position of the same entity. I will show this constraint is not placed on the argument structure per se, but on the relationship between the argument structure and the semantic predicates (Goldberg 1991) is also discussed in the light of the possible universal nature of such constraint.

(FRI MORN: Republic Ballroom B)

Cynthia McCollie-Lewis (Teachers College-Columbia University)

The genesis of African American vernacular English: Sociolinguistic insights from Virginia (1619-1700)

This paper examines the demographic figures, living arrangements, and social relations of the relevant language group in Virginia from 1619 to 1700, providing some of the missing evidence regarding the likely genesis of RAVE. The evidence indicates that African slaves in Virginia were most likely to have learned English through normal second language acquisition during the first part of the seventeenth century whereas during the latter half of the century, their language was in contact with Caribbean varieties of English likely to have undergone creolization. In other words, it is possible that RAVE originated as a semi-creole rather than a fully creolized language. These sociolinguistic conclusions are supported by a systematic comparison of the principal structural features of RAVE and Old English. This contrastive analysis makes clearer RAVE's placement among those languages considered to be fully creolized.

(SAT MORN: Excelsior)

Joyce McDonough (University of California-Los Angeles)

Asymmetry in nasal/lateral assimilation

This paper examines the pattern of interaction of nasals and laterals in assimilation processes. Two important observations are made: nasals and laterals do not pattern alike in assimilation -lateral assimilation is always total-, and laterals will always override nasals in assimilation. This last point is linking to two reasons: it is invalid, and it is inherently unexplainable by spread rules. Data from four languages that have both lateral and nasal assimilation processes is examined (Korean, Musey (Chadic), Hupa (Athabaskan), and Selk'nam (Austro-erican)). The Sproat and Fujimura (1993) idea that laterals are complex segments consisting of a lateral gesture and a tongue tip gesture is taken un inhibited. The lateral gesture is an aperture gesture (Steriade 1992, McDonough 1993), the tongue tip gesture, (places). While laterals are in an aperture gesture (Steriade 1992, McDonough 1993), the tongue tip gesture, (places). While laterals are in an aperture gesture (Steriade 1992, McDonough 1993), the tongue tip gesture, (places).
In ASL, generation is signaled both manually and with a nonmanual headshake. Because headshakes are also non-linguistic, acquisition of grammatical negation in ASL presents an excellent context for investigating the relationship of non-linguistic and linguistic communication. We have examined naturalistic interaction between Deaf parents and their Deaf toddlers (1.0 to 3.5) who are learning ASL as their first language. Around the children's first birthday, they begin to use a communicative headshake to convey denial or rejection. The earliest signed predicates are negated by headshake and occur at 18. In later multi-sign predicates, headshakes are external to manually signed predicates. This separation suggests that non-linguistic headshakes do not generalize to appropriate linguistic contexts. Rather, they undergo reanalysis, and the children use a linear rather than the (required) co-synchronous strategy. In sum, early non-linguistic and linguistic communication share common features; as syntax emerges, forms are reanalyzed and systems become clearly bifurcated.

Cecile McKee (University of Washington)
Object-control adjectives: Lexical factors in syntactic development
The acquisition of interacting lexical and syntactic information is studied with an experiment on 2-5 year-olds' comprehension of the object-control adjectives easy, hard, difficult, and impossible. Previous research has found that children as old as 7 or 8 interpret the infinitive's null subject in sentences like The boy is easy to reach as the matrix subject; such responses have been attributed to children's use of a primitive rule maintaining a canonical ordering of grammatical roles. My study returns to this issue, motivated in part by evidence that young children are closer to the target than earlier researchers indicated and in part by the need for a sharper focus on patterns across lexical items. I contrast two accounts of children's comprehension of such words and structures: one in terms of a limited computational capacity, the other in terms of a limited information base. Responses from 64 children (2-5 months) and 10 adults are analyzed. Clear differences appear in patterns of 2-3 year-olds as compared to 4-5 year-olds; the latter approximated adult performance. The interaction of age groups and particular lexical items addresses the significance of lexical variation for the study of children's syntactic development. Sensitivity to the structural aspects of some object-control adjectives illustrates children's assignment of complex syntactic representations to sentences.

Gerald W. McRoberts (Stanford University)
Prosodic bootstrapping: A critique of the argument and the evidence
The idea that young infants rely on prosodic cues in speech to bootstrap their way into syntax is an hypothesis that has been enthusiastically accepted without sufficient critical attention to the logic of the argument or the limitations of the data. We argue that support for the prosodic bootstrapping hypothesis rests on an eclectic use of indirect evidence, and some of the central findings cited in its favor have not been replicated. We first examine the indirect evidence for prosodic bootstrapping, including descriptive studies of AD-speech, experimental studies of adult speech processing, descriptive studies of ID speech, and developmental research suggesting that young infants are "sensitive" to the mapping of prosody onto syntax. Then we present a study which attempted to extend the widely cited finding that young infants prefer to listen to speech appropriately segmented at clause boundaries. 144 4- and 7-month- and 10-month-old infants were tested in an auditory preference procedure with English and German ID-speech samples in which pauses were inserted at clause boundaries (Appropriate) or within clauses (Inappropriate). A significant listening preference for Appropriate over Inappropriate speech was found only for 10 month-old infants when listening to English. Taken together, these results suggest grounds for questioning the assumption that the prosodic bootstrapping hypothesis has strong prima facie plausibility.

Brian McWhorter (Stanford University)
Saramacca in the closet: Anomalies in the behavior of the Saramaccan copula and their implications for genetic, contact, and diachronic studies
The descriptions of most of the English-based Atlantic creoles include a clear division of labor between an equative copula do (or allomorphs na or na) and a locative copula de. However, informant sessions and textual study indicate that the division of labor between do and de is quite different in Saramacca. In identical/categorical equative sentences, in which a one-to-one identity is implied between subject and predicate, de is indeed used. Mi de i i na "I am your father". However, in class equative sentences, in which the subject denotes a subset of the predicate, it is do which is generally used. De wu wan goi a gwa "It is a big dog". Furthermore, de obligatorily occurs in all contexts but the unmarked aorist. For example, in the presence of a TAM marker, de is obligatory: A bi de mi i na "He was my father". The earliest documents in Saramacca show a similar distribution, making it unlikely that the current scenario is a recent innovation. Furthermore, informant work and textual study show that the copula in Snan becomes similar to these. These findings have three primary implications for creole studies. First, if Saramacca is the most conservative creole, then the conception of the basilect in Caribbean creole studies of the copula needs revision. Second, the findings suggest that Saramacca creoles, with only one copula across-the-board, unlike the substrate languages which have several copulas. This casts a different perspective in doubt for the copular domain. Finally, the findings show a genetic relationship between Saramacca and Snan, rather than the origin of Saramacca in the bush.

Erapsed Mejias-Bikandi (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)
Spanish causatives and indefinites: Evidence for VP-complementation
Diezeg (1992) uses the possibility of VP-internal subjects to account for generic versus existential interpretations of bare-plural subjects of stage-level and individual-level predicates. She proposes that a subject in Spec-IP will yield a generic interpretation, while a VP-internal subject yields an existential interpretation. By tying the interpretation on structural position, there should be a contrast between genetic and existential indefinites whenever they alternate structurally between Spec-IP and Spec-VP. We show this prediction to be borne out in the domain of Spanish causatives. We argue that pre-verbal causes occur Spec of VP, while post-verbal causes occur Spec of VP or IP. According to Diezeg's account, the former should allow only a generic reading, while the latter case should allow for both readings; this is indeed the case:

1a. Aquel lo hacen [e o un estudiante [trabajador]]. generic only
1b. Aquel lo hacen [e o un estudiante [trabajador]]. generic or existential

Here they make [a student work].

Examples involving clitic climbing further support this analysis. Thus, the effects Diezeg attributes to different structural subject positions dovetail nicely with the VP-complement account of Spanish causatives.

Brian Merrilee (University of Toronto)
Horizontal and vertical organization in the medieval dictionary
This paper first examines the entry structure used in the bilingual Dictionarius of Firmin Le Ver. An inter-field diagram is drawn up to account for information by position and to allow examination of the role of Latin and French. This 'horizontal' organisation is complemented by the vertical structure of the macro-entry which links headwords and subheadwords derivationally and permits some efficiencies in the casting of sub-entries.
William C. Merriman (Kent State University)
John Marazia (Kent State University)
The effect of processing similar-sounding words on two-year-olds' fast mapping

Two-year-olds’ tendency to map a new noun onto an unfamiliar rather than familiar object was hypothesized to be affected by how sound similarities between the noun and the familiar object’s label were interpreted. Presentation of a story in which an onset and rise (e.g., /sal/ vs. /yat/) occurred repeatedly was predicted to inhibit a 2-year-olds’ tendency to map a novel term that was made of these units (e.g., /lat/) onto a familiar object. Because the correct interpretation of /sal/ vs. /lat/ and /yat/ for example, requires ignoring their shared /a/- /t/ /l/ and processing these words reduces the weight subsequently given to phonological similarities noted between /lat/ and the familiar object’s name. The prediction was confirmed in three studies. Children who heard a story containing many /l/-initial and /a/-/t/-/l/-final words were less likely than those who heard one containing many /w/-initial and /a/-/t/-/l/-final words, for example, to map /lat/ onto a familiar object.

Charles F. Meyer (University of Massachusetts-Boston)
Edward Skibman (Interleaf, Inc.)
Robert Morris (University of Massachusetts Boston)
Can you see whose speech is overlapping?

It has become increasingly common in linguistics for analyses to be based on computer corpora: large collections of speech or writing in computer-readable form. Typically, computer corpora are annotated to indicate such linguistic phenomena as pauses, tone unit boundaries, speaker turns, and overlapping speech. As the use of computer corpora increases, it becomes more necessary for linguists to be concerned not just with standardizing the annotation but with presenting this annotation to the user in as readable a format as possible. We focus on annotation for overlapping speech, a phenomenon that needs to be marked in any corpus of speech, and discuss software that accurately marks speech overlaps and that presents overlaps to users in as visually revealing a manner as possible.

Laura Michaelis (University of Colorado)

Temporal anaphora and the preterite-perfect contrast in English

In this paper, I examine the contrast exemplified in (1):

(1) a. I have willed my fortune to Greenpeace.
   b. I willed my fortune to Greenpeace.

I show that (a) this contrast cannot adequately be accounted for in purely semantic terms, and (b) it is crucially discourse pragmatic: the preterite can be used to code anaphoric past-time reference while the present perfect (PPf) cannot. Unlike pure semantic accounts, this account explains the following anomalies:

(2) a. ??Who have you broken your arm?
   b. ??Myron has painted the picture in the hall.

I conclude that the contrast between PPf and preterite is a markedness opposition arising from a dyadic as against anaphoric determination of reference time. The preterite is unmarked with respect to the anaphoric feature, while the PPf is NONANAPHORIC. The fact that the PPf bears the feature [anaphoric] provides motivation for the following principle: The PPf cannot be used to request or provide information about circumstances surrounding a pragmatically presupposed event. (cf. Dinsmore 1981, Comrie 1976)

Philip Miller (University of Lille 3)

Strong generative capacity as the semantics of linguistic formalisms

The classical definition of Strong Generative Capacity (SGC) is shown to be incoercive, and an alternative definition of SGC as the semantic interpretation of linguistic formalism is proposed, which allows the comparison of formalisms using different notations. Structural descriptions in a formalism are interpreted in terms of models (D+1, ..., D+P), (F1, ..., Fm), where the Ds are intended Interpretation Domains for the formalism and the Fs are the corresponding Interpretation Functions, which map structural descriptions in the formalism to their interpretation in each ID. IDs are defined in theory neural set theoretical terms in order to characterize intended properties of formalism. This framework allows us to explicitly define and compare the SGC of grammars and theories using different types of notations. Within this framework, I propose ID for Constituency, Dependency, Endocentricity, Filter-Gap relations. Nominal Semantics, etc. I present a series of results characterizing and comparing the SGC of different linguistic formalisms: CCG, Marked CFG, X-Bar G, Simple Categorial Grammars, Combinatory Categorial Grammars, Dependency Grammars, GPSG, HPSTAG, LFG with respect to these domains.

Maahiko Miram (Harvard University)

Long conversational turns or frequent turn exchanges: Cross-cultural comparison of parental narrative elicitation

Observations between mothers and children from different groups were analyzed to study culturally preferred narrative elicitation patterns: (1) Japanese-speaking mother-child pairs living in Japan, (2) Japanese-speaking mother-child pairs living in the U.S., and (3) English-speaking Canadian mother-child pairs. Comparisons of mothers from these three groups yielded the following salient contrasts: (1) In comparison to English-speaking mothers, mothers of both Japanese groups gave proportionately less evaluation. (2) Both in terms of frequency and proportion, mothers of both Japanese groups gave more verbal acknowledgment than did English-speaking mothers. (3) However, Japanese mothers in the U.S. requested proportionately more from their children than did Japanese mothers in Japan. At five years, Japanese-speaking children, whether living in Japan or the U.S., produced roughly 1.2 utterances per turn on average. whereas English-speaking children produced about 2.1 utterances per turn, a significant difference. Thus, while English-speaking mothers allow their children to talk long monologic turns, and even encourage this by asking their children many open-ended questions, Japanese mothers simultaneously pay considerable attention to their children's narratives and 'facilitate frequent turn exchanges. As products of their culture, Japanese mothers, while being subject to the influence of Western culture, indent their children into a communicative style that is reflective of their native culture.
Friederike Moltmann (University of California-Los Angeles)  
(FRI MORN: Republic Ballroom B)  
Together and alone

I propose a semantic analysis of expressions such as together and alone. This analysis derives the various readings of such expressions in different syntactic and semantic contexts from a single, situation-related meaning without assuming ambiguity, as in prior approaches.

Michael B. Montgomery (University of South Carolina)  
(SUN MORN: Republic Ballroom A)  
What was verbal *s* in 19th century African-American English?

Recent studies, especially of common English-speaking African communities in the Dominican Republic and Nova Scotia (Poplew and Tagliamonte 1991a, 1991b) have examined variation in verbal *s* for regularities that might constitute evidence for substructural (core) or superstructural patterning in earlier African American English. However, all studies to date have conflated two or more distinct phonemic affixes in 19th-century British English, thus providing incomplete comparisons with superstructural varieties and inadequate assessment of possible superstructural influence on AAE. The former study of American varieties with which most AAE would not have had contact in the 19th-century American South, 18th-century British English had four distinct verbal *s* marks: 1) grammatical marking of the subject; 2) grammatical class of the subject; 3) non-adjacency of the subject; and 4) habituality of the verb. The paper presents evidence for the similar and distinct patterning of each morpheme in these and other verb forms from North and South Carolina from the 1840s-1860s.

Jean-Pierre Montenou (University of Texas-Austin)  
(SAT MORN: Constitution)  
Prosodic discription in modern French

Prosodic rules, especially Initial Syllabification and Foot-Formation, apply as soon as a prosodic domain can be properly constituted. The domain for prosodicization is determined without reference to syntactic structure, and to a large degree, morphological structure.

These points of theory (in the spirit of Prosodic Lexical Phonology: Inkelas 1989, Inkelas & Zec 1990, Zec & Inkelas 1992, Zec, in press; also Cohn 1989, Kahn 1992, Rice 1992, Selkirk 1990) are demonstrated through the reanalysis of two sets of data from Modern French: 1) constraints on Glide Formation which cast a light on the domain of Initial Syllabification, and 2) Countertonic Schwa Specification, which crucially depends on a proper delimitation of the domain of Foot-Formation.

On both counts, the account presented here improves on extant analyses in the sense that it provides a principled way to generate the correct outputs while limiting the lexical nature of the prosodic component.
Susanne Mühleisen (Free University-Berlin)
Attitude change toward language varieties in Trinidad

The study of language attitudes is the Anglo-Creoleophone Caribbean has been surprisingly rare, even though the different forms of prestige (high social standing vs. solidarity and identity) have been attributed to the different codes form a decisive factor for any understanding of the communicative situation in Caribbean societies. One of the very few systematic studies in this field was conducted by Donna D Winford on teacher attitudes toward language variation in Trinidad. In order to establish a dichotomous dimension and examine attitude...human, a follow-up study has now been undertaken on 90 primary and secondary school teachers, using a detailed questionnaire and eliciting information on both their evaluation of Trindadian English Creole in general and of the speech of different subgroups. Special attention has been given to the functional distribution of the codes and the extent to which respondents consciously accept TEC in different environments. Explicit comparison with the Winford study highlights significant developments in speakers’ attitudes, which, in conclusion, will be related to extralinguistic influences such as language policies in education and the media sector.

Alan Munn (University of Missouri-Columbia)
On the LF of coordinate structures

Recent discussions of coordinate structures have shown them to be hierarchical and asymmetric. In this paper we propose an LF for coordinate structures that retains the asymmetry, but allows for the semantics of coordination to be accounted for in a more transparent manner. Our analysis accounts for three problems associated asymmetrical coordination: i) all conjuncts are interpreted as equal with respect to the semantics; ii) all conjuncts must be of identical semantic category; and iii) many phrasal coordinations have the semantics of sentential coordinations. The analysis derives i) and ii) directly, and allows coordinate structures to be treated as plurals (and) and distributed singulars (or). It removes any reference to "coordinate structure" as a construction, and provides evidence for treating all coordination as essentially group-forming rather than propositional.

Hirokazu Nagahara (University of California-Los Angeles)
Focus and phonological phrasing in Japanese

It has been demonstrated in a number of languages that focus plays a special role in phonological phrasing, in such a way that new, but also salient, elements, such as focus and intonation, are included in the intermediate phrase level, following Prince and Smolensky (1992) and McCarthy and Prince (1992) for Japanese (Kurita 1990). This paper presents a revised and expanded version of the corpus focus, of the intermediate phrasing algorithms for Japanese developed in the Germanic database (Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1988 and Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1986, the model presented in Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986) and Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1986, the boundary tones involved in this tall pitch movement, L and H, must be specified as to where they link. The L associates with the edge of the accentual phrase in the case of declaratives. However, the accentual phrase is not the case in questions, where H is in question. It is possible to argue that it links to the "utterance" boundary as in (a), or with equal plausibility, with the intermediate phrase boundary as in (b).

Pierrehumbert and Beckman (1986) opt for (a)

| (a) | since the LH of yes/no questions never occurs within an utterance: it must be attached at the end of a question utterance. We argue, however, for (b) with supporting evidence obtained through pitch track observation of naturally occurring speech data. Through the analysis of such data we point out that the LH tall pitch movement is not necessarily tied to a yes/no question, but it also appears on pragmatic particles such as ne 'you know'. Such non-interactive LH appears frequently within an utterance which is identified by declination and diminishing amplitude. Structural analysis (b), then, can explain the functional similarity of the LH at the end of a yes/no question and the LH on the pragmatic particle since both solicit involvement of the interlocutor. | (b) |

Shoich lwano (University of California-Los Angeles)
Tail pitch movement and the intermediate phrase in Japanese

Tail pitch movement refers to the tonal shape which appears at the end of the speech unit. In yes/no questions, the LH tall pitch movement is observed (Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986:287). In the model presented in Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986 and Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1986, the boundary tones involved in this tall pitch movement, L and H, must be specified as to where they link. The L associates with the edge of the accentual phrase in the case of declaratives. However, the accentual phrase is not the case in questions, where H is in question. It is possible to argue that it links to the "utterance" boundary as in (a), or with equal plausibility, with the intermediate phrase boundary as in (b).
Leila Naigles (Yale University)  
Using multiple frames to bootstrap syntactically

Following the original Syntactic Rooting proposal of Landau and Gleitman (1989), this study investigated whether young two-year-old children can use multiple syntactic frames, in addition to the extra-linguistic scene, to help determine the meaning of a novel verb. The particular question examined was whether young children can use their different transitive/intransitive alternation patterns (ergative and unergative, respectively) to distinguish Causative from Contact actions. In a preferential looking paradigm, 27-month-old children were shown videos in which two actions were taking place simultaneously on a single screen; one was a Contact action and the other a Causative action. A novel verb (e.g., “blick”) was also presented twice, either in a transitive frame, an intransitive frame, both transitive and intransitive frames or in an unergative pattern. During the test phase, the two actions were presented simultaneously on separate screens, and the child was asked to “find blicking.” By the visual fixation measure, the children preferred the Causative action during all audio conditions except the one containing the unergative pattern, thus demonstrating that they can use multiple syntactic frames to help determine the meaning of a novel verb.

H. Nicholas Nagel (Florida Atlantic University)  
Lewis P. Shapiro (Florida Atlantic University)  
Parsing local ambiguities in synaptic structures: Prosodic influences

Two experiments were conducted to examine the effects of prosody on sentence processing. The first experiment exploited local Noun Phrase (NP) attachment ambiguity to determine whether prosodic information contributes to processing decisions on-line. Pairs of garden path sentences were created and digitized on a microcomputer. Prosody was manipulated by cutting the beginning portion of each member of a pair and replacing it with the identical portion of the other member. Reaction Times (RTs) to a dual task lexical decision paradigm using these sentences support a processing model in which prosodic information may be used to compute syntactic representations. In the second experiment, prosody was manipulated in pairs of locally ambiguous sentences derived from WH-movement. Data currently being obtained from a Cross Modal processor. Priming task using these sentences indicate that the antecedent to a trace may be reactivated based on prosodic information. Taken together, these results suggest that the sentence processor uses prosody to facilitate on-line parsing decisions.

 Mineharu Nakayama (Ohio State University)  
Are there lexical and functional stances in Japanese? (SUN MORN: Commonwealth)

This paper examines an applicability of Radford’s (1990a, b) “two-stage” hypothesis to Japanese. He claims that all lexical categories emerge at the same time prior to the emergence of all functional categories. Although his claim is about English, he suggests that these developmental stages are biologically preprogrammed. Therefore, Radford’s hypothesis must apply to all languages including Japanese. If the hypothesis is correct, we would expect to find lexical and functional stages in Japanese.

We have examined spontaneous speech data from Okubo (1967), Iwabuchi et al. (1968), Iwabuchi and Murashita (1969), and Nogu (1977) and found that functional elements such as sentence final particles, inflections, and cases particles generally appear earlier than postpositions and a lexical element. Therefore, Radford’s hypothesis does not hold for Japanese. The differences between Japanese and English seem to come from different syntactic characteristics. Japanese verbal inflections as well as its sentence final particles appear at the end of sentences. Therefore, they are easily identified. In English, functional elements are less salient (without stress) and some appear sentence internally. Therefore, they are rather difficult to recognize. Although both Japanese positions and English prepositions appear within sentences, the prepositions emerge rather early because English has prepositional stranding, which makes them easy to identify. This difference in perceptual salience accounts for the difference in structural development between the two languages.
Weijia Ni (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)  
Stephen Crain (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)  

The nature of semantic information in ambiguity resolution  

The nature of information and the time-course that it is used in ambiguity resolution has been a central issue in the study of sentence processing. The Garden Path Theory (Frazier & Rayner, 1985) holds that perceivers are initially guided by strategies based solely on the structural properties of sentences. By contrast, the Referential Theory (Crain & Steedman, 1985) maintains that referential complexity, rather than structural complexity, explains immediate parsing failures. Using a word-by-word analysis, Ni & Crain (1990) demonstrated that by manipulating the referential properties of noun phrases, garden path effects can be avoided, despite the fact that the sentences in a minimal pair are identical in structure (e.g., substituting only for the in sentences such as Only businessmen loaned money at no interest were told to keep their records versus The businessmen loaned money at no interest were told to keep their records). The results support the Referential Theory and resist explanation on the Garden Path Theory.  

The Ni & Crain results were replicated in a study that investigated the competing theories in a task that monitors subjects' eye movements in reading. The findings confirmed the predictions of the Referential Theory. Subjects' first pass reading times on the disambiguating phrase were significantly longer in sentences beginning with the than those in sentences beginning with the only. The number of first pass fixations and regressive eye movements revealed the same pattern. The profile of sentences with only closely resembled that of controls, which contained unambiguous verbs. These results provide further evidence that the parser makes rapid on-line use of semantic information in resolving ambiguities.  

Patricia Nichols (San Jose State University)  

Language patterns in a postsecular setting  

Children's storytelling in school settings in eastern North and South Carolina displays patterns that reflect four centuries of socially unequal contact between Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans. Three stories about dogs, told to pre-teenage boys, will be used to illustrate morphosyntactic and discourse patterns distinctive for these speech communities, which self-identify as Native American (AA), African American (AA), and European American (EA). Similarities in lexicon and syntax may outweigh differences for the three communities, but remaining morphological and discourse distinctions represent processes of late decolonization (for the AA community) and earlier language shift for the NA (community). The persistence of these distinctive patterns reflects processes of change and change within cohesive social networks, evolving since initial contact in the mid 1500s. The mix of social factors in shaping and maintaining differences will be described, as well as those that have fostered convergence.  

Rolf Noyer (Princeton University)  

Palatalization and vowel place in San Mateo Huave  

Analyses of the representation of secondary palatalization (SP) in languages such as Russian (Lightner, 1969), Mod. Irish (O Sodhail 1980) and Marshallese (Boder 1988) rely on the intimate connection between SP and neighboring vowel place. The present paper adds to this literature with data from San Mateo Huave (Kemer & Stair 1981, Sudrez 1975). Five vowels [i e o a i] appear as syllable heads, but the distribution of palatalized (C) and plain (C) consonants is severely restricted. We analyze these distributional gaps with attention to three alternations: (1) Raising of stressed [a] before C, as in pa-li-a:o-a → s-pa-lia-o-a 'he locks self up'; (2) Round Harmony (RH) of vowels in certain stressed suffixes as in t-e-n-ga-si → t-e-n-ga-si 'I passed', and (3) Height Harmony (HH) in these suffixes when following C, as in t-e-n-ga-si → t-e-n-ga-si 'we (excl.) double.' Raising and HH both implicate the parameter [zhigh] in the expression of SP. Two additional phenomena implicate the parameter [zhiggx], providing evidence against Lahin & Evers' (1991) proposal that SP is encoded merely by [zhigx]. RH curiously fails to apply after pre-palatalized [o]: t-e-n-ga-xx t-e-n-ga-xx 'I met.' No opacity can block rightward spreading of [round] in virtue of a preceding C. We propose that such [o]s are derived from underlying non-round [a]s by a backing rule before plain C (as in Russian). This process permits the generalization that non-low vowels are raised before a preceding consonant. Finally, we observe that HH and RH conflict in the case of post-palatalized [o]: t-e-n-ga-xx 'we (excl.) doubt.' Both processes cannot apply without creating [a] (an ill-formed segment). Structure Preservation cannot dictate which rule does in fact apply (HH); this conflict must be resolved either by extrinsic ordering or by ranking well-formedness constraints (McCarty & Prince 1993).
Toshiyuki Ogihara (University of Washington)

Events and states in discourse

The behavior of events and states in discourse has been explained in two different ways. Kamp and Edgington (1983) assert that a framework (DRT) in which events and states are primitive entities is explained in terms of how they behave in narrative discourse: the episode described by an event sentence is located within a "time frame", whereas the situation depicted by a state sentence surrounds it. On the other hand, Dowty (1980) does not consider that an interval-based framework supplemented by his Temporal Discourse Interpretation Principle accomplishes the same task. I propose a framework that synthesizes these two approaches. In my proposal, events and states differ from one another in two ways: First, specific event predicates are quantified, whereas state predicates are not. Second, events and states interact with tense in different ways. A sentence in the past tense asserts that there is a past time t at which some event or state exists. An event e or state s exists at some time t iff the temporal extension of e equals t, but a state s is said to exist at some time t if t is part of the temporal extension of s. I also adopt Grice's maxim of quantity in order to explain the pragmatic inference that an event or state that is asserted to obtain is the maximal one in the given proposition.

John died as rendered as (1) t[ előd precedes now] and e exists at t & e is John's dying, and Mary was in the room are rendered as (2) t[ előd precedes now] & s exists at t & s is Mary's being in the room. As the predicate xe [e is John's dying] in (1) is quantified, and e exists only if the temporal extension of e equals t, there is no "super-event" of John's dying. On the other hand, because the way exist interacts with states, (2) allows the possibility that the temporal extension of the state s properly includes t. This makes the right predictions.

Kyoko Hirose Ohara (University of California-Berkeley)

A correlative analysis of so-called internally headed relativization in Japanese

It has been assumed that so-called internally headed relativization (IHR) in Japanese, the target of the NP inside the embedded clause (S1), serves as an argument of the main verb (V2). However, a close examination of the sentences, especially their semantics reveals that the construction should be analyzed as a correlative: the main clause (S3) contains an anaphoric NP which is referential with the target in S1 and which corresponds to an argument of V2. The crucial difference between previous IHR analyses and the correlative analysis is that in the former, no NP immediately follows S1. In IHR analyses, no is also considered merely a nominalizer of S1. The correlative analysis views it not only as a nominalizer but also as an anaphoric conjunction referring to the target inside S1. No can be referential with any NP inside S1, and the NP in NP as if from the NPI is a physical entity. Thus, if the context allows, it is possible for no to be referential with more than two NPs in S1 as in the case of a 'split' target. The fact that the context construction the subordinate status of S3 is unassumed.

The correlative analysis not only accounts for the properties of the construction but also analyzes it as an anaphoric conjunction has another consequence of enabling us to discuss the construction's relations to conjunctions which have the same structure.

Shigetaka Okamoto (California State University-Fresno)

Japanese women's speech styles: Evidence for diversity

Although the Japanese language is commonly characterized by distinct male and female speech registers, recent anecdotal evidence suggests that many, particularly younger Japanese women do not use stereotypical female speech patterns. That is, there seem to be great variations in Japanese female speech styles. This paper presents evidence for such variations. Ten female college students in Tokyo participated. Five informal conversations (each between two close friends) were analyzed with regard to sentence-final forms (150 forms for each speaker). Analyses show that the subjects' speech styles are much less feminine than suggested by the common portrayal of women's speech. The subjects used neutral forms most frequently. Further, most subjects used masculine forms more often than feminine forms. In particular, strongly feminine forms were used only occasionally. Some subjects used a few strongly masculine forms, although they were often qualified. The results of this study suggest that the standard social categorization 'women's language'-a construct based on the speech style of traditional, middle class Japanese women-is insufficient to capture variations in current language practice. This study suggests that besides gender, factors, such as age, marital status, occupation, and solidarity are also important. The results of this study and the sociolinguistic research on the speech patterns observed in this study reflect the speakers' identity as members of a particular social group (i.e., female student peers) as well as their relations (solidarity).

Jae-Ho Park (University of California-Berkeley)

The morphological affective construction in Korean

The morphological affective construction (MAC), known as a passive construction, shares many formal properties with the morphological causative construction (MCC) in non-trivial ways; among others, the same set of suffixes (±hun, ±hak, ±haj) case-markings, lexical rejections. However, they have generally been treated as unrelated. This study explores the construction-specific semantics of the MAC--the subject is affected negatively, based on which it argues for the hypothesis that the NP from the NPI acts as a negative agent of the construction. The cross-linguistic tendency for passives arising from causatives to carry affected-subject semantics is explained in terms of "sentimentalization" processes in grammaticalization. The analysis of data-based evidence shows that the MAC affects NF can be either a goal or a source depending on the context. The hypothesis that the MAC across from the NPI explains the fact that they share many formal properties in non-trivial ways and also the fact that the subject of the MAC can control the sententially denoted event, both of which would be puzzles otherwise.

Carriel O'Leary (University of Connecticut)

Staphs Grahn (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)

Negative polarity (a positive result and positive polarity (a negative result)

An experiment was carried out to investigate children's knowledge of the syntax and semantics of the Negative Polarity Item any and the Positive Polarity Item not. The task was to confirm or deny what a puppet said about the puppet's action acted out in the experimental workspace. In correcting the puppet, 39% of children's productions (n=136) contained either an NPI or a PPI. Children virtually never produced unlicensed NPIs, but they did use the PPI mark. The results are interpreted within the framework of Ladusaw (1979) and Propovuc (1992).

Haruyuki Oshita (University of Southern California)

Compounds: A view from suffixation and e-structure alternation

This paper, following Grimshaw (1990), argues that only a compound with an argument-taking head is a true synthetic compound. Productive deverbal suffixations are analyzed with respect to their effect on the argument structure of the base verb. These suffices are, e.g., three nominal -ing's (result, simple event, and complex event) and adjectival suffices: -ing, -en, -able. Compound nouns with deverbal -ing ends are synthetic only when the heads have complex event readings, e.g., (deliberate) whale-hunting. Compound adjectives are both root and synthetic compounding, e.g., (class-tested) and *(lA-)*-based, depending on the class of the base verb the suffixes attach to. This analysis elucidates the nature of the back-formation of compound verbs, such as air-condition, as derived from root compounds.

Jung-Yoon Park (University of California-Berkeley)

The morphological affective construction in Korean

The morphological affective construction (MAC), known as a passive construction, shares many formal properties with the morphological causative construction (MCC) in non-trivial ways: among others, the same set of suffixes (±hun, ±hak, ±haj) case-markings, lexical rejections. However, they have generally been treated as unrelated. This study explores the construction-specific semantics of the MAC--the subject is affected negatively, based on which it argues for the hypothesis that the NP from the NPI acts as a negative agent of the construction. The cross-linguistic tendency for passives arising from causatives to carry affected-subject semantics is explained in terms of "sentimentalization" processes in grammaticalization. The analysis of data-based evidence shows that the MAC affects NF can be either a goal or a source depending on the context. The hypothesis that the MAC across from the NPI explains the fact that they share many formal properties in non-trivial ways and also the fact that the subject of the MAC can control the sententially denoted event, both of which would be puzzles otherwise.
Barbara Zurer Pearson (University of Miami)
Sylvie C. Fernández (University of Maryland-Baltimore County)

Cross-language synonyms in early bilingual lexicons: One language or two?

This study tests the claim from Volterra & Tae Schner (1978) and reinforced by Clark's Principle of Contrast (1987) that young simultaneous bilingual children reject cross-language synonyms in their earliest lexicons. The rejection of translation equivalents (TEs) was tested at different stages of development. All children observed to have TEs at all observation points except one, with an average of 30% of all words coded in 2 languages, both early stages (2-10 words) and later (up to 400 words). In order to know whether the percentage of TEs were greater or smaller than might be expected in a random circumstance, single-language lexicons from separate children were compared. The percentage of words co-occurring in the separate lexicons used in the between-child comparisons was identical to that observed in the within-child comparisons for the bilinguals. TEs are thus seen to represent the chance occurrence of a given word in the two domains where English and Spanish are spoken. The close correspondence shown between time spent with speakers of a language and the vocabulary development in that language, the argument is made for two independently developing lexicons.

Barbara Zurer Pearson (University of Miami)

Cross-language synonyms in early bilingual lexicons: One language or two?

This study tests the widely-cited claim from Volterra & Tae Schner (1978), and reinforced by Clark's Principle of Contrast (1987), that young simultaneous bilingual children reject cross-language synonyms in their earliest lexicons. This rejection of translation equivalents is taken as support for a single-language system which includes elements from both languages. We first examine the accuracy of the empirical claim and then its adequacy as support for the argument that the children's two lexicons are not two independent systems. The vocabularies of 17 developing bilinguals were recorded at intervals between 8 and 30 months, using the MacArthur CDI, a standardized parent report form in English and Spanish. The 2 single-language vocabularies of each bilingual child were compared to determine how many pairs of translation equivalents (TEs) were reported for each child at different stages of development. All children were observed to have TEs at all observation points except two, with an average of 30% of all words coded in 2 languages, both early stages (2-10 words) and later (up to 400 words). Thus, Volterra & Tae Schner's empirical claim was not upheld. Further, the number of TEs in the bilinguals' two lexicons was shown to be similar to the number of lexical items co-occurring in the monolingual lexicons of two separate children, as observed in 30 between-child comparisons. It remains to be shown, therefore, that the bilinguals' two lexicons are not 2 independent systems.
Maria Polinsky (University of Southern California)  

Existentials as complex predicates: Evidence for incorporation

The paper analyzes existential constructions, using examples from Chukchee, several Bantu languages, and Malagasy. The languages included in this study demonstrate consistent selectional restrictions on the type of verbs that can appear in these constructions, with Chukchee representing the most restrictive type. The paper argues that in the languages analyzed, the existential verb and the name of the entity whose existence is established form a single constituent in the clause structure. The name of the existing entity thus undergoes incorporation, which can be either morphological, as in Chukchee, or covert, as in Bantu and Malagasy. The paper argues for the so-called Abstract Incorporation or Reanalysis, revealed in the phonological, prosodic, and syntactic features, but not in morphology. Under both Incorporation proper and Abstract Incorporation, the name of the existing entity is syntactically a non-term; however, it retains its complement status, which is reflected in its inaccessibility to deletion. It can also retain projection into clausal syntax: in the language of each of the examples in this study, the name of the existing entity can have free modifiers in the clause structure (numerical, descriptive relative clauses, and some quantifiers). The relationship between the incorporated head and the free modifier is best captured under the discontinuous constituency analysis.

Maria Polinsky (University of Southern California)  

Ramanan Rajaeeb (University of Southern California)  

Al, bi, or with? Quasi-synonymy: locative serial in Tsez

The paper analyzes two series of locative cases in Tsez (a member of the Tsez-Dido group of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family), with suffixes -a and -de. These series seem very close in meaning and are treated as nearly synonymous by the existing accounts. Both -a and -de express two major meanings: the locative meaning proper (near, by, close to), and the co-participation meaning (with). With regard to the locative meaning, the suffix -a expresses closeness to an immovable and immovable entity, while the suffix -de expresses closeness to an immovable and immovable entity. The marking of an animable/mobile entity by -a is a verb pragmatic motivation (to denote location around the entity) or to denote denoted in议题). In the non-locative meaning, -a and -de are clearly opposed as the suffixes of the covative and locative. The covative is defined as the participant which accompanies another participant in a given situation and is totally inactive or significantly less active than that participant. The locative is defined as the participant whose function in a given situation is similar to that of the agent; this participant differs from the agent in being communicatively and/or pragmatically backgrounded. Accordingly, the covative is often expressed by a nominal of agentive semantics (human, or at least animate). Thus, the difference between the suffixes has a semantic motivation, with well-established cross-linguistic parallels, based on the act/animate hierarchy. Historically, it is suggested that both suffixes derive from a non-locative meaning; this analysis is supported by the fact of closely related languages, lexicalized forms with both affixes in Tsez, and the gradual loss of the non-locative meaning of the suffixes in modern Tsez.
Liljana Progovac (Wayne State University)
Clitics in Serbian/Croatian: Deriving the second position

It has often been claimed that clitics in SC either follow the first constituent or the first word in a clause (Brownie 1974; Connle 1981). I argue that there are no two distinct positions for clitics in SC, but rather that the first position is always an element in Comp, whether a base-generated complementizer, or an element moved to Comp. What looks like the first word, or closer inspection turns out to be a phrase which can move independently to the Spec of CP.

(i) Clitics in SC right-adjunct to Comp in syntax:

(ii) All and only elements that can move to Comp or are base-generated in Comp are clitics.

Movement of possessives/adjectives to specifier of CP is grammatical in SC, explaining why these can support clitics. It turns out that prepositions and nouns heading genitive phrases cannot support clitics, whether stressed or not. This correlates with the fact that prepositions cannot move out of their PP's, certainly not to Comp, and neither can nouns heading genitive complements. The phonological explanation, that clitics attach to the first stressed word, proves both too strong and too weak in the facts of the data in SC.

Janet Randell (Northeastern University/Max Planck Institute)
Angélique van Hout (Max Planck Institute)
Jürgen Weissenborn (Max Planck Institute)

Approaching linking

Theories of syntactic-semantic linking assume a relation between a set of syntactic argument positions (whether defined on an independent level of AS or directly in S-structure) and a set of semantic elements. The question of how much such linking is innate is a controversial issue as is the question of cross-linguistic parallels across linking rules in the adult system. In this paper we take the strong view that there are innate semantic bases underlying linking rules and that the linking systems across languages reflect these in different ways. In cross-linguistic experimental studies in German and Dutch, we know that children (at the earliest age we can test) formulate linking rules based on two semantic features: +/- tacity and +/- internal control. The evidence comes from children's distinguishing two classes of intransitive verbs, unaccusatives (the arrive/disappear class) and unergatives (the sleep/lauhing/sing class), which covary with the auxiliaries BE and HAVE, respectively. Similar semantic features have been proposed for the adult linking system for English, where the auxiliary distinction is lacking, which lends support for their basis in Ug.

Richard Rath (Brandeis University)

Historicity and the problem of synthesis in pidgin and creole studies

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between historical methodology and pidgin and creole studies, focusing on the contributions that a historical perspective can make. A nuanced sense of historicity—i.e., historical authenticity in one's approach—is integral to grounding any creolization hypothesis. Differences between generativist and sociolinguistic frames in pidgin and creole theory often reflect their seeming irreconcilability to the application of synchronic methods of analysis to diachronic problems. Historicism can provide the base for a theory that is internally consistent but nonetheless counterfactual. Prematurely ruling out a competing theory on non-linguistic grounds, the need to engage with contradictory positions is dismissed and the possibility of an adequate synthesis is hastily foreclosed. The key to reconciliation and possible synthesis is to recognize that generativist and sociolinguistic paradigms deal with qualitatively different aspects of the same problem, each of which behaves according to a slightly different set of diachronic constraints. This shifts the focus away from which position is "right" toward what each explains. Rather than curtailing theoretical debate, an historical perspective can provide a domain in which different theoretical frames can engage more meaningfully.
Kathryn Remlinger (Michigan Technological University)  
Students talk and the culture of the classroom: The linguistic construction of gender and gender relationships  
Sociolinguistic studies of gender and schooling show that language in the schools is not only the medium by which notions of gender are transmitted, but that these linguistic forms act to both reinforce and challenge the dominant ideology's perceptions and expectations of gender (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Kramarcz & Treichler, 1990; Swann, 1988). While these studies tend to overlook the students' role in the construction of gender, this paper narrows the socio-linguistic gap to investigate how students linguistically construct, resist, and reproduce notions of gender and gender relationships. Relying on principles of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; Kress, 1984), this paper examines three ways in which students construct concepts of gender through language: 1) in the semiotic encoding of language; 2) in the pragmatics of discourse, and 3) in the textual category of genre. Preliminary results demonstrate that although there is some resistance to the dominant ideology, students' notions of gender and gender relationships are imbued in an androcentric world view--one that fosters traditionally masculine values based on heterosexual relationships. Challenges to this notion of gender and gender practices are undermined and silenced by the speaking strategies of those students who maintain the dominant ideology, thus a social structure of power is also produced in this context.

Philip Reznik (University of Pennsylvania)  
Selectional relationships and verb acquisition. A computational model  
Properties of arguments have received relatively little emphasis in theories of verb acquisition, yet those theories emphasize situational observation or syntactic evidence. However, the categorization of arguments into conceptual classes may play an important role in cross-situational learning (Gopnik, 1992) and in inferences based on syntactic context (Fisher et al, 1994).

In this paper I formalize the relationship between verbs and argument categories in information-theoretic terms. Intuitively, selectional preferences or plausibility constraints constitute a class of arguments that play a role in the conceptual class of an argument; this is modeled probabilistically using a measure known as relative entropy. The model has been implemented, using WebNet as a proxy for the noun taxonomy and using on-line corpora (e.g. parental turns in the CHILDES database) as linguistic input.

The statistical nature of the model makes it robust in the face of noisy evidence, including missing and misidentified arguments. It also tolerates ambiguous categorization, for example, lunch in "eating lunch" as both physical entity and activity. In addition to presenting the results of computational experiments on the acquisition of selectional constraints, I will discuss the psychological plausibility of the proposal and outline how it fits in with discussions of bootstrapping from situational and syntactic evidence.

Magdalena A. Reznik (University of Buenos Aires)  
Agrammatism as a syntactic deficit: Evidence from Spanish  
This paper presents the analysis of the grammatical deficits found in two Spanish-speakers with non-fluent aphasia. While Case 2 has severe difficulties with sentence construction, particularly on verb morphology and clitic pronouns, Case 1 produced simple and complete sentences with more severe deficits on nominal morphology. For example:

Case 1

Llama --> Llamas  
3rd PS: dos señoras gordas --> dos señora gorda  

Phrase marker

Case 2

(hes called) two ladies fat  
in the light of a Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1992), both the lexical items and functional categories operate as syntactic heads and the work on Morphology by Anderson (1992), it is concluded that agrammatic deficits can be accounted for by testing them to a chain in which t-features (features of a lexical item) are computed while Case 1 demonstrates a difficulty for computing chains that will lead to morphology checking of Verb and Noun. Furthermore, it is suggested that the impairment seems to be restricted to a more local domain (i.e., nominal agreement). This explains away why morphology checking, being the same operation for both Verbs and Nouns, is differently disrupted in each case.

Curt Rice (University of Tromsø)  
Pragmatic trapping, Mona reassociation, and Sievers's Law  
Curt Rice  

Curt Rice  

SUN MORN: Commonwealth  

This paper presents evidence for the Pronoun Paradigm Building Hypothesis (PPB), which holds that pronoun case forms are acquired as word-specific paradigms and that morphological structure influences the pattern of error. Data from a transcript database of twelve children, observed one hour monthly from 1;0-3;0 are used to support the PPB hypothesis. A total of 201 b. pronoun forms were examined, 134 of which were errors. Longitudinal analysis of the error rate of the 1s. sg. and 3rd person pronouns indicate that the pronouns are acquired as individual word-specific paradigms and the average proportion of nominative co-extensions across pronouns supports the claim that morphological structure impacts the pattern of pronoun case errors. This interaction between creating a heavy syllable with a long vowel and avoiding hiatus is characterized in OPTIMALITY THEORY (Prince and Smoakovsky 1993) as a syntactic relationship between two constraints.

Matthew Ripoli (Northern Arizona University)  
Paradigms and pronoun case errors  
Matthew Ripoli

Matthew Ripoli

(FRI MORN: Gardner's  

This paper presents evidence for the Pronoun Paradigm Building Hypothesis (PPB), which holds that pronoun case forms are acquired as word-specific paradigms and that morphological structure influences the pattern of error. Data from a transcript database of twelve children, observed one hour monthly from 1;0-3;0 are used to support the PPB hypothesis. A total of 201 b. pronoun forms were examined, 134 of which were errors. Longitudinal analysis of the error rate of the 1s. sg. and 3rd person pronouns indicate that the pronouns are acquired as individual word-specific paradigms and the average proportion of nominative co-extensions across pronouns supports the claim that morphological structure impacts the pattern of pronoun case errors. This interaction between creating a heavy syllable with a long vowel and avoiding hiatus is characterized in OPTIMALITY THEORY (Prince and Smoakovsky 1993) as a syntactic relationship between two constraints.

Luci Rizzi (University of Geneva)  
Root infinitives as truncated structures in early grammars  
Luci Rizzi

(FRI MORN: Fairfax  

This phenomenon has been observed in the acquisition of French, German, Dutch, the Mainland Scandinavian Language, etc. See Wecker(1992) for extensive discussion. E.g.

(i) Voir l'auto papa (French)  
"see the car daddy"  

The present paper tries to

The present paper tries to

A account for the absence of root declarative infinitives in the target languages. B provide a test of the hypothesis that root infinitives in the early systems. C unify in part the analysis of root infinitives and of the Early Null Subject (Hausser 1987, Valian 1991 and references cited there), two phenomena which appear to be correlated developmentally (Pierce 1989).
The uniqueness effect associated with examples like 'the King of France is bald' is often claimed to derive from a Russian logical form something like ※X(x:King& France) & Y(y:Unlucky France) → x = y & bald(x). I argue that though the uniqueness effect derives in part from uniqueness presuppositions of definite NPs, these are not Russellian (contra, e.g., Cooper 1979, Evans 1977, 1980; Kadmon 1987 and 1991), and interpretants are closer to a conventional version of conversational uniqueness (e.g., Heln 1982, Hawkins 1981, Gundel et al. 1983). However, on this account, though the antecedent is required to have uniquely intended antecedent (a discourse referent), its existence and uniqueness may be only entailed by the prior common ground (i.e., have only Prince's (1992) "Hearer-Old status", rather than "Discourse-Old status"). I also show how definite descriptions and pronouns differ in their potential for uniqueness effects, and how this can be made to follow from the fact that the antecedents of pronouns, but not those of definite descriptions, must also be salient, in a sense that term deriving from Grosz & Sidner 1986.

The present study explores the acquisition of /i/-vocalization, a variable that in the intervocalic environment is characteristic of Philadelphia speech. The data are from eighteen 3- and 4-year-old children, who were taped over a four month period. The results were consistent with previous finding that the children have essentially acquired the pattern of /i/-vocalization in the intervocalic position. That, their learning of intervocalic /i/-vocalization is more or less concurrent with the acquisition of the segment itself. Their production of /i/ in syllable-initial clusters, however, exhibits more frequent /i/-vocalization than was found in the earlier stage of children. The current results show that the intervocalic /i/-vocalization continues to be an established feature of Philadelphia speech. In addition, the children's high rate of /i/-vocalization in syllable-initial clusters underscores the difficulty in distinguishing between variation that is learned and that which results from a child's incomplete acquisition of language.

The Japanese sentence-final particle yo has been alternately characterized as "reportive" (Kamio, 1991; Xue de, 1997:384) and "emphatic" (Griffen, 1981; Obi, 1985), yet there is no analysis that unifies these two aspects of the particle. In this work, I argue that both the reportive and emphatic functions of SSF yo are characteristics of its role as a speaker-oriented "informational delictic" (Rudolph, 1993), i.e., a delictic which indexes the speaker as the only co-present participant with licensed access to the proposition marked by yo. Non-syntactic uses of the particle (i.e., functions that don’t use the former referential function), and rhetorical uses index negative affect through their emphatic tone. Since these occurrences of yo in natural discourse are also indicative of the verb and its arguments, the sociolinguistic analysis, which takes into account the relationship between speaker, addressee and referent, has been general enough to account for the full range of usage. The work presented builds on previous analyses of SFPs and as as informational "delictics", thereby providing a means to account for the theoretical framework with which the diverse functions of Japanese SFPs can be characterized. This work also has broader relevance for the relationship between affective and evidential indexes in discourse, and the relevance of sociolinguistic variables to the interpretation of these linguistic items.
Hotze Rullmann (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Negative islands aren’t islands
In this talk, I will show that the so-called “negative island effect” (Ross 1984; Rizzi 1990; Szabolcsi and Zwart 1991, 1993) is not restricted to movement constructions. Essentially the same effect can be caused by focus or gaps. The observations that lead to this conclusion go back to Jackendoff (1972), but they seem to have been overlooked in recent discussions of negative islands. I will argue that the phenomenon is due to restrictions on what can be an appropriate discourse background. The main conclusion of the paper is that the “negative islands effect” is not an island effect at all, and should therefore not be analyzed as having its basis in syntax. Instead, the data presented in this talk support a semantic or pragmatic account of such effects.

SueLen Rundquist (St. Cloud State University)
Apologies: A gender study
It is a common perception that women apologize more than men do. Tannen (1990) suggests several possible reasons for this perception, one being that “women may be more likely to apologize because they do not instinctively balk at risking a one-down position” (232). In this paper I present results of a study that addresses possible reasons why men are perceived as not apologizing, one being that men sometimes apologize indirectly, without use of conventionalized formulas. Within the framework of Olahstein and Cohen (1980), I examine apologies in men’s and women’s speech in taped-recording informal conversation. Results suggest that women and men apologize with approximately equal frequency, but the women in the study are more likely to use conventionalized expressions of apology, while the men, besides using conventionalized expressions, also use more indirect apologies, along with avoidance strategies. Thus women may not in fact apologize more frequently than men, but their apologies tend to be conventionalized and therefore easier to recognize. Tannen’s theory that men avoid ‘one-down’ situations may provide an explanation for the types of apologies used by men in this study. What these data suggest is that, although these men do on occasion avoid apologizing, they also avoid the appearance of apologizing by using indirect apologies.

Hiromu Sakai (University of California-Irvine)
The uniformity measure for derivations
Economy Principle proposed by Chomsky (1991, 1992) requires derivations and representations to be least costly. In this paper, we argue that evaluation of cost must include a measure of uniformity for derivations which states that more uniform derivations are less costly. Uniformity of derivations is measured by the number of shifts of operation types. Three distinct operation types, lexical, L-related, and non-lexical, are assumed, each of which respectively corresponds to movement into lexical, L-related, and non lexical domains. Provided with the uniformity measure, a ordering restriction which is quite similar to the one proposed by Williams (1974) and Rissland and Williams (1981) can be derived from Economy Principle. The derived ordering restriction provides the best account for various types of interaction of syntactic operations. It explains all the cases of ‘indexical movement’ and subordinated L’s (1990) generalization on X^2 movement.

Ajan Pervez Saleemi (National University of Singapore)
Syntactic constraints in early Urdu syntax
A new type of explanation for the systematic incompleteness of children’s early language is outlined on the basis of new Urdu acquisition data as well as some widely-discussed cross-linguistic data. In line with the spirit of the minimalist programme, our data indicate that the PF output of early child language is considerably reduced because: (a) their grammar allow derivations that may converge in the sense of Chomsky (19902) prematurely, (b) their syntax is in general L1-oriented, and (c) their overt syntax (i.e. that part of syntax which involves morphology-driven non-L1 movement operations) is degenerate in respect of language-internal elements and processes (cf. Pesetsky 1989). It is claimed that the patterns of emergence of Tense, Aspect, overt Case and ergativity in Urdu provides strong empirical evidence for the above set of hypotheses.

Mary W. Salus (Shriver Center U.A.P.)
Hyperlexia: Four case studies
Hyperlexia is a syndrome identified in children which includes precocious recognition of printed words in the presence of significant deficits in oral language processing. Four case studies of hyperlexic children encountered at the Shriver Center U.A.P. will be presented, along with discussion of the implications of the syndrome for the relationship between reading and language development. A review of explanations of the phenomenon, and some comments on long-term prognosis in the population.

Tetsuya Sano (University of California-Los Angeles)
On the so-called Japanese ezal sentence
In Japanese, to the question (1), it is possible to answer like (2).

1. Kimi-va nani-o tabesu?
   you 2SP what ACC eat-PSTNT (=’What (will) you eat?’)
   yoo 2SP wa aat-PSTNT
   you 2SP wa aat-PSTNT
   I TOP ezal be-PSTNT (=I am ezal’=’I will eat all.’)
I will argue that this apparently exotic construction, which is called the Ezal-Sentence, involves clefting, topicalization, and PF-deletion, by observing the NP/PP asymmetry with respect to subordination, which has already been attested in Japanese syntax (cf. Mogi 1990, Saito 1985).
Wh-questions from early child English and early child Swedish are problematic because they often appear to violate the well-founded conditions for the corresponding adult structures. Early English questions often lack a do-support or subject-ex inversion, and early Swedish questions often lack a wh-word. These missing elements have often been taken as evidence for the absence of CP in these early child grammars. This paper argues against that conclusion and for the presence of CP in early grammars. Based on new and existing natural speech data, this paper argues that Swedish provides strong evidence for CP structures. Swedish data shows obligatory verb movement to C and evidence for a null wh-element in the Specifier position. These non-adult like structures thus do not reflect a lack of structure, rather they reflect the need to learn the lexical items that appear in Spec CP. Finally, this paper suggests that a similar analysis can be applied to early English wh-questions.

Ronald P. Schaefer (Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville)

Email's schematic core particles

This paper explores the typological structure underlying the allocation of constituent material to or from pre- and post-verbal particles in Emal, a previously undocumented Semu-Congo language. It is grounded to Talmy's (1991) proposal that across five semantic domains languages typically locate the essential relating function or schematic core of an event in either the main verb or satellite. Although Emal is essentially a verb-framing language, its satellites or particles operate in every domain distinguished by Talmy but only for a limited range of event types within each. Of six Motion types, particles exist only for agentive changes in object placement resulting in either contact or spatial proximity. Temporal Contouring is confined to particle categories involving an event's degree of manifestation or temporal relation to another event. For State Change, an obligatory postverbal particle expresses change of condition but only one change to existence, absence. Emal's Action Correlating domain relies on particles only for Talmy's 'in-concert'-type and 'in-accompaniment' type. As for Realization, a postverbal particle designates event fulfillment, while the State Change particle, optional in the Realization domain, confirms a lexical implicature when present.

Nathalie Schapansky (Simon Fraser University)

Breton k2g: A case study in grammaticalization

Modern Breton existential negation is realized as ne...k2g, similar to French ne...pas. Fleurtou (1983) and Hemon (1975) fail to relate Modern Breton (MB) k2g to Old Breton (OB) k2g although, a cognate to Old Irish cce and Middle Welsh cef. Drawing evidence from Middle Breton, I show that MB k2g is to be related to OB k2g. Officer underwent first a shift in its order of occurrence, as shown in (1) and (2).

(1) *k2g in un nos...
(2) An merch man bon bur k2g reviiser, la creaff...  
      the girl here if is thoug raped believe-I

Quer was then grammaticalized as an aspect marker indicating eventuality. When associated with negation, quer was grammaticalized as a negative polar item. Due to further changes, k2g became restricted to occur opportunity to study grammaticalization in Breton. It gives support for language particular development. It also shows that the marking of negation can serve as an index for dating MB texts. Finlly, it demonstrates the importance of the syntax/semantics interface in historical change.

Roger Schwartzchild (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Playing association with focus from a theory of contrast

In Booth 1985, 1992 and elsewhere, the focus in example a, below, is treated differently from the focus in b & c. John only visited MADRID.  
John (visited MADRID).  
In a, it is claimed, the focus contributes to the meaning (most in RBS) of the bracketed phrase, which in turn is used to restrict the domain of quantification for the subject of the sentence. In c, the predicate of (c) different from the meaning of the expression c. John only visited [MADRID]. In a, b, and c, the focus are said to be associated with only while the focus in b, on the other hand, is free, and its presence is explained semantically, with reference to prior or following discourse. Contrary to this view, this paper argues that association with focus is simply the

Armin Schwager (University of California-Irvine)

On dis-firing the creole origin of popular Caribbean Spanish

Some scholars (e.g., Lipski, López Monreal) have argued that, except for El Palenque de San Basilio and the SC islands, Caribbean Spanish began developed into a stable creole, and that therefore consequent features like the reduction of verbal inflections or the partial elimination of gender agreement cannot be considered last remnants of an earlier Afro-Hispanic creole system. In the past two years, Lipski and others have carried out careful analyses of Afro-Hispanic data, and have pointed out that certain creole-like constructions in prominent bozal texts (e.g., El merito) create the impression of a much more sophisticated and creoloid verbal system in Caribbean balloon Spanish than has heretofore been noted. Palenques is the only Spanish dialect variety spoken in a situation where a lexically Spanish-based creole (Palmecanquis) is actually in use, and as such it provides an ideal site for studying the extent to which creole features may permeate adscriptal Spanish. My recently collected data show that, even in its most popularizing form, Palmecanquis Spanish is surprisingly resistant to adscriptal creole influence. This suggests, in turn, that speakers of earlier forms of a putative pan-Caribbean Spanish creole may have transferred only very few creole features into interspersed Spanish, thereby leaving virtually no clues about the possible existence of this perhaps once prominent "Black" vernacular.

Mary Ellen Scullen (University of Louisville)

French final consonants revisited: Implications for moraic theory

In this paper, I argue that the variant realization of French final consonants (i.e., either as pronounced fixed consonants (FC's) or latent consonants (LC's) which are only realized before a following vowel-initial word/phrase) reduces to a distinction in moraic status between the two types of consonants. FC's are underlyingly moraic (and hence invariably realized) while LC's are non-moraic. Given the Moraic Code Requirement which explicitly states that cod consonants in French must be moraic (Grimm 1993), they can only surface when procedurally anchored as the onset of a following vowel-initial syllable. A favorable outcome of this analysis is that the absence of moraic LC's can be attributed to both the sound environment and the quantity of the following word.

Fleming (1995) and Hayes (1989) has posited that non-geminate consonants can be lexically marked as moraic in UK.

(SUN MORN: Composition)

(SAT MORN: Extern)

(SAT AFT: Commonwealth)

(FRI MORN: Commonwealth)

(FRI MORN: Independence)

(FRI MORN: Communication)
Ann Seghers (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Judy Kegl (Rutgers University)
Richard J. Senghas (University of Rochester)
Sign language emergence and sign language change

We have been privileged over the last eight years to observe and document (for the first time in history) the natural birth of a language. From numerous home sign systems brought into contact by the establishment of the first public schools for the Deaf in 1980, a signed pidgin (Lenguaje de Señales Nicaraguense; ISN) arose among Deaf Nicaraguans. Young children exposed to this LSN created it yielding a full-fledged natural sign language (Idioma de Señales Nicaragüense, ISN). The data collected from these signers reveals an abrupt discontinuity between LSN (a peer-group pidgin) and ISN (a nativized language), providing tangible support for the role of innate language capacities in language development. Our presentation provides an overview of the factors leading up to the birth of ISN and grammatical characteristics distinguishing ISN from its progenitor, LSN.

Valerie Shaffer (State University of New York-Buffalo)
Jeri J. Jaeger (State University of New York-Buffalo)

The acoustic cues infants use in identifying their native language

Determining which acoustic cues infants use to identify their native language, and when these cues are used is critical to the investigation of language acquisition. It is necessary to know what information is available to the infant before hypothesizing how such information may be used to learn language. Previous research with infants suggests that prosodic information is exploited at an earlier age than segmental information. In this research, we replicated and extended work by P. Jusczyk and J. Meier that showed that 2-month-old infants can discriminate between their native language and a non-native language, presumably on the basis of prosodic information. Auditory Evoked Potentials (AEP) to task-irrelevant tone probes were obtained to investigate whether 3-month-old American infants could discriminate English from Dutch and Italian. English differs strikingly from Italian in prosodic characteristics, while Dutch is quite similar. The results reveal that 3-month-old infants are capable of discriminating English from both Italian and Dutch. Thus, it appears that 3-month-old infants are capable of using either subliterate prosodic and/or segmental differences to discriminate English from Dutch. The acoustic cues that could be used to identify differences between English, Dutch and Italian will be discussed, as well as future research strategies that will serve to pinpoint the cues used to discriminate these languages.

Donald Shankweller (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)
Leonard Katz (University of Connecticut/Haskins Laboratories)

Dissociation of phonological and syntactic abilities in children with reading disability

Linguistic deficits characterize developmental dyslexia, but is only one component of the language system implicated or are there multiple deficits scattered throughout language? Phonologically-driven tasks strongly distinguish reading-disabled children from other disabled groups while syntax measures administered under conditions that conserve working memory do not. Within the language sphere, the deficits associated with dyslexia are selective: There is a clear dissociation between dyslexics’ phonological abilities, which are consistently deficient and their syntactic competences, which are not distinguishable from normal. Such findings support the phonological limitation hypothesis which proposes that a low-level phonological deficit within the language system accounts for the failure of dyslexics in reading and listening comprehension.

Bartholomew Shi (Brown University)
Paul Allopenna (Brown University)

Mandarin input characteristics and grammatical category assignment

The speech of two Taiwan-Mandarin-speaking mothers to their 12-month-olds was examined to see if cues existed in the input that might assist infant’s assignment of words to content and function word categories. Statistical, distributional, phonological, and acoustic measures were analyzed. Content and function words differed significantly in frequency, utterance position, number of syllables, and occurrence of syllable reduplication, lexical full tones, diphthong, and syllable final nasals. Acoustic measures showed that content words had greater syllable duration and relative amplitude. Despite differences in mean values between categories, substantial overlap between the two was found for each measure. Discriminant analyses tested whether the two categories were distinguishable on the basis of the complete set of measures. Results showed that content and function words were on average 90% correctly classified, supporting the view that whereas individual cues are not sufficient, a multidimensional constellation of presyntactic cues is sufficient to guide assignment of words to rudimentary grammatical categories.

Uri Shlonsky (University of Geneva)

Semitic clickts

Semitic clickts have the properties (a-f):

a. They occur on the right of their host.
b. They are always attached to the closest c-commanding head (object clickts appear on the participle in complex tenses and on the verb in simple tenses.)
c. They don’t cluster. i.e. a single click per host.
d. They don’t manifest Case distinctions.
e. They bear no morphological resemblance to nominal determiners.
f. They appear on all lexical categories.

Compare with Romance (e.g. French) clickts which appear to the left of their host, cluster, manifest morphological case, resemble determiners and are hosted only by verbs.

I argue that (a-f) all follow if Semitic ‘clickts’ are Agr heads, to which the verb adjoins.

Aaron Shroyer (University of California-Los Angeles)
The representation of structure: Evidence from Musay

This paper investigates a process of progressive consonantal assimilation in Musay, a Chadic language spoken in northern Cameroon and southwestern Chad, and its implications for the representation of structure in current models of segmental phonology. I argue that the cases of partial and complete assimilation associated with cliticization are the result of a process which brings the consonant clusters arising from cliticization into conformity with general constraints on syllable structure in the language. I show that aperture theory (Steriade 1992) derives these patterns of assimilation straightforwardly as a single process which optimizes the structure of consonantal clusters. The cases of partial and complete assimilation are problematic, however, for models of feature geometry such as those proposed by McCarthy (1988) and Padgett (1992).
Michele Sigler (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Subjunctivesubject asymmetries in Armenian relativerelative clauses

This paper discusses the subject/non-subject asymmetries found in participial relativerelative clauses (PRCs) in Modern Western Armenian and Modern Eastern Armenian. Subject-headed PRCs are formed using the perfect participle and a genitive subject which triggers possessiverelative agreement. ku kr-adz kirk-a lyour rite-mis book-2pass the book that you wrote. Non-subjectheaded PRCs are formed using the present participle and no subject agreement is present. The data from Armenian are compared to similar data from Chamorro, Paluan and Turkish. Recent accounts of Case agreement, in particular, Watanabe’s (1993) mechanism for wh-agreement are accepted and shown to account for the Armenian data. PRCs with sole-argument verbs (passives, unaccusatives and certain psych verbs) allow both subject and object relativization. Unergative verbs, however, allows subject relativization. This leads to the conclusion that Armenian allows movement of the sole argument to either Spec AgrOP or Spec AgrIP. This suggests that, in the DP, Armenian shows properties of ergative/absolutive and of nominative/accusative languages.

Sigríður Sigurjónsdóttir (University of Utrecht)

The acquisition of anaphors and pronouns in Dutch

We report the results of an experimental study on the interpretation of the local anaphor zichzelf, the anaphor zich which in a highly restricted environment can operate as a long distance anaphor, and pronouns used by Dutch-speaking children. We tested 28 children between the ages of 4;4-7;4, and 12 adults, on 82 complex sentences with indicative complements, infinitival control complements, and verbal small clause complements using Craik & McKee’s (1982) modifying judgement task. We also looked at the lexical effects of three different verb classes which induce different effects on the interpretation of zich.

Our results for zich lend support to recent reformulations of the Binding Theory (cf. Reinhart & Reuland, 1991, etc.; although there is a distinction is made between syntactic binding relations and logophoric processes where the anaphor merely coheres with its antecedent. Thus, the children behave like adults in syntactic binding domains but sive difficulties with logophoric coreference. In our paper we discuss how this result relates to earlier attempts at explaining children’s difficulties with pronouns (and simple anaphors) by an acquiescent interpretation of the binding and coreference (cf. Waxler & Chien, 1985; Sigurjónsdóttir & Hyyman, in press, etc.).

Daniel Silverman (University of California-Los Angeles)

A case study in Hitigaitl: spread glotti and tone in Osumanganous languages

Phonological systems do not always possess contrasts that lend themselves to maximal perceptual salience. In general, this conflict between phonology and perceptual maximization involves the potential obscuring of one component of a segment by another component of that same segment. However, the phonetic component possesses an escape hatch for obscuring effects. Through a process of temporal sequencing, obscured features may be revealed. We refer to this phenomenon as the hitigaitl effect (cf. Hebrew “revealing”). This paper presents a case study in Hitigaitl from the Osumanganous family group. In Chitimana, vocatic phonation contrasts are phonologically postvocalic (Vb). They “interrupt” the vowel in Tripe (VbVb, VTVV), and are prevocalic in Mzatac (Vb), (TV). These peculiar phonetic manifestations are argued to be a result of the high functional load borne by Osumanganous vowels, which possess laryngeal contrasts involving both tone and phonation, as well as constrictive nasalization. Laryngeal features are sequenced in the phonetic component in order to maximize the perceptual salience of all contrastive features: tone is perceptually most salient in modal voice, in which harmonics remain unaffected by the higher frequency noise and lower frequency weakening associated with breathiness (Bickley 1982; Ladefoged, Maddison, and Jackson 1988, Cao and Maddison 1992).
Craig Sires (DePaul University)
The role of diglossia in language planning processes
More than three decades have passed since Charles Ferguson introduced the term "diglossia," but since that time very little discussion of this topic has found its way into the theory and literature of language planning (LP). I believe that many diglossic communities have significantly different planning requirements than do more conventional LP settings. In this paper I directly address the special circumstances of LP within diglossic communities, and I argue that the term and the sociolinguistic phenomenon it depicts provide crucial insights into wider LP practices and processes. My discussion is based on several assumptions about diglossic communities that Ferguson set forth in his original article; these pertain to codification of so-called "high" and "low" forms, language nativity of the "high" and "low" varieties, speaker attitudes toward the competing codes, and puristic notions about the "high" form. I argue that these sociolinguistic conditions have, in large measure, determined LP policy in many parts of the Arabic-speaking world, and I present findings strongly indicating that diglossia has exerted considerable influence over Arabization LP successes and failures. I conclude by suggesting that the centrality of diglossia in the planning process of other Third World LP settings may be just as pronounced.

Karen M. Smith-Lock (Macquarie University)
The acquisition of the passive by normal and specifically language impaired children
The aim of this study was to compare the syntactic and morphological skills of specifically-language-impaired (SLI) children and to investigate whether SLI children develop language in the same way as normal children. It was hypothesized that SLI children might be proficient at structures that can be acquired on the basis of innate principles but have difficulty with the acquisition of structures specific to a particular language. In order to investigate this, passive structures were elicited from 17 SLI children (mean age 4;0) and 16 age-matched normal children (mean age 4;2), 16 language-matched (mean age 4;0) and 16 age-matched normal children (mean age 4;2), 16 language-matched (mean age 4;0) and 16 age-matched normal children (mean age 4;2). The results showed that all children in all groups produced passives, including full passives with by-phases. No syntactic errors were committed by any group. Children in all groups made errors in the passive morphology, and all groups produced passives, including full passives with by-phrases. No syntactic errors were committed by any group. Children in all groups made errors in the passive morphology, and all groups produced passives, including full passives with by-phrases.

Cham Y Yong Sohn (Stanford University)
The Bimoric Trochee in Old English
Dennler and Lahiri (1991) proposed an Augmented Moraic Trochee as the Old English (hereafter OE) foot whose left branch contains at least two moras. Coupled with the Exhaustivity Condition (Halle and Vergnaud 1987), it allows for a set of feet ranging from monomoraic to quadrinomoraic expansion as a result of word-internal inversions in OE phonology. I argue that the Augmented Moraic Trochee be replaced by the Strictly Bimoric Trochee (McCarthy and Prince 1988, Hayes 1987, Prince 1990) with a one constant relaxation of the Exhaustivity Condition. The Bimoraic Trochee makes it possible to treat High Vowel Deletion in a much simpler way. HVD is a direct consequence of Stray Erasure (Ross 1984) in the OE foot, and, hence, no such rule as weak deletion is necessary. It will also be demonstrated that two distinct quantity-changing processes in OE can be given a unified account in the Bimoraic Trochee system. Thus, in the Bimoraic Trochee system, the common nature of three apparently distinct processes, i.e., lengthening, shortening and deletion, can be captured in a unified manner - elimination of unused material. Furthermore, the referential ranking among three options to elicit unparsed material will be explained in terms of the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky 1982) and the Strong Domains Hypothesis (Kipper and Vipic 1988).

Arthur K. Spears (City University of New York / New York Graduate Center)
The TMA systems of Lesser Antilles and Haitian creole
A comparison of the TMA systems of Lesser Antilles (LA) Creoles French, specifically the creoles of Guadeloupe (G) and Martinique (M), with that of Haitian Creole (HC) reveals dramatic differences between the two. (G and M show only minor differences.) LA and HC have the same triplicative system (formally) with the same ordering and meanings is a gross sense; but, the organisation of the two systems is dramatically different. Attempts to explain these differences raises problems with regard to how we conceptualize creole languages. We tend to think of the "Paradigm Factor," highly visible in HC, hardly at all in LA. This term refers to the subpatterns and exceptions within the system which indicate linguistic change. We then consider four hypotheses which effect to explain how these patterns are different as they are. No clear answers are possible given our limited knowledge, particularly of the history of these languages. However, this approach to system differences leaves us with fundamental questions regarding creole language genesis and evolution, and a program for descriptive and historical analysis.
Margaret Speas (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Null arguments in a theory of economy of projection

Since Taraldsen (1978) first formalized the intuition that there is some relationship between "rich" agreement and the licensing of null arguments, numerous theories of this relationship have been proposed, yet the nature of the relationship remains to be illuminated. In this paper, I propose that the distribution of null arguments follows directly from the way in which principles of economy constrain the projection of syntactic categories. I will demonstrate that this theory has conceptual advantages over theories in which there is a special licensing condition on pro, and has empirical advantages as well, in that it will follow that null arguments should occur in languages with either rich agreement or no agreement at all, but should not be possible in languages with weak agreement (cf. Jago 1989).

Luciana Storto (Pennsylvania State University)
Phil Baldi (Pennsylvania State University)
The proto-Arikãem vowel shift

This paper provides evidence for a regular phonological change in the vowel system of the Arikãem family of the Tupian stock of languages, and considers the implications of this change for the reconstruction of Proto-Arikãem and Proto-Tupi. We establish the existence of a historical process first suggested by Rodrigues (1986) in the phonology of Arikãem and Karitiana, a counter-clockwise chain shift in the five vowel system of Proto-Arikãem in its transmission from Proto-Tupi. In the resulting rearrangement *a > *u > *o regularly shift one space in the chain of the vowel system such that *a > *u > *o and *a > *u. The shift is further reflected in other less regular changes such as *1 > *v and *u > *e, as evidenced by correspondences between Arikãem, Karitiana and other Tupian languages such as Gevião (Mendê family). The shift can also be detected in a significant number of exceptional vowel correspondences between Arikãem and Karitiana in which Arikãem seems to preserve original Proto-Arikãem vowels.

Karin Stromswold (Rutgers University)
Language comprehension without production: Implications for theories of language acquisition

This paper details the language development of AS, a young boy who understands spoken language perfectly but cannot speak. Investigations of children such as AS with intact comprehension but impaired production suggest that the cognitive and neural architectures used in language comprehension and production are distinct. In addition, the existence of children such as AS with intact comprehension but impaired production suggests that negative evidence is not necessary for normal language development, because children who do not speak cannot be corrected (i.e. given negative evidence) by their parents. Despite the fact that AS cannot have received negative evidence, his syntactic and morphological development is completely normal. Lastly, investigations of children with selectively impaired language production suggest that contrary to the motor theory of language, normal production is not necessary for normal phonological, morphological and syntactic development.

Karlin Stromswold (Rutgers University)
The nature of children's early grammar: Evidence from inversion errors

Almost thirty years have elapsed since Klima and Bellugi (1966) first reported that English-speaking children sometimes fail to invert when asked questions like "why don't I go?" Inversion errors continue to receive attention from linguists and psychologists. Despite this attention, there is considerable debate about the nature of this phenomenon and its significance. In this study, we examine the role of inversion errors by English-speaking children do not suggest that children's early grammars differ in kind from the adult grammar of English. For example, the inversion data are not early grammars are different from adult grammars with Deprez and Pierce's claim that children learning English go through a stage during which a complement of inversion errors by English-speaking children does not suggest that children's early grammars lack IP and CP. The significant differences in children's inversion rates for argument and adjunct questions that differences in the adult grammar. The difference in inversion rates for argument and adjunct questions that the presence of a question word in the SPEC of CP triggers inversion and that children can and these differences are not uniform for different types of auxiliaries.

Gregory T. Stump (University of Kentucky)
Real and apparent overrides of the H-application default

Stump argues for a universal principle according to which the inversion of a head-morphological expression is realized through the inversion of its head (e.g. golwewn, hence undergod/underwear; Lait., fer 'I hear') and apparent overrides are shown to be merely apparent, falling into two groups: (i) in one group of cases (e.g. swah. jalla faal 'past all' but bafjall 'order' past befall; Russ, xaxhadn 'braggit' and xaxhadn 'xaxhadn'), the H-application Default isn't genuinely applicable and is therefore overridden; (ii) in a second group of cases (e.g. Fr. dire/2n. PRES INDC 6DICT durt but contrebad/2PF PRS INDIC contrerbad; Skt niti- 'call/ask for' and paritilly 'bring') the H-application Default is actually overridden, but this fact is obscured by the existence of competing absolute and conjunct forms in the paradigm of the inverting head; and (ii) in a third group of cases (e.g. Lin. but 'good/bad' but 'bring' (little boat)) the H-application Default is overridden, but by a universal principle rather than by a language-specific stipulation. The hypothesis that the H-application Default is not an absolute language-specific overrides entails a whole set of valid predictions about the morphosyntactic realization of inferential categories. Apparent counterexamples from Icelandic and Alkranz are shown, under closer scrutiny, to conform to these predictions.

Kenneth Sumbuk (University of Papua New Guinea)
Sino-Palaic construction in Tok Pisin

Since Mulhaisner (1976a), Woolford (1977) made an interesting attempt to describe serial verbs in Tok Pisin from a transformational generative (extended Standard Theory) standpoint of view. Tok Pisin is a rapidly changing language. Since Mulhaisner and Woolford nothing has been done on serial verb construction in this language. For us to have a satisfactory account on this phenomenon, more observations are needed. And this is what I intend to do in this paper. When Mulhaisner made his observations, Tok Pisin was then strictly speaking a pidgin language. Nearly a decade down the road, it is fast becoming a creole language. It therefore requires new observations on the compounding of the verbs.
Yuriko Sunakawa

Word order in Japanese: Pragmatics of cleft constructions

I analyzed Japanese cleft constructions in a data corpus of written texts. Results of my analysis indicate that the topic persistence of the preposed referents in both s-gc lc and a-gc lc was significantly greater than that of postposed referents; (2) the topicality of the preposed referents in a-gc lc was consistently higher than that of the postposed referents; (3) a-gc lc could be classified into two types, the persisstent postposed referent type (PRP) and the highlighted preposed referent type (HPR). In PRP, the postposed referents persisted in the following discourse, while the preposed referents showed no topic persistence. In contrast, in HPR, the preposed referents showed no topic persistence, while the persistence of the postposed referents was variable.

I demonstrate that the following three word order principles motivate the use of cleft constructions: (1) Given Before New (Chafe 1987, Gedul 1988), (ii) First Thing First (Gedul 1988), (i) Persistent Referents Last (Benson 1971). The Persistent Referents Last Principle motivates the use of the tea clefts as indicated by result (1). The use of a-gc lc is further motivated by the Given Before New Principle, PRP by the Persistent Referents Last Principle, and HPR by the First Things First Principle.

Laurel A. Sutton

"Secondary articulations" of Irish consonants

Traditional accounts of Irish posit two sets of consonants, palatalized or "alveolar" and velarized or "broad." Pronunciation guides stress tongue position and lip rounding in contrasting these consonants, which are viewed phonemically distinct. In this paper, I show that phonetic analysis reveals something quite different. The data come from two sources: native speaker elicitation, and a cassette tape which accompanies Foclóir Poiblach (1990), the official Irish dictionary. There is no palatalisation present before the high front vowels [i] and [e] and no velarisation (which is realised as velarisation) before the back and low vowels [a], [o], and [ə]. When they are present, both palatalisation and labialisation seem not to be secondary articulations but rather full glides, based on duration (100-150 ms on average). This phonetic evidence suggests a reanalyis of the Irish consonant system. We can now posit one set of consonants with no secondary articulations, and introduce two new segments: [j] and [w].

Peter Svenonius

Two classes of verbs taking small clause complements

A problem for Stowell's (1981, 1983) small clause (SC) analysis of the complement to verbs like consider (including find, prove, show, think) is that the NP-XP sequence fails constituency tests: What I really consider is Mary's plan to get a new job. But Pollard & Sag (1993) show that there is a class of verbs taking SC complements which pass constituency tests (including want, fear, hate, like, love): What they really wanted was Billy the Kid's death and burial. Various other differences between these two classes of verbs appear, not only when they take SCs but also when they appear with infinitival complements (Berman 1972). I show that only the consider-class shows the restructuring effects noted by Stowell (1991); restructuring (LF combination of the main verb with the embedded predicate) has the result that the SC subject is then-identified, and therefore behaves like an object in certain respects (e.g. it can host the trace of a null operator in particular gap and "tough" constructions). This also explains the impossibility of wh-clitic given evidence that recombination (necessary for the interpretation of SC) cannot undo restructuring. I propose that restructuring is necessary for the interpretation of the consider-class, but not of the want-class; its verbs do not undergo restructuring, and this accounts for their different behavior.

Eve Sweetser

Role and individual readings of change-predicate subjects

This paper analyzes two classes of change predicates in English, whose semantics offers precisely with respect to the mental spaces structures which they designate. Gatherer constructions in English, as in (1) below, allow either a role or an individual reading in the sense of Fauconnier (1985) of their subject noun phrases: but (2) and others like them demand an individual reading.

(1) Smith's paper keeps getting longer.

(2) Smith's paper keeps growing in frightening ways.

Type (1) predicates have some single lexical constituent which covers both the semantics of change and the semantics of the parameter changed: grow combines these two sorts of meaning, while get bigger separates them analytically. The mental spaces framework lets us precisely delineate the mappings needed for the semantic extension from basic-change event (an individual undergoes a change) to the extended role sense where merely a property actually undergoes a change. Further, this contrast parallels other cases where single-event structure is iconically represented by single-clause or single-lexeme structure.

Fulvio Sintimovski

The cooperative organization of Japanese conversations

The organization of Japanese conversations is shown to differ from that previously proposed for English conversations. In contrast to the units proposed for English conversations, such as turns (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974) and sequences (Schegloff 1969, 1990), which focus on the sequential organization of talk, Japanese conversations have been viewed as kyōkore 'cooperative talk' (Mitarani 1993) and units such as the danse (Nakai 1971, Hinami 1972, 1981, 1987) and wadan (Sakuma 1987) are characterized by the utterances of both participants. I propose an organization for Japanese conversation which is based on the wadan, which I define as a segment of talk that is oriented towards the achievement of the goal of a given participant and is co-produced by all participants. In contrast to the sequence of turns in English conversations, Japanese conversations are developed in rounds of wadan co-produced by all participants, in which the goal of each participant is negotiated and made progressively more explicit.

Walt Innes

Kabuki is analogy

General models of syntax would have it that language evolution involves long episodes of analogical spread punctuated intermittently by reanalyses. But a definitive characterization of reanalysis has been elusive. Researchers disagree about when, during a series of closely-related changes, the reanalysis occurs (Lightfoot 1991 vs. Timberlake 1977). Many potential reanalyses do not occur. Furthermore, prior to the appearance of the first evidence for a reanalysis, there are often suggestive frequency changes in historical corpora which make soon-to-be-reanalyzed forms "more like" the forms they ultimately assimilate to. If we let the frequentistic properties of words in corpora determine the nature of their representations, we can replace each unmotivated reanalysis event with a series of minor analogical modifications. I examine the development of future auxiliary BE GOING TO from the motion verb, finding evidence for a subsidiary development in the auxiliary from Equi to Raising. For each putative case of reanalysis, suggestive frequency developments correlate with the crucial innovation events. I give a Coherence-based formalization based on Elman 1991 and show how it contrasts with the competing subsystems model of Kuroch 1989, Pinkus 1991, Taylor 1992 which let frequent information constrain grammatical representations but still require unmotivated reanalyses.
At once no bread. At once no cake: Pluralisation in Nigerian pidgin English

In this paper we study the origin and function of overt and covert markers on nouns with plural reference in Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE).

F.R.I. A.F.T. (Hamming)

e.g. They wait some one hour, two hours,[f] three hours,[f] doctor no dey. (NPE/06/184-5)

They waited for one, two, three hours; the doctor was not there.

Using a quantitative approach we 1) examine the contribution of syntactic, semantic, phonological and lexical features, 2) maximize cross-linguistic comparability by adopting the coding system developed in an earlier work, and 3) minimize the effects of formality, idiolect and superstrate by utilizing a large corpus of highly informal conversations with 13 fluent speakers of NPE collected by an in-group member.

Preliminary results indicate that the majority of NPE's plural nouns are marked with zero or the suffix s. Post-nominal dem and reduplication (e.g. pickin' pickin' many children) are quite rare. As expected in Creoles, zero plurals demonstrate a strong preference for general reading. Yet the disambiguation effect is quite different from what is predicted: numeric quantifiers tend to promote -s, in direct contradiction to a functional explanation, while those with other types of plural quantification show no propensity either way. What can be gleaned from a composite treatment of these and other factors when compared to the results obtained in related varieties? We explore the implications of these findings for inferring the nature of an underlying system from synchronic variation and demonstrate how they can provide a valuable contribution to ongoing efforts to understand Creoles and their relationship to non-Crooke languages.

Chikoko Takahashi (Cornell University)

On the nature of nominative assignment in Japanese

This paper examines multiple nominative constructions (MNCs) in Japanese, in particular 'adjunct' MNCs (Amano 1994). I make the following two theoretical claims. First, Case may be assigned under a mechanism other than Spec-head agreement in natural language. Second, movement out of the VP to Spec (IP) can be forced by factors other than Case and agreement.

This approach argues against the predicates analysis of adjuncts subjects (Yoon 1987), Healy & Lee (1990), and Healy (1999), among others. Instead, I adopt Whitman's (1994) V-to-C Model Hypothesis, in which nominative Case may be assigned under government at least in some of the so-called non-agreement languages (Koopman & Spotticke 1991). As a consequence of successive cyclic movement of V to C, not only the governres of V but also the governres of V and C will be eligible for nominative assignment. I argue that the languages such as Japanese and Korean nominative Case can be assigned VP-internally.

I also propose that the requirement that certain quantificational operators bind a variable at S-structure, plays a role in raising of an NP from a VP-internal position to Spec (IP), providing in effect a non-agreement source for forced syntactic A-movement. In other words, predicates with an operator overt or abstract must have an element in Spec (IP) at S-structure, to satisfy the Interpretation Requirement (Delsing 1992). I also argue for Case reasons. As evidence, I discuss the generic/specific distinction in ANMCs, which has not been taken up by previous researchers.

Ann Taylor (University of Pennsylvania)

Some evidence for a prosodic analysis of second position clitics

This paper compares the morphological and prosodic approaches to second position clitics based on data taken from Kolbe Greek. Under the morphological approach, in which clitic position is determined based on the position of information contained in the clitic's lexical entry, it is predicted that each clitic will always appear in the same position with respect to its phrasal domain, while under the prosodic account, in which the position of the clitic is assumed to be determined by the syntactic/prosodic structure of the clause, the position of a clitic is expected to vary according to the environment in which it occurs. The Greek data clearly show that an individual clitic may appear either first or second in its phrasal domain and that the choice of position is determined by the syntactic/prosodic structure of the clause. Specifically, Greek endoclits cannot attach to a host across a phonological phrase boundary and when such a boundary intervenes between the syntactic position of the clitic and a potential host to its left, the clitic finds its host to the right by inverting with the first word of its syntactic phrase, giving rise to a second position clitic.

(A.S.T. M.O.R. (Dalton))

Daniel J. Taylor (Lawrence University)

The geography of a book (Varro's De Lingua Latina)

Books have their own destinies--habent suas fata libelli--and that of Varro's De Lingua Latina is particularly intriguing. The extant text survived the 11th century in only a single manuscript, Laurentianus 51.10, known as F to Varroian scholars. Discovered around 1350 in a bundle of letter portfolios in Montecassino by Boccaccio, this codex unicus led for the next two centuries or so an adventuresome existence involving at least two thefts, an uncomprehending silence in the highest echelons of Florentine society, a near-burnout, and even mutilation before it was safely ensconced in the Laurentian Library in 1571. The facts are few and far between, but they, along with judicious conjecture and reasonable speculation, allow us to reconstruct the mysterious history of Varro's LL. Though more romantic than most, that history compellingly reminds us that evidence for the history of linguistics and language is not only hard to come by, but can, at times, make for grand history, for we are lucky to have what little we do of classical antiquity's foremost treatise on linguistic theory.

Antonio Teraci (University of Ottawa)

Agreement, null-case checking, and PRO

Recent work on Balkan languages demonstrates that the subject position of some finite clauses contains PRO (Istr'dou 1988, Horstien and Varlokostta 1992, Terzi 1991, 1992). I will assume PRO is a pronoun anaphor. One obvious consequence of the above proposals is that they provide empirical support for Chomsky's (1991) claim that head-government is dispensable, as PRO is no longer excluded a priori from finite clauses. In this paper I develop and support two further consequences:

a) PRO has agreement features checked against those of a verb. Thus, I provide direct evidence that PRO is like other empty categories, that is, it is licensed in a Spec-head relation (rather than by the requirement to be governed, i.e., PRO Theorem).

b) PRO bears null-case features, which I will argue are checked against a functional head that is not Tense (Cuny Martin 1993 and Watanabe 1993). I propose that the element that checks null-case in the Balkan languages is the subjunctive marker M (or PR). This explains why PRO does not occupy the subject position of subjunctive subordinates of other languages, and the ability of the subjunctive subject to escape WO. I will argue that my proposal extends to English infinitival 'to' and to a nonlexical counterpart of it in the Romance languages.

David Teten (University of Chicago)

The Indo-European demonstrative-stem formant *om- in Northern European

The Indo-European demonstrative paradigm contained an element *om- in the singular forms of several oblique case (cf. Skt. dat. tama). The corresponding forms in Slavic show no sign of the *om- (cf. OCS tama). It is suggested that the loss of the *om- is related to the voicing of *m in German (Gothic hamn 'pain'), which has been ascribed to Yerms' law although the resulting accent pattern runs counter to that of the other such phenomena. Both phenomena may be explained if we assume that (a) the plural suffixes in *om- (as in Slavic tem, Gothic teimm) were 'adx' endings, as their counterparts in Sanskrit were, and (b) the internal boundary of the plural *om- endings was expanded to the singular *om-endings.
Currently, information packaging (IP) (cf. Chafe 1976, Prince 1981, 1986) is assumed to be facilitated via the same configuration, of information and anchoring constituents, in every sentence, and this configuration exists. It is topic-comment (t-c) and focus-open proposition (F-OP). A choice between the two, however, cannot be made because neither has complete empirical coverage. I will argue that the uniform configuration premise is fallacious. IP is different in discourse-internal and extra-discourse sentences, a difference accurately captured by the t-c and F-OP dichotomy: t-c is the IP of extra-discourse sentences, syntactically marked by canonical order, and F-OP is the IP of discourse-internal sentences, syntactically represented by one of a set of marked constructions. Further, differences in discourse-internal sentence IP, given syntactic representation by different marked constructions, correlate with different types of internal discourse development.

Amsida Jacqueline Thoribo (University of California-Santa Barbara) (SAT MORN: Republic Ballroom B)

Syntactic reflexes of morphological operations: The case of accidental passives

Colloquial Sinhala appears to lack a true passive, periphrastic or otherwise, a point often noted in the literature. 'There is, however, a construction which bears a superficial resemblance to passives: the 'accidental passive'. This construction generally involves an inflected verb and allows an argument corresponding to the agent of an active transitive sentence to appear in a postpositional phrase with the postposition ati. This pattern is attested also in Spanish. However, the corresponding sentence appears with the morpheme se and the agent of the sentence attends with the preposition de. In this paper, we propose that the P-morpheme of Sinhala and the SE morpheme of Spanish are entered in the lexical entry of a verb. These morphemes signal a change in theta-role assignment: the agentive NP is assigned the role of experiencer. The verb does not assign an external theta-role and, in accordance with Bürrow’s generalization, withdraws case from its internal arguments (the analogy with passive is clear: the case-assigning properties of the verb are suspended). In consequence, the internal arguments in these constructions are left without a source for structural case, and must receive it from INFL, the only case assigner in the clause. The experiencer acquires structural case in Spec, that it occupies Spec is shown by the facts of adverbial clause control. The object, in turn, receives structural nominative case in situ, although, if the experiencer does not occupy Spec, the object may move to that position to receive structural nominative case. In sum, the function of the P and SE morphemes is to detransitivize the verb.

Lourdée Torres (University of Kentucky) (FRM MORN: Republic Ballroom A)

Discourse markers in bilingual speech

I use a form and function analysis of English discourse markers in Spanish and other language oral narratives to consider the following hypotheses:

1) English discourse markers function primarily as extratemporal code switches in the speech of English dominant and bilingual speakers and as borrowings in the discourse of Spanish dominant speakers.

2) The frequency and type of English discourse marker integrated in the Spanish narratives varies according to English and Spanish proficiency.

3) English discourse markers and English discourse marker are more likely to first adopt those markers with interactional function, and primarily those that are the scaffold for the discourse at a local level.

Asymmetrical processes in morphological interlanguage development: A historical perspective

Elisabeth Traugott (Stanford University) (FRI MORN: Commonwealth)

Outside but and East conditionals: A historical perspective

Von Fintel (1993) argues that unless shares properties of the operator but (set subtraction and

minimal application); however, unlike but, unless is a higher exception operator, not a strictly

cognitive operator, hence its constraints in counterfactuals. The history of English but and unless

conditionals supports von Fintel’s hypothesis. OE and ME but conditionals favored universal

equality constrasts: By scæl nan þæt ne þæt God wille’s “You say that nothing will

come to pass, unless God wills it” (c. 888 Atl. Bo.). So did the new later ME conditional if/less

than unless: ‘That thou shoold no Statuty no Lawe be made, offasse than they vef thorou their aysent

That no statute nor law should be made unless they gave their consent to it’ (1416 R.Parl.). The

grammatical similarities and differences derive from the semantics of the adverbials before

verbalized conditionals (but = ‘began ’in the outside’, unless = ‘until the less’). But excluding (see

the outside) any focus values higher in the set than the actual one (Newhaim 1991). Deriving

been a comparative scalar, unless imposes upper bounds on the set, leading to differential inferences

in conditional sentences and inferences (Fhilenbaum 1986), and asymmetry with if not in

counterfactuals. The pragmatic distinctions confirm that older meanings constrain later ones (cf.


Maria Tsangera (University of North Carolina Chapel Hill) (SAT MORN: Dalton)

Language and history during the Lucignan Period in Cyprus (1191-1499)

Language functions and reflects its historical situation, political and social institutions reflect the

linguistic phenomena. How does the French occupation of Cyprus during the Middle Ages support the

study of linguistic and social factors that have bearing effects on historical borrowing and on the

general structure of the language? The adoption of individual lexical items from the language of the

non-Assyrians in medieval Cypriot Greek. Lexical borrowing has led to the introduction of new

southern or semi-northern environments for established languages. Some of the remarkable features

of Cypriot Greek, such as the loss of stress after the negative verb and the assimilation of vowels can

be traced in the medieval Cypriot Greek, which, in turn, led to linguistic changes.

Natsumi Tsujimura (Indiana University) (SAT MORN: Republic Ballroom B)

Unaccusativity and manner of motion verbs in Japanese

Recent inversion has been claimed to serve as a diagnostic for unaccusativity in English. Unaccusative verbs like come/go allow the inversion while unergative verbs such as run/walk do not. The addition of a goal phrase, however, has been demonstrated to show the verbal classification shift from unergative to unaccusative (cf. Levin & Rappaport 1985). Talmy (1985) claims that many languages do not allow the cooccurrence of a manner of motion verb and a goal phrase, and Japanese has been claimed to be one such language. Contrary to this observation, among the three postpositions that express goal, one of them (made, as far as so) can appear with a manner of motion verb. This paper demonstrates various syntactic and semantic differences between the postpositions and claims that made forms a resultative secondary predicate, rather than simply a PP that expresses a goal, when it cooccurs with a manner of motion verb. I will further demonstrate that when such a cooccurrence obtains, the verb also displays unaccusative properties.

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101-
Stress assignment and phonological rule domains in Salcha, a non-cordial Athabaskan language, support the conclusion of Rice (1990) that both prosodic and morphosyntactic information must be accessible for the application of morphological and phonological rules. Quantity - sensitivity and iterativity in the Salcha stress system rule out prosodic domains for many phonological rules which apply within the traditionally designated conjunct prefixes + stem domain. A rule of affricate assimilation illustrates this point. However, aposiopesis may be described as a foot - based rule, and in Salcha as in the languages cited by Rice, the root defines the minimal word. I conclude that the Salcha evidence supports both prosodic and morphosyntactic domains for phonological application.

Linda Uyechi (Stanford University)  
Selected joints in American Sign Language handshapes  
in this paper I present a pairwise organization for six hand postures in ASL that leads to the proposal that finger joints are phonologically significant features of handshape. The logical sets of selected finger joints, and a gesture [closed], provide an adequate representation for constraining handshape change in monomorphic signs. This proposal highlights the difference between the visual and spoken language modalities, that the link between production and perception is direct in the former and indirect in the latter.

Heather K. J. van der Leij (Birkbeck College, University of London)  
Binding theory and specifically language impaired children: no knowledge and no obedience

This study aims to investigate: 1) Binding Principles as a first test of the hypothesized deficit in "government" underlying "grammatical specific language impairment" in children (van der Leij, in press); 2) the influence of syntactic knowledge vs pragmatic inference in the assignment of intrasentential coreference. The issue of the modularity of language (Todor, 1983) is directly addressed. Subjects with grammatical SLI (aged 9:3 to 12:10) were matched with three language control groups of 12 children (aged 5:5 to 8:9). In two experiments, knowledge of locality conditions in the binding of reflexives and pronouns (Principles A and B) was investigated. Definite and quantified NP antecedents were used in a picture - sentence pair judgement task. The design included two "reflexive-mismatch" conditions to see if the children were using lexical semantic knowledge of a reflexive to determine coreference. Lexical-semantic knowledge significantly influenced the children's assignment of coreference. The results indicated that SLI children, unlike normally developing children, do not have knowledge of Binding Principles A or B but use central, pragmatic inference approaches to determine coreference. The data provide support for the hypothesized deficit in government underlying grammatical SLI. Further implications for language acquisition and the modularity of language are discussed.

Siri G. Tuttle (University of Washington)  
Mentional structure and prosodic constituency in Salcha Athabaskan

Stress assignment and phonological rule domains in Salcha, a non-cordial Athabaskan language, support the conclusion of Rice (1990) that both prosodic and morphosyntactic information must be accessible for the application of morphological and phonological rules. Quantity - sensitivity and iterativity in the Salcha stress system rule out prosodic domains for many phonological rules which apply within the traditionally designated conjunct prefixes + stem domain. A rule of affricate assimilation illustrates this point. However, aposiopesis may be described as a foot - based rule, and in Salcha as in the languages cited by Rice, the root defines the minimal word. I conclude that the Salcha evidence supports both prosodic and morphosyntactic domains for phonological rule application.

Kari van Nie (University of Texas, Austin)  
Prosody: unit or processing units

this paper examines the notion that prosodic units (PU) serve as processing units in speech processing. Speakers use prosody (timing, pitch, amplitude) to create word groups, and listeners track speakers using prosodic units. The paper focuses on the phonological phrase (PP), one kind of PU (cf. Nespor & Vogel 1986, 1993, 1989, 1992, etc.), and the suggestion that speech processing occurs PPh - by - PPh (cf. Tyler & Warren 1987). Such processing implies a certain integrity for PPhs. Given this, I hypothesize: (1) interrupting the processing inside PPhs should be costly, and (2) integration effects (i. e. higher context or attachment) should not occur inside PPhs. The paper reports T&W's results and presents the results of two phonome - monitoring (PM) studies. The first PM study uses stimuli like (i); PM target words are underlined. Prosody marks the clause boundary, and divides the three - noun sequence into two PPhs.

(1) When federal authorities surrounded the boat, the crew stopped work ....

Results of this study, and T&'W's results, can be explained by (1). For the other PM study I present a post hoc analysis of an experiment using sentences like (ii).

(ii) We rescued the dog from the firehouse, providing excellent headlines for ....

Preliminary results show effects from prior context only at PPh ends, consistent with (2). These studies are consistent with the view that PPhs have a more central role than the generally accepted as phonological rule domains and occasional cues for syntax.

Frieda Staal (New York University)  
Saliency of object pronouns and problems of pidgin/creole genesis

It will be claimed in this paper that pidgin and creole languages show a strong tendency of selecting non-clitic object pronouns rather than subject pronouns of lexifier languages. The saliency of object pronouns is instructive both of the process of P/C genesis and of the syntactic and discourse-pragmatic status of subject and object pronouns. The P/C genesis is governed by the economy principle instructing the learner to select only the lexical items in the target language and otherwise, depart from their lexifier. If this is made by the learner and not the learner, the lexical items are salient because they, but not subject pronouns, are lexical items, generated under lexical projections VP or PP and assigned case by lexical heads. By contrast, subject pronouns are not part of the functional projection IP and are assigned case by a functional head. Furthermore, from the informational point of view, subject pronouns are "old information slots", by contrast, objects are positions where "new information" is introduced.
Keith Walters (University of Texas-Austin)
The changing political economy of code choice on North African television

Discussions of North Africa have traditionally reduced that linguistic situation to one of "diglossia with bilingualism." Arab and Western writers have traditionally portrayed each of these axes of language choice as a source of problems for the society and the individual. In contrast to the rhetoric of schizophrenia common among these commentators, careful analysis of the practice of language choice on state-run television in Morocco and Tunisia reveals models of legitimated behavior that refuse to fit into an analysis as simple as diglossia with bilingualism. Rather, an examination of these patterns in terms of the political economy of language (e.g., Gil 1989) demonstrates local solutions to the challenges of nationalism and rationalism.

The language of television is widely recognized as playing an important role in influencing behavior in the Arab world, fostering, e.g., the development of the "middle" varieties of Arabic that have begun to fill the gap between diglossic high and low (e.g., Kaye 1990). At the same time, precisely because state-run media make no pretense of offering value-neutral models of national identity, they offer insights into issues of language choice and the creation of identity. Thus, the appearance of diglossic shifting and code-switching in certain contexts indicates growing acceptance of these previously criticized varieties of language mixing.

Important in its own right, the changing linguistic situations in these societies also offer important insights for thinking about language contact and issues of identity in cultures like our own, where monolingualism and monoglossia have traditionally dominated our thinking.

Shana Walton (Tulane University)
Microethography and Cajun register shifting

A phonetic- and discourse-level study of Cajun English allows a micro-ethography of Cajun culture, specifically, the link between Cajun self-identification and the regional variety of English spoken. As discourse-centered approach to culture, this study is a probing ground for Urban (1992) and provides another approach for examining the meanings of register shifts for people who participate in multiple cultural worlds. Data, collected during a year of fieldwork in Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana, revealed that events present during "normal" speech can be 'preserved' or minimized to invoke or deny group identity, to switch group identities, to mark social distance, or to make fun of the naive expectations of tourists.

Gregory Ward (Northwestern University)
Betty J. Birner (University of Pennsylvania)
Constituents cut in left field: The function of fronting in English

It has long been supposed that word order in English is correlated with 'givenness' in discourse, but what that means has been the subject of much debate. In this paper, we consider English inversion (e.g., On the mat was a cat) and topicalization (e.g., On the mat he put a cat), which share the property of fronting information, that is discourse-old (in the sense of Prince 1993). However, the two constructions differ as to whether this information must be RELATIVELY or ABSOLUTELY discourse-old. In inversion, what is relevant is the relative discourse-familiarity of the preposed element with respect to the postposed element (Birner 1992); discourse-new information may appear in initial position, but only if the postposed element is also discourse-new:

(1a) In a little white house lived two rabbits.

The inversion in 1a is the first sentence of a story; hence, the preposed and postposed elements are both discourse-new, and the inversion is felicitous. On the other hand, topicalization requires absolute discourse-old status; hence the infelicity of 1b. Thus we show that a single discourse principle may apply differently to different constructions, and that what is relevant for fronting in general is the discourse-familiarity of the information represented by the fronted constituent.

Albina Watanabe (University of Tokyo)
Locative inversion: Where unaccusativity meets minimality

This paper will show that the unaccusativity restriction on Locative Inversion requires the Japanese classifier in the Locative phrase move to Spec of Agr-SP in overt syntax, while its Spec stays lower than Spec of Agr-SP at LF. Following Greenberg's 93 and Bresnan & Kanerva's 89 LPG movement to the Minimality requirement, theLocative phrase moves to Spec of Agr-SP in overt syntax, while Spec of Agr-SP in Spec of the Locative phrase is realized at LF.

(1) a. through the wedding band shot a bullet
   b. through the wedding band shot a bullet

The Locative phrase moves over the Nom phrase, Relativized Minimality requires that it move through Spec of XP of (2). If the Nom phrase is an agent, Spec of XP moves Spec of the Nom phrase, which is not allowed. If the Nom phrase is atheme, however, XP in (2) is the Spec of the locative phrase, which is not an agent.

(2) a. through the wedding band shot a bullet
   b. through the wedding band shot a bullet

(3) Japanese scrambling as A-movement

Following the lecture given by Hajime Hoji (1991), the Rochester Workshop on Japanese Linguistics, this paper presents an argument against the recent proposal that Japanese scrambling may be regarded as A-movement. The proponents of the hypothesis (e.g., Miyagawa (1990), Saito (1991) and Yoshimura (1992) among others) all take certain observations regarding anaphor binding and weak crossover to support scrambling as A-movement (I suggest, however, that such observations do not warrant their proposal and, more strongly, that Japanese scrambling should be regarded as A-movement as in Saito (1995). In particular, following Hoji, the commonly adopted argument using (4) as a probe of A/A' albinonization is reevaluated and abandoned. Furthermore, operational tests with the comparative deletion and the Bare NP construction in Hoji (1990, 1995) reveal that the suppression of weak crossover by scrambling, which has been taken to support scrambling as A-movement, does not exist.

Shepherd Wechsler (University of Texas-Austin)

A review of the use of adverbial phrases in Korean

The Korean accusative particle (ACC) can appear on certain ungrammatical adverbials. Previous accounts associate ACC on accusative phrases with non-activity (Maling 1989, Kang 1986), but, as we will show, many non-accusative contexts reject the accusative, as in (1).

(1) a. (Tom) mun kongwa-hal twiskan-nongan-hal / cuyoongi(-hal) hay-sa-ta.
   b. (Tom) mon-ha-acc two hours-for-acc / silently-acc
   c. (Tom) stided for two hours / silently.

We propose instead that ACC marks a participant as an event delimiter (Tenny 1987, Krifka 1987). The following evidence will be adduced: (i) ACC favors durative over non-durative adverbials (ii) above; (ii) ACC occurs over an event, not a process, and (iii) ACC forces the 'two-sided' reading of (2), against the 'one-sided' reading of (3). We argue, then, that the evidence presented is evidence for an event duration interpretation (J-K. Lee 1991), slightly revised in this instance to event quantification. Finally, we will show that this phenomenon in which event delimiters show object-like properties is attested in other languages, e.g. Finnish, Bengali and English.
John B. Whitman (Cornell University)
Yuko Yanagida (Cornell University/Kochi University)
Wh- head movement

A number of researchers have recently claimed that even in alleged wh-in
situ languages such as Chinese or Japanese, minimally one phonetically null wh-
operator occupies an operator position in the syntax. Syntactic movement of this
null wh-operator has been claimed to be the source of Subjacency effects with wh-in
situ in Japanese. A question for this approach is the underlying relation between
the hypothesized null operator and the overt wh-phrase; none of the current
proposals are completely satisfactory. This paper claims that a sub- phrasal element
originates in the position of the overt wh-phrase and undergoes movement to
Comp: the interrogative marker. Support for this analysis is provided by
premodern Japanese and Sinhala, languages where the interrogative marker may
occur either attached to the wh-phrase, or in Comp. A language such as modern
Japanese obligatorily moves the interrogative marker to Comp; the resultant locality
conditions on the relative position of the wh-phrase and the interrogative marker
result from this movement.

Grace Wiersma (Hong Kong Polytechnic University)
Writing and identity: A problem in Bai ethnolinguistics

Describing a coherent and distinctive cultural identity for the Bai (Minjia) nationality
of China has been persistently problematic in relevant ethnographic literature. As early
as 1941, C.F. Fitzgerald writes that “today there is no such thing as a Min Chia
‘nationality’. While this view continues to affect recent investigations, the role
that has been played by Chinese writing in discouraging linguistic solidarity among Bai
people themselves has not been explored. The perplexity of outsiders with regard to the Bai
language and culture is, we believe, one natural result of the communal ambivalence
toward linguistic self-identity that has prevented Bai speakers from embracing an
vernacular orthography for their mother tongue until present times. Recently, however,
discussion of a Bai standard orthography has provided a platform for debate and
assessment of this longstanding problem. In June of 1993 Bai-speaking scholars
language planners, and political figures gathered in Kunming to discuss the Bai
orthography and consider proposals for its revision, and to press for authorization of
its general use in the Dalil Bai Autonomous Prefecture. Reporting on their discussion,
the paper contributes first-hand material on language planning in the PRC; outlines some
significant regional variations in Bai; and develops an ethnographic view of the
impact of Chinese writing on the Bai-speaking community.

Rosie B. M. Wilbur (Purdue University)
Stress, focus, and extrametricality in American Sign Language

ASL word stress placement is regular; ASL and English share the same phrasal
specifications but ASL does not allow stress shift, which provides the explanation for
phrase-final focus effect and associated word order shifts; and a principled group of
exceptions leads to the recognition that extrametricality is relevant to phrasal stress
rules in ASL. Resultantly, support the claim that ignoring moodality effects do not affect the
grammar above the level of the phonological structure.

Stress is placed on the first syllable of lexical items regardless of how many
syllables or their phonological weight. (Halle & Vergnaud 1987 parameters: [+ Head
Tonal Item], [± T.], [± bounded]). Disyllables are principle exceptions. Stress is
placed on the last syllable of phrases (± HTT, [Right], [± unbounded]).

ASL lacks stress shift and instead shuffles word order to place focused,
emphasized, and contrasted items in final position. However, there are unstranded
pragmatic focus in final position (post-verbal experience arguments of psych-verbs) which
are clearly extrametrical; stress falls on the verb even though non-final.

Suzanne W. Wilcoxson (University of Illinois Urbana)
Ordinal numbers in Chinese and English: A cross-linguistic study of name and concept acquisition

This study investigates the effects of language on children’s developing knowledge of
ordinal number names, as well as on their understanding of the concept of
ordinality. Subjects: In the U.S., 96 English-speaking subjects participated,
in three grades: kindergarten, second grade, and fourth grade; a parallel
group of 96 Mandarin-speaking participants participated in Beijing, China. The
subjects were matched on age, sex, and pretest scores on the three tasks of
a) object counting; b) a series of problem-completion probing the concept of
ordinality. The results upheld the two main predictions: 1) the simplicity of the formation rules for Chinese ordinals
2) and 3) a series of problem-completion tasks of the concept of ordinality. The results upheld the two
main predictions: 1) the simplicity of the formation rules for Chinese ordinals
3) In contrast, the rule for English ordinals was reflected in dramatistic
(top-down) item analysis in which English ordinals were higher on abstract number naming tasks for the Chinese over the U.S.
4. Subjects: 2) there was a reversal in performance on the abstract number naming tasks; U.S. subjects
2) there was a reversal in performance on the abstract number naming tasks; U.S. subjects
5) In Chinese might obscure the essential differences between the two number systems.

Kjell Willnerman (University of Texas-Austin)
Use of positional features in Chinese and English

Challagur (1977) X-ray tracings of jaw position showed that the jaw was open during
production of /fl/ phonological consonant /fl/. This is an anomalous jaw position given
the typical open-close and close-close format alternation in speech (MacNeilage &
Voyce, 1990). This study, jaw displacements for the phonological consonants /fl/ and
and /fl/ and /fl/ and /fl/ were measured. Five Arabic speakers produced Arabic words containing all of
the twelve possible CV combinations. It was found that jaw displacements for phonological
and /fl/ were generally greater than those for coronals, especially in the context of /fl/ and /fl/. It is
proposed that speakers show anomalous jaw positions for phonological in order to
avoid extreme displacements of the tongue. Opening the jaw will carry a resting
configuration towards the dental and low phonological configuration and
accommodates the vertical displacement of jaw lowering. An attempt will
be made to link this explanation to the relative unpopularity of phonological
in the word's language.

Caroline R. Wilkerson (Brown University)
The use of PARSE FEATURE constraint

This paper investigates how the ranking of phonological constraints, as argued for in
Optimality Theory, accounts for the alternations in the Dravidian language Irula, where
the output forms involve assimilation, consonant deletion, and vowel epenthesis on the
halves. The analysis proposes that, in addition to the PARSE constraint, a set
of constraints on PARSEFEATURE for various melody features must also be ranked among
the set of universal phonological constraints.

Irula syllable structure ranks a strictasonic highly, so that consonant codas are
homorganic to onsets. Vowel epenthesis is common; however, within the verbal morphology
we see both consonant deletion and vowel epenthesis. These occur under different
circumstances, so that the difference in optimal forms thus reveals that it is not simply the
placing of entire segments that is ranked with respect to FILLNUC, but rather the
placing of the features determining obstruents, laterals, and nasals. Irula requires the
following ranking of features:

FILLNUC >> PARSEOBST >> FILLNUC >> PARSEMAS >> PARSELAT

This ranking will furthermore be shown to result automatically in the constraint between
the notion of word-final nasals and laterals in polysyllabic and the epenthesis
after word-final obstruents.

(SUN MORN: Republic Ballroom A)
(SAT AFT: Republic Ballroom B)
(FRI MORN: Republic Ballroom A)
(SAT MORN: Republic Ballroom A)
(SAT MORN: Republic Ballroom B)
(SUN MORN: Independence)
Donald Winford (Ohio State University)  
The verb complex of Belizean creole  
This paper presents a comprehensive analysis of the verb complex of Belizean Creole (BC). It describes the TMA categories and the forms that encode them, as well as their characteristic distribution and combinatorial possibilities. Preliminary analysis shows that the BC verb complex is similar in many respects to those of other Caribbean English creoles, but quite different in other respects. Specifically, it has the same basic oppositions as JC in Tense (Absolute Past vs Future) and aspect (Perfactive vs Progressive vs Comprehensive), while it employs the same comprehensive and epistemic modals. However, it is different from JC (and closer to GC) in its use of Comprehensive deo and Past Habitus dorr, alternating with jussive. Moreover, unlike either GC or JC, it displays the proto-Greek TMA sequence, and combines such elements as future perfectives which make it unique among the Anglophone Caribbean creoles. In several respects, then, the BC verb complex calls for further examination of current views on the organization of contemporary creole TMA systems and the questions they raise concerning creole genesis and the relationships among the Caribbean creoles.

Wendy Wiswall (Northeastern University)  
Quechua: Evidence for consonants having height features  
Recent work in feature geometry argues that tongue-position features for vowels belong under a Height node distinct from the Place Node. (Clements 1985, 1990; Good 1991, 1993; Olden 1991, 1997). Each view argues that a Height Node is warranted, but the nature of the node dominating the Height Node (and the Place Node) differs. Under Clements (1985) and Olden (1991), the vowel features are subordinated to the consonant features. A Vowel Place Node, with some version of a Height Node and a Place Node for vowels, and a consonant node, is a sister to consonantal features which are in turn dominated by a Consonant Place Node. This suggests that height features are irrelevant for consonants, and that consonant-to-vowel feature spreading is unlikely or at best local. Uvular-driven processes of vowel lowering and [RTR] spreading in the Cuzco-Collao dialect of Quechua pose a direct challenge for this view, because uvulars must be specified with both [+high] and [RTR] (e.g. N. Luján, 1991). The lowering of high vowels to mid applied to underived lexical items only, and is bidirectional and iterative (sal, q'awa: oqo lead-colored; f'I'uyi=ch=qeqy to relax, amuse oneself, as compared to spily to run and the derived lexical item was'a-ya house. We might argue that [RTR] spread from uvulars to high vowels forces vowels to be interpreted as mid. However, evidence for a separate, strictly local rule of [RTR] spread nullifies this possibility: q'O拉萨 t'vecsle; q'eoq; eqequna children. Only the Bifurcated Model (BM) (Good & Wiswall, in prep) is able to account for vowel lowering and [RTR] spread, predicting that consonants and vowels may be specified with the same height features. BM is consistent with Sagae's (1985) model, with the Supralaryngeal Node being bifurcated into Place and Height.

Maryanne Wolf (Tufts University)  
Claudia Pfeffer (Tufts University)  
A neurolinguistic investigation of reading development and deficits in German children: Evidence toward a more universal theory of dyslexia  
This neurolinguistic study presents a cross-linguistic investigation of 20 measures of phonological, naming speed, and reading processes in 80 German-speaking children in Grade 2 and 4 (average and impaired readers). The emphasis in most dyslexia research is upon phonological processes and has obscured the differential contribution of naming speed (or word-retrieval efficiency) to reading development and failure. The German writing system with its more regular orthography and more easily acquired sound-symbol correspondence rules offers an important opportunity to test the relationship between naming speed and reading development and breakdown in a language where the phonological coding system is not as well organized and implications will be presented in a framework that a broader conceptualization of reading failure than the existing view.
Malcolm Byeger-Dror (University of Arizona)

Cognitive salience and the sociolinguistic variable

Many sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated that specific linguistic and sociological variables significantly influence dialect variation. A few studies have demonstrated that cognitive salience also can influence dialect variation. I propose that other properties which have been found to be directly correlated with cognitive salience should also be tested for their possible effect on dialect variation. From the cognitive literature, I chose two specific properties which have been shown to be correlated with cognitive prominence but which have never been tested for their influence on sociolinguistic data: word position and sentence position. The hypothesis that cognitive salience and dialect variation can be directly correlated was tested on (r) variation in Israeli Hebrew, where (r) is prescribed by the Language Academy, but in the vernacular pronunciation a third variant [r] also occurs in the present corpus. The data were coded for their realization of (r), as well as for their word position, and their sentence position. Statistical analysis showed that specific (r) realizations are significantly correlated with both the two properties and the cognitive factors. The paper concludes that knowledge of linguistic factors which are related to cognitive salience can be used to propose diagnostic variables for the analysis of language variation and change.

Pierre Zéphir (University of Missouri)

Concreteness and abstraction in orthographic representation: Evidence from Haitian creole

The issue of instrumentality for Creole languages is still a major concern for linguists, and one of the critical questions at the heart of the debate is which graphic system is most appropriate to prescribe these languages. In the case of the French Creoles (Haitian Creole and Guadeloupean), a phonological orthography has been adopted, presumably because of its simplicity and concreteness.

This paper looks at the present orthographic system established by the National Pedagogical Institute for Haitian Creole and attempts to underscore the shortcomings of the phonological model, namely the ambiguities that it presents on the semantic and syntactic levels. In addition, it discusses the pedagogical problems that such a system causes in the French/French Creole bilingualism in Haiti. Furthermore, the paper examines the morphological model proposed by Hazael Massieu (1989, 1991), and considers to what extent it can be adapted for Haitian Creole. Finally, arguments are presented in favor of a complementary orthographic system which takes into account the phonological, the morphological, the syntactic and the semantic features of the language.

Ke Zou (University of Southern California)

V-V compounds and the the construction in Chinese

This paper offers a morpho-syntax analysis of the HN-construction containing a V-V compound: a) HA is the head of a functional category and selects an aspect phrase (IP); b) the two lexical verbs of the V-V compound are characterized as heads of two VPs, and the semantic relation between the two VPs is treated as a selectional relation between the head of the first VP and the second VP; and c) the head of IP selects the first VP as its complement. Under this analysis, the thematic relations between the V-V compound, the subject NP, and the preverbal NPs are nicely captured by the spec-head and head-complement relations under X'-theory, and the complex grammatical function changes are simply derived by verb-raising and IP-movement. The motivation and argument for the verb-raising and NP-movement are: (i) the verb is morphologically and is legitimate under the Head Movement Constraint (HMC); and ii) the latter is forced by the Case Filter and NPI-standing and is legitimate under Subjacency, Binding and DOP, due to the verb raising.

Mohit Zuhl (McGill University)

Long distance VP movement and the notion of equidistance

This paper presents an analysis of long-distance VP movement found in restructuring constructions, as exemplified in (1). The theoretical questions to be addressed are: how the local nature of VP movement can be derived within the minimalist approach, and what allows an apparent violation of the locality condition in such constructions.

(1a)
Quel livre, si vous vouliez [PRO le livre t., subtil de]
que je voulais [PRO le livre t.]

I argue that in such constructions, Case checking for the object cannot take place in the lower clause due to the defective nature of T, which forces that VP to move to the matrix spec of AGP, crossing PRO and the matrix VP-internal subject. I also argue that in such constructions a complex predicate is formed by incorporation (Baker 1998) and exocentric of the matrix verb (Roberts 1991). These phenomena apparently violate the shortest movement requirement (Chomsky 1992). To reconcile them with the economy principle, I define the notion of "shortest" movement. I define the minimal domain of a linked chain [C(C(x, ..., y), z)] which is formed by verb movement as follows: for a chain, the set of nodes immediately dominated by Mex(z, y) and not containing any y, where Mex(x, y) is the highest lexical projection projected from x.

C. Jan Wouter Zwart (University of Groningen)

Raising and incorporation in complex PPs

This paper reduces the variety of simplex and complex prepositional constructions in Germanic SOV languages to a single basic structure involving head initial prepositional phrases (PPs) only. The various deviating surface structures are derived by either preposition incorporation or PP raising. The analysis explains the semantic differences between the various constructions, and accounts for the nonoccurrence of NP-PP constructions. The analysis also casts doubt on the widely held assumption that the lexical projections in Germanic SOV languages are head final.
Abstracts of Organized Sessions
Thursday, 6 January 1994

Symposium: Linguistics in the Schools in the Last 25 Years

Independence Room
7:00 - 9:00 PM

Organizer:
Mark Aronoff (SUNY-Stony Brook)
LSA Committee on Language in the School Curriculum

In the last 25 years, the field of linguistics has had major effects on schools and schooling in the English-speaking world in two separate geographical and curricular areas—the teaching of spelling in the United States and the establishment of a national curriculum for English in Britain. In this symposium, four researchers who have played and continue to play major roles in these endeavors will review the research and events that lie behind these efforts and discuss current developments, positive and negative, in both areas. Linguists will hear about the real effects that linguistics has had on schools, the role linguistics can play in education, and the sorts of things that can and do happen in schools.

Nigel Fair (University of Strathclyde)

The role of linguists in shaping English teaching in Britain: A historical overview

This paper presents a brief history of the role of linguists in shaping the teaching of English in British (particularly English) schools, from the 1960s to the present. It includes comments specifically on the Nuffield programme in linguistics and English teaching (1964), the Bolloch report 'A Language for Life' (1975), and the recent development of a National Curriculum for the teaching of English, including the Kingman report (1988), and two sets of proposals ('the Cox report' 1989, and its conservative revision 1993). I focus on the role in this history of (a) ideological tendencies, (b) the special contribution of the times of linguistics dominating the British tradition, i.e. language in context (Halliday, etc.), and language in literature, (c) the relation between functionalist or formalist syntactic theory and beliefs about grammar.

Katharine Perera (University of Manchester)

Linguists, teachers, and politicians: Current controversies over English teaching in Britain

During the last 30 years English teachers have generally been hostile towards any explicit teaching about the structure of English, while right-wing politicians have repeatedly stated that such teaching is the only way to maintain standards. The National Curriculum (1989) included a knowledge about language strand, which was initially welcomed by politicians. A nation-wide training programme for teachers was set up (Language in the National Curriculum - LINC) and some teachers began to introduce the explicit study of language in their classrooms. In 1993 the government published a revision of the curriculum which removed the knowledge about language strand, replacing it with ill-informed references to 'correct grammar'. The difference between linguists' and politicians' views of language can be illustrated by reference to the treatment of spoken English. The paper concludes by asking whether educational linguists can bridge the gap between theoretical linguistics and teachers' pedagogical concerns and the wider gulf between linguistics and the general public's misconceptions about language.
Charles Reed (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
The linguistic foundations of literacy: Research and its effects on schooling

In 1971 Charles Reed noticed that certain frequent patterns in children's early spelling could be explained in terms of children's judgments of phonetic and phonological relationships. Subsequent studies have tested those putative judgments and have examined the development of spelling in the elementary grades. These studies raise important questions about the relations between spelling and reading, variation in phonological awareness, and how teaching might build on an accurate conception of orthographic development. This research has affected schooling, but not always in ways that the researchers anticipated or advocated.

Rebecca Treiman (Wayne State University)
Young children's spellings shed light on their phonological representations

In this talk, I will argue that the spellings produced by young children can provide a window on their phonological representations. I will discuss two cases in which this may be so—that of syllabic liquids and that of word-final consonant clusters. Kindergarteners and first graders often omit the "l" of "sir" or the "n" of wander, suggesting that they consider syllabic liquids as single units. When they do include a vowel, presumably based on their knowledge that all printed English words contain a vowel, they may put the vowel in the wrong place, as in "ere" for "sir". Vowel omissions and misorderings are less common for syllabic nasals, as in "carnon", than for syllabic liquids, as in "wander". Children may represent the second syllable of "carton" as containing a vowel but may not represent the second syllable of "wander" in this way. This difference is consistent with the difference in sonority between /n/ and /l/. Other frequent errors at the first-grade level are "stik" for "stink" and "plit" for the nonword /pllit/. Such omissions are common for syllables with nasal + consonant and liquid + consonant final clusters. Children may consider syllables such as "stik" and /pllit/ to contain three rather than four phonemes. They treat the provocative liquid or nasal as an attribute of the vowel. In line with this suggestion, children in a phoneme counting task often say the /pllit/ contains three sounds, /t/, /ll/, and /l/.

Friday, 7 January 1994
Workshop: Perspectives on Computational Linguistics
Commonwealth Room
8:00 - 10:30 PM

Organizer: Judit Klavans (Columbia U/CUNY Grad Ctr)

The purpose of this workshop is to present views on the role of linguistics in computational linguistics and on the role of computational approaches in linguistics. The aim of this workshop is to provide some of the best research in these areas. It is expected that this workshop will provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and for the discussion of new directions in these areas.

Judit Klavans (Columbia University/City University of New York Graduate Center)
Computational linguistics overview

The field of computational linguistics encompasses not only the standard related fields of computational syntax, morphology, phonology, and so on, but includes also a range of other related fields. The introductory overview will serve to provide a structure for the overall set of talks that follow, and also to fill in for areas not covered. For example, the use of large corpora has assumed a particularly salient role in natural language processing (NLP) over the past few years. Similarly, advances in discourse play a significant but somewhat altered role in computational linguistics, since working systems are involved. This brings in a set of really new problems rarely dealt with in the theoretical linguistics literature.
Lori Levin (Carnegie-Mellon University)

Syntax in applied natural language processing

Recent years have seen the development of many parsing systems based on syntactic theories. However, we might ask whether or not these provide what is needed for applications in Natural Language Processing in the real world. The answer most probably lies in a combination of syntactic theory (along with every other part of linguistic theory) and practical engineering. This talk will provide examples from machine translation and computer-assisted language instruction illustrating how syntactic theory contributes the success of these endeavors and how it must be adapted in order to do so.

Janet Pierrehumbert (Northwestern University)

Prosody, intonation, and speech technology

The model of phonology laid out in The Sound Pattern of English provided a technical foundation for practical text-to-speech systems. More recently, speech technology has begun to reflect the advances of nonlinear phonology. This talk will discuss the consequences of discoveries about prosody and intonation for speech technology, emphasizing outstanding problems relevant to both synthesis and recognition. It will also mention cases in which efforts to build systems have significant theoretical ramifications.

James Pustejovsky (Brandeis University)

Lexical semantics and computational systems

Lexical semantics is the study of word meaning as it relates to determining the syntactic projection of lexical information as well as the semantic interpretation of a sentence. It encompasses issues such as lexical ambiguity, logical polysemy, and multiple subcategorization. Any well-formulated theory of lexical semantics will involve a richly articulated system of semantic types, mechanisms for constructing sentence meanings compositionally, and devices for capturing "world sense in context" phenomena, due to type shifting and coercion operations. Thus, the lexicon lies at the center of any working theoretical or computational system, from text analysis to information retrieval to machine translation. This talk also reviews some of the essential problems of lexical semantics as expressed in information extraction systems, and shows how theoretical and computational perspectives interact to create working computational linguistic systems.

Evelyne Taubersmark (AT&T Bell Laboratories)

Applications and the real world

What kinds of systems use linguistic knowledge? Many natural language systems systematically avoid the use of linguistic knowledge, whereas others depend on it. This talk presents a realistic survey from the point of view of the computational linguist of where the linguist can and should contribute to the building of a system and where non-linguistic approaches might perform a task. The conflict between building a linguistically elegant system and a functional working system will be discussed. This issue is a sensitive one for engineers and linguists alike, but with a clearer understanding of the role of each, a more effective cooperative result will emerge.

Saturday, 8 January 1994

Symposium: Distributed Morphology

Republic Ballroom B

8:00 - 11:00 PM

Organizers: Morris Halle (MIT)
Alex Marantz (MIT)

Distributed Morphology (DM) represents a synthesis of ideas and insights from work with widely differing perspectives and focussing on different bodies of data. The aim of this symposium is to discuss the points of agreement and dissent between DM and other current theories of morphology.

A proposition central to DM is that the terminal nodes of syntactic structures are not Vocabulary (lexical) items, but rather "abstract" bundles of morphosyntactic features. Vocabulary items are inserted into the terminal nodes in the Morphology, i.e., at a level of representation intermediate between (Surface) Structure and the Phonology, i.e., the PF component. DM thus agrees, in part, with approaches to morphology such as those by Anderson and Beard that separate the informational structure internal to words from the phonological realization of this information. It departs from them, however, in two important respects. First, the late insertion of Vocabulary items is not limited to derivational and inflectional affixes, but includes also the insertion of derived lexical items. We were led to adopt the uniform late insertion for all morphemes because we found that the conditions governing the insertion of stems do not differ essentially from those governing affixes: the same arguments for late insertion apply to affixes hold equally for the so-called lexical categories. Second, in DM the terminal nodes into which Vocabulary items are inserted form a hierarchical structure subject to familiar syntactic principles and operations. In this regard, DM parallels an approach such as that of Lieber. However, in DM the terminal nodes carrying the features necessary for the operation of the syntax are separate from the underspecified Vocabulary items that realize the terminal nodes phonologically. This distinguishes the DM approach from that of Lieber and Saito, both of which require that morphemes (for Lieber, lexical items; for Saito, something more like Anderson's morphophonological rules) produce the fully specified features complexes required by the syntax.

Crucially, then, DM requires underspecified Vocabulary items inserted after SS into terminal nodes organized into hierarchical structures subject to the principles of syntax. Other features of DM distinguish it from the alternatives supported by the panelists. An important distinction insisted on in DM, in contrast to some alternative approaches, is that between item and process. We have argued that processes never serve the same function as phonological pieces in the morphology and that there is, therefore, no use in morphology for a general notion of rule that may equally change as well as add phonological material on a stem according to the morphosyntactic features that the stem bears.

In DM, rules obeying syntactic locality principles (operating under government) delete and add features before Vocabulary items are inserted into the terminal nodes. We dissent here from Lieber and others on the nature of the internal syntactic structure of words. DM denies that the existence of such a syntactic structure implies anything like an x-bar syntax with complements and specifiers or negative bar levels. Rather, more basic principles of compositionality underlie both x-bar syntax in syntax and the internal syntactic structure of words. We also adopt the proposal of Marantz's earlier work that a process of "merger" (of heads under a suitably defined notion of "adjacency"), distinct from and in addition to head movement and adjunction, is involved in word formation in the syntax. There is no lexicon at all in the sense of a place outside the syntax in which any sort of composition takes place. The Vocabulary is composed of atomic connections between a phonological piece (including phonological zero) and some set of morphosyntactic features that condition the insertion of this phonological piece into terminal nodes. Any composition of pieces whatever is "syntactic." The grammar, i.e., syntax and morphology, is all and only about composition.

The main condition on Vocabulary insertion in DM is that the morphosyntactic features of the Vocabulary item be modifiable from those constituting the terminal node into which the item is inserted. Vocabulary items as well as terminal nodes are, therefore, often notably underspecified. We will review some of the evidence for this underspecification and for the rules of impoverishment (deletion rules) that operate prior to insertion. We also discuss evidence for the internal syntactic structure of words, including various kinds of mobile affixes and second position affixes, as well as syntactic (locality) constraints on dependencies between terminal nodes within words and on impoverishment.
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