Hans Henrich Hock  
and Brian D. Joseph  
Language History,  
Language Change, and  
Language Relationship  
An Introduction to Historical and  
Comparative Linguistics  
1996. 23 x 15.5 cm. XV, 600 pages  
with 69 illustrations  
Cloth US$ 199.00  
ISBN 3-11-014785-8  
(Trends in Linguistics. Studies and  
Monographs 93)  
Paperback US$ 79.95  
ISBN 3-11-014784-X  
Mouton de Gruyter  
Why does language change? Why can we  
speak to and understand our parents but  
have trouble reading Shakespeare? Why is  
Chaucer's English of the fourteenth cen-  
tury so different from Modern English  
of the late twentieth century that the two are  
essentially different languages? Why are  
Americans and the English "one people  
divided by a common language"? And how  
can the language of Chaucer and Modern  
English - or Modern British and American  
English - still be called the "same lan-  
guage"?  
The present book provides answers to  
questions like these in a straightforward  
way, aimed at the non-specialist, with  
ample illustrations from both familiar and  
more exotic languages. Specific topics  
covered include:  
- How did writing, and especially the  
alphabet, develop? How is it possible to  
decipher ancient scripts, and what do those  
script and texts reveal about long-forgotten  
languages?  
- How does language change in its struc-  
ture and vocabulary? How do meanings  
change and how do we create new words?  

John Newman  
Give  
A Cognitive Linguistic Study  
1996. 23 x 15.5 cm. XVIII, 319 pages.  
Cloth US$ 102.00  
ISBN 3-11-014894-3  
(Cognitive Linguistics Research 7)  
Mouton de Gruyter  
This book presents an in-depth, cross-linguistic  
study of the syntax and semantics of verbs  
meaning "give" and the constructions  
that they enter into. Particular atten-  
tion is given to the figurative and  
grammaticalized extensions of GIVE  
(emergence, causation, enablement, schematic  
interaction, benefactive marking,  
etc.) and motivating these extensions in  
terms of properties of literal GIVE.  

Jacob Hocksema (Editor)  
Partitives  
Studies on the Syntax and  
Semantics of Partitive and Related  
Constructions  
1996. 23 x 15.5 cm. VI, 238 pages.  
Cloth US$ 113.00  
ISBN 3-11-014794-7  
(Groningen-Amsterdam Studies in  
Semantics 14)  
Mouton de Gruyter  
The study of definites and indefinites,  
which straddles the fields of syntax and  
semantics, has become a focal point of  
linguistic research in the last 15 years. Part-  
titive constructions such as "one of the  
boys" are especially interesting from this  
point of view, because they exhibit features  
of both definites and indefinites.  

Prices are subject to change  
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Hawthorne, New York 10532  
Phone: (914) 747-0110 • Fax: (914) 747-1326  
Please visit us in the World Wide Web at  
http://www.deGruyter.de
**Introductory Note**

The LSA Secretariat has prepared this Meeting Handbook to serve as the official program for the 71st Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA). In addition, this handbook is the official program for the Annual Meetings of the American Dialect Society (ADS), the North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences (NAAHoLS), and the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL).

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the LSA Program Committee (Robert Van Valin, Jr., Chair; Peter Cole; Amy Dahlstrom; Suzanne Flynn; Michael Hammond; John Kingston; Manfred Krifka; and Keith Walters) and the help of the Hammon; John Kingston; Manfred Krifka; and Keith Walters) and the help of the Committee: Chris Barker, following members who served as consultants to the Program Committee: Chris Barker, Samuel Bayer, Victoria Bergvall, Diane Brentari, Fred Eckman, Gary Holland, D. Terence Langendoen, Ian Maddieson, Lise Menn, Loraine Obler, Wayne O'Neil, Keren Rice, and John Rickford. We are also grateful to Douglas Kibbee (NAAHoLS); Allen Metcalf (ADS); and John Victor Singler (SPCL) for their cooperation.

We especially appreciate the help which has been given by the Chicago Local Arrangements Committee (Gregory Ward, Chair).

We hope that this Meeting Handbook is a useful guide for those attending, as well as a permanent record of the 1997 Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois.

January 1997

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Exhibit Hall Floor Plan
Sheraton Ballroom I-II

Exhibit
There will be an exhibit of linguistic publications in Sheraton Ballroom I-II. The exhibit is scheduled to be open during the following hours:

Fri, 3 January 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM  Sun, 5 January 8:30 AM - 11:30 AM
3:00 PM - 6:00 PM
Sat, 4 January 10:00 AM - 2:00 PM  3:30 PM - 6:00 PM

The display copies in the LSA Joint Book Exhibit will be sold beginning at 8:30 AM on 5 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 5 January if accompanied by payment. All books must be picked up on 5 January between 8:30 and 10:00 AM. Unclaimed books will be resold and the advance payment donated to the Linguistic Institute fellowships.

Job Placement Center
A Job Placement Center will be set up in the Colorado Room during the Annual Meeting. On 3 and 4 January, the Center will be open 8:30 AM - 6:00 PM. It will also be open 9:00 - 11:30 AM on 5 January. Lists of openings will be available, and the staff will facilitate interviews between applicants and employers. Interviewers are asked to list openings and check in with the Center staff 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.
The Arkansas Room has been set aside for the use of students attending the meeting. Designated as Students Need a Place—S.N.A.P.—the room will be open on 3 and 4 January, 9:00 AM - 6:00 PM, and on the morning of 5 January until 11:30 AM.

Language
Mark Aronoff, Editor of Language, will be in the Huron Room at the following times:

Fri, 3 January 4:30 PM - 5:30 PM  Sat, 4 January 11:30 AM - 12:30 PM
All members, including students, are welcome to drop by to ask any questions they may have about submitting articles or reviews to Language.

National Science Foundation
Fernanda Ferreira, Interim Program Director, and Paul Chapin, Program Director for Linguistics at the National Science Foundation, will meet with interested members in the Mississippi Room at the following times:

Fri, 3 January 10:00 AM - 11:00 AM (Ferreira)  Sun, 5 January 10:00 AM - 11:00 AM (Chapin)
2:00 PM - 3:00 PM (Ferreira)  4:00 PM - 5:00 PM (Chapin)
Sat, 4 January 10:00 AM - 11:00 AM (Chapin)

National Institutes of Health
Howard Kurtzman, Chief, the Cognitive Science Program, National Institute of Mental Health, will meet with members interested in learning more about research and training grant support available from NIH. Members may talk to him in the Huron Room at the following times:

Fri, 3 January 12:00 PM - 2:00 PM  Sat, 4 January 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

Booths
103-5  Blackwell Publishers, Inc.
102-6  Cambridge University Press
203   Casacada Press/MIT Working Papers
200   University of Chicago Press
301   Elsevier Science
302-4  John Benjamins Publishing Co.
201   Kluwer Academic Publishers
307   Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
305   Linguistic Society of America
100-1  The MIT Press
204-6  Mouton de Gruyter
107   Oxford University Press
205   Routledge
300   Sage Publications, Inc.
207   St. Martin's Press
302   Summer Institute of Linguistics
204-6  Walter de Gruyter
303   Working Papers

Joint Book Exhibit
Ables Publishing Corp.
Addison-Wesley Longman
Chicago Linguistic Society
Duke University Press
Georgetown University Press
Hirzli Sydor
Max Niemeyer Verlag
Pleunum Publishing Corp.
Slavica Publishers, Inc.
University of Washington Press

Working Papers
Ohio State University
University of Chicago
Highlights

Thursday, 2 January

- American Dialect Society

ADS is sponsoring six workshops on the quantification (statistical) treatment of a variety of kinds of linguistic data. Each workshop, conducted by an internationally-recognized authority, will be presented twice, making it possible for participants to attend as many as four different workshops. They are free of charge (except for a small fee for some workshops in which materials are distributed) and will be held 8:00 AM - 1:00 PM in Superior A, Superior B, and the Erie Room. The schedule is on page 25. Abstracts of the workshops are on pages 91-92.

- LSA Executive Committee Meeting

The Officers and Executive Committee (James McCawley, President; Janet Dean Fodor, Vice President-President Elect; Eamon Bach, Past President; Elizabeth C. Traugott, Secretary-Treasurer; Mark Aronoff, Eductor; Robert Van Valin, Jr., Program Committee Chair; Judith Aissen; Lyle Campbell; Jane Grimshaw; Ray Jackendoff; Lisa Meen; Lynn Nichols, Bloch Fellow; and John Rickford) will meet beginning at 8:00 AM.

Friday, 3 January

- American Dialect Society

The ADS Executive Committee will meet in the Huron Room, 8:00 - 10:00 AM. The New Words Committee will meet in the same room, 10:30 - 11:30 AM.

The first session of papers will be in the Erie Room, 1:00 - 4:30 PM. The schedule of papers is on page 24.

ADS members may vote on the new words of the year in the Erie Room, 4:30 - 5:30 PM.

The ADS reception will be held in the Mayfair Room, 5:30 - 6:30 PM.

- Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

SPCL will meet 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM and 2:00 - 5:15 PM in Superior A and 2:00 - 4:45 PM in Superior B. The schedule of papers is on pages 27-28.

- Committee on Ethnic Diversity in Linguistics

The Committee on Ethnic Diversity in Linguistics will host an open meeting, 11:30 AM - 1:30 PM, in the Mississippi Room.

- LSA Organized Section: Linguistic Enterprises

Four panelists will discuss their enterprises in a panel presentation in the Ohio Room, 12:15 - 1:45 PM.

- North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

NAAHoLS will meet 3:00 - 5:00 PM in the Ontario Room. The schedule of papers is on page 26.

A reception will be held in the Mississippi Room, 5:30 - 7:00 PM. The organization cordially invites all conference participants interested in the history of the discipline to take part.

- LSA Business Meeting

The business meeting has been scheduled in Sheraton Ballroom III, 5:00-6:30 PM. This meeting will be chaired by James McCawley, LSA President. The members of the Resolutions Committee are: Jerrold Sadock, Chair; Jane Grimshaw and Ray Jackendoff. The rules for motions and resolutions appear on page 17. The Society will present the first Linguistics, Language, and the Public Interest Award to a work that effectively increases public awareness and understanding of linguistics and language.

Saturday, 4 January

- Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics

The COSWL business meeting will be held in the Mayfair Room, 8:00 - 9:00 AM. Coffee will be provided.

The COSWL audiovisual presentation titled 'The Lives of Women Linguists: Words and Images' will take place in the Ohio Room, 9:00 AM - 5:00 PM.

- American Dialect Society

The ADS business meeting will be in the Erie Room, 8:00 - 9:00 AM. Papers will be presented 9:00 AM - 12:30 PM in the same room. The schedule of papers is on page 25.

The ADS annual luncheon will begin at 12:45 PM in the Mayfair Room. Richard W. Bailey will speak on the topic, 'Philological eccentrics'.

- North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

NAAHoLS will meet 10:00 - 11:30 AM and 3:30 - 6:00 PM in the Ontario Room. The Association's business meeting will be held 6:00 - 7:00 PM in the Erie Room. The schedule of papers is on page 26.

- Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

SPCL will meet 9:00 AM - 11:45 AM in Superior A and 9:00 AM - 12:15 PM in Superior B. Afternoon sessions will meet 3:30 - 4:30 PM in Superior A and Superior B. The schedule of papers is on pages 28-29.

- 1996 Presidential Address

James McCawley, the 1996 LSA President, will deliver his presidential address at 2:00 PM in Sheraton Ballroom III. The address is entitled 'Why Surface Syntactic Structure Reflects Logical Structure as Much as it Does, but only that much'.

- Poetry Reading

The open poetry reading will be in the Mississippi Room, 6:30 - 8:00 PM. Poets are invited to bring their work.
### LSA Meeting at a Glance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Sheraton Ballroom III</th>
<th>Sheraton Ballroom IV</th>
<th>Sheraton Ballroom V</th>
<th>Michigan</th>
<th>Superior B</th>
<th>Ohio</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>Syntax: Movement &amp; Subcategorization</td>
<td>Colloquium: Linguistics &amp; the Speech Community: Service in Return</td>
<td>Endangered Langs/Field Reports</td>
<td></td>
<td>Poster Session</td>
<td>Organized Session: Ling. Enterprises</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30 AM</td>
<td>Phonetics: F0</td>
<td>Syntax: Citics &amp; Case</td>
<td>Phonology: Stress</td>
<td>Semantics: Discourse</td>
<td>Language Acquisition: L1 &amp; L2</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30 AM</td>
<td>Linguistics &amp; Education</td>
<td>Discourse Analysis</td>
<td>Caucasian Languages</td>
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<td>12:30 PM</td>
<td>LSA Business Meeting</td>
<td>Morphology</td>
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<td>1:00 PM</td>
<td>Phonology: Syllables Reduplication</td>
<td>Semantics: Quantification, Adjectives, Coordination</td>
<td>Psycholinguistics/Neurolinguistics</td>
<td>Historical Linguistics</td>
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<td>Organized Session: The Lives of Women Linguists: Words &amp; Images</td>
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<td>2:00 PM</td>
<td>Presidential Address</td>
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<td>Phonetics/Phonology</td>
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<td>5:00 PM</td>
<td>Sociolinguistics</td>
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For times, see pp. 13-22.

### Concurrent Meetings at a Glance

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Superior A</th>
<th>Superior B</th>
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<th>Huron</th>
<th>Mayfair</th>
<th>Mississipi</th>
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<td>8:00-10:00 AM</td>
<td>SPCL</td>
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<td>ADSEXEC Council</td>
<td>ADS New Words CIA</td>
<td>ADS Reception</td>
<td>NAAHoisL Reception</td>
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<td>Morning</td>
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<td>ADS</td>
<td>NAAHoisL</td>
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<td>10:30-11:30 AM</td>
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<td>ADS Luncheon</td>
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<td>NAAHoisL</td>
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<td>ADS Business Meeting</td>
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<td>ADS Luncheon</td>
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<td>NAAHoisL</td>
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For specific times, see pp. 23-29.
Linguistic Society of America
Thursday, 2 January
Evening

* = 30-minute paper

Colloquium: Linguistics and the Speech Community: Service In Return
Room: Sheraton Ballroom IV
7:00 - 9:00 PM
Organizer: John Rickford (Stanford U)
Discussants: Geneva Smith (MIT SU)
Walt Wolfram (NC SU-Raleigh)
Akira Yamamoto (U KS)
Ana Celia Zovela (CUNY Grad Ctr)

Syntax: Movement and Subcategorization
Chair: Jerrold Sadoski (U Chicago)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom III

7:00  *Understanding Mandarin ba as a verb  Emily Bender (Stanford U)
7:45  The syntax and morphology of the Chinese passive Ke Zou (CA SU-Dominguez Hills)
construction
8:05  Control as thematic movement Li-Ling Chuang (U MD-College Park)
8:25  Postverbal constituents, tone sandhi, and the structure David Wible (Tamkang U)
of VP in Taiwanese
8:45  Against IP-adjunction scrambling Makoto Yamada (Tohoku U/ Stanford U)
9:05  Scrambling does not involve movement of the object Paulien Rijkhoff (U Groningen)
9:25  Syntactic licensing of null VPs Eric Pederson (U CA-San Diego)
9:45  West Greenlandic noun incorporation as a mixed category Robert Malouf (Stanford U)
construction
10:05 Supercategorization Jean-Pierre Koenig (SUNY-Buffalo)

Friday, 3 January
Morning

Phonetics: F0
Chair: Catherine Ringen (U I A)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom III

9:00  Is intrinsic F0 of vowels phonologically specified? D. H. Whalen (Haskins Labs)
Bryan Gick (Yale U/Haskins Labs)
Jun Da (U TX-Austin)
9:20  Syllable duration in Mandarin tone sandhi and the Chai-Shane K. Hsu (UCLA)
auditory enhancement theory
Sun-Ah Jun (UCLA)
9:40  Prosodic strengthening in Taiwanese: Syntagmatic or Li-chung Yang (U CA-Santa Barbara)
paradigmatic
Cizi Grimm (SUNY-Buffalo)
10:00 Levels of intonation in discourse Yetunde Laniran (U NC-Chapel Hill)
10:20 Pitch accent in Onesia Chip Gerfen (U NC-Chapel Hill)
10:40 Downstep and downdrift in Igbo David Houghton (SUNY-Buffalo)
11:00 The phonetic basis of phonological tone Yetunde Laniran (U NC-Chapel Hill)
11:20 Implementing a floating tone Scot Myers (U TX-Austin)
11:40 Surface underspecification in the phonetic implementation of tone in Chichewa
LSA

Friday Morning

Syntax: Citizes and Case
Chair: Salikoko S. Mufwene (U Chicago)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom IV

9:00  *Citization, optimality, and modularity of constraint ranking
9:45  Determiners, citizes, and possessive adjectives in Walloon
10:05  Spanish accusative citizes as strong determiners
10:25  Verbs marking two pronominal objects: Functional nonexplanation
10:45  Retaining the case of object expletives
11:05  Some similarities between the dative and as alternations
11:25  Distinguishing the EPP and nominative case
11:45  An autolexical account of subordination-coordination mismatches

Géraldine Legendre (Johns Hopkins U)
Judy B. Bernstein (U S ME)
Zelmiña Núñez del Prado (Cornell U)
Orin D. Gensler (U CA-Berkeley/Inst Afrikan, Cologne)
Jeffrey T. Ruiter (U Rochester)
Kimberly Abbott (SUNY-Buffalo)
Ralph C. Blight (U TX-Austin)
Heidi Harley (Penna)
Andrew Carmi (U ME)
Ennuyu Yasua (U Chicago)

Endangered Languages/Field Reports
Chair: Scott DeLancey (U OR)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom V

9:00  Verb classification inCarrier
9:20  A double passive construction in Kllalam
9:40  Agreement and inalienable possession in Banawa
10:00  On the state of trilingualism on the Alabama-Coushatta reservation
10:20  The role of phonemic contrast in orthographic usage
10:40  On the creeping pace of endangerment in Emaliland
11:00  *Modern Amharic: Endangered language field report
11:45  Modern Amharic vowel quantity: Low functional load, high morphophonological involvement

William J. Poser (U N BC)
Timothy Moore (U N TX)
Daniel L. Event (U Pittsburgh)
Helena Halmari (Sam Houston SU)
Carrie Dyck (U Calgary)
Ronald P. Schafer (S IL-U.Edwardsville)
Johanna Rubba (CA Polyttechn SU-San Luis Obispo)
Robert D. Holmerman (SUNY-Stony Brook)

Poster Session
Room: Superior B
Time: 10:00 AM - 12:00 noon

A typical subcortical aphasia: A case study
Written language and mirror image discrimination: A cross-cultural survey
Lexical vs context effect in perception of liquid and stop sequences in English
A discourse analysis of competing temporal markers in Chinese: Implications for pedagogy
Pragmatic effects on locative encoding in aphasic and normal speech
Assessment of children’s knowledge of inflection and VP-ellipsis

Venu Balasubramanian (U WI-River Falls)
Eve Danzig (Max Planck Inst)
Eric Pedersen (Max Planck Inst)
Yukari Himm (U Chicago)
Kylie Hsu (UCLA)
Lisa Meen (U CO)
Avery L. Holland (U AZ)
Michael Gottfried (U AZ)
Merrill Garrett (U AZ)
Whitney Postman (Cornell U)
Barbara Luc (Cornell U)
Claire Foley (Cornell U)
Lyman Santorin (SUNY-Buffalo)
Thomas R. Sawallis (U FL)

A versatile method for quantifying perceptual weights of acoustic cues
Syntactic and morphological saturation: Iconicity in Cariban languages

Friday, 3 January
Afternoon

Organized Session: Linguistic Enterprises
Room: Ohio Room
12:15 - 1:45 PM
Organizer: Janet Dean Fodor (CUNY Grad Ctr)
Panelists: Amy Brandw: Science publishing
Charlotte Linde: Become a linguist, see the world
Dianne Taylor: The business of speech recognition
Dovie Wylie: But, Mom, who is going to PAY you to know these things?

Linguistics and Education
Chair: Amy Dahlstrom (U Chicago)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom III

2:00  *Assessing and addressing the needs of undergraduates in linguistics courses

Cari L. Spring (U AZ)

Discourse Analysis
Chair: Amy Dahlstrom (U Chicago)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom III

3:00  How head movements function to structure discourse
3:20  *The antics of African American sermons: Genre and culture roles

Evelyn McClure (CA SU-Northridge)
Cheryl Wharry (E COrt U-OK)

Phonology: Stress
Chair: Richard Janda (U Chicago)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom IV

2:00  Kinematic correlates of stress and phrase position in ASL
2:20  Prominent syllable maximization in syllable-based inflection
2:40  Constraints on the interaction of stress and weight in Irish and Maxx
3:00  A gap filled: Postcontinitinal stress in Azkoida Basque
3:20  Evidence for headless feet in metrical theory
3:40  Bimoraic feet and more syllables in Dholo
4:00  Yindjibarndi metrical structure—lentition, trochees, and vowel coalescence
4:20  *Positional privilege as positional faithfulness

Ronnie W. Wilbur (Purdue U)
Howard N. Zeeznik (Purdue U)
John Alderete (U MA-Anhers)
Amony Dubach Greem (Cornell U)
Jose Hualle (U IL-Urbana)
Colleen M. Fitzgerald (U Pittsburgh)
Rod Johnson (U MI)
Lisa Lavoie (Cornell U)
Jill Beckman (U IA)
### Friday Evening

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>&quot;The role of presupposition in wh-questions&quot; (Maria-Luisa Jimenez)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:20</td>
<td>&quot;Wh-questions in Akaa&quot; (Paul D. Kroeker)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:40</td>
<td>&quot;Topic, focus, and wh-movement in Western Apache&quot; (Brian Potter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>&quot;Pronounal wh- traces under slicing&quot; (Jason Marchant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:20</td>
<td>&quot;D* incorporation, bare NP extraction, and the organization of the CP layer in a polysynthetic language&quot; (Filomena Sandalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>&quot;Nominal phrases without functional categories&quot; (Larisa Zlatić)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:25</td>
<td>&quot;An attributive modifier distribution paradox and its solution with lexical sharing&quot; (Larisa Zlatić)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>&quot;Case and agreement with Sorbian quantified NPs&quot; (Stephen Wechsler)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Business Meeting

**Chair:** James McCawley  
**Room:** Sheraton Ballroom III  
**Time:** 5:00 - 6:30 PM

**Resolutions Committee: Jerrold Sodock, Chair**  
**Jane Grimshaw**  
**Ray Jackendoff**

**Rules for Motions and Resolutions**

The following rules for motions and resolutions were prepared by William J. Gedney and Ise Leidner and approved by the Executive Committee at its June 1973 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. **Procedure Regarding Motions.**
   2a. Motions are in order only at the duly constituted annual business meeting. Voting is restricted to members of the Society. Motions may be initiated by the Executive Committee or from the floor.
   2b. Motions initiated by the Executive Committee require for their passage a majority vote of the members voting at the meeting.
   2c. Motions initiated from the floor, if they receive affirmative vote of a majority of members voting at the meeting, are then to be submitted by the Executive Committee to a mail ballot of the membership of the Society in the next issue of the LSA Bulletin. Passage requires: a) a majority of those voting, and b) that the total of those voting in favor must be at least 2.5% of the personal membership.
   2d. If a member wishes to introduce a motion, but prefers to avoid the delay involved in 2c above, the motion may be submitted in advance to the Executive Committee (before their regular meeting preceding the business meeting at which the motion is to be introduced) with a request that the Executive Committee by majority vote of the Committee approve the introduction of the motion at the business meeting as a motion initiated by the Executive Committee (see 2b above).

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

**Morphology**

Chair: Monica Macaulay (U WI-Madison)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom IV

8:00 * Licensing of prosodic features by syntactic rules: The key to auxiliary reduction
8:45 Sorting out the past
9:05 There is no 'elsewhere' condition: On the non-unity of 'elsewhere' effects
9:25 Armenian plural selection and the nature of lexical syllabification
9:45 Systematicity in the core and peripheral components of the ASL lexicon
10:05 The semantics of English adjectival verbs
10:25 Is there root and pattern morphology?

Geoffrey K. Pullum (U CA-Santa Cruz)
Arnold M. Zwicky (Stanford U/OH SU)
Lizanne Kaiser (Yale U)
Richard D. Landa (U Chicago)
Bert Vaux (Harvard U)
Diane Brentari (U CA-Davis)
William Thompson (Northwestern U)
Grover Henson (MI SU)

Saturday, 4 January Morning

**Organized Session: The Lives of Women Linguists: Words and Images**

Room: Ohio Room
9:00 AM - 5:00 PM

Organizers: Justine Castelli (MIT)
David Silva (U TX-Arlington)

An audiovisual display. The aural presentation will comprise dramatic readings based on edited and anonymized interviews of women linguists, excerpted from the database of interviews collected by COSWL as part of its Narrative Project. The texts include discussions about issues of importance to women in linguistics such as choice of career path, importance of mentors and mentoring, and the tension between personal and professional choices. The visual presentation will consist of photographs of women linguists.

**Phonology: Syllables and Reduplication**

Chair: Robert Kucher (U IL-Urbana)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom III

9:00 What constraints should optimality theory allow?
9:20 Epenthesis and (non)moronicity: The case of Mohawk weightless [e]
9:40 Stress and epenthetic vowels in Barra Gaeic
10:00 Compensatory lengthening and structure-preservation revisited
10:20 Correspondence theory and compound mimesics in Japanese
10:40 The emergence of the unmarked: Edge-in-reduplication in Malay dialects
11:00 Reduplication in Nanoway: A reanalysis
11:20 Partial application of unfaith in Chamorro reduplication
11:40 An interaction between nasal substitution and overcopying in Muna reduplication

Jason M. Eizner (Penn)
Karin Pizer (U CA-San Diego)
Kenneth de Jong (BU U)
Anna Bosch (U KY)
Randall Gees (U UT)
Sachiko Ohno (U AZ)
Sung-A Kim (U TX-Austin)
Barbra Meek (U AZ)
Thomas Klein (Heinrich-Heine U)
Allyson Carter (U AZ)
Keiichiro Suzuki (U AZ)

**Semantics: Quantification, Adjectives, Coordination**

Chair: Peter La sooner (U IL-Urbana)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom IV

9:00 Pseudo-quantification in possessives
9:20 Differentiating 'each' and 'every'
9:40 A semantic/pragmatic account of the distribution of bare plurals in Spanish
10:00 Cardinality of floating quantifiers
10:20 Some aspects of the interpretation of adverbial mass quantifiers
10:40 Comparison of deviation
11:00 Why adjectives occur (or don't) in measure phrases
11:20 Partial associativity in categorial grammar

Geoffrey K. Pullum (U CA-Santa Cruz)
Arnold M. Zwicky (Stanford U/OH SU)
Lizanne Kaiser (Yale U)
Richard D. Landa (U Chicago)
Bert Vaux (Harvard U)
Diane Brentari (U CA-Davis)
William Thompson (Northwestern U)
Grover Henson (MI SU)

**Psycholinguistics/Neurolinguistics**

Chair: Mary Tatin (Northwestern U)
Room: Sheraton Ballroom V

9:00 Imaging the mental lexicon
9:20 Brain regions activated by grammatical tasks in men vs women
9:40 A reinterpretation of language in global knowledge disorders
10:00 Subject-verb agreement in parsing
10:20 An experimental look at interpreting adjectival modifiers
10:40 Processing agentive by-phrases in event and nonevent nominalizations
11:00 Embodied semantics for mimetic words in Japanese

Anita Loewen (MIT)
Jay Mehta (MIT)
David Poppel (U CA-San Francisco)
Jeri J. Jaeger (SUNY-Buffalo)
David Kemmerer (UCLA)
Robert Van Valin, Jr. (SUNY-Buffalo)
Alain Lockwood (SUNY-Buffalo)
Brian Murphy (SUNY-Buffalo)
David Wack (SUNY-Buffalo)
William Frawley (U DE)

**Historical Linguistics**

Chair: Eric Hamp (U Chicago)
Room: Michigan Room

9:00 Is North Picene Sabellian?
9:20 Indo-European 'jaw', 'cheek', 'chin'
9:40 Lexical diffusion is NOT lexical analogy
10:00 Mechanisms of syntactic change: Incipient word order change in Basque?
10:20 Jingulu focus marking as an instance of contact-and-loss-induced change
10:40 Modern Indo-Aryan direct discourse marking and the role of Persian influence
11:00 The diachrony of weak subject pronouns and pro-drop: Evidence from Greek
11:20 Case-licensing of subjects: The Middle Welsh 'historic' indefinite
11:40 From small clause to ECM in the history of English

John Harkness (M. &er U)
Tim Pulju (Rice U)
Betty S. Phillips (IN SU)
Jon Aske (U CA-Berkeley)
Rob Pensofilin (MIT)
Patrick E. March (U IL-Urbana)
Brian D. Joseph (OH SU)
Maggie Tellerman (U Durham)
D. Gary Miller (U FL)
**Saturday, 4 January**

**Afternoon**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LSA Presidential Address</th>
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</thead>
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| **Room:** Sheraton Ballroom III  
2:00 – 3:30 PM |
| Why surface syntactic structure reflects logical structure as much as it does, but only that much |
| James McCawley (U Chicago) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetics/Phonology</th>
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</table>
| **Chair:** Karen Landahl (U Chicago)  
**Room:** Sheraton Ballroom III |
| 3:30 Distinguishing multiple prosodic boundaries in articulation |
| 3:30 Laryngeal control in the production of Japanese vowels and /r/ |
| 4:10 Nasalized fricatives in Coznampan Mixtec |
| 4:30 Final stop devoicing in Polish: Incomplete neutralization |
| 4:50 Social factors and phonetic perception |
| 5:10 Alternatives to underspecification in language production |
| 5:30 The representation of tone in Mandarin: Evidence from speech errors |
| Dani Byrd (Haskins Labs)  
Elliot Saltzman (Haskins Labs/Boston U)  
Ayako Tsuda (Cornell U)  
Chip Gerfen (U NC-Chapel Hill)  
Bozana Tiesing (U WI-Madison)  
Nancy Niedzielski (U CA-Santa Barbara)  
Sefan Frisch (Northwestern U)  
L-Ping Wan (SUNY-Buffalo)  
Jed J. Jager (SUNY-Buffalo) |

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caucasian Languages</th>
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</table>
| **Chair:** Howard L. Aronson (U Chicago)  
**Room:** Sheraton Ballroom IV |
| 3:30 Binding and lethal ambiguity: Evidence from Georgian |
| 3:50 Aspect-based split ergativity and two progressives in Ingush |
| 4:10 *Aspects of agentivity in East Caucasian: The case of pronouns |
| 4:55 Abkhaz Makhaz: m-reduplication in Abkhaz |
| 5:15 Passive and perfect in prehistoric Kartvelian |
| Martha Jo McGinnis (MIT)  
Kojiro Nabeshima (U CA-Berkeley)  
Wolfgang Schalze (U Munich)  
Bert Vaux (Harvard U)  
Benjamin Breening (MIT)  
Kevin Tuite (U Montréal) |

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language and Gender</th>
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</table>
| **Chair:** Victoria Bergvall (MI Tech U)  
**Room:** Sheraton Ballroom V |
| 3:30 Gender differences in first person pronoun reference in Thai |
| 3:50 Beyond covert prestige: Gender and identity among white users of AAVE |
| 4:10 Effects of metalinguistic characterization on the genesis and obsolescence of Lakota gender morphology |
| Rita Simpson (U MI)  
Mary Bucholtz (U CA-Berkeley)  
Sara Trocher (CA SU-Chico) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics/Syntax: Polarity, Aspect, Lexical Semantics</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| **Chair:** Jerry Morgan (U IL-Urbana)  
**Room:** Michigan Room |
| 3:30 More on the scalar model of polarity sensitivity: The case of *unti* |
| 3:50 Negativization and negative *logophors* |
| 4:10 Presupposition and the distribution of NPIs in Breton |
| 4:30 A contextual analysis of scalar marking |
| 4:50 Aspect and predication in Welsh: An argument for Davidsonian association |
| 5:10 Unaccusativity |
| 5:30 In the garden swarms with bees: A linking challenge |
| Michael Israel (U CA-San Diego)  
Litjana Progovac (Wayne SU)  
Natalie Schapansky (Simon Fraser U)  
Scott Schwenter (Stanford U)  
Laurent Dekydtspotter (IN U)  
Rex A. Sproat (IN U)  
Raul Aronovich (OH SU)  
Mirjam Fried (U CA-Berkeley) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sociolinguistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Chair:** John Rickford (Stanford U)  
**Room:** Sheraton Ballroom III |
| 9:00 *Dialect accommodation and post-insular ethnolinguistic isolation*  
Walt Wolfram (NC SU-Raleigh)  
Kirk Hazen (NC SU-Raleigh/U NC-Chapel Hill) |
| 9:45 Selective convergence and ethnic identities: Evidence from third person -r in a Native American community  
Jason P. Miller (Georgetown U) |
| 10:05 Sound change in Chicano English: The role of non-traditional social categories  
Carmen R. Fought (Penn) |
| 10:25 Turkish-German intonation patterns: Evidence of intonation in contact  
Robin M. Queen (Kent SU) |
| 10:45 Is the northern cleft shift a chain shift?  
Matthew Gordon (U MI) |
| 11:05 The role of self-identification in diverging grammars  
Crawford Ferguson |
| 11:25 *Locating the leaders of linguistic change*  
William Labov (Penn) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonology: Features</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| **Chair:** Michael Broe (Northwestern U)  
**Room:** Sheraton Ballroom IV |
| 9:00 *Wari* vowels: An instrumental study of a remarkable inventory  
Margaret MacEachern (UCLA)  
Peter Ladefoged (UCLA)  
Bubbes Adrian Zawadzki (IN U)  
Martha Senturia (U CA-San Diego) |
| 9:20 Gradient avulserial spread in Amranji-Jordanian Arabic  
Keith Johnson (OH SU) |
| 9:40 Syllabification of vocalic sequences in Spanish verbs: Evidence for glides  
Fredrick Parkinson (OH SU)  
Michael Cahill (OH SU) |
| 10:00 The perception of Russian palatalized consonant sequences  
Manuela Noske (U CA-Davis)  
Seri Pargman (U Chicago)  
Rachel Walker (U CA-Santa Cruz/U MA-Amherst) |
| 10:20 Overgeneration in feature class theory  
Laura Walsh Dickey (Max Planck Inst) |
| 10:40 Feature spreading as alignment |
| 11:00 Lexicon of (back) and (round) in colloquial Tamil |
| 11:20 Bilabial triggers |
| 11:40 Liquid distillation: Latin and Yidiny |
American Dialect Society

Thursday, 2 January

Workshops in Statistical Methods for Linguistic Analysis
8:00 AM - 6:00 PM

8:00 - 10:00 AM

Title: Advanced Multivariate Analyzes of Linguistic Data
Presenter: Robert Berdan (CA SU-Long Beach)
Room: Superior A
Title: Correspondence (Dual Scaling) Analysis
Presenter: Wladyslaw Chichocki (U New Brunswick)
Room: Superior B
Title: Computer Plotting and Mapping of Areal Linguistic Data
Presenter: William A. Kretzschmar, Jr. (U GA)
Room: Erie

10:30 AM - 12:30 PM

Title: VARBRUL Analysis of Linguistic Variation
Presenter: Robert Bayley (U TX-San Antonio)
Room: Superior A
Title: The Analysis of Vowel Systems
Presenter: William Labov (Penn)
Room: Superior B
Title: Advanced Multivariate Analysis of Linguistic Data
Presenter: Robert Berdan (CA SU-Long Beach)
Room: Erie

1:30 - 3:30 PM

Title: VARBRUL Analysis of Linguistic Variation
Presenter: Robert Bayley (U TX-San Antonio)
Room: Superior A
Title: Factor Analytic Procedures in Language Analysis
Presenter: Edward Fireman (USC)
Room: Superior B
Title: Correspondence (Dual Scaling) Analysis
Presenter: Wladyslaw Chichocki (U New Brunswick)
Room: Erie

4:00 - 6:00 PM

Title: The Analysis of Vowel Systems
Presenter: William Labov (Penn)
Room: Superior A
Title: Computer Plotting and Mapping of Areal Linguistic Data
Presenter: William A. Kretzschmar, Jr. (U GA)
Room: Superior B
Title: Factor Analytic Procedures in Language Analysis
Presenter: Edward Fireman (USC)
Room: Erie
Friday, 3 January

Morning

Executive Council
Chair: Lawrence Davis (Wichita SU)
Room: Huron
Time: 9:00 - 10:00 AM

New Words Committee: Nominations
Room: Huron
Time: 10:30 - 11:30 AM

Friday, 3 January

Afternoon

Dialect Boundaries
Chair: Walt Wolfram (NC SU-Raleigh)
Room: Erie

1:00 Where are the speech regions of American English at any how? Laura Hartley (MI SU)
1:30 More on Midland polylectalism Dennis R. Preston (MI SU)
2:00 The breakdown of dialect boundaries: Dialect recession in two postindustrial island communities Beverly Olson Flanigan (OH U)
2:30 Diachronic aspects of ethnic boundaries Natalie Schilling-Estes (NC SU-Raleigh)
3:00 From Confederate overalls to designer jeans: The changing southern vocabulary Kirk Hazen (NC SU-Raleigh)
3:30 Dialect boundaries: Defining local linguistic communities Lawrence M. Davis (Wichita SU)
4:00 Who decides which logfoasos are dialect boundaries? Lisa Ann Lane (U Chicago)

Vote on New Words of 1996
Room: Erie
Time: 4:30 - 5:30 PM

Reception
Room: Mayfair
Time: 5:30 - 6:30 PM

Saturday, 4 January

Morning

Business Meeting
Chair: Lawrence Davis (Wichita SU)
Room: Erie
Time: 8:00 - 9:00 AM

General Session
Chair: Lawrence Davis (Wichita SU)
Room: Erie

9:00 Dual contradictory agent-marking: Diachronic syntax within Proto-Polynesian 26
Joseph C. Finney
9:30 The intrusive L' Bryan Gick (Yale U/Haskins Labs)
10:00 18th-century Sierra Leone English: Another exported variety of AAE? Michael Montgomery (U SC-Columbia)
10:30 Ozark English: Observable differences in vocabulary Bethany K. Dumas (U TN-Knoxville)
11:00 The future of Standard English Ahmed Albugny (MI SU)
11:30 Lexical property rights: Trademarks in American dictionaries Dennis R. Preston (MI SU)
12:00 The pleasures, perils, and promise of the language and gender course Michael P. Adams (Albright C)

Annual Luncheon
Room: Mayfair
Time: 12:45 PM

Richard W. Bailey (U Ml): Philological eccentrics
## North American Association for the History of the Language Sciences

**Friday, 3 January**

### Session I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Uranque linguam, uidelice latinam et anglicam: Ælfric's Grammar of English</td>
<td>Melinda Menzer (Yale U)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Judezmo philology in France: The contribution of Haim Vital Sêphêba</td>
<td>Michael T. Ward (Trinity U)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>'Tupi' or not 'tupi', That's the question: The grammars of the general languages and the missionary enterprise</td>
<td>Cristina Altman (UC São Paulo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>St. Augustine and Port Royalist language thought</td>
<td>Maria Tsipoura (U NC-Chapel Hill)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Reception

- **Room:** Mississippi
- **Time:** 5:30 - 7:00 PM

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## Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

**Friday, 3 January**

### Morning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>Puerto Rican Spanish: Evidence of partial restructuring</td>
<td>Salvatore Santoro (CUNY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>Is Proto-Roman a semicreole?</td>
<td>Stéphane Goyette (U Ottawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Why Pennsylvania German is not a creole: A Matrix Language Frame model approach to language contact phenomena</td>
<td>Janet Fuller (U SC-Columbia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Break</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td>Baba language or Nyonya dialect? Establishing the Hokkien element in Baba Malay</td>
<td>Uniberto Anandio (U Hong Kong)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:15</td>
<td>Conflicting histories of the origin of Sango</td>
<td>Stephen Matthews (U Hong Kong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>Sango revisited: The comparison of a creolized lingua franca to its source</td>
<td>William J. Samarin (U Toronto)</td>
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<td>Carlos Orrall (U Toronto)</td>
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### Saturday, 4 January

### Session II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Contemporary reflections on 17th-century philosophical language: Noam Chomsky and John Wilkins on universal language</td>
<td>Joseph Subbiondo (St. Mary's C of CA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>Noch Enmakal on the sources of the phrase 'Où est le tient'?</td>
<td>E. F. K. Koerner (U Ottawa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Territoriality, relationships, and reputation: The case of Gladys A. Reichard</td>
<td>Julia S. Falk (U Maine SU)</td>
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### Whorf Centenary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>Evaluating Whorf's Algonquian studies</td>
<td>Peter Connolly (U WONT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
<td>Whorf's 'linking consonants'</td>
<td>Bryan Gick (Yale U/Haskins Labs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>Lost in space, or the dialectics of deixis</td>
<td>Igo Klyukanov (E WA U)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00</td>
<td>Stealing the fire: Relativity in linguistics, physics, and Native America</td>
<td>Dan Moonhawk Allord (CA SU-Hayward)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>Benjamin Whorf as Americanist linguist</td>
<td>Regina Darnell (U W QNT)</td>
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</tbody>
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### Business Meeting

- **Room:** Eric
- **Time:** 6:00 - 7:00 PM
The Use of Early Sources
Chair: John Rickford (Stanford U)
Room: Superior B
2:00 Morphosyntactic characteristics of types of text and the relevance for the interpretation of creole materials
Adrienne Bruyn (U Amsterdam)
2:30 Complex sentences in early Sarawaccan
Jacques Arends (U Amsterdam)
3:00 Black English and the mass media: Insights into AAVE's development
Salikoko S. Mufwene (U Chicago)

Phonology
Chair: Adrienne Bruyn (U Amsterdam)
Room: Superior B
3:45 Optimality theory, minimal-word constraints, and the historical sequencing of substrate influence in pidgin/creole genesis
John Victor Singler (New York U)
4:15 Vowel raising in Papiamenta: Substratum and base language
Yolanda Rivera-Castillo (U AL-Tuscaloosa)

Saturday, 4 January
Morning
Languages in Contact
Chair: Jacques Arends (U Amsterdam)
Room: Superior A
9:00 Languages in contact and diachronic evidence in Portuguese Brazilian negation
Claudia Roscarisi (U Fed Fluminense, Niteroi)
9:30 The Creole French community in Louisiana: Attitudes and cultural identity
Megan E. Melanson (LA SU)
10:00 Caribbean-Hawaiian contact
Christine Corcoran (U Chicago)
10:30 Break
10:45 Gender and jargon: 'Voyageur wives and the 'foundling' of Chinook Jargon
George MacKinnon Lang (U Edmonton)
11:15 Dialects in a dead pidgin: A preliminary exploration of variation in Chinook Jargon
Barbara Harris (U Victoria)

Syntax
Chair: Christine Jouland (Concordia U)
Room: Superior B
9:00 Syntactic properties of Krio: Universal or Kwa-based?
Malcolm Finney (U Ottawa)
9:30 The story of kow in Nigerian Pidgin
Sali Tagliamonte (U York)
10:00 Synchronously speaking: Angolar Afro-Portuguese Creole, faru
Gerardo Lorenzo (CUNY/Yale U)
10:30 Break
10:45 Negation: A comparative study of Haitian and Capeverdean Creoles
Marlyse Baptista (Harvard U)
11:15 Variable concord in Portuguese: The situation in Brazil and Portugal
Anthony J. Naro (U Fed Rio de Janeiro)
11:45 Pronoun doubling and deletion in Bislama: Towards an account of predicate marking
Miriam Meyerhoff (Penn)

Monogenesis
Chair: Salikoko S. Mufwene (U Chicago)
Room: Superior A
3:30 Monogenesis and syntactic structure
J. Clancy Clements (IN U)
4:00 Monogenesis revisited: On the absence of plural marking in some varieties of (Black) American Spanish and Portuguese
Armin Schwegler (U CA-Irvine)

Variation
Chair: Anand Syen (U Westminster)
Room: Superior B
3:30 Property items in Ndyuka and its Kwa substrate
Destina Migge (OII SU)
4:00 The conditional clause in Atlantic creoles
Angela Bartens-Adawonu (Hunter C-CUNY)
Abstracts of Regular Papers
Barbara Abbott (Michigan State University)

The 'hearer-new' principle for existentials

Prince 1992 remarks ... 'There-sentences do not require indefinite NPs at all: rather, they require Hearer-new NPs' (302). Ward & Birner 1995 attempt to establish this principle more thoroughly, using a large corpus of naturally occurring data. However problems remain. First, the post-verbal NP in an existential simple need not be hearer-new; (2) gives a clear counterexample.

(2) C: I'm a mature, intelligent condominium-owning business person! What am I doing getting involved with a man who goes to work in tennis shoes?!
F: He's adorable and he worships you.
C: Well, there is that. [Cathy cartoon, 3/7/94]

Ward & Birner note two other types of place-sentences where the postverbal NP is actually hearer-old. 'Reminder' existentials are described as cases where a hearer-old entity is treated as hearer-new. But this concept of 'hearer-newness' concerns entities not uppermost in the addressee's consciousness—different from Prince's notion of entities named new to the addressee. The other category is the type commonly called 'list' existentials, described as 'hearer-old entities newly instantiating a variable'. Here Prince's notion of hearer-new, which applied to NP referents, has dropped out of the picture altogether. At the level of explanation, Ward & Birner appear to assume that existentials have a single function — 'to introduce a new referent into the discourse' (740), but the examples above show that this is not the case. It probably a mistake to think that existentials have only one function.

Ahmed Albayani & Dennis R. Preston (Michigan State University)

The future of Standard English

At the 1995 ADS meeting in Chicago, Beverly Flanigan reported on a survey of dialect forms conducted at Ohio University. Although her intent was to test the degree to which speakers of one variety might find forms from another 'possible,' much of the survey focused on questions of 'usage' and inspired our survey of changing norms in undergraduate usage in Michigan. We tested 1,683 college-age, European American and 174 demographically similar African-American Michiganers for their evaluations of prepositional object nominals (to Bill and I'), who' for 'whom' (I 'know who Jack cheated'), unmarked plurals of measure (two mile down the road), subjunctive was' (if I was you), singular verbs in plural 'there' contexts (there's two men), prepositional object reflexives (they gave it to Carol and myself), question word order in embedded questions (I wonder why did Sally leave'), 'everybody' agreement (everybody should watch their coat), objective subjects in elliptical 'as' clauses (he's just as short as me), try' and plus verb (let's try and go'), all's (all's I have is one left), and needs' plus past participle (my hair needs washed). Respondents indicated whether they (1) never used the construction, (2) used it only informally, (3) used it generally but not informally, (4) used it only formally, or (5) used it on all occasions. They were asked to write alternatives when they indicated that they would not always use the form given. The results show interesting patterns of hypercorrection and strong gender and some ethnic differences. In several cases, unexpected 'corrections' display an interesting disregard for meaning. The survey had the secondary purpose of testing an efficient data collection procedure for large, undergraduate courses in sociolinguistics.

Michael P. Adams (Albright College)

Lexical property rights: Trademarks in American dictionaries

Trademarks have been a matter of dispute between lexicographers and corporate lawyers since the leading British case, Millington v. Fox (1838), established that trademarks might entail a property right. Trademarks were an issue for the OED, and even more so for American dictionaries, since American law was potentially more stringent, yet incompletely studied until the Lanham Act of 1946. Trademarks, then, were a particular concern for the Dictionary of American English (1938-44) and the Dictionary of Americanisms (1951). For instance, owners of the trademark crackerjack objected to its inclusion in the DAE and to the definition provided there; Coca-Cola, Inc., on the other hand, encouraged entries for coke and coca-cola, viewing DAE as an advertising opportunity. Sir William Craigie advised his colleagues to avoid trademarks altogether. After the crackerjack flap and the attempted Coca-Cola takeover, they did. Subsequently, however, commercial dictionaries have included trademarks, the legal inclusion of which reflects not only clearer trademark law but a gradual understanding of the social purposes of dictionaries, their prerogatives of lexical content domain, and the status of words as inalienable property of the people.

John Alderete (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Prominent syllable maximisation in syllable-based inflation

This paper will examine the formal properties of language games which exhibit syllable-based inflation, i.e., games in which an affix is attached to every syllable in the source word. It will be argued that the output of these games have a phonetic structure like that of a compound, and that phonological constraints on syllable maximisation derive this result.
Dan Moonhawk Alford (California State University-Hayward)

Stealing the fire: Relativity in linguistics, physics, and Native America

This presentation concerning Whorf's principle of linguistic relativity (not the misnamed 'Whorf Hypothesis') argues that at least four times during this century, physicists have crept into the camp of linguistics to 'steal the fire', incorporating linguistic insights into major advances in physics. (1) Many of the fundamental questions in physics this century have been structural linguistic questions, such as when Heisenberg, while pondering 'thing-less' quantum reality, lamented that he 'We have reached the limits of our language!' (2) Whereas Einstein borrowed relativity from Humboldtian linguistics and narrowed it to the mathematical language of geometry, Whorf's attempts to reclaim the concept for linguistics (resulting in the so-called 'Native American way') was resisted by linguists who, influenced by Chomsky's manner of treating propositions, terminologically demoted it to a 'hypothesis', operationalized it, and attempted to disprove it in a way that is consistent with the scientific method and the 'hypothesis's' own premises. (3) 1930's Whorf and the Implicate Order, in which physicist David Bohm wrote Whorf's description of Iopi cosmology in "An American Indian Model of the Universe". (4) 1992's "Dialogues between Indigenious and Western Scientists," a forum of American Indians, linguists and physicists, including Bohm, provides new evidence for Whorf's principle of linguistic relativity. Speakers of Algonquian languages demonstrated that their languages are structured in the same non-linear way. They have used the language by which Whorf described the Hopi. They suggested that their languages are not structurally better suited to describing taboic events than are Western languages, and the physicists agreed. Knowledge of this history of intercultural consensus is vital for current research issues of language, thinking, consciousness, and worldview. In honor of the centenary of his birth, we may now recognize Whorf as the only linguist of his time who knew enough about physics, Native American languages, and linguistic relativity itself to enter into this larger interdisciplinary debate within the history of ideas. Researchers lacking in any of these three areas are at risk for misinterpreting Whorf's interdisciplinary intentions.

Cristina Altmann (University of Sao Paolo)

'Tapi' or not 'tapi', that's the question: The grammars of the general languages and the missionary enterprise

It is not possible to know exactly how many different languages were spoken in Brazil when the Europeans arrived at the country's coast in 1500. From the travelers' narratives and relations of the time it is possible to estimate that hundreds of different languages were spoken in the territory in the 16th century (cf. Rodrigues, Aryan, 1993. Linguas Brasileiras. Sao Paulo Loyola). However, unlike in Spanish America, where the missionaries produced grammars at a fast pace, in Brazil, from this vast universe of languages, the Portuguese Jesuits reduced into arte only two of them: the Tupinambas language, described by Jose de Anchieta (1575-1643); and the Tupiniquins language, described by Luis Maminio (1652-1730). With quite few exceptions, the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries were not interested in registering these languages, but rather, as we know, in describing a sort of lingua franca, spoken in vast portions of territory, called lingua geralislinguis generalis. In this paper, aspects of the colonial system are seen in Spanish and Portuguese missionary work, and it is shown how the linguistic situation of both regions and to the role played in this context by the arte of the Portuguese missionaries in the general languages'.

Umberto Asnaldlo & Stephen Matthews (University of Hong Kong)

Baba language or Nyonya dialect? Establishing the Hokkien element in Baba Malay

The aim of this paper is to reevaluate the influence of Hokkien on Baba Malay (BM). Spoken by the Straits-born Chinese of Malacca and Singapore, BM has been described as a creole (Lim 1981, Holm 1986), based on Malay with a certain amount of Hokkien (Chinese) influence, particularly in the phonological and lexical domain. This view has been challenged by Pakar (1986), the most extensive work about BM, who tends to describe it as a dialect of Malay. In Grier (1991), BM is described as a Malay dialect with some borrowings from Hokkien. Similarly, studies of Baba culture treat it as a dialect or "patois" (Chiu 1994). In this paper, using original data from vernacular literature, we show that the influence of Hokkien in the lexicon has been underestimated. We then consider the structural influence of Hokkien on BM in terms of shift, substrate, and universal. We conclude that BM is indeed a creole which is the most important for lacking European input.

Raul Aranovich (Ohio State University)

Unaccusativity

A similarity between subjects of unaccusative verbs and subjects of reflexive verbs (observed in most Romance languages with a focus on auxiliary selection) can be established for Spanish in the queador-zer construction. Unaccusatives can appear in this construction (eg. 'quean variros tros per tirag', there remain many trains to arrive) while subjects of reflexives (eg. 'queda un medico por vacunarse', there remains one doctor to inoculate himself) but ergatives can't (eg. 'queda varios perros por ladrar', there remain many dogs barking), and so can reflexives (eg. 'queda un medico por vacunarse', there remains one doctor to inoculate himself) but ergatives can't (eg. 'queda varios perros por ladrar', there remain many dogs barking). Following recent work on reflexive selection (eg. 'queda un pasoay por dar[le] patadas', there remains one clown to give him kicks), whereas indirect objects can't (eg. 'queda un pasoay por dar[le] patadas', there remains one clown to give him kicks). By extending the

Jacques Arends (University of Amsterdam)

Complex sentences in early Saramaccan

This study is based on an analysis of complex sentence formation in a small corpus (ca. 15,000 words) of early texts (1790-1818) written in Saramaccan, the 'deep' creole of the Surinam community in the interior of Suriname. One of the surprising results of the analysis is that in Early Saramaccan, contrary to its modern variety, the word 'video', rather than 'tak', (from 'tak', 'to be', is used to introduce sentential complements. This suggests that 'tak' should perhaps be reanalyzed as a preposed 'to be'. Speakers of Saramaccan, like other speakers of creoles, are thus doing 'the opposite of what we predict'. 'To be' is the 'fact that at least some early texts in Sranan (Saramaccan's sister language) contain both 'tak' and 'tak as complementizers suggests that both forms were used alongside one another in this language. This raises the question whether the modern complementizer 'tak' in Saramaccan and Sranan is historically related to this earlier form 'tak'. If this is indeed the case, this would have far reaching consequences for the analysis of 'tak' not only in the Surinam creoles but in other English-based creoles as well. This seems to be especially important in view of the prominent role 'tak' has played in theoretical debates in the recent past (e.g. Winford 1985).

Jennifer Arnold (Stanford University)

What is salience?: The role of topic and focus in processing reference

The notion of 'salience' is often used to account for preferences to use pronouns, for example, on some occasions, and overt noun phrases on others. This generalization has also been shown to affect language comprehension, in that when the referent is salient, repeated names result in slower reading times (e.g. Gordon et al. 1993; Almor 1996), yet 'salience' has been defined as both topic constructions and focus constructions. In this paper I show that reference to both grammatical subjects (a topic position) and clefts (a focus construction) is preferred as a pronoun, while reference to objects and nonclifed items is preferred as a noun. In addition, text/corpus analysis shows that both subjects and focused entities are the candidates for the subject of the following clause. These results suggest that the ease of processing a referent (as indicated by predictability, rather than informational status) is one factor affecting how the form of reference is processed.

Jennifer Arnold (Stanford University)

Tony Losonco (Yale University)

Ryan Glinsptom, Amy Brynhollom & Thomas Wasow (Stanford University)

Save the worst for last: The effects of syntactic complexity and information structure on constituent ordering

Several constructions in English offer a choice in constituent ordering, such as alternating verbs and Heavy-NP constructions. Some scholars have claimed that this variation is determined by information status (e.g. the Prague School, Ward and Birner 1995) while others have argued that the relevant factor is syntactic complexity (Hawkins 1989). Through corpus analysis and experimentation, we demonstrate that both factors simultaneously and independently influence word order in Dative Alternation and Heavy-NP constructions. The results of these two production studies support our contention that context influences are affected by and present on planning an action. The design of the experiment is also a means to the discourse in a timely fashion leads people to start speaking before the utterance is planned (Clark 1996). In order to see more fluent, speakers will begin with that which is easier to produce (such as short, given, easily accessible NPs, postponing the more difficult constituents until later.

Jon Aske (University of California-Belokey)

Mechanisms of syntactic change: Incipient order word change in Basque?

Language change from VO- to VDOMinant constituent order is well attested. It has been suggested that it is the primary direction of word-order change and that (VO) order is the 'natural outcome of sustained language contact, systems simplification, and case-marking distinctions. Less is known, however, about the exact mechanisms involved in such a change. Based on an analysis of spoken narratives of proficiency as well as written texts, this paper examines word order in Basque, and shows that the number and functional load of VO traits seems to be increasing in speech (as opposed to more conservative written texts), particularly among young non-foreign speakers. While the structures of a VO type are formed more well as. Case marking distinctions are also eroding to some extent in speech, both statistically as well as systematically.

Venu Balasubramanian (University of Wisconsin-River Falls)

A typical subcortical aphasia: A case study

Some contemporary survey of language in subcortical aphasia have pointed out the lack of fine grained impairments of language and emphasized the need for model-oriented descriptions of subcortical aphasia (Cappa &
Walsh, M. (1994). The present study offers a comprehensive description of a case of subcortical aphasia and discusses the symptoms in relation to some current cognitive-neural models of language functions (Mesulam, 1990, Cappa & Vallar, 1992, Caramazza, 1995). A longitudinal case study of a 69-year-old white female who had developed aphasia following lesion in the right caudate and putamen is reported here. Patient's speech-language performance was investigated by using standardized test batteries and methods of linguistic analysis. The clinical symptom profile of this patient included the characteristics of Broca's aphasia, apraxia of speech, severe auditory comprehension deficits, and phonemic and semantic paraphasias. Linguistic analysis revealed the existence of phonological impairments, reduced ability to make grammatical judgements, decreased use of story content, and agrammatic speech and writing. These symptoms are discussed in the context of some current cognitive-neural models of language.

Wendy Baldwin (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Indefinite referents in oneida discourse (Session 9)

In traditional accounts of the Oneida (Iroquoian) pronominal system, there are two prominent prefixes which mark indefinite or unknown referents—the feminine indefinite (fi) and the masculine plural (MP). This analysis, however, does not adequately capture the meaning and use of the FI and MP pronouns in discourse. The focus of this paper is the range of indefinite meanings associated with the FI and MP, and the factors that govern their distribution when referring to indefinite referents in discourse. The analysis presented here is more precise than traditional IDENT-IDEFINITE analysis. The relationship between indefinites and FI and MP pronouns—determinates that persist in subsequent discourse are marked with the MP and indefinite referents that do not are marked with the FI. This finding complements previous studies on the importance of discourse factors in the ex-plaining the distribution of indefinite forms.

Marylye Baptista (Harvard University)

Negation: A comparative study of Haitian and Capeverdian creoles (Session 34)

This paper deals with a comparative study of negation between Haitian and Capeverdian creoles (with a particular focus on Cape Verdean creole). The paper will focus on three points: first, the genesis of the Capeverdian negative morpheme konta; second, negation concord and double negative constructions in the two creoles under consideration. In this section, we will examine the syntactic position of the Capeverdian negative morpheme konta and the Haitian morpheme pi in the phrase structure of the two creoles. In this respect, we will explore the mixed status of these negative morphemes. However, we will argue that these negative morphemes are morphologically inherited from one linguistic source (French for Haitian and very likely a Macule language for Capeverdian as in the case of Guinea-Tissou Creole (Kuhn 1994)) but acquire in the phrase structure a different syntactic position from the source language. Third, we will examine the implications of the analysis presented for other areas of the grammar, namely predication and more specifically copular predicates.

Immanuel Barski (University of Colorado)

Message length and misunderstandings in aviation communication (Session 24)

Radio communication among air crews and air traffic controllers is a highly organized discourse. The participants are well trained, the structure is clearly defined, and the domain is narrowly constrained. Nevertheless, misunderstandings occur with an alarming frequency. By converging evidence from natural and experimental data, we are searching for the roots of these misunderstandings so that they can be understood and prevented. In a laboratory analogy of flight situations, participants are on the plane. They hear messages instructing them to move in a three dimensional space, and they follow them on a computer screen. Participants' ability to follow these instructions accurately reflects some of the cognitive limitations placed on the comprehension of spoken language. The results of both, the linguistic analysis of the natural data and the experimental research, indicate that misunderstandings are likely to occur when a message contains more than three operational units (an example of an operational unit is "turn right heading three fifty zero") independent of the number of words in the message. Thus, to reduce the number of misunderstandings in aviation communication, air traffic controllers should limit their messages to no more than three units.

Angela Bartens-Adawonu (Hunter College, City University of New York)

The conditional clause in the Atlantic creoles (Session 37)

In this paper, I focus on a complex construction, the conditional clause, divided into the semantic types 1, 2, and 3. In the first section, I review the situation in the languages which were in contact during creolization, then I will present and comment on data from the Atlantic creoles, and in my final sections I will formulate concluding remarks. Summarizing, a conditional can be standard for creating parallel structures as creole grammar in general does. Nevertheless, the distance to the superstrata seems less pronounced when comparing the whole construction instead of just isolated TMA-particles. With conditional clauses of type 1 there exist to be a universal for marking the present, with O and the apodosis for future, unreal etc. In the illocutionary-based-based but also in the some creoles, there is a tendency to use the same paradigmatic form in both subclasses of type 3 and especially type 2 which both reflect substrate and archaic superstrate structures while the polarization of type 2 and type 3 in the French-based American creoles and of type 1 and 2 vs type 3 in the French-based creoles of the Indian Ocean is clearly substrate-driven. The marking of the conditional clause, especially the apodases of types 2 and 3, is somewhat more heterogeneous in the English-based creoles.

Jill Beckman (University of Iowa)

Positional privilege as positional faithfulness (Session 8)

In many languages, segments occurring in perceptually prominent positions (e.g. stressed syllables, initial syllables, syllable onsets) are phonologically privileged. Positional privilege is manifested in three patterns of phonological asymmetry: positional neutralization of contrast (Steriade 1993, 1995), triggering of phonological processes, and dominance of phonological processes. This paper presents an Optimality Theoretic analysis of positional privilege, arguing that all three asymmetries arise from a single source: high-ranking positional faithfulness constraints (Beckman 1995, Lombardi 1995, Padgett 1995). Such constraints, schematically IDENT-POSITION(F), require featural identity between input and output segments in a perceptually prominent position. As a case study of positional privilege effects, I consider the nasal harmony system of Guarani (Tupi-Paraguayan), which presents a striking example of stress-based positional privilege. In this language, nasal vowels are more strongly stressed syllables. Stressed nasal vowels trigger nasal harmony, and stressed oral vowels block nasal harmony. Through domination of the markedness constraint, high-ranking IDENT-POSITION(F) generalizes the privileged positional status of stressed syllables in Guarani. Other constraints in the positional faithfulness repertoire will yield parallel results for prominent positions such as syllable onsets and initial syllables.

Emily Bender (Stanford University)

Understanding Mandarin as a verb (Session 1)

Many previous researchers (e.g. Li 1990, Order and Constituency in Mandarin Chinese) have analyzed the morpheme de of the Mandarin de construction as a preposition or direct object marker, primarily because de fails the three standard tests for verbhood. In this talk, I first present evidence that the standard tests are unreliable since, for each test, there is a large class of unanalyzed verbs that fails. I then go on to show that in order to capture the full range of data de must be treated as a verb. This analysis challenges conclusions about Mandarin syntax based on nonverbal evidence of de, such as Li and Thompson's claim that Mandarin is becoming an SOV language (1974, "Historical change of word order: A case study in Chinese and its implications"), Huang's claim that Mandarin has prepositions (1990, The Deep Word Order and its Projection in Mandarin Chinese), and Travis's word order parameters (1989, "Parameters of phrase structure").

Judy B. Bernstein (University of Southern Maine)

Determiners, clitics, and possessive adjectives in Wolof (Session 3)

(examine data from Wolof, a morphologically complex language spoken in Senegal, Gambia, and Mauritania, which provide support for the idea that definite articles and 3rd person possessives are similar in structure to possessive adjectives in English, and 3rd person possessives in Wolof, 1995). Cross-linguistically, Wolof definite articles are identical to 3rd person clitics, although only some dialects exhibit a gender alternation in the singular form of the articles and clitics. Similarly, the possessive adjectives display the same morphological pattern, except that the person features displayed on possessives are in some cases absent with definite articles and 3rd person clitics. The gender alternation that was absent on the articles and clitics in certain dialects also fails to appear with possessives. I discuss two recent analyses relevant to the Wall on facts. Uriagereka distinguishes 1st and 2nd person accusative ('strong') clitics from 3rd person determiner ('weak') clitics, identifying the syntactic raising of weak clitics rather than as a special case of derivational movement. Although weak clitics are identified with definite articles, strong clitics are not identified with any other elements in the lexical inventory. Piccalo (1994) associates the possessive adjective stems with strong clitics and accounts for gender and number specification via a process of phrasal movement of the possessives through specifier positions of functional heads internal to DP. It is not apparent that these analyses are able to account for the uniformity of Wolof definite articles, clitics, and possessive adjectives, or to explain the cross-dialectal presence vs absence of gender specification. As I argue that both phenomena may be accounted for by appealing to properties of the functional categories internal to DP, along the lines of recent work of Ritter (1995).

Betty J. Bisra (Northwestern University/University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

Discourse constrains on PP with there in English (Session 9)

Based on studies of English, Italian, and Farsi, Birner (1996) hypothesizes that argument-reversing constructions in general are sensitive to the relative information status of the noncanonically positioned constituents. However, this does not appear to be the case for the following construction: I (1) John and Mary were in the library, studying for their geography test. Mary was fidgeting as she tried to memorize the capitals of all the countries in Europe. Across from her (there) sat John, tediously working his way through an atlas of the world.

The inversion is fantastic since Mary has been mentioned more recently and is therefore more familiar in the discourse than John. With the addition of there, however, the example is infelicitous. This casts doubt on the generalization regarding the general function of argument reversal. We show, however, that PP with there is subject not to the constraint
on argument reversal, but rather to the constraints on PP topicalization and there-insertion (Ward 1988, Birner & Ward in prep). Thus, PP + there is not an argument-reversing construction, but rather the sum of two distinct constructions, PP topicalization and there-insertion; moreover, this complex sentence-type is subject to the discourse constraints on each of its component constructions.

Ralph C. Blight (University of Texas-Austin)

Some similarities between the dative and as alternations

Verbs which participate in the dative alternation and those which participate in the as alternation have been subject to different analyses in the literature, the former being analyzed as diathetic and the latter being analyzed as monothetic (with a small clause complement). Two sets of facts appear to argue against this view, however. First, both verb types behave uniformly with respect to nominalizations. The NP NP variant of each has no corresponding nonnominalization as variant. Under a theory which assumes that alternate verbs take small clauses, there is no nonnominalized PP variant of the NP NP variant, does. While the second NP in the NP NP variant of each verb type must be interpreted as the internal reading, the PP in the NP NP variant may be associated with the as external reading. These facts provide evidence against the theory of small clauses and for analyzing dative alternating and as alternating verbs as having the same complement structure.

Diane Brentari (University of California-Davis)

Systematicity in the core and peripheral components of the ASL lexicon

Recent models of American Sign Language have focused on the so-called 'frozen' component of the lexicon. This eliminates from consideration all initialized forms, loan signs from fingerspelling, and classifier predicates, yet it is primarily in these components that the systematicity of the ASL lexicon takes place. The purpose of this paper is to propose a model explaining why the frozen component is systematical. The frozen component is the set of all signs that are not new constructions and do not follow any grammatical rules. This model demonstrates that each sign in the frozen component is a unique construction that is not a combination of other signs. The frozen component is the largest component of the ASL lexicon and is the most systematic.

Adrienne Breen (University of Amsterdam)

Morphosyntactic characteristics of types of text and the relevance for the interpretation of creole materials

Sources representing earlier stages of creole languages are not very abundant, and their interpretation is complicated by the fact that it is difficult to determine whether certain properties reflect differences concerning the development stage of the language, or rather something else. I will discuss the occurrence of several morphosyntactic characteristics in Sranan English and English-Guyanese and how these characteristics hold in their strongest form in the parts of the language that are not influenced by the English influence. English influence is most clearly visible in the English-Guyanese material.

Mary Bucholtz (University of California-Berkeley)

Beyond covert prestige: Gender and identity among white users of AAVE

Sociolinguists have suggested that the use of a nonstandard variety of a language, and especially the differential use of that nonstandard variety, is motivated by the phenomenon of covert prestige. Because nonstandard dialects are conventionally associated with masculinity and toughness, men and boys even among the middle class are expected to use them more often than women and girls in order to project a certain identity. This association is particularly strong in AAVE, however, such global and biarismal models of gender identity do not hold up in data from a San Francisco Bay Area high school, where white boys who use features of AAVE do not fulfill traditional expectations about masculinity. In addition, white girls also use AAVE without any perception that their femininity is in question. The ethnographic evidence suggests that factors such as identity, social and urban sophistication, that cannot be easily tied to gender. White users of AAVE distinguish themselves from other categories of white students on this basis. The findings suggest that social interpretations of language use must be ethnographically specific rather than global in scope.

Danti Byrd (Haskins Laboratories)

Eliott Saltzman (Haskins Laboratories/Boston University)

Distinguishing multiple possible boundaries in articulation

Recent work has demonstrated that temporal lengthening of articulatory gestures adjacent to intonational phrase boundaries like lower lipsendering gestural stiffnesses. These results encourage the view that prosodic structure is active in determining speech timing. However, such accounts demonstrate that multiple prospodic boundaries are distinguished by their spectral-temporal articulatory patterning. A magnetometer was used to track articulator movement during ACVC/VCV(CVCV) sequences with five differing boundary conditions: (a) none; (b) a simple word boundary (abut); (c) a cleft construction; (d) a syncope in a (V NP) construction. Magnitude and duration of each consonantal closing and opening gesture, and the temporal latency between peak consonant closures were determined algorithmically. Preliminary data analysis indicates that three statistically differentiated levels of intonational boundary latency occur for the CV(VC) sequence of the utterance as a function of the extending boundary type such that: e; d; c; a; b. This pattern is a result of differences in the duration of the postboundary closing gestures. Longitudes of preboundary opening movements occurs for the three largest boundaries. The increases in gestural opening and closing duration are accompanied by longer mean times to peak-velocity indicating lower acoustic boundary strength for the preboundary opening movements for three largest boundaries. Our presentation will outline how the spatio-prosodic articulatory patterns observed at these boundaries can be accounted for within a dynamical model of speech production. [Work supported by NIH.]

William Byrne (University of California-San Diego)

A semantic/pragmatic account of the distribution of bare plurals in Spanish

The restricted distribution of bare plurals (BP) in Spanish has become a classic yet unresolved problem in the study of Romance linguistics. Suárez 1982 points out that Spanish BPs are disallowed as preverbal subjects under conditions of normal stress and intonation. Contreras 1985 shows that there are also restrictions on postverbal BP subjects. Suárez gives a pragmatic account of the problem while Contreras uses a purely syntactic approach. However, neither considers the full range of data. In this talk I will consider another set of examples involving BP direct objects, as well as the data discussed previously, to show that a semantic/pragmatic approach that builds on the ideas presented in Suárez 1982 can account for the phenomena and large sections of the BP distribution.

Alyson Carter & Keilichiro Suzuki (University of Arizona)

An interaction between nasal substitution and overcopying in Muna reduplication

The complex problem of reduplication in Muna (van den Berg 1989) raises an interesting issue for previous approaches to reduplication in Optimality Theory. McCarthy and Prince 1995 demonstrate that overapplication and normal application are analyzed through the ranking of a particular set of constraints (Phono-constraint, B=Red Identity > i-Faithfulness for overapplication and Phono-constraint > B=Red Identity for normal application). Under the assumption that multiple hierarchies are not allowed in a language, the prediction is that a particular affixation pattern would not be available. However, Suárez [1985] presents a problem for this statement when reduplication is coupled with the irrealis affix im-, since it exhibits both normal application: im-Arpil- > [guli-guli], will be picking it, in which the prefix im- is not to the reduplication, and overapplication: im-Arpil- > [guli-guli][guli], will be choosing, in which prefixal nasal substitution applies not only to the reduplication, but also to the base. This pattern serves as a very interesting test case for an OT analysis and the ranking of the constraints involved. For MUNA 1-2 is the best order for normal application: 1-2Faithfulness must dominate B=Red Identity, but for overapplication the reverse is true. This implies that these opposites are not to be ranked either as a constraint or as a feature.

U-Ling Chiang (University of Maryland-College Park)

The Minimal Program proposed by Chomsky (1995) intends to dispense with D-Structure as a level on the assumption that the pro-drop loci of D-Structure are no longer available. These characteristics of D-Structure however, are not entirely eliminated. They are restructured as restrictions on the computational operations. Chomsky claims that 8-roles are not features that movement must greedy. This suggests that the Minimal Program retains the 8 criterion, a property characteristic of D-Structure in question. Adapting Huang's (1992) analysis that the empty subject of the resumptive construction is PRO in nature, we propose that PRO in this instance is derived from movement to a thematic position, along the lines of
Hornstein (1996). This predicts that the obligatory control properties that this construction exhibits follow from the conditions imposed on movement: the Minimal Link Condition and the emptyslah theory. Furthermore, this analysis also predicts that this construction displays the seemingly raising-like properties (Goodall, 1989). This paper argues that the interpretive properties of obligatory control can be best accounted for if one abandons the residues of D-Structure retained in the Minimalist Program.

Timothy C. Cauvery (University of Southern California)

Metaphor schemacity

Metaphors can be treated as systematic correspondences between conceptual domains. Evidence for metaphor schemes stored in the mind which link whole domains come from systems of expressions which conventionally have their (figurative) meaning in one domain but are expressed in terms of another (literal) domain. A particular formulation of a metaphor scheme implies that the actual stored schema covers a certain range of cases. The schemacity of a metaphor is the range of concepts consistent with the metaphor schema. The claim of this paper is that metaphors vary in schemacity. Consequently, the formulation of a metaphor should properly characterize its level of schemacity. An overly specific formulation will be rejected by the full range of expressions of the schema. Overall generalization formulation will have systematic gaps in its schemacity of its expressions. A procedure can be defined which successively converges on the appropriate formulation. Once characterized at their appropriate level, metaphors of different schemacity may be compared on a relative scale, and hierarchical relations may be defined.

J. Clancy Clements (Indiana University)

Monogeny and syncretic structure

The notion of monogenesis has limited scope because, among other things, it is based largely on lexical evidence, ignoring wholly the issue of structure in pidgin and creoles. In this paper I study the contribution made by structural evidence to the debate of monogenesis. Because of their simplicity, movement rules serve as indicators of the extent to which a given pidgin or creole had input from the colonizers' languages, from other languages in their respective contact situations, or from universal tendencies. Thus, if one examines the question formation rule in Portuguese creoles, it becomes apparent that, although these creoles share much input from Portuguese, they formed question forms of one another. The input from indigenous languages is in many cases minimal. In other situations, question formation suggests a different story: most if not all French-based creoles display the same wh-movement structure, although in the colloquial French there were several other visible question formation constructions available. A comparison of a key feature of structural perspective on the origins and relationships between pidgins and creoles of the same group, as well as among those of different groups.

Christine Cescorana (University of Chicago)

Caribbean-Hawaiian contact

This paper examines contact between speakers of English varieties spoken in the Caribbean with Hawaiian plantation laborers. Scholars such as Rick Hickok have argued that contact between English and the Hawaiian creoles has resulted in the development of a new variety of English that is distinct from the English spoken in the United States. This paper examines the extent to which this hypothesis holds. The paper first considers the degree of English influence on the Hawaiian creoles. It then turns to the extent to which Hawaiian creoles have influenced English. The paper concludes by arguing that the extent of English influence on the Hawaiian creoles is greater than has been previously suggested.

Sharon A. Cote

Discourse constraints on null subject utterances

In this paper, I present the results of a quantitative study of null subject utterances found in 243 telephone conversations in the switchboard corpus. Comparing the discourse properties of these utterances with those of non-null subjects provides a more detailed understanding of how the discourse context of the sentence conditioned on the null subject, a boundary or with the beginning of a new area of conversation that is not hierarchically related to what has gone before, which I refer to as a 'discourse package' boundary. I show that there are highly significant differences between null subjects and overt arguments and the fact that null subjects are more strongly constrained to occur at a discourse boundary. This discourse boundary may be one of three types: a turn boundary, a discourse segment boundary or a break in the hierarchical structure of the discourse (either with an 'and' or with the beginning of a new area of conversation that is not hierarchically related to what has gone before), which I
(b) Joe showed Bill the snapshot of the flower that was probably I planted.
(c) Joe showed Bill the snapshot of the flowers that was probably I planted.
(d) Joe showed Bill the snapshot of the flowers that were probably I planted.

If agreement in region (3) were used to determine attachment in (c,d), that decision would affect the processing of the main verb. This prediction is not borne out: RTs on the main verb in Cond.s (ab) showed a nonsignificant preference for attachment to N2; these RTs remained the same in (c,d). Additionally, RT was significantly slower on the singular noun when preceded by a local plural (c vs a). An analysis of agreement processing is proposed which reconciles the fact that the presumably structure-dependent 'local plural' effects occur in contexts which differ structurally (Subj-verb vs. DIP-RC verb) and the fact that agreement is not used to determine structure.

Kenneth de Jong (Indiana University)  

Sirest and epenthetic vowels in Barra Gaelic  

Recent treatments of Barra Gaelic vowel epenthesis (Clements 1986; Ni Chiosain1994; Halle 1995) address the location and identity of the epenthetic vowel, but fail to address the previously reported pronic properties of these vowels. This paper presents a quantitative analysis of approximately 100 tokens from field recordings of Barra Gaelic vowel duration, f0 pattern, and vowel quality analyses each words with epenthetic vowels stress the epenthetic vowel. This stress may partially explain previous predictions of a difference between syllabification and nonepenthetic vowels. The analysis of vowel formant values indicates that the identity of the epenthetic vowel is predictable on the basis of the previous vowel and resonant consonant, as reported in the previous literature. Thus, epenthetic syllables in Barra Gaelic represent a case in which prominent syllables bear information specified on nonproximal neighboring syllables. Any treatment of Barra Gaelic epenthesis must take the atypical stress pattern into account.

Laurent Dekydtspotter & Rex A. Sprouse (Indiana University)  

Aspect and predication in Welsh: An argument for Davidsonian Association  

This paper offers a unified analysis of Welsh 'aspectsual' yn (1) and 'predicative' yn (2):  
(1) Mae I for yr drydlen y llyfr (2) Mae'r dyn yn feddyg 'I for yr read the book' 'The man is a good doctor'  

Our analysis of Welsh yn provides an argument that external arguments are associated by Davidsonian Association at the level of a functional category dominating VO (voice; Kratzer 1996). (3) voice = [fVX[PX x] VOX]; A(x) yn (3) is the argument of situation s  

Under Davidsonian Association, it is natural that such an argument (a) should play a pervasive role in the level predication in certain natural language grammars. Welsh for associates arguments with unaccusative situations, unmarked imperfective (4),  
(4) ym yn = [fVX[PX x] VOX]; A(x) ym  

The progressive and aspectual flavors of ym allow an interaction with the semantics in (4) with the aspectual class of the predicate (Dowry 1979). The morphophonological properties of this class and the semantics 'progressive' and French liaison shows (Selkirk 1977).

Peter Denny (University of Western Ontario)  

Evaluating Whorf's Afghonuan studies  

Recent proofs of the Whorfian hypothesis by Kay & Kempton and by Lucy, using advanced methods from experimental psychology, make it apt to evaluate Whorf's linguistic evidence using current-day linguistic techniques. Whorf's Hopi research has been re-evaluated by Gilman and found to partially support the hypothesis. The present paper examines Whorf's studies of Shawnee (Afghonuan), in part because they involve some of his most widely publicized examples of language relativity. In perhaps the best-known example comparing Shawnee and English, concerning the cleaning of a gun, the differences turn out to be rather small pragmatic ones. In the Shawnee sentence a morpheme expressing the general meaning 'by tool' is used, supplemented by another meaning 'hole' which identifies the part of the gun being cleaned. In the English sentence, a more specific tool word is used, with that location, from the part which can be inferred. Re-analysis of other examples also shows pragmatic differences. In only one of five cases, a semantic difference was found, which was Shawnee's ontological concept 'one-dimensional and rigid' which is not expressible in ordinary English. These results support Whorf's thesis that language influences habitual thought, and further, they suggest that pragmatic differences in concept usage within particular languages is the main way in which linguistic relativity is achieved. The present paper also evaluates Whorf's Gestalt semantics and finds that when he uses it he gets inaccurate semantic analyses of Shawnee. The paper also considers Whorf's claims about the special nature of polysynthetic languages such as Shawnee, in relation to modern theories of polysynthesis by Mathiot and by Talmy.
local constraints suffice to handle a wide variety of phenomena. For example, metrical stress is often treated with constraints like Generalized Alignment (nonlocal), FOOTFORM (stipulative), and FTBIN (counting). Yet a freely reparable set of primitive constraints can account for the asymmetric metrical typology of Hayes (1995), reducing lambic-trochaic asymmetries to the onset-coda asymmetry.

Daniel L. Everett (University of Pittsburgh)

Agreement and inalienable possession in Banawad

Agreement is an important diagnostic of grammatical function and form in every major theory of morphosyntax. Agreement patterns involving inalienable possession are especially interesting because some languages allow either a possessed NP or its possessor to trigger verb agreement. When this happens, some claim that the relevant NP is ambiguously headed—either the possessor or the possessed may be the head of this NP. The special interest of Banawad, using data recently collected in fieldwork by the author, lies in the fact that the inalienably possessed subjects and direct objects may trigger SPLIT AGREEMENT on the verb: the possessor controls gender agreement and the possessed controls person-number agreement:

(1) a. ɔŋ-mano ɗwe Ø-ka -sel\[i
 1 sg-fam.3.plm tie-up 3-obiative-aspect.M
 ̄My arms were tied up by him." (lit: He tied up my arms)

(2) b. ɔŋ-mano ɗwe h1j-ka -sa\[i
 1 sg-fam.3.plm tie-up 3-obiative-aspect.F
 ̄My arms were tied up by him." (lit: He tied up my arms)

The fact that both the possessor and the possessed trigger agreement means that either the structure of such phrases is different from other NPs at some syntactic level or agreement is pragmatically governed, with subject and topic functioning as primitive categories. I compare these two analyses of agreement in this paper. The conclusion is that these facts raise interesting problems for both the functional and formal analyses and that it is likely that an analysis combining insights of both will be required.

Julia S. Falk (Michigan State University)

Territoriality, relationships, and repulsion: The case of Gladys A. Reichard

Gladys Amanda Reichard (1893-1955) published a dozen books and many articles on Native American languages and cultures. Her ethnological work has been revived and reconsidered by anthropologists, but Reichard’s linguistic studies are still all but forgotten today. She finds little place in histories of American linguistics, and even when a recent study included her contributions, Reichard’s name somehow disappeared when a summary account of the article was published. Reichard’s grammar of Wyiy (1925) has been virtually superseded by the work of John W. Teeter, but specialists in Salish and Athabaskan languages acknowledge the sustained value of her grammar of Coeur d’Alene (1938) and Naxi (1951). Why, then, do the wider communities of linguists and linguistic historiographers continue to neglect her work? The usual answers draw upon purported inadequacies in transcription, the ‘pre-phonemic’ nature of her analyses, and the conservatism of the subject she studied in the spirit of the times. None of that seems sufficient to account for the invisibility that persists even when valuable work is brought to current attention. I consider territoriality, academic lineage, professional ambitions, and personal relationships as sources for the antagonisms that arose very early in Reichard’s career and conspired to suppress her accomplishments during her lifetime and for more than forty years after her death. In particular, I explore activities by Edward Sapir and Margaret Mead that came to dominate and discredit Reichard’s work and abilities, in Sapir’s case mostly behind the scenes, in Mead’s case through her hagiography of Ruth Benedict. Reichard’s interests and insights into linguistic variation, her focus on meaning, her pursuit of underlying patterns in the structure of words, and her collaborative work with native speakers of the languages she studied all prefigured concerns of the second half of the twentieth century and suggest that her linguistic work could be reexamined with appreciation by linguists today.

Crawford Feagin

The role of self-identification in diverging grammars

Most sociolinguistic reports of language change have examined either phonological change or morphosyntactic change, often by group scores for age, sex, social class, and/or ethnicity. Since quantitative data are available for individuals for both phonology (5 variables) and morphosyntax (5 variables) from 12 speakers born between 1882 and 1957, a comparison of change—toward a more local or less local variety—was undertaken. These speakers are members of a single speech community in Alabama, of a single ethnicity. Results show younger members of the working class as maintaining—or even increasing—local phonological and morphosyntactic traits, while younger members of the upper class are maintaining or increasing the use of less local variants. The location of the younger informant is known for most of them, and it turns out that (a) only certain members of the working class predicted their future as adults, especially since data can be compared for those who stayed and those who left, of both social classes.

Fred Field (University of Southern California)

Mixed systems: The determining role of a matrix (sub-)system

Discussions of the emergence of pidgins and creoles often focus on the relative influence of the languages involved, motivating theories that place the principal shaping role on one of the lexicon (or a sub-lexicon) or grammar of another. The mixing of languages regarding such a (a) serves as a test for the proposition that the recipient acts as a kind of matrix into which borrowed elements are grafted. With respect to borrowed forms, there are striking similarities to hierarchies of borrowability and gines of lexicality and grammaticality. While these hierarchies illustrate language particular borrowing patterns, actual cutoff points past which forms cannot be taken are often based less on principle than on observation. For instance, inflectional morphology is neither borrowed into mixed languages nor found in Atlantic Creoles. One possible explanation is that inflections are not borrowable for perceptual reasons. Another is typological, which focuses on the specific linguistic systems involved. This paper investigates the latter and typological constraints which render particular forms incompatible from one system to another. It proposes the Principle of System Incompatibility (PSI), which, in essence, states that elements cannot be borrowed that do not have at least potential formal equivalents in the recipient. To ensure stability of morphological structuring, isolating languages are blocked from borrowing affixes of any type without reanalysing them into the host language, agglutinating languages are blocked from borrowing fusional affixes without reanalysing them as having one-to-one correspondence of form to meaning.

Joseph C. Finney

Dual contradictionary agent-marking: Diachronic syntax within Proto-Polynesian

As PCP, the proto-forebear of Polynesian, was Fiji-like, the question arises, how did the ancestral Fiji-type CIA active transitive paradigm come to be passive or evasive in PNG languages/dialects? In steps: A subset of unergative tools are real analyzed its PO to a causative aspect, making a new active transitive in (notably) Hawaiian. A subset of intransitive TIE among. be surrounded by real analysis its PO to and got a modified preposition/article e as the marker for the new (ergative or passive) appearing case. Threatened by both new quasistructures, the old CIA paradigm borrowed the e marker and temporally marked its agent as both nominative and oblique. Tuvan and Kapingamarangi keep traces of the dual contradictory marking. Elsewhere the nominative was lost and the e-marked CIA paradigm became ergative passive. In Hawaiian, it became a new passive against the new active transitive. Fusion of verb classes was necessary to provide this opposition. (Outgrowth of a work in press from 1996 AN Formal Linguistics Assn.)

Malcolm Finney (University of Ottawa)

Syntactic properties of Krio: Universal or Kwa-based?

Creoles (including the Sierra Leone Krio) have been argued to demonstrate universal properties of language evident in initial stages of L1 acquisition. I acknowledge this assumption for some aspects of Krio syntax (eg. Relativization) though I propose a much more intricate syntactic system, more complex than syntactic properties evident in early language development for syntactic aspects such as complementation, verb serialization, and negation. The process of relativization has been proposed to involve no syntactic movement in early first language development since movement violations, such as Island violations, are generally evident in children’s initial output. Krio exhibits similar properties. Properties of complementation, verb serialization, and negation, though, apparently violate universal syntactic constraints such as case/heta theory and proper government, constraints that are considered universal and generally obeyed in early acquisition.

Colleen M. Fitzgerald (University of Pittsburgh)

Evidence for headless feet in metrical theory

Here I argue that headless feet are crucial in accounting for the stress pattern of Tohono O’odham. Tohono O’odham (also Papago; a Uto-Aztecan language) words utilize headless ‘stressless’ feet; this pattern surfaces when a stressed coda precedes the word. Context words stress the third syllable, even when the word isolation does not stress that syllable (lc). If a two syllable constituent without stress “counts off” two syllables, the pattern with a stressed third syllable emerges.

(1) ISOLATION
a. s cwi-dag to be good at playing
b. s cwi-dag one good at making bread

(2) CONTEXT
a. s cwi-dag to be good at playing
b. s cwi-dag one good at making bread

The problem is accounting for third syllable stress. If words preserved isolation stress in context, excluding adjacent stresses, then *s cwi-dag for (1c) is incorrectly predicted. Footing the stressed cletic with the following syllable incorrectly predicts second syllable stress, *s cwi-dag (parentheses=feet). Third syllable stress is only predicted for (1) by means of headless feet in forms without initial stress.

(Sequence 31)

(Sequence 32)

(Sequence 33)

(Sequence 34)

(Sequence 35)

(Sequence 36)
Beverly Olson Flanagan (Ohio University)

More on Midland polylectalism

At DES 1995 I explored the grammatical polylectism of college students in Ohio, with particular reference to the forms 'need's washed' and sentence-final and -final positive 'anymore'. I suggested further that the boundaries between Northern, North Midland, and South Midland might be redrawn to acknowledge a transitional Midland area which is neither Lower North nor Upper South, but which extends both farther north and south that do the redrawn lines in Carson (1987). This paper will analyze further data from Ohio in the light of recent work on transition areas done by Frazer (1993), Davis and Housh (1995), and Kretschmar (1996). These studies, and others, have primarily looked at lexicon and, more recently, sociolinguistic and sociolinguistic interaction is commonly confused as being just as important in the delineation of dialect areas, particularly in diglossic or transition zones.

Carmen R. Fought (University of Pennsylvania)

Sound change in Chicano English: The role of nontraditional social categories

Some recent sociolinguistic studies have found that minority groups do not participate in the sound change characteristic of the majority community (e.g. Labov & Harris 1986). This study, however, presents evidence that sound changes in progress in California Anglo English are also observable in the Mexican-American community of Los Angeles, among speakers of Chicano English. Furthermore, a high percentage of variation research has focused on contact-induced social factors with traditional social factors (e.g., place of residence, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity). The results of this research underscore the importance of examining variation within the context of these social categories that are of particular significance to the specific community being studied, as well as the importance of considering interactions among social factors. Finally, the role of language background was found to be crucial to some variables and not to others, offering insights into the nature of sound change in language contact communities.

William Frawley (University of Delaware)

A reinterpretation of language in global knowledge disorders

This paper looks at the details of how language is or is not disrupted in global knowledge disorders (e.g. Williams Syndrome, Turner Syndrome, autism): syndromes currently taken as strong evidence for modularity because they affect language at the expense of world knowledge. Hitherto unobserved patterns in the anomalous and unexplained results in experiments on individuals with these syndromes suggest a reinterpretation of them as interface disorders—disruptions of computations that link and monitor domains—rather than as global knowledge deficiencies. For example, Williams individuals perform relatively well on measures of syntax, except on double-object constructions, crossing-link to the lexicon. In contrast to the lexicon, the double-lexical construction is based on the fact that different structures are involved in the construction of different structures. Furthermore, a high percentage of variation research has focused on contact-induced social factors (e.g., place of residence, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity). The results of this research underscore the importance of examining variation within the context of these social categories that are of particular significance to the specific community being studied, as well as the importance of considering interactions among social factors. Finally, the role of language background was found to be crucial to some variables and not to others, offering insights into the nature of sound change in language contact communities.

Mirjam Fried (University of California-Berkeley)

In the garden swarms with bees: A linking challenge

This paper investigates the complex relationship between the familiar but still not fully understood case alternations of the swarm predicates, as they occur in English and Czech: (1) Bees are swarming in the garden. (2) The garden is swarming with bees: (3) (in Czech only) In the garden is swarming with bees. It is shown that neither discourse-based analysis nor the particle-sentential distinction can give a complete account of all three variants. Instead, the variable linking is treated as a reflection of differences in semantic prominence. The analysis rests on the notion of a perspective as a cognitively salient event-structuring category. Assuming a multilayered network of internally structured event patterns (Wilkins 1987, Fried 1993), I propose that a special status is assigned to that role, if any, which provides the vantage point from which a particular event pattern is canonically presented. The swarm alternations are traced to a subset of related event patterns, with concomitant shifts in function: (1) takes the viewpoint of the bees (subject), (2) presents the situation from the perspective of the garden (subject), and (3) reports the existence of a state in which neither role is salient. The paper then explores general constraints imposed by the network of events on distributing the perspective-based prominence and its relationship to grammatical subjecthood, suggesting a basic typology of linking strategies in the spirit of Legendaire, Raymond & Smolensky 1993.

Stefan Frisch (University of Oregon/Indiana University)

Alternatives to under specification in language production

This paper critically examines evidence for RADICAL UNDERSPECIFICATION (Archangeli 1984, Archangeli & Pulleyblan 1988) in speech production. I show that data taken as evidence for underspecification presented in Stemberger (1994a,b), based on experimentally elicited speech errors and a naturally occurring error corpus, must be given an alternative analysis when new data are considered. The results of Stemberger's study is data that is underrepresented in experimental data, and incompatible with current constraint based linguistic theories.

Selko Fujii (University of Illinois-Urbana)

Modulated conditionals in Japanese conversation: The case of 'obligation'

This paper explores different conditional construction types in Japanese—full bi-clausal conditionals, integrated evaluative conditionals, fixed deontic modal conditionals, and reduced conditionals. All construction types featuring a given clause-linker in fact share a particular functional common denominator. I will focus on the particular deontic modal function 'obligation'. A central concern of this paper is the question of why a reduced conditional such as (1), which contains no modal clause and thus has no negative evaluative predicate, still conveys the 'obligation' function, and in fact cannot be interpreted in any other way.

(1) hayaiku ikarai to e nai o (conditional clause-linker)

Lit. if you do not go then you must go.

My data are drawn from recorded conversations of native speakers of Japanese in casual dyadic interactions between friends (17 female pairs, 13 male pairs). The present study not only provides evidence that modalized conditionals are downsized in casual conversation, but also demonstrates that a child-adult contrast is obtained in child conversation in the data (Koizumi & Chafe 1993), but also clarifies the mechanism whereby formally different types of conditionals—full biclausal, integrated-evaluative conditionals, or reduced conditionals— arise to a certain shared modal function, and further articulates these construction types as a family of constructions that can be arranged on a continuum of clause-linkage compatible with the elaboration-competition continuum discussed by Lehmann (1988).

Janet Fuller (University of South Carolina)

Why Pennsylvania German is not a creole: A Matrix Language Frame model approach to language contact phenomena

This paper contrasts pidgin/creole (PC) formation and structural convergence in Pennsylvania German (PG) in terms of the lexiffrayer language in PCs versus the encroaching language in structural convergence. It is assumed that the transfer of features in language contact is not random and predictions can be made for the patterns which occur in different sociolinguistic scenarios. The framework used for the analysis is the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 1993, Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995). The MLF model as it is applied to language change is presented, as well as specific hypotheses about the path of structural convergence based on PG data. To pinpoint the structural differences between PG and PCs, the concept of complex lexical structure is used for the analysis. Some general findings are that language influence from the lexifier/encroaching language on the lexical-conceptual level is common in structural convergence. The language influence from the lexifier/encroaching language on morphological realization patterns is highly constrained in structural convergence but frequent in PC formation.

Lena Gavryusina (Georgetown University)

Evidence for access to UG: L2 acquisition of long-distance questions

In this paper, we examine the respective contributions of UG and L1, focusing on children's acquisition of matrix and long-distance questions in L2 English. We present new experimental evidence that supports the view that UG is fully available in child L2 acquisition (Flynn & Markordhjorno 1994, Grondin & White 1996, Lakshmana 1994). Our evidence concerns a 3-year-old Russian-speaking child who has been exposed to English for less than a year. The children participated in an elicited production experiment in which they posed questions to a puppet. Russian-speaking children are interesting subjects for this study because Russian disallows long-distance extraction of tensed embedded clauses. If UG were not available, we would predict that Russian-speaking children would draw on their L1 structures, asking questions such as 'How you think his food are delicious?'. We found that no child ever used any such structures. Out of 320 questions, 170 were not adult-like, however. One child consistently produced medial -wh errors, though her questions occasionally showed Russian word order. For example, 'What do you think what eats the princess?' (for 'What do you think the princess eats?'). In addition, L2 children produced double-adjuncts (‘What do you don't like) and split whose-questions (‘Who do you think Spiderman saved their cat?). These errors are also widely attested in child L1. Based on the findings, we argue that while UG overwhelmingly drives child L2 acquisition, the effects of L1 are detectable only in the word order errors.

Susan A. Gelman (University of Michigan)

Twila Z. Tardiff (Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Generic nouns in English and Mandarin

Despite recent interest in the semantics of generics, little is known regarding their usage in ordinary language. This paper analyzes kind-referring expressions in natural speech corpora in order to address questions of conceptual primacy, lexical specificity, and domain specificity. The database is child-directed speech from 24 English-speaking and 24 Mandarin-speaking parents interacting with their 20-month-old children. Examples of generics: 'Baby birds eat worms'.
English: `da laoāna yoo bu yoo ren` (Do big rats bite people or not?) (Mandarin). Results: (1) Genres abounded in childhood dialect, demonstrating the salience of this form in natural language. (2) Genetic NPs were reliably identified in both languages, although they occurred less frequently in Mandarin than English. (3) Generic usage was clearly domain specific, with generic NPs referring more to animals than to any other domain. For nongeneric, domain differences were the reverse. In sum, we argue for universal principles of `kind' concepts that are expressed with linguistically different forms. However, the frequency of expression may be modified by the manner in which generics are expressed in the language.

Orin D. Ganster (University of California-Berkeley)

Verbs marking two pronominal objects: Functional nonexplanation (Session 3)

Many languages (e.g. Gion 1976, Hawksson & Hyman 1974) have argued that indirect objects (IO) are `privileged' via-a-vis direct objects (DO): higher in animacy and discourse salience, hence worthier of mention and/or linear precedence. This principle has been invoked (Hetzron 1976:91) at the level of verb clitics to explain the supposedly preferred clitic ordering V-DO. This `preference' is a myth, and the explanation a nonexplanation. This paper investigates 22 languages (drawn from two balanced global samples of much larger size) that code two objects on the verb, whether affixally or clittically. Outside Indo-European and Afroasiatic, V-DO is a small minority, not the majority. All possible patterns occur. Preverbal object marking is commonest globally, and here the alleged `natural preference' in fact points in two contradictory directions: linear firstness, or nearness to the verb? Evaluations of attested ordering patterns, rather, must rely much more on contingent factors of language-specific deixis, such as history of cliticization; Arabic dialects provide a good diachronic laboratory via-a-vis Classical Arabic. Also, some languages have `heavy' IO markers having internal constituency; these might be expected to come at the word margin. Here a relevant factor is the degree to which the language allows Prep-PronCombinations to be incorporated into the verb as a general matter.

Chip Gerfen (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

`Nasalised' fricatives in Coastzam Mixtec (Session 17)

This paper focuses on nasalization in Coastzam Mixtec (CM), an isolated variety of Mixtec currently spoken by 2000 people (Small 1990) in Oaxaca, Mexico. As with many endangered languages, the phonology and phonetics of CM are largely undocumented. While one short paper (Pike & Small 1974) offers an original phonological sketch, there is no published phonetic data. Here, I examine the phonetics of nasalization. Using airflow studies conducted in the field, I provide a descriptive phonetics in three respects: (1) they contribute to the documentation of endangered languages; (2) they challenge putative linguistic universals, providing counterexample to the claim that velar lowering is universally incompatible with buccal obstruction (Ohashi & Ohala 1993); and (3) they further our understanding of the relationship between phonological features and the assignment of phonetic targets, providing support for Fauvel's model of landmarks for the assignment of phonetic targets.

Randall Gess (University of Utah)

Compensatory lengthening and structure-preservation revisited (Session 13)

This paper re-examines the claim made by de Chene and Andersen (1979) that compensatory lengthening will occur only if long vowels are already present in the phonemic inventory of the language in question. We argue that the Old French data on which de Chene and Andersen rely (putative long vowels existing prior to a process of coda deletion and compensatory compensatory lengthening) are insufficient to make such a broad claim. We also provide a thorough re-examination of the data that there is, showing that much of it has been incorrectly interpreted. Specifically, we show that modern French has compensatory lengthening; that is, because there is an intervening morpheme boundary and the sequence is counted as two syllables by Old French poets, the second member of the sequence is the first member of a diphthong, or the form in question has a nonunique spelling. Our results refute de Chene and Andersen's [1979] conclusion that compensatory lengthening is structure-preserving, and provide rare support for the suggestions put in Hayes (1989) that a previous distinction between heavy and light syllables is a sufficient condition for compensatory lengthening to occur.

Bryan Glick (Yale University/Haskins Laboratories)

The 'intrusive L' (Session 36)

The English `intrusive r' has remained a standby of phonological argumentation to generations of linguists, despite volumes of controverted discussion and speculation as to its nature. With no other parallel instances of `consonantal intrusion' offered for comparison, many have considered it an isolated quirk of history, and hence theoretically unimportant. In this paper, I shall introduce this latest parallel instance, the `intrusive l' of Eastern U.S. dialects.

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The present paper is intended to be of both methodological and theoretical significance, first bringing together what little information has accumulated regarding the distribution and physical nature of this widespread but linguistically

unappetite feature of American dialects, then projecting the theoretical implications of this Diversification. I shall draw upon a wide range of ethnolinguistic material from the Southeast U.S. to elucidate the phenomenon.

The addition of the intrusive iinto the field's inventory promises to lead to an understanding of these 'intrusions' not as isolated historical anomalies, but as a bona fide class of phonological behavior, with serious and direct impacts on our understanding of phonological-morphological merger and syllable structure.

Bryan Glick (Yale University/Haskins Laboratories)

'Whorf's linking consonants'

B.L. Whorf's little-known study published posthumously in 1943 of his own native dialect of Eastern Massachusetts was the first serious phonological analysis of one of the most prominent 'r-less' English dialects this side of the Atlantic. Despite its being one of Whorf's only ventures into the field of phonology, this work contains some surprisingly prescient views into the analysis of several still-troublesome elements of English phonology, the most enduring of which have been the 'intrusive r' and other `linking' elements (viz. Whorf's phonetic transcription [ r] vs. the `s'aving' (Whorf 1943:56)). It is only very recently that insight such as those proposed in this early work are beginning to be accorded recognition, though often without appreciation of knowledge or acknowledgement of this precedent. In this paper, I shall discuss those aspects of Whorf's analysis that are now--and were then--most controversial, and that may prove most relevant to a modern analysis of the similar phenomena. While we shall of course find some of these aspects to be of little use to today's students of English, there are others which qualify this work as a truly significant piece of early phonological theory—one that should be neglected neither in assessing the past, nor in constructing the future, of linguistic history.

Matthew Gordon (University of Michigan)

Is the Northern Cities Shift a chain shift? (Session 21)

The Northern Cities Shift (NCS) refers to a series of vowel changes that are currently in progress in several varieties of American English. The apparent relatedness of the changes has led to the standard interpretation that these vowels are participating in a chain shift. The chain shift model is one borrowed from the study of completed changes, though the application of this model to synchronic data has largely been accepted without question. The present paper explores this issue, and suggests that the chain shift interpretation is an oversimplification. Presented are certain findings that seem inconsistent with the predictions of the chain shift model. These areas of discrepancy are related to the directions taken by the resulting vowel shifts, which are shown to be more variable than previously reported, and the apparent lack of correspondence among the changes at the level of the individual speaker. The critical examination of chain shifting presented here is designed to promote reconsideration of the standard interpretation of the NCS as well as to encourage the development of evaluative methods for the synchronic study of chain shifts in general.

Stéphane Goyette (Université de Ottawa)

Is Proto-Romance a semicore? (Session 30)

The goal of the presentation is to determine whether creolization, has played any role in the birth of Proto-Romance. This hypothesis has very often been brought up, for basically nonlinguistic reasons, and so far without any attempt at demonstrating its validity by means of linguistic data. The changes which separate Proto-Romance from Classical Latin are exclusively those of a morphological nature. In contrast to the parallel developments in the same period in Greek and other Indo-European languages: our knowledge of their external history makes it quite certain that creolization had no role whatsoever to play in their evolution. If Latin/Romance is discovered to adhere more closely to its Indo-European cousins to a "core-type"—extensive loss of morphology, CV structure type, etc.—in this respect there would be strong evidence that Latin/Romance has in fact undergone some degree of creolization in its history.

Antony Dubach Green (Consell University)

Constraints on the interaction of stress and weight in Irish and Manx (Session 8)

Trocchian systems, while uniformly preferring (L L) and (H F) feet, still allow some variability both across and within languages (McCarthy & Prince 1986, Hayes 1995). Much of this variability is due to Grouping Harmony (GH) and the Weight-to-Stress Principle (WSP) (Prince 1990, Prince & Smolensky 1993), which together predict that unstressed elements should tend to shorten. GH further predicts that in a trochaic system, (H L) tends to become (L), since (H L) makes more quantitatively attractive than (L H). Besides GH, there are also direct consequences for the locus of stress; thus, (L H) should be right-primed, and (L L) and (H L) should be left-primed. This paper shows evidence for all these predictions from dialects of Irish and the closely related Manx, presenting several types of evidence for the Optimality/Correspondence Theory (MCG 1994:95) to characterize the variability in these trochaic systems. High-ranking WSP explains observed dialectal alternations such as kra'it, vs. kra'it, girl's; f' & g's; vs. f' & g's; `seagull'; and f' & g's; vs. f' & g's; `leaving'. The effect of the GH is seen in f' & g's; vs. f' & g's; `seagull'. Thus we see exemplified not only the quantitative consequences of the WSP and GH, but also accentual consequences. While all the systems are trochaic, different rankings of the same constraints account for dialectal differences. Stress is attracted to a position where the dialect-specific constraint ranking.


Cori Grimm (State University of New York-Buffalo)
Pitch accent in Oneida

This paper deals with the mismatching of the pitch accent and the metrically strong syllable (the one deemed most prominent by native speakers) in Oneida. Whereas superficially similar mismatches in other languages have phonetic explanations, we argue that the Oneida data require a phonological account. Specifically, we claim that a high tone is associated with the first mora (only vowels are assigned moras) after the metrically strong mora, i.e., the second mora of a long, stressed vowel or the mora in the following syllable, if the stressed vowel is short. Phonetically, this assignment is not only possible but also fundamental to the interpretation of the frequency over the stressed vowel and a peak near the end of a long, stressed vowel or, if the stressed vowel is short, on the vowel in the following syllable. Data which provide strong evidence for this claim include three-minute-long narratives (by different native speakers) and 19 words (produced twice) in isolation.

Helena Halmai (Sam Houston State University)
On the state of trilinguism on the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation

This paper is a report on the state of trilinguism on the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation in Polk County, Texas. The report is based on interviews with the members of the two tribes carried out during 1996. While the use of Alabama and Coushatta is predictably much more prevalent among the older members of the speech community, it is not at all infrequent to hear English or Spanish spoken to or by the elders.

John Harkness (Mercer University)
Is North Picene Sabellian?

The two first words of the North Picene Novilara inscription seem to identify the language as being in the Sabellian side of the Italic branch of the Indo-European family: mimnis looking strikingly like Osca mëmmë, monument, and in this connection one might reflect the IE root *kwerner- 'to make' attested in Umbrian petro-perti 'four times', and gaeres tades is comparable to North Picene sañas tadas 'the Sabine people'. Given these connections the following translation of the first sentence is proposed: mimnis erut gaeres tades. rotem urrin parten 'The Gaar people made this monument as a rotem (memorial)for Ur!' 

Heidi Harley (University of Pennsylvania)
Andrew Caruie (University of Michigan)
Distinguishing the EPP and nominative case

Chomsky (1995) and Bobaljik and (Jonas 1996) have argued that use of the EPP as a licensing feature for subject nominals explicitly separate from abstract nominative case. These analyses have not made explicit which of these two possible licensors determines the appearance of PRO in infinitival forms, previously ascribed to the availability of abstract case. McCloskey (1995) has argued convincingly that nominals in Ulster Irish require case licensing but that the EPP is not active (i.e. weak, covertly checked). We propose to exploit this property to account for the fact that overt nominals in Irish are not permutable as infinitival subjects in Irish—that is, to argue that PRO is dependent on the EPP, rather than the abstract case properties of infinitival clauses.

Barbara P. Harris (University of Victoria)
Dialects in a dead pigpen: A preliminary exploration of variation in Chinnok Jargon

In a pigpen as widespread as was Chinnok Jargon, based on such variables as ethnicity, location, and purpose, it is hardly surprising to find a great deal of variation, used as it was in a variety of linguistic registers as well as a number of linguistic manifestations. I have discovered that a kind of standard 'book Chinnok' exists, and indeed is intentionally being spread, especially in the parts of the Pacific Northwest belonging to the United States. It is being spread usually rather slowly, but by means of the fundamental, sort of a code, or sort as a 'fun thing to do'. But in the early days of the Jargon's use, a good deal of variation did exist, both regionally and socially. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate this variation and the research problems involved.

Laura Hartley & Dennis R. Preston (Michigan State University)
Where are the speech regions of American English at anyhow?

Dialect boundaries have been the principal business of 'production' dialectologists. Over the years, however, a number of ways to represent the folk (or popular) rather than the 'professional' view of dialect boundaries have been devised. Such 'perceptual dialectology' is a specific part of the general field know as 'folk linguistics' and seeks to supplement not only traditional dialectology and sociolinguistics but also studies in the social psychology of language by focusing on the cognitive reality of areal speech among nonlinguist respondents. This presentation reviews the techniques of perceptual dialectology and compares and contrasts the views of US dialect boundaries from the West (Oregon), the North (southeastern Michigan), the South Midland (southern Indiana), and the South (principally southeastern). Computer-assisted and hand-count techniques for producing generalizations of respondent-hand-drawn maps of regional US speech patterns (some of these findings (factual details of the findings listed above) are compared with maps derived from the same respondents' assessment of the 'correctness', 'pleasantness', and 'degree of difference' of US speech areas. These maps were converted to maps after nonparametric (specifically multidimensional scaling) techniques, which have been applied to the ranking data, and the technique for this procedure is reviewed. Mismatches between these perceptual maps and the maps of traditional 'production' dialectology. Of particular interest is the salience or 'intensity' of an area (revealed by the frequency with which it is singled out on the map-drawing task) and the relation of such salience or 'intensity' to the degree of difference (as perceived by respondents) for US English appears to be that the more nonstandard an area's English is seen to be, the more 'distinct' the area itself is.

Kirk Hasenz (North Carolina State University-Raleigh)
Diachronic aspects of ethnic boundaries

It has been claimed that migratory settlement patterns, de facto segregation, and ethnic boundaries in Northern cities have caused the distinct separation of subject-verb-concord patterns for most African Americans and European Americans in Northern cities (Wolfram 1969, Labov 1972, Wolfram & Fasold 1974). Although these studies investigate how ethnicity plays a role as a sociolinguistic variable in the patterning of subject-verb-concord, especially in terms of being an African American and an African-American patterned society, the question of how this community has not been supported by in-depth ethnographic analysis which would provide us with an accurate assessment of the ethnic boundaries which separate such communities. This paper will help to correct that gap. A current study of Warren County, North Carolina, located in the rural piedmont, reveals that the distribution of African-Americans to European-Americans (90% to 30%) created communities in the county which share more similar patterns of subject-verb-concord with past be and to a more limited extent with copula absence. For other sociolinguistic variables, among older and middle-aged rural European-Americans, we find features traditionally associated with African-American Vernacular English such as to be and incomplete to be as simple as to be (e.g., "The day I left [left] [left]").

Michael Hegarty (University of Minnesota-Minneapolis)
Some aspects of the interperception of adverbal mass quantifiers

The adverb of quantification in (1) below, with the interpretation in (2), behaves differently in several respects from the quantificational adverbs discussed by Lewis (1975), Heim (1982), Kratzer (1988, 1996), and Diesing (1992).

(1) Mostly, Maria hired engineers.
(2) Mostly, Maria hired [engineer]s

Thus, the adverb mostly is accompanied by a change in semantic transparency of the W lowers; Maria hired chemists and physicists means that the bulk of people hired, whether they were hired singly, in groups, or all in one batch, were chemists or physicists. This follows from the mass quantifier use of mostly (cf. The vase is mostly clay) as expressing a measure-theoretic relationship between elements of a mass domain with join semilattice structure, by appeal to the tree the done killed the chicken (Hazen & Peterson 1995).

This unusual mix of dialect features in the local European-American Vernacular English of older speakers fosters a situation where the dialects are apparently more similar but are now diverging from each other. Diachronic shifts in the interpretations of these mass quantifiers also interact with the diverging while ethnographic analysis indicates that this divergence is not due to the strengthening of ethnic boundaries through symbolic claims of local identity, as has been assumed in previous studies (e.g., Labov & Harris 1986), but rather through the changing nature of ethnic boundaries.

Yukari Hirata (University of Chicago)
Lexical vs context effect in the perception of isoeval + stop sequences in English

The question investigated experimentally in this study is how listeners identify a stimulus containing cues for both contexts. The first step is to identify the first step sequence with a two cue conflict with each other. In the first experiment, [ldt]-[l-1p] and [l-4d]-[l-4-g] continua were synchronized with the F2 of the stop varying in 8 steps. Second, a [ylld]-[yljld] continuum (the word yielded vs a nonword) and a [ylld]-[yljld] continuum (including exclusively nonwords) were synchronized, with the F2 of the stop again varying. For lld continuum, the context effect predicts that the intervocalic stop be [l-4-g] and that the [ylld]-[yljld] continuum since [ylld] is a word. Statistical analysis of the grouped data showed the predominance of the lexical effect over the context effect. However, examination of the individual subjects' data revealed several distinct perceptual patterns that could be categorized in terms of dominance and interaction of the two effects. The results fail to show the strict invariance between perception and phonetic gesture in liquid-stop sequences predicted by motor theory. Rather, they support a more flexible perceptual model that could account for the interaction between lexical and contextual information processing, such as the TRACE.
Robert D. Hoberman (State University of New York-Stony Brook)

Modern Aramaic vowel quantity: Low fundamental load, high morphophonological involvement

Vowel length in the Modern Aramaic of Zakho is phonemic, but it is statistically less significant, because more syllables, 92% in text, are monomoraic (CV: or CVC). Nevertheless, the syllables which are not monomoraic point to a diverse set of phonological processes which affect vowel quantity and several morphological categories which interact with them. The vowel length phenomenon is only in the minority of environments in which it is obfuscated by the application of phonological rules. Two rules directly create bimoraicity: shortening vowels in closed syllables and lengthening those in stressed open syllables. In addition to lexical exceptions, deviations arise when syllable structure is affected by subsequent application of vowel deletion and openstis in morphologically defined situations. Stressed monosyllables are generally extraheavy, trimoraic, and this shape is productive in the imperatives and participles of first-conjugation verbs, such as paxas kenot, 'by oneself'. However, a monomoraic set has been less likely to affect imposing of monomoraic vowel quality: psaxax. Two rules create monomoraic syllables. A stressed antepenultimate syllable is the most likely to be shortened, though not in second syllable imperatives. In syncopatic chie phrases, main stress usually falls on the final syllable of the first word, which is short: sambl-qa-te five-houses, gor da gor 'man-man' i.e. 'each man'.

David P. Houghton (State University of New York-Buffalo)

The phonetic basis of phonological tone

The 'contours' of contour tones may be studied as phonetic or phonological entities. Within phonetics, they are commonly understood to be fundamental frequency curves (F0s). Within phonology, they are represented as straight lines connecting discrete tone levels. It is standardly assumed that the two representations are simply isomorphic. Experimental and experimental evidence, however, shows that this is seldom the case. Phonologically relevant level tones are not level phonetically, constant phonological slopes correspond to phonetic curves, and net phonological changes of a certain polarity, positive or negative, may correspond to either the same or the opposite net phonetic change. The apparent non-linearity of a given phonetic curve is due to the different methods of representation: the first derivative of the F0. The first derivative is a curve derived from another curve; it represents the rate of change in the curve from which it was derived. An experiment is presented testing this hypothesis on conversational Thai. Though both results correlate well with the phonological phonetic representations: the latter only in long syllables or citation forms, even then only roughly, and usually fails to do so in conversational forms. The second work in conversational forms and never produces nonisomorphism. The hypothesis concerning phonological tone is that the phonetic property it describes is not relative or absolute pitch, but relative or absolute values of its first derivative. The computation of derivatives has been developed (Marx 1962, concerning vision), and it may be understood as a solution to a functional constraint in information processing. Its presence in hearing would provide a natural extra-linguistic explanation for seemingly arbitrary properties of phonological tone. From the nature of the first derivative we obtain the five tone levels necessary for the Chao tone letters via three inherent distinctive features of a derivative curve: [>0], [<0], and [<0, >0]. Furthermore, we obtain such things as the Obligatory Contour Principle as natural consequences of this hypothesis rather than axioms of phonological theory, the OCP in fact does not hold if we make the elements of our description derivational rather than absolute features.

Chul-Shueh K. Hsu & Sun-Ah Jun (University of California-Los Angeles)

Prosodic strengthening in Taiwanese: Syntagmatic or paradigmatic?

Prosodic strengthening refers to the observation that consonants are 'phonetically strengthened' at the beginning of prosodic units, and that strengthening occurs at the beginning of higher-level than at lower-prosodic units. This study investigates prosodic strengthening of fricatives, voiced stops, and voiceless stops occurring in three different positions in Taiwanese: Intonation Phrase (IP) initial, Word (Wd) initial, and Word medial. Preliminary results show that closure duration during [a] and closure plus VOT during [k] show a three-way distinction: The consonantal duration is longest IP-initially, then Wd-initially, and shortest Wd-medially, corroborating previous results from other languages. [a] also shows a three-way distinction in terms of acoustic duration and the amount of pitch perturbation on the following vowel. In addition, both closure and preceding durations of [a] are longest IP-initially, and shortest Wd-medially. The prosodic strengthening observed in Taiwanese voiceless stops may be interpreted either as an enhancement of the IP's formal (syntagmatic) and a group (syntagmatic, paradigmatic) of Wd's fundamental structure, or as a diminishment of Wd's fundamental structure. Our findings in Taiwanese differ from the findings in French and English, where the former are less nasal, i.e. more consonantal, at higher prosodic positions, thereby enhancing the syntagmatic contrast between a consonant (nasal) and the adjacent vowel, while diminishing the paradigmatic contrast between nasal and oral consonants.

Kylie Hsu (University of California-Los Angeles)

A discourse analysis of competing temporal markers in Chinese: Implications for pedagogy

This paper presents an analysis of the temporal markers zheng, zai, and shenqai in Chinese discourse. Results show that in terms of time reference, zheng relies on the particular reference time of an ongoing situation, eg. Nasi Xiangang zheng haf sair san; He is still swimming'. Finally, shenqai is relevant to both the reference time and the internal process, eg. Tze feng shenqai hai ta shengdai dazi She was typing when the earthquake occurred'. In terms of pragmatics, zheng has the highest tendency to associate with an animate subject that is nonverbally participating in a substantive activity, eg. To the other hand, zai and shenqai both focus on the internal process of an ongoing situation, which often involves an animate participant that is nonverbally participating in a substantiative situation. In terms of syntax, zheng has the highest tendency to precede a verb, a predicate adjective normally describes a static state, and it does not focus on the internal temporal duration or an ongoing situation. The findings in this study have significant implications for teaching Chinese to nonnative speakers. This is, students can gain a comprehensive perspective of when and why one of the markers is chosen (over the other two) in a given context so that they can use the markers correctly and achieve a native-like proficiency.

Jose I. Huulme (University of Illinois-Urbana)

A gap filled: Postpositional stress in Azkotia Basque

The typology of accusative gaps is highly constrained. For this reason the description of systems that fill typological gaps has great importance. Work in Mental Theory has uncovered that in systems where syllables are cued from one edge, stress never falls beyond the fourth syllable. Furthermore, an important asymmetry has been noted: Whereas a first language presents antepenultimate stress, postpositional stress has been considered unattested. Here, I show that this gap in the typology of stress systems is not such, since postpositional stress is the basic rule in the Basque dialect of Azkotia. The generalization in Azkotia Basque is that stress falls on the third syllable, but with the nonfinality restriction: emakalu, aldeiap, but: eztol, gizkia. Nonfinality is a phrase-level restriction: eztol da. The fact that the target of stress Postpositional stress is determined by means of an amb with initial extrametricality. Azkotia Basque employs both initial and final extrametricality.

Grover Hudson (Michigan State University)

Is there root and pattern morphology?

The best illustration of the prosodic/meaningual model of word formation is traditionally recognized Semitic 'root and pattern' (R&P) morphology, in which consonant-only lexical morphemes associate with vowel-only grammatical morphemes. A minority of Semiticists has implicitly favored a rather concretist alternative to the R&P model, in which the perfect or imperfect stem or abstract composite of these is basic/lexical and others are derived by this suppression, deletion, and association of vowel meaning (Schapira 1962, 1991). There are good arguments for the minority view.

(1) In Semitic noun morphology vowels are typically isomorphically associated with vowel meaning.
(2) It is more than an idealization than a generalization, indeed, that verb-stem vowels are predictable. (2a) In classical R&P Arabic all but a few exceptions are unpredictable with a present-stem vowel i.e., a, or, and the grammars only speculate about an semantic basis of these vowels. (2b) Also in Arabic, many typically derived stems have unpredictable meaning, and stem vowels are among the formal characteristics associated with the unpredictability. (2c) In colloquial Semitic continuum of the R&P characteristic (e.g. Semitic -ber -tawka - Old English, classic) with a continuum of suppression/inflection rather than an off/on parameter distinguishing basic morphological types. (4) Finally, frequent Semitic stems have only one vowel and mostly only two, so if one is lexical only one, indeed, must be infixed.

Michael Israel (University of California-San Diego)

More on the scalar model of polarity sensitivity: The case of until

In this paper we offer a unified semantic account of until as a polysemous scalar operator, explaining its distribution in durative and negative polarity contexts, and revealing its polarity sensitive behavior to be a function of its scalar semantics. Until has always been a controversial NP. semantically unlike most other NPs, it is subject to unusually strict licensing conditions. Interestingly, between voiceless and voiceless, it may have an argument much more to do with sentence aspect than with negative polarity. The analysis of until thus raises the question of what it means to be an NP and provides an important test for any theory of polarity sensitivity. I argue that until in fact fits neatly into a taxonomy of polarity items as scalar operators (cf. Israel 1994) and in particular is closely related to the aspectual polarity items yet and already.
An important controversy in neurolinguistics is whether the brains of men and women show different patterns of functional organization for language. While studies of aphasia, behavior, development, and anatomy remain equivocal, a hypothesis has emerged that there are sex differences in language. One study examined two groups of adults: one consisted of 24 males and the other of 30 females. The results indicated that males are more strongly left-lateralized for language than females. Present findings suggest that this difference in language lateralization could be related to subtle differences in white matter structure, such as differences in the corpus callosum. However, this finding is still preliminary and requires further investigation.

Richard D. Janda (University of Chicago)

There is no 'elsewhere' condition: On the nonuniqueness of 'elsewhere' effects

Many sorts of phonological and morphological disjunctivity are attributed to a constraint often called the 'Elsewhere Condition' (EC), usually attributed to Paquin. Even apart from its Indie pedigree, the EC appears to be one of the most durable and robust principles in linguistics. Not only does it grow from minor status in linear phonology and morphology (cf., e.g., Anderson 1969, Sanders 1972, or Kiparsky 1973) into a central tenet of nonlinear approaches like Lexical Phonology and Under Specification Theory (cf., e.g., Kirchner 1982, Archangeli 1988); it has even survived into current Optimality Theory with, if anything, an enhanced role (cf. Prince & Smolensky 1989 and McCarthy & Prince 1993 on 'Paquin's Theorem...'). The present paper, however, argues that the EC is not as robust and wide-spread as it is perceived. It will validate elsewhere effects resulting from other problems that can be independently motivated, such as positional classes, self-preservation, and the Strict Cycle Condition (SFC).

Yusun Jung (Harvard University)

Cardinality of floating quantifiers

This article addresses the semantic difference between floating quantifiers (FQs) and prenominal counterparts in Japanese and Korean. I will argue that FQs are cardinal in terms of Miltsuk (1974), while the prenominal quantifiers are essentially uncardinal in terms of the propositional interpretation. FQs always have narrow scope with respect to the quantifiers in the adverbial phrase, despite the general tendency that a left-hand quantifier takes scope over a right-hand one. I will show that FQs, too, take narrow scope in the multiple quantifier sentence. Even scrambling does not affect the scope of FQs, in contrast to prenominal quantifiers. Furthermore, FQs are not referential, since referential NPs always have wide scope (Fodor & Sag 1982). Nonreferential NPs cannot bind a pronoun on their left (Chemisky 1981). FQs also cannot bind wide anaphora on their left. Neither, cardinal NPs show maximality effect (Reinhart 1981). In contrast, the NPs that take narrow scope are maximality, whereas the prenominal quantifiers are not. Finally, the cardinality of FQs prevents them from fitting in the constructions which require presuppositional indefinites. Such constructions are topic sentences and sentences with (individual)-level predicates.

Brian D. Joseph (Ohio State University)

The diachrony of weak subject pronouns and pro-drop: Evidence from Greek

Most treatments (Steele 1977, Givón 1979, Haiman 1991) of the diachrony of Weak Subject Pronouns (WSPs) claim that they originate through phonological and/or prosodic reduction of free words. Haiman, moreover, proposes an explicit link between the origin of WSPs and pro-drop constructions, claiming: (1) Only languages with a Verb-Second constraint (V2) become pro-Drop languages. (2) Bound clitics are not generated ex nihilo; they were once full argument pronouns. (3) Second person forms play a leading role in subject-pronoun formation. (4) Inverted word order is a synchronic hypothesis. However, the main claim of the current paper is that there is no evidence that grammatical items arise full-fledged or can be innovated without a prior lexical history, and thus challenge claims (Hopper & Traugott 1993, Lehmann 1985) about the nature of grammaticalization, suggesting instead that grammaticalization is not a diachronic process in itself, but rather is more of an epiphenomenon, an effect or result.
Kyung-Shim Kang (State University of New York-Buffalo)
The acquisition of Korean obstruents: A case study

The Korean obstruent system shows a three-way distinction of 'lax', 'tense', and 'aspirated' phonemes. This paper compares the productions of one mother and child (2;6), and finds that while the mother varies VOT, segment duration, and vocal fold tension to produce the distinctions, the child varies only VOT and duration in a binary way to produce the distinctions.

Mother: lax tense aspirated Child: lax tense aspirated
VOT mid short long long short long Duration short long long short long Tension low high low low low

It is argued that when faced with this phonetically unusual system, the child learns to manipulate the simpler phonetic parameters of duration and VOT first, and then the binary way. It is assumed that the child will eventually learn to split the VOT dimension into these two categories, and learn to produce the more difficult vocal fold tension, to bring her in line with adult productions.

Christopher Kennedy (University of California-Santa Cruz)
Comparison of deviation

(1) differs semantically from typical equative/comparative constructions such as (2) in several respects.

(1) The Brothers Karamazov is more long than The Dream of a Ridiculous Man is short.
(2) The Brothers Karamazov is longer than The Dream of a Ridiculous Man.

First, while (2) compares the absolute extents of two objects along a scale, (1) compares the extents to which two objects deviate from a contextually determined standard: (1) asserts the extent to which The Brothers Karamazov exceeds a standard of lengthiness that is greater than the extent to which The Dream exceeds a standard of shortness. Second, (1) but not (2) entails that the properties predicated of the compared objects are true in the absolute sense, Third, (1) permits comparison between objects of opposite polarity; its synthetic counterpart (3), however, is anomalous: (3) The Brothers Karamazov is longer than The Dream of a Ridiculous Man is short.

This paper develops an analysis of the semantics of 'comparison of deviation' constructions like (1) within a model in whichgradable adjectives denote relations between individuals and extents (Seuren 1978, 1984; von Sturrow 1984), and compares this analysis with 'deviation from absolute' constructions over extents (cf. Heim 1985). The analysis builds on the interpretation of 'comparative differentials' (e.g. 30 pages longer/shorter than...), and both accounts for the semantic characteristics of comparison of deviation and uses an explanation of the anomaly of (3). More generally, it provides insights into the compositional semantics of complex measure phrases and the lexicical semantics of gradable adjectives.

Sheila M. Kennison (University of Oklahoma)
Processing agnative by-phrases in event anodeventive nominals

An eye tracking experiment investigating how agnative by-phrases were processed in event nominals (e.g. 'The frequent collection of the butterflies by the children...') and in nonevent nominals (e.g. 'The various collections of the butterflies by the children...'). This analysis proposes the agnative by-phrases are event nominals, but are not part of the nonevent nominals. Prior empirical research has shown that argument phrases are processed more quickly than nonargument phrases (Clifton, Speer, & Amesby 1991; Kennison 1993; Liverjodge 1993). Such findings can be viewed as consistent with the Garden Path Theory (Frazier 1978, Frazier & Rayner 1982, Frazier & Fodor 1978). This analysis views the story as sentences initially analyze ambiguous phrases either as the least complex, possible structure or as part of the most recently processed part of the sentence, following Minimal Attachment and Late Closure, respectively. The results of the eye tracking experiment provided clear evidence that agnative by-phrases were processed faster in event nominals than in nonevent nominals, supporting the predictions of Late Closure, assuming the syntactic analysis of Grimshaw (1991).

Sung-A Kim (University of Texas-Austin)
The emergence of the unmarked: Edge-in reduplication in Malay dialects

Partial reduplication in Johor, Perak, and Ulah Maor Malay exemplifies a nonlocal, dual-edge dependency and subsequent feature-changing reduplicative prefixes are determined by both left and right edge segments of the base, skipping intermediate segments. The dual-edge dependency and the subsequent feature-changing is sufficiently unusual to merit serious investigation in that it gives a challenge to derivational frameworks. 'Edge- In Association' (Tiph 19928) which requires priority of edge rims over medial segments in association, is a success for this dual-edge segment reduplication pattern. This paper presents a constraint-based account (McCarthy & Prince 1994, 1995) which captures both aspects of these Malay reduplications as an interaction of faithfulness and phonological constraint.

The paper shows that (1) the feature-changing aspect of these Malay dialects represents another instance of the emergence of the unmarked, and that (2) the unusual reduplication pattern of these dialects can be subsumed into a general pattern of reduplication under a constraint-based framework. Typological differences across Malay dialects will also be accounted for in this analysis.

Setaro Kita (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)
Japanese verbs of entering and exiting without semantic coding of continuous motion

Previous research on lexicalization patterns of spatial predication have posited a universal language that a verballexeme encodes either 'motion' or stasis in location (Talmy 1985) in (Langacker 1987), either continuous 'process' or 'temporal relations'. The purpose of this paper is to present a counter example to this claim, arguing that Japanese Enter-verb harai and Exit-verb dera encode change of locative relationship without encoding continuous transition of the change. Namely, harai encodes at one point in time, something is not inside, and at a later point the thing is inside. This paper employs a novel analysis, there is a functional commitment as to what happens during the transition between the two states. One piece of evidence in the (a) only allows the interpretation (a); (b) in contrast, (2) only allows the interpretation (a).

(1) Shikaku-ga et-ni naisu statement Nominative circle Locative 'enter' Past (a) 'the square moved and entered the circle.'
(b) the circle moved and encircled the square, which did not move.

Other evidence includes Japanese Enter/Exit verbs impossibility of taking progressive aspect, and their impossibility to appear in a construction analogous to as he entered the room, he lit his cigarette, both of which indicate that the temporal schematic of the Japanese Enter/Exit verbs do not have a durative component. This result has profound implications on what has to be as semantic primitives in the domain of space.

Thomas Kleina (Heinrich-Heine University)
Partial application of umlaut in Chamarro reduplication

Given Yip's 1992 emphasis of the idea that mutation, ablaut, etc. is melodic replacement in reduplication, the goal of this paper is to account for the fundamental similarities and the systematic differences in the nonreduplicative and reduplicative environments in the Chamarro umlaut.

(1) a) gidma? 'house' i gidma? 'the house'
(a) a gidma? 'fly' (gi)gida? 'fly'
(b) tidga? 'to kill' (ti)kida? 'kill'
(b) tidga? 'to know' (ti)kida? 'know'
(b) tidga? 'to walk' (ti)kida? 'walk'

Umlaut overlaps in (2a), but the base is not umlauted when its onset is the coronal /l/, as in (2b). The necessary ranking scheme is: Phono-Constraints (Umlaut) and the morphological-ONE (corr) >> BR-1D >> ID [dur].

This constraint scheme is predicted by, but not attested in McCarthy and Prince (1995). Thus, it is significant that this scheme is shown to account for the occurrence of umlaut in both (1) and (2), and its overapplication in (2a), and its partial reduplicative application in (2b).

Robert Klunder, John Moore, & David M. Perlmuter (University of California-San Diego)
Feature checking, brother-in-law agreement, and covert movement

Chomsky 1995 uses the contrast in (1) to motivate feature-checking as the driving force behind covert movement, (b), but not (b) involves BROTHER-IN-LAW agreement between the verb and the postverbal nominal.

(1) a) Sono entai ni utare sonouni [seni identificarsi] b) 'It is ente troi homme [sans s'annoncer].

Three men entered [without identifying themselves].

If the ability to control into adjuncts is an A-position property that results from covert movement, this contrast is explained by covert movement in (a), driven by feature-checking; absence of covert movement in (b) is because no features need be checked. We argue against this. Rather, we claim that the contrast in (1) is only accidentally central to covert movement, and that the ability to control into adjuncts correlates with a STRONG interpretation of the postverbal nominal. Thus, the contrast in (1) follows from the lack of a definiteness effect in Italian, whereby strong postverbal subjects are permitted; French, on the other hand, has a robust definiteness effect, which is why the weak postverbal subject is a poor controller. Corroboration comes from Italian examples where the postverbal nominal is necessarily weak and cannot control. Thus, this argues against morphological feature checking as the determining factor in covert movement in these cases.

Igor Klyukanov (Eastern Washington University)
Lost in space, or the dialectics of deixis

One of the main questions posed by B. L. Whorf is, 'Are our own concepts of 'time', 'space', and 'matter' given in substantially the same form by experience to all men, or are they conditioned by the structure of particular languages?' (1958: 138). The present paper examines the issue of 'space' by addressing the temporal deixis of the Aborigines Guugu Yimithirrt culture with which the cardinal compass points are used whenever objects are identified in space. The Guugu Yimithirrt culture with different precisions/laxnesses depending on the context. Complexity in deictic organization is inherent in any communicative system, and can be explicated on the basis of the Continuity principle introduced by Aristotle. According to this principle, for essences to be different they need to be at the same time to be a continuation of each other. The dialectics of deixis, therefore, lies in its continuous character made up of the relationship between two extremes that can have different labels depending on the scienctific paradigm.
Robert Knepff (University of Chicago)

Propositional attitude sentences, direct reference, and the discourse model

A goal of recent approaches to the semantics of propositional attitude sentences has been to maintain the thesis of direct reference for proper names in the face of the fact that conferring names cannot always be substituted saline veritate in the complements of verbs of propositional attitude. A major obstacle to providing an account which explains why sentences differing only in the substitution of conferring names can have different truth values is the fact that they often have multiple readings—known as opaque and transparent interpretations. Theorists have often claimed that one of these readings is semantically primary, and the other reading is derived through pragmatic processes (e.g. Larson & Segal 1995, Salmon 1990). Against such an approach, I am going to argue that light evidence that these two readings are the result of pragmatic processes involved in referring, so the content of these sentences does not fully determine reference. Such a dynamic, pragmatic account therefore requires a weakening of the thesis of direct reference for names. I compare this account with other dynamic accounts (Kamp 1990, Kamp & Reyle 1993, Asher 1989) and draw parallels with pragmatic treatments of the referential/attributive distinction (e.g. Neale 1990).

Jean-Pierre Koenig (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Superencategorization

Since Chomsky (1965), it is commonplace to associate with words a record of their complements. It is rarely noticed that the converse is also needed—i.e. certain words are constrained with respect to the environments in which they must be phrase-structurally embedded. Lasnik (1987), Dalrymple (1993), and Kay (1994) are notable exceptions. Dalrymple, for example, argues that bridge constraints are lexically specified and proposes a formal device within LFG (inside-out functional uncertainty) that allows morphemes to lexically specify domains within which they must be embedded and bound. The focus of this paper is a discussion of several other cases where words supercategorize for environments within which they must be phrase-structurally bounded. Both readings are the result of pragmatic processes involved in referring, so the content of these sentences does not fully determine reference. Such a dynamic, pragmatic account therefore requires a weakening of the thesis of direct reference for names. I compare this account with other dynamic accounts (Kamp 1990, Kamp & Reyle 1993, Asher 1989) and draw parallels with pragmatic treatments of the referential/attributive distinction (e.g. Neale 1990).

E. F. K. Koerner (University of Ottawa)

Noch Einmal on the sources of the phrase: ‘Où tout se tient’: A puzzle in the history of linguistics and its solution

It is still customary to attribute the definition of language as ‘un système où tout se tient’ to Saussure, even though the phrase appears nowhere in his course. Shortly after Saussure’s departure for Geneva, Meillet started to build up his own career, of which his 1893-1894 articles on ‘les lois phonétiques’ and ‘Tanalogie’ were the first major statements. It is in the first of the two where Meillet, not Sausure, uses the famous phrase for the first time in his article ‘Les lois phonétiques’ published in 1903 onwards, in his Introduction à l’étude comparative des langues indo-européennes, which Meillet explicitly dedicated to Saussure on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the publication of the Mémorie, we find Meillet using the phrase quite frequently and either directly or implicitly in reference to Saussure’s book, and never to the posthumous Course.

Paul D. Kroeker (Indiana University)

Wh-questions in Alsea

In Alsea (an extinct language of the Oregon coast), wh-questions are marked by an exilic particle hosted either by the wh-word itself (which need not be initial in the clause) or by some other element at the beginning of the clause. Wh-words functioning as wh-questions are not accompanied by the wh-question particle, nor (typically) are embedded interrogative wh-questions expecting no answer from an interlocutor; the particle evidently conventionalizes interrogative illicit forcefulness. A typologically unusual feature is that the wh-question particle is distinct from the particle that marks polarity questions.

William Labov (University of Pennsylvania)

Locating the leaders of linguistic change

Over the past two decades, sociolinguistic research on the causes of linguistic change has focused on the strategy of locating the leaders of linguistic change within the speech community. Recent work in Philadelphia, Belfast, and the Northern Cities has converged to yield clear empirical results on this question. The leaders of linguistic change are consistently found to be women from the upper working class or lower middle class. Data from the Phonological Atlas of North America show that this characterization also holds for the development of the Northern Cities Shift across the large cities of the inland North. The Philadelphia study shows that leaders are central female members of local social networks who combine a high degree of interaction within the local block with a high proportion of friends living outside the block. This pattern coincides with studies of personal influence on decision making, particularly in the domain of fashion. Linguistic change appears to spread across communities by the ‘two-step flow of influence’ model, in which leaders are initially exposed to the innovation from the network and most members of local groups are influenced by them. Individual portraits of the leaders of change show that they have a long history of nonconformity to norms of proper behavior, including a higher use of stigmatized sociolinguistic variables than is normal for their social group.

Lisa Ann Lane (University of Chicago)

Dialect boundaries: Defining local linguistic communities

This research employs a variety of sources and approaches to provide a glimpse into how a localized linguistic community can be identified and how we may trace its transformation towards nonlocalized linguistic norms. This is accomplished by historicizing what the particular linkages of social formation are and how the linguistic norm is effected and infers those formations (Silverstein 1996). Thereby we begin to determine what the local cultural construal of linguistic norms are and what the geolinguistic space which they encompass is. The methodology is presented here through the documentation of Thibyboron’s geographic, political, economic, demograhic, social, and linguistic changes which span a century. These changes combined to produce a cohort effect which resulted in the emergence of the community which is known today as residents forever changing sets of shared life experiences, social and linguistic norms. Internally discrete subgroups of the population are delimited by specific sociohistorical events and are indexed through differing social ideologies, network patterns, and variable uses of dialect forms. Only members within a group, which is bounded by a variety of existing social norms, experience the sociohistorical events with similar orientations to those occurring at the community level. By the harmonic, we mean a community that collective’s orientation to the events and in turn to the effect which those events may have on their orientation to the community. Furthermore such events have an ebb and flow. The data presented reveal that dialect boundaries can best be understood as variously existing internally and externally to the linguistic community.

George Maclaine Lang (University of Alberta)

Gender and jargon: Voyager wives and the "foundings" of Chichag Jargon

Chichag Jargon (CJ) exemplifies a neglected factor in pidgin-creole genesis: the role of gendered behavior. While it may well be that in the Caribbean "founders" were male indentured servants and other low-class employees of colonial companies, signs of gender difference in language use have been noted in spoken language of lower-class employees working for trade who most actively shaped CJ. The women whose children began speaking CJ systematically at Fort Vancouver in the 1830s had much more training during a period of breatkdown change, but entered trade society after a youth spent within tribal norms. These women were low in status, often slaves. Spoken as a contact pidgin by a heterogeneous population from Oregon and California, Meillet suggested that the community be the language created by "the women" who entered the trade society too late to learn French or English, whose children did not fully acquire their mothers' mother tongues, but whose speech habits were 'naive'-hence the considerable evidence that native phonologies determined the shape of 'deep' CJ.

Yetunde Laniran (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

Implementing a floating tone

This paper reports on an experiment exploring the phonetic realization of floating L tones in Yoruba in order to determine the extent of pitch (f0) dropping discussed in Ward (1952) and Bamgbogo (1966). A floating L tone is created in the phonology by a process of vowel deletion at V + V junctures. In particular, a floating L tone before a M gives rise to a so-called lowered M (M4) tone but forms rising tone (LH) with a following L-tone. Results from the experiments (5 speakers) show that: (1) a floating L tone from the phonological representation persists into the phonetics; (2) there are both anticipatory and carryover effects of the floating L: (a) the floating L raised the f0 value of preceding H tone; (b) the floating L tends to lower the f0 value of a following M tone; (c) a raising (tongue) contour differs from a L tone in resisting H tone spreading from a preceding syllable as predicted by the tone spread rule. The floating L is comparable to linked L tones because it raises the f0 value of a preceding H tone syllable for some subjects and lowers the f0 values of a following M tone syllable for the nonraising subjects. The gradient and noncategorial application of its effects supports the notion that it should be accounted for in the phonetics and not in the phonology.

Yetunde Laniran & Chip Gerfen (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

Downstep and downsift in Igbo

This study examines the phonetic realization of tones in various contexts in Igbo, a tone language with two phonological tones, H and L, and a downstepped (/H tone. Previous research (Liberman et. al. 1993) based on the speech of a single male claims that the rate at which H, L, and H tones are lowered in Igbo is dependent on their source, i.e. whether lowering is phonologically driven. In this study we consider data from two male and two female speakers of Igbo. Included in the stimuli are the short sentences considered by Liberman et. al. as well as longer sequences of up to 16 syllables/tones. By incorporating longer sentences, our results differ from the previous research on
lgb. Specifically, we find evidence for H raising before L zones in lgb (contra Liberman et al.). This, in turn, leads us to question the claim that downstopping is significantly distinct from downshift, given that in shorter sentences, the effect of raising in HILH type sentences will generate a larger discrepancy in adjacent tone values, an effect attributable to high raising and not downshift per se.

Ingeborg Lasser (City University of New York Graduate Center) (Session 10)
Root infinitive constructions in adult and child German
Root clauses which contain an infinitival verb form, and no finite verb form, are standardly held to be ungrammatical. Such root infinitive constructions (RICs) have been reported to exist in the speech of children learning a variety of different languages (see summary in Wexler 1994). An example from child German is:

(1) Max auch Pudding koehen. (age: 2;08;08)
Max also pudding cook-infinitive

The null topic part of the paper shows that, contra standard assumptions, RICs are also found in adult German. They occur in declarative, interrogative, and imperative function. An analysis of their structural and interpretive properties, as well as a comparison of the properties of child RICs relative to adult RICs is provided. Three conclusions are reached: (1) Some child RICs are well-formed with respect to the target. (2) Some child RICs are deviant for grammatical reasons, others because they are pragmatically illicit. (3) Target knowledge in the domain of finiteness marking includes competence in the use of RICs. The consequences of these results for first language acquisition theories in the domain of finiteness marking are far-reaching. One consequence is that not all RICs are the result of a nonpermanent option in a learner’s intermediate grammar (Wexler 1994, Rizzi 1993).

Lisa Lavoie (Cornell University) (Session 8)
Vindibambo verbal structure: Lenition, trochees and vowel coalescence
Yindibambo, spoken in northwestern Australia, displays an intriguing pattern of stress in which all long vowels may be pronounced as if they were a sequence of two short vowels. Previous analyses (Wendorf 1982, Kager 1993) have treated this as an instance of vowel epenthesis. I propose an analysis of coalescence of identical short vowels. The morphology of the word, the structure of words and the history of the language reveal that long vowels only arise when an intervening consonant has been lost via synchronous or diachronic lenition. Lenition is motivated by a sociolinguistic constraint formalized in Optimality Theory as +RUDE, that requires speakers to mutter and unpronounce to be polite. The conflict between NERGIV'V (which has sequences of adjacent identical short vowels) and +HEAVYNGOSTRESS, which forbids unassisted heavy syllables, yields the observed and possible stress patterns. In contrast to linear approaches, Optimality Theory allows us to account for the weight sensitivity of the trochees and offers a vocabulary for the interaction of sociolinguistic and phonological constraints.

Felicia A. Lee (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 14)
Pseudoparticiple in possessives
It has been observed that only a limited inventory of quantifiers may appear inside possessives, while any quantifier may appear when the possessed nominal raises to the specifier of the possessive DP (assuming the structure outlined in Kayne 1994a):

(1) John's many/few/three friends
(2) John's some/no friends
(3) Many/few/three of John's friends
(4) Some/no friends of John's

No account, however, has been previously given for this distribution. I will propose that quantificational elements that appear in the contexts as quantifiers but do not behave in contexts as quantifiers but as adjectival modifiers describing plural individuals. True quantifiers cannot appear in these contexts since the functional projections that license them (Stowell & Beggili 1993) are available only in CPs, not in DPs. They may appear in structures such as (4) because by raising to the specifier of DP, they allow the entire DP to raise to the appropriate functional projection in CP. Evidence for this is seen in the fact that these elements, but not other quantifiers, may act as predicates (5,6,7), and these elements always force collective readings of the possessed nominal inside possessives (7,8):

(5) John's friends are many, and his enemies are few.
(6) John's friends are every, and his enemies are some
(7) John's many friends gave him a present.
(8) Many friends of John's gave him a present.

Géraldine Legendre (Johns Hopkins University) (Session 3)
Citicismation, optimality, and modularity of constraint ranking
This talk focuses on the interaction of the negative particle ne with the interrogative particle li and other clitics in Bulgarian (B) and Macedonian (M). Clitics straddle several components of the grammar, hence they bear on whether OT constraint rankings respect individual modules or not. B ne has the unique property of discharging its stress on the following syllable (including normally unstressed clitics). As Hague (1976) has shown, it must follow a stressed element (or verb or clitic preceded by ne). To account for this distribution a serial application of OT constraints would proceed as follows:

(1) Morphosyntax
(2) Prosody
(3) Morphosyntax. This shows that the ranking of constraints in B is not modular. M has the same basic clustering of clitics except that they may occur in initial position (indicative of a remak-

ing of relevant constraints). Stress falls generally on the penultimate syllable (in particular, ne may force stress which would otherwise violate this constraint to shift forward). M has a fixed position (after the verb) whether ne is present or not. This shows that M li placement is independent of stress; a serial application of constraints could be modular. This talk illustrates the claim that constraints which respect strict modularity of components in one language (M) may violate it in a closely related language (B).

Daniel Long (Osaka Shoin Women's College) (Session 25)
Who decides which langugelers are dialectal boundaries?
In this paper, I will discuss the long history of dialect boundary and dialect division studies in Japan, including scholarly controversies regarding the proper role of (nonlinguist) speakers’ language consciousness in determining dialectal boundaries (boundaries). I will examine the results from my own study of nonlinguists’ perceptions of dialectal regions, focusing on the differences and similarities in dialectologists’ and nonlinguists’ impressions of dialect boundaries. I will contrast views of Japanese and Western scholars regarding the importance of various types of linguistic features and further contrast these with the perceptions of nonlinguists.

Gerard Lorenzo (City University of New York Graduate Center/Yale University) (Session 8)
Synchronously speaking: Anglo-Afro-Portuguese Creole fata
The categorical identity and diachronic changes of morphemes originally meaning ‘to say’ have been well studied cross-linguistically, in both creoles (Kim 1990; Plag 1992, 1993) and nonceole languages (Ebert 1991, Frijns 1996). In some of these studies the reassessment of a content word as a functional category, e.g. from verb to say to complementizer, has been shown to follow a grammaticalization continuum (Whitman, Claudti & Himmelmann 1991). This paper will take particularly a synchronic approach to this question, focusing on the categorical and syntactic properties of Anglo fata. In Anglo fata (cf. Portuguese falar ‘to speak’) both a lexical meaning (verb to say, to talk) and a grammaticalized one (complementizer that), in addition, it can function as a quotative word to mark off a discourse. Here it will be shown that the functional distribution of the complementizer fata is conditioned by the semantic properties of the matrix verb (i.e. speech act verb, cognitive, perception), in contrast in this respect with the more underspecified semantic of complementizer ma (cf. old Portuguese kama?). Thus the main component of this paper is on the synchronic variation of fata, its relevance to diachronic changes in the development of Anglo vis-a-vis Santomense and Principe (the other two Afro-Portuguese creoles of São Tomé and Principe) will be discussed.

Beth L. Loevenicwicz (Colorado College) (Session 24)
Working language memory in a visual spatial language
Baddley and colleagues have accumulated substantial evidence that speakers of an auditory language have an auditory working memory subsystem (the 'Phonological Loop') that operates separately from visual-spatial working memory. The current experiments investigate whether users of a visual-spatial language (American Sign Language) also have separate working memory subsystem for their visual-spatial language, or whether their working memory is a part of their general working memory. The (signed) digit span of pragmatically deaf signers was compared under three conditions. Condition one was a control digit span condition. Condition two was a digit span during a concurrent sign-based task (articulatory suppression). Condition three was digit span during a concurrent task visual spatial working memory system that operates separately from their general visual-spatial working memory. This may be evidence that Baddeley's proposed 'Phonological Loop' is essentially a linguistic working memory system, being auditory based only in speakers of an auditory language.

Margaret MacEachern & Peter Ladejogef (University of California-Los Angeles) (Session 22)
Wari vowels: An instrumental study of a remarkable inventory
Wari (Pacas Novos), a Chakapakan language spoken in Western Rondonia, Brazil, has a six-vowel inventory, i e o u, a o, which is exceptional in two respects: (1) it has not been reported for any of the languages covered in two large surveys (Maddieson 1984, Rahbe 1995); (2) it ignores the principal dispersion argued for by Lindblom (1986, 1990) and others. The Wari vowel i is limited in its occurrence and distribution within the language; however, the remaining five vowels, if considered as a group, are unusual on typological and theoretical grounds, largely because of the inclusion of a, which occurs in phonologically and acoustically analyses of data from twelve speakers (six males and six females) show that this vowel is clearly a front rounded vowel. The remaining five vowels, if considered as a group, are unusual on typological and theoretical grounds, largely because of the inclusion of a, which occurs in phonologically and acoustically analyses of data from twelve speakers (six males and six females) show that this vowel is clearly a front rounded vowel.
Talke Macfarland (University of Illinois-Chicago)

Indirective vs corpus data: The case of the cognate object construction (Session 32)

This paper assesses the importance of empirical data to the formulation of a linguistic account of the cognate object construction, as in (1).

(1) And he laughed the laugh in which he indulged when he was most amused... (H. James, The American, 299)

Many claims about this construction found in the literature are, in fact, misconceptions based on constructed examples. For instance, it has been claimed that cognate objects are not arguments of their verbs, but adjuncts, a claim based solely on the cognate object's failure to passivize (e.g. Jones 1988, Ross 1995). However, a corpus study shows that cognate objects passivatives are attested in natural language. This paper presents the cognate object data and lays out the constraints governing the passivization of cognate objects. Furthermore, this analysis of the cognate object construction introduces a restrictive reading of the data, resulting in the formulation of unnecessary syntactic constraints. Empirical studies, which can lead to more accurate data sets and therefore to a truer description of the phenomena, must be a crucial supplement to linguistic accounts based on introspective judgments.

Robert Malouf (Stanford University)

West Greenlandic noun incorporation as a mixed categorial construction (Session 1)

Noun incorporation (NI) in West Greenlandic exhibits a challenging mix of syntactic and morphological properties. Sadock (1985) proposes that morphology and syntax be treated as autonomous and modules of grammar, and he argues NI can best be accounted for as a mismatch between syntax and morphology. However, syntactic and morphological structural constraints are typically homomorphic and even in the most extreme cases they diverge in certain highly constrained ways. So, Sadock (1991) offers a number of principles governing the kinds of structural mismatch allowed. In this paper, I offer a strictly lexicalist analysis of West Greenlandic NI within the framework of HPSG which does not require positing divergent morphological and syntactic structures. Furthermore, I show how Sadock's homomorphic constraints follow directly from the architecture of the lexicon. West Greenlandic NI is a category changing morphological operation that converts a noun into a verb by the addition of one of a set of bound verbalizing suffixes. The resulting nominal verb (DV) has the full distribution of a verb. Unlike a verb, a DV can also occur with personal prefixes which are associated with the incorporated nominal. I show that West Greenlandic NI is best viewed as a kind of mixed category construction, parallel to the English verbal gerund. The possessor and complement that occur with a DV are not stranded by incorporation nor do they bear a relation to the incorporated nominal structure. Instead, they inherit features from the nominal which are then stripped off to form the DV. This analysis does not imply that the morphological form is derived from the lexical entry. However, the unusual properties of DVs are restricted to the lexicon and HPSG's independently motivated theory of lexical information places strict restrictions on the kinds of mismatches that can occur. Thus, the analysis shows that there is no need for additional construction-specific stipulations limiting the degree of mismatch between syntax and morphology.

Patrick E. Mearlew (University of Illinois-Urbana)

Modern Indo-Aryan direct discourse marking and the role of Persian influence (Session 16)

The high degree of phonological similarity among many of the Modern Indo-Aryan direct discourse markers (viz. ke, koi, ki, ki, ku, ki, st. ake, and a) and nearly identical function and syntax makes it tempting to attribute all k-initial forms to borrowing from Persian koi. This initial k is borrowed from the distributional facts which suggest (1) k-quotatives have given way to complementizers and (2) k-quotative k-initial complementizers closely parallel the borders of the Moghol Empire. Despite the similarities between forms, however, not all can be related to Persian koi. Many direct discourse markers in Persian are problematic for k-quotatives, a number of ancient Persian verbs used to mark quotatives remain on the periphery. This analysis has the consequence of reducing all South Asian k-DM-marking to three types, viz. verbal (e.g. Bengali bole), deictic (e.g. Sanskrit tii, Marathi atii, and relative (e.g. Bengali je, Persian ke).

Kazuko Matsuzomo (Aichi University of Education)

Japanese intonation units and syntactic structure (Session 9)

This paper investigates the preferred syntactic structure of the 'substantive' intonation unit (IU) (i.e., IU which converts an idea of event, state, or referent) (Chafe 1974) in conversational Japanese. First, we found that the Japanese IU tends to be clausal, not phrasal. Given the robustness of clausal IUs in the data, I argue that the clause (which expresses complete semantic content) codes some state or event) is the syntactic center of the Japanese IU. This is in contrast to Chafe's (1974) claim that the center of the Japanese IU is a phrase-structure-centered quality of Japanese IUs. Second, we found that the majority of the clauses consisted of one IU, i.e., single-IU clauses were predominant in the data. Hence, conversational Japanese cannot be regarded as highly intonation-attuned, as was shown in a previous study (e.g. Clancy 1982, Iwasaki 1985, Maynard 1989). I argue rather that basically the Japanese speakers conform to the 'one IU, one clause' strategy (although apparently to a lesser extent than English speakers). This proposal in turn reflects my view that the production of single-IU clauses is 'marked' in conversational Japanese. Finally, given the finding of the higher proportion of occurrence of multiple new NPs per multi-IU clause, I propose that the 'marked' production of multiple new NPs be related to the new one NP per IU constraint (i.e., the speakers avoid introducing more than one new NP per IU) (cf. Du Bois 1987). That is, the 'one new NP per IU' constraint is motivated by the fact that Japanese speakers produce multi-IU clauses, i.e., to divide a clause into separate IU elements, placing one new nominal concept within one IU.}

Evelyn McClave (California State University-Northridge)

How head movements function to structure discourse (Session 7)

The head movements we make while speaking are not random. They mark the structure of the ongoing discourse and are regulated by interaction. Previous research on nonverbal elements of discourse has focused on manual gestures, gaze, and the orientation of the head as an indication of the participation framework. This paper presents evidence that head movements have additional discourse function, including the speaker function as nonverbal cues for listener backchannels. In addition, changes in head orientation mark shifts from indirect to direct discourse, and other head movement functions in a manner similar to manual gestures; that is, they locate absent referents in abstract space. Structure of discourse, movements of the head also can carry meanings beyond affirmation and negation such as intensification.

Martha Jo McGinnis (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Binding and lethal ambiguity: Evidence from Georgian (Session 18)

Rizzi's (1986) remaining argument for a representational theory of grammatical collapse in the light of new evidence from Georgian. Rizzi (1986) and Snyder (1990) attribute certain illicit binding conditions to a condition on chains. By Rizzi's account, chains must include all c-commanded conjoined positions between the head and that. This, however, is not the case in (1). Rizzi argues that a derivational view of chains fails to account for the ungrammaticality of (1). However, Georgian presents evidence that (1) by itself is not ungrammatical. Moreover, the correct account of the illicit binding cases is best stated derivationally.

(1) X[... -o - Y[... - ci ...]]

Movement conforming to (1) is grammatical in a Georgian passive-dative, as well as in German. The indirect object object complements the direct object in its base position, but when the Do raises to subject position, it can bind the immediately following IO. I argue that (1) is grammatical only when the antecedent moves freely over the anaphor without becoming re-enclisised. This is realized in a two-stage process. First, the noun phrases Minimality/ Shortest Move is a property of feature movement only, so free movement may cross intervening material. Second, the illicits bind cases of Italian, Japanese, and Albanian, free movement is unavailable, so equiambiguity is forced. Assuming that antecedents and anaphors share D-features, a derivational account of these effects follows naturally. Equidistant arguments bearing the same D-features constitute a lethal ambiguity for attraction: the target cannot distinguish between the arguments, and the derivation crashes.

Martha Jo McGinnis, Alic Marantz, & Jay Mehta (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Imaging the mental lexicon (Session 15)

We examine the roles of lexicality and word frequency in a lexical decision task, using behavioral and MEG tests. Each test has both pronouncing and nonpronouncing words. In the pronouncing conditions, MEG should detect this distinction shortly after stimulus onset. Meanwhile, RT is higher for FNs than for words, an effect which Rizzi attributes to the 'sayability' of FNs. By the RT data, it is shown that IRs are faster for infrequent than for frequent words, with FNs resembling infrequent words. A recent MEG study suggests that one stimulus of the word/nonword distinction elicits a mismatch between the noun's area of the central sulcus with additional correlates in the middle temporal lobe. Our MEG tests support some of these results. We find an early (~180 ms) response in the middle temporal lobe for words only, and a later (~500 ms) response in the central sulcus, where amplitude and latency distinguish words from nonwords. The distinction between words and FNs arises from the presence or absence of a lexically stored form, while the distinction between high- and low-frequency words arises from differences in storage and/or retrieval of stored forms. Thus the research reported here constitutes an important contribution to the theory of lexical storage and retrieval.

John McWhorter (University of California-Berkeley)

The essence of creolization, or, Yes, Virginia, there is a creole prototype (Session 31)

It is becoming a matter of common consensus in creole studies that strictly speaking, creole language is a sociolinguistic term and not a linguistic one. Many authors have concluded that since all of the features sometimes considered 'creole features' are instead found in the linguistic area as well as a sociolinguistic area, the creoles are the only languages which have (1) no, or all but no, inflectional morphology, and (2) are in principle fully productive of words, so of a constractive tone. Thus Chinese differs crucially in its total system, while a language like German has both inflection and tone, but only creoles have neither. Various authors (e.g. Chaudenson 1992, Muwewe 1996) have come to see creole genesis as essentially a gradual, rela-
tively nondisruptive development of a lexicifer, with simplification and reinterpretation marginal contributors. However, my findings suggest that this model neglects the essence of creole geneology. Absence of inflection and tone indicate simplification and reinterpretation to a massive degree, alien to the development of Yiddish from German, and encountered in no full languages in the world but creoles.

Barbara Meek (University of Arizona)
Reduplication in Nancowry: A reanalysis

Monosyllabic verb roots in Nancowry, a Nicobarese language, have been claimed to undergo reduplication (Radcliff 1981). Typically, reduplication involves a change in meaning (Morawetz 1978, Marantz 1982) and the reduplicant must be a prosodic constituent (McCarthy & Prince 1995). However, Nancowry verb formation does not adhere to either of these criteria. First, there is no change in the meaning of the verb, as in vacuous reduplication cases. Second, the so-called reduplicant is not a prosodic constituent. For example, (1)

(1) Verb Root

Verb Form

(a) yak 'to conceive' (b) yak 'to conceive'

'un' 'un'

'ku' 'ku'

(2) Verb Root

Verb Form

(a) joo 'cry' (b) joo 'cry'

'tim · tim' 'tim

'tim' 'tim'

(1a, 1b) show that the matching elements are the codas of the input syllable and output syllables. (1c) shows the matching element to be a place feature, [coronal]. That is, both the high vow (1a) and the low vow (1b) have the same place feature in a prosodic constituent. My analysis resolves this dilemma by reassessing the base-reduplicant relation as an input-output relation within Optimality and Correspondence Theory (McCarthy & Prince 1993, 1995). In particular, I show that monosyllabic verb roots have an added syllable based on a constraint requiring verbs to be minimally disyllabic. I account for matching elements between the input and output forms with correspondence constraints pertaining to identity. Thus, this analysis resolves the problem raised for traditional reduplication accounts by eliminating the need to consider a reduplicative template. It also offers a new approach to analyzing vacuous reduplication.

Megan E. Melancon (Louisiana State University)
The Creole French community in Louisiana: Attitudes and cultural identity

The status of the Creole French language in Louisiana is uncertain at best. The presence of several varieties of French without clear cut linguistic boundaries has led to confusion on many fronts. The uncertainty surrounding the term 'creole' and its evolution throughout the last three centuries has worsened the confusion and perhaps accelerated the process of assimilation which this language seems to be undergoing with respect to both English and Cajun French. Such basic issues as who still speaks Creole French, when they use it, its status in the community and in the wider anglophone community, the value given this language, and the number of speakers have remained in abeyance until this point in time. This paper proposes a hypothesis that Creole French as a language is in danger.

Lise Mena (University of Colorado)
Audrey L. Holland, Michael Gottfried, & Merrill F. Garrett (University of Arizona)
Pragmatic effects on locative encoding in aphasic and normal speech

The pragmatic feature of inferfertility of information has a strong effect on the expression of spatial relationships, and this is subject to impairments. To be relative preserved in aphasia. Four effects are observed: (a) frequent matching of aperture spaces and seven controls described a picture or more home objects. For 'counter-expected' effects, such as a chair with its back to a dinette table, all 20 control responses and 24 of 32 aphasic responses tried to encode the spatial relationship explicitly, although errors in occurred 75% of the aphasic attempts. In pictures lacking 'expected' expectations, only 10 of 32 control responses and 3 of 32 aphasic responses explicitly encoded the locative relationship; more typical was e.g. a 'table and chair' for the dinette table with the chair facing it. When the spatial relationship depicted was neither expected nor counter-expected (a clothes hanger lying near the head of a bed), location was explicit in 22 of 22 control responses but only 10 of 24 aphasic responses. Normal also showed effects of stimulus order and syntactic priming (these factors were held constant for aphasics).

Melinda Menzer (Purdue University)
Uturum 'langum, 'sidelcctei latium et anglicum: 'Alftric's Grammar of English

In the preface to his Grammar, written around 995, Alftric states that his text teaches both Latin and English grammar (Catterall, 1979, 1981). Yet modern scholars, including the modern language community's discussion of English does not seem to be concerned with Alftric's discusson of English grammar; instead it concerns what Alftric called 'proper English-speaking readers aware of the grammatical structure of English, introducing them to word classes, semantic categories, and derivational morpholog-

Lucas Marchant (University of California-Santa Cruz)
Pronominal wh-traces under slating

Steu's (1984) work on the anaphoric IP contains a -wh-trace, a prona facie problem for the LFG model of a grammar of English (Steu 1984). In their interpretation of the lack of a value of DP under reconstruction, (1-5) wh-traces are reconstructed as the [pro] pronoun under wh-trace. (2) shows that wh-traces under IP-ellipsis behave like pronouns and not values with respect both to the Binding Theory and to movement theory. The analysis extends to apparent cases of coordination in Spec-CP as well, explaining otherwise mysterious cooccurrence restrictions first noted in Bollinger (1978). These similar coordinations are subject to further restrictions bearing on theories of directionality of ellipsis (cf. Wilder 1995).
that (1) ECM was innovated in Middle English (ME) and all occurrences in Old English (OE) are ungrammatical; (2) ECM was not generalized from BE expansions of small clauses (SCs) because OE had no SCs; and (3) ECM could not develop until the *to* infinitive was present to transmit case and government properties. For Roberts (1995), to was in COMP in the 16th century, entailing that the passive to infinitive, to which Fischer (1999) largely attributes ECM, developed over three centuries prior to grammaticization of *to* as an infinitive. This paper shows that (1) SCs as complements to bridge verbs were inherited from OE; (2) SCs remained a normal nonfinite complement in OE; (3) in Japanese, Guizhou (Guizhou), etc., SCs allowed BE expansion (late OE also admitted HAVE in ECM); (4) structural evidence (e.g., NEG placement and *to* gaping) suggests that *to* was the head of IP by the end of the 13th century, however, (5) since the earliest examples of ECM in OE did not use the *to* infinitive, it could not have been instrumental in triggering ECM; (6) in ME *to* split off from the *to* less infinitive, which became restricted to Lassanian shell structures and modal (infinitive) verbs (Fischer 1999); (7) a null nonfinite clause structure, *to* was favored by ECM before it even in late ME not obligatory; (8) by recent accounts of ECM (e.g. Pesetsky, Martin, Kozima, Bolkovic), it is (8) accidental (as it is for Lightfoot) that the best examples of ECM in ME and OE, and the only ones in OE, contain be, have, or, a stative verb; specifically, (9) in OE, as in Modern French, bridge verbs selected +*Tense* infinitivals; the innovation was to select +*Tense* infinitival; and (10) the change was being completed during the Wyclif era.

Jason P. Miller (Georgetown University)

Selective convergence and ethnic identities: Evidence from third person *-s* in a Native American community

The presence or absence of third person *-s* in vernacular dialects has proven to be a versatile marker of region, status, and ethnicity in American English for well over a century. The current study investigates third person *-s* production in Lumbee Vernacular English, a Native American speech community in Robeson County, NC. The social composition of Robeson County—roughly one-third African American, one-third European American, and one-third Native American—constitutes a unique opportunity to examine ethnic associations and possible changing rules for third person *-s* in a trinational community. Using a cross-ethnic, cross-generational sample, I show how the presence or absence of *-s* mirrors the complexity of the past and current social relations among the three ethnic groups. A quantitative study of third person *-s* in the context of various classes of NPs, including coordinate NPs (e.g. me and Natalie), collective NPs (e.g. park or hospital), the women’s movement (e.g. she, her or them) and third person *-s* presence or absence of the three communities. While the European American community tends to include *-s*, and the African American community tends to delete *-s* in the third person, the Lumbee production seems to favor that of the European American community.

Michael Montgomery (University of South Carolina)

18th-century Sierra Leone English: Another exported variety of AAE?

Recently linguists have learned much about 19th-century African American English from disparate sources—interviews with Liberians whose ancestors left the U.S. in anemobble days (Sngler 1992, inter alia), letters from black Civil War soldiers (Montgomery 1993, and in press), and discussions in remnant communities of the African diaspora (Australian, Caribbean, and Nova Scotia). The African-American community in Nova Scotia originated from blacks brought from the Caribbean and by American ex-slaves fleeing the colonies in the aftermath of the British surrender. A set of colloquial documents has come to light that offers a profile of the language of freed blacks who lived in Nova Scotia in the 1870s before migrating to Sierra Leone (Timmer and Cope 1996), which has been used in the past. Preliminary analysis of these documents identifies morphological features that will be compared to existing studies of remnant communities of Afro-Canadian and African-American English speakers.

Timothy Mositer (University of North Texas)

A double passive construction in Klallam

Klallam, a Coast Salishan language with only a very few remaining native speakers, has two passive constructions. What is unusual, perhaps unique, is that both passives can occur in the same sentence. In the primary passive the intransitive subject has a semantic role corresponding to the primary object of the active counterpart while the agent subject has a secondary role corresponding to the secondary object. The secondary passive appears only to distative stems. The intransitive subject has a semantic role—typically patient corresponding to the secondary object of the active counterpart while the corresponding subject of the active is indicated by a genitive pronominal affix. In an active distative the primary object is the recipient/beneficiary/source.

Charles Morrill (Indiana University)

Sango revisited: The comparison of a creolized lingua franca to its source

Sango, the national language of the Central African Republic, has long been extolled as a rare example of an 'African-based creole language'. Known primarily through the prolific works of William Samari, Sango has been widely considered to have originated as a pidginized variety of Ngbandi (Niger-Congo) which emerged as the result of intense linguistic and cultural contact. Sango, a mixture of native and expatriate ethnicities during the colonial period. Although a considerable amount of research has been carried out on Sango, a systematic comparison of Sango and Ngbandi has yet to be done. This paper seeks to address this lacuna, focusing primarily on the verbal systems of the two languages. Ngbandi, like all Ubangian languages, makes extensive use of tone in denoting the various TAM categories. The most salient aspect of the tone system can be seen in these two languages stems from the near total absence of grammatical tone in Sango, which has necessitated the fixed use of free adverbial morphemes, most of which are present, but optional, in Ngbandi. This paper demonstrates that there is considerably more overlap in the grammar of these languages than one would expect to find between a creole language and its purported source. Contrary to Samsari's theory of a pidgin genesis for Sango, it is proposed in this paper that Sango begun as a simple, small, pidginized variety of Ngbandi which, since independence in 1960, has been undergoing the process of creolization.

Salkoko S. Mufwene (University of Chicago)

Black English and the mass media: Insights into AAVE's development

In this paper I attempt to infer, from sociohistorical considerations and from comparisons of older and current texts, the development path of AAVE. I argue that the texts from Caribbean English creoles, on which some scholars have capitalized, constitute only indirect, comparative evidence, relatively weak compared to the more direct diachronic evidence from Slave Narratives, Ex-Slave Recordings, and 19th-century transatlantic offshoots of AAVE, viz., Samand English, Liberian Settler English, and African Nova Scotian English. We could make more judicious use of 19th-century texts documented by Walter Brash in Black English and the Mass Media (1981), keeping in mind (1) that the social history of the United States does not suggest assuming that baseline varieties were common in the 18th century, nor (2) that there was ever a time when such a baseline 'creole' sociolinguistic space was spoken uniformly and universally by any generation of African-Americans. (3) The development of present-day AAVE probably continued until the Great Migration of the early 20th century. All things considered, the Decentralization Hypothesis is based on equivocal evidence, whose weight is limited, in light of sociohistorical evidence at best suggests that AAVE developed according to the same kind of restructuring program that produced its ink creole varieties, from similar inputs, but in a different ethnographic ecology, hence its different kind of outcome.

M. Lynne Murphy (University of the Witwatersrand)

Why adjectives occur (or don't) in measure phrases

In Germanic languages, some measure phrases (MPs) have adjectives (5 meters long), while others don't (5kg heavy), presenting a puzzle—what is special about the adjectives and measurements that co-occur? This paper pursues a pragmatic approach to the problem. This approach not only explains the differentiation between adjectivizing and nonadjectivizing MPs, but also explains the occurrence of adjectives in other measuring contexts. Two factors determine whether MPs take adjectives: (1) the lexical properties of the adjectival head and (2) whether adjectives forms that co-occur with a particular noun are also adjectives. However, the semantic approach, while necessary, is not sufficient to explain much of the data. In the other cases, the means of measurement determines whether the adjective is needed. The solution is pragmatic: adjectives only occur when the adjectival construct into two categories, space and time, since those categories can be measured in a number of different ways: using the same units of measurement. One reason why adjectival MPs may be particular to the Germanic languages is that the adjectives encode dimensional information that is often encoded in measuring verbs in other languages. Thus, this paper demonstrates again that peculiar linguistic structures can exist because of the communicative needs of the users, rather than the structural needs of the language (and the mental faculties it represents).

Scott Myers (University of Texas-Austin)

Surface underspecification in the phonetic implementation of tone in Chichewa

High tones in Bantu languages are phonologically active, while low tones are phonologically inert. One way of accounting for this is that in languages that have a tone, there is one between high tone and no tone. I argue in this paper that in the Bantu language Chichewa this underspecification extends to the surface representation as well: high tones are f0 peaks, while the f0 of other syllables is determined by nonlinear time-dependent interpolation. In a sequence of two high tones separated by toneless syllables, the f0 falls after realization of the first peak toward the current bottom of the pitch range. F0 flattening is gradual, and it rises again once the next peak comes in, which for a syllable look-ahead window available in the left-to-right evaluation. The prediction is that the f0 value of toneless syllables will be a function of the f0 value of the surrounding high tones, the f0 value of the bottom of the pitch range, and the duration of the period between the high tones. An experiment was designed to test this claim. Three speakers produced the following three sentences.
(1) Mítoda ámáyam'ba / ámáyaméra / ámaalberéz' kuyeny 'a.

The sentence differences in the number of syllables that separate the medial two high tones. The speakers produced these sentences at two different speech rates (to increase variability in the interpeak period), at two different loudnesses, and as a question and as a statement (to vary pitch range and the value of the bottom of that tones). The results support the surface underspecification hypothesis. All else being equal, the dip between peaks diminished as the period between them grew shorter. In utterances with high pitch range, the dip bottomed out at that bottom. The fo value of high tones, on the other hand, was unaffected by the period separating them.

Kojiro Nabeshima (University of California Berkeley)

Aspect-based split ergativity and two progressives in Ingush

Inguash, a language of the northern Caucasus and a close sister of Chechen, has a predominantly ergative case marking system with an aspect-based split that includes an opposition of two progressive tenses which differ formally in alignment. This paper describes the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic differences between the two present progressives. Universals of case marking in split ergative systems are confirmed by the Ingush progressives, and in addition the syntactic differences show that a category of topic has been grammaticalized and is implemented by the opposition of progressives. This illustrates the absolute-attitude (AA) progressive and the future-attitude (EA):

(la) dazad faher-ABS this book he is writing (V-class, agreeing with Father)

(b) dazad fasaher-ERG this book he is writing (D-class, agreeing with book)

Anthony J. Nardo (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro)

Variable coocurrence in Portuguese: The situation in Brazil and Portugal

Nonstandard dialects of Brazilian Portuguese throughout the country show certain variable agreement or concord phenomena that are distinctive from standard. In this paper we review historical evidence for European origins of loss of agreement and marking in Portuguese, tracing developments from pre-Latin times to pre-Classical Portuguese. We then present evidence of the presence of these variable agreement phenomena, previously supposed to be exclusively Brazilian, as the ordinary speech of Portuguese. Although infrequent, attestations crop up in a wide range of sources of data on Portuguese, such as the recordings made for the Linguistic Atlas of ALEPPI. While the existence of variable agreement in Portugal is categorically denied by most linguists and native speakers, this is just one more case of intuitions that do not correspond to reality.

Nancy Niedzielski (University of California-Santa Barbara)

Social factors and phonetic perception

The effect that perceived social factors has on the perception of sociolinguistic variable is examined. Fifty Detroit-area residents were given a listening task in which they were asked to choose from a set of six synthesized vowels the one that best matched the vowels of a fellow Detroiter. Some subjects were told that the speaker was a Canadian, while others were told that she was from Detroit. It was found that varying the perceived nationality of the speaker influenced the perception of the speaker’s vowels. Stereotypically Canadian vowels were heard if the subjects thought the speaker was Canadian, while more standard vowels were heard if the subjects thought she was from Detroit.

Manuela Nuske (University of California-Davis)

Feature spreading as deactivation

In this paper we claim that feature spreading is deactivating and so is avoided under pressure from an existing CRISPEDGE constraint (čó & Mester in press). The case in point is dorsal fricative assimilation in German. The dorale fricatives (ç and [x]) are in complementary distribution: [x] occurs after a back vowel, [ç] elsewhere. We assume that dorsal fricatives are specified as [ç]-back in the input and that [ç] results from assimilation to a preceding back vowel. We posit that an additional dorsal CVLINKAGE constraint to share a single specification (+back). CVLINKAGE is ranked higher than IDENT-IO (back) which penalizes any change in the underlying backness specification of a dorsal. Dorsal fricative assimilation does not apply in compounds or to the dorsal fricative of the diminutive suffix -chen which we treat as a separate prosodic word of German (Heras & Sattler 1993, Wiese 1996). We argue that the application of fricative assimilation is constrained by CRISPEDGE (PwD). Since spreading from a stem final back vowel to the following dorsal results in a blurred word edge, it is ruled out, because CRISPEDGE (PwD) is ranked higher than CVLINKAGE. The constraint CRISPEDGE (PwD) is independent from the assimilation process to a prosodic word boundary and in a pre-suffix stem domain (Ramers 1992, Féry 1995). We conclude that instead of limiting feature spreading directly by requiring the right or left edge of a feature to coexist with a given grammatical or prosodic constituent (Kúchir 1993), spreading can be confined indirectly when governed by the principles of Generalized Alignment.

Zelmira Núñez del Prado (Cornell University)

Spanish accusative clitics as strong determiners

In this paper we argue that accusative clitics are strong determiners (Milstein 1977, Diesing 1992) at the verb level (cf. Uriagereka 1995), that encode the semantic properties of specificity and presupposition. Further, we argue that clitics are satisfaction in the syntax. We follow the base-generation hypothesis for object clitics (Strozer 1976, Jaeggli 1982, Boros 1983, Sattler 1984). Every, all is conceived in terms of a clitic for presupposition, with scope and undergoing BY LF. We propose that accusative clitics head the functional projection DP, above VP, and are presuppositional by virtue of its association with the clitic. We argue that specificity and presuppositional by virtue of its association with the clitic. We argue that specificity and presuppositional role of the nominal complement to V are resolved structurally through specificity checking (Sprague 1992, Sattler 1984) and by taking scope over VP (DP in our proposal is not CP at the level of the noun—we assume individual functional projections at the noun and verb levels (Cardinaletti & Sandri 1994). A consequence of our analysis will be to present a unified account of extraction out of an NP with a definite determiner (Chomsky 1977, Fiengo & Higginbotham 1981, Bowers 1988, Diesing 1992) and extraction out of VP with clitic-doubling (Aoun 1981; Jaeggli 1982, 1986; Boros 1984, Sattler 1986, 1992).

Hiromi Oda (Indiana University)

Embodied semantics for metric words in Japanese

Japanese metric words use sounds to mimic human sensory experiences including the ordinary five senses and the kinetic sense, in a similar fashion in which onomatopoeic words imitate natural sounds in the world. Since onomatopoeic try to mimic sounds in the world with linguistic sounds, there are obvious similarities between the two within the limitations of the phonological system of the language. In the case of metric words, however, they describe situations that do not produce sounds, and there are no obvious connections between the sounds and the sensations that the words express. Thus, there is a need for a mechanism that mediates the sounds and sensations. This paper proposes a hypothesis that there is an embodied mediation process that connects the sound-meaning relations in Japanese metric words: they are mediated by sensations associated with the production of the sequence of sounds in the words. Experimental results support this hypothesis will be reported.

Richard T. Oehrle (University of Arizona)

Partial categoriality in categorial grammar

According to J. Houtman (Coordination and Constituency, Ph.D. thesis, R.U. Groningen, 1994), Dutch displays a contrast in coordination between Bobby heeft twee en Boris heeft drie pennen gegeven 'Bobby has sacrificed two pens and Boris has sacrificed three' and the similar-looking but ungrammatical Bobby heeft twee en Boris heeft drie pennen en schaakstukken vernietigd 'Bobby has two and Boris has three pawns sacrificed and chess-clocks ruined'. This subtle distinction is derivable if there is an embodied mediation process that connects the sound-meaning relations in Japanese metric words: they are mediated by sensations associated with the production of the sequence of sounds in the words. Experimental results support this hypothesis will be reported.

Kiyoko Hirose Ohara (Keio University)

On the semantic notion of ENABLEMENT: A case from Japanese internally headed relativization

Although internally headed relativization (IHR) in Japanese is studied by many (most recently Ohara 1996, Ohta 1996), semantic characterization of pairs of situations which can be expressed by the construction has been problematic. This paper proposes that the notion of ENABLEMENT adequately describes the semantics of the two clauses in the construction and argues that the notion of RELEVANCY, which Kuroda uses to characterize the construction, is not sufficient (Kuroda 1992 (1976-77)), cf. Sperber & Wilson 1995). Kuroda proposes a relevancy condition, which says that in the IHR construction, the first clause (S1) must be interpreted pragmatically in such a way as to be directly relevant to the pragmatic consequence, the second clause (S2). A condition based on the notion of relevance, however, seems inherently too vague to account for all and only acceptable IHR sentences. I propose that in the IHR construction, the situation described in S1 sets the stage and enables the S2 situation to occur. That is, the S1 situation is a necessary precondition for the IHR construction. The notion of enabling may be paraphrased as 'cause to be possible' or 'make it possible'. Note that in contrast to enabling, the cause-result relation is ruled out by the notion of the IHR construction. There are other clause-linking constructions in Japanese in which the S1 situation establishes a temporal or causal relationship with the S2 situation, suggesting that enabling is an important notion in clause-linkage. By demonstrating how the notion of enabling can accommodate verb-adverbial clauses and other clause-linking constructions in Japanese, the paper addresses the need to closely look into the notion when investigating semantics of clause-linkage.
Sachiko Ohno (University of Arizona)  
Correspondence theory and compound mimetics in Japanese  

Japanese has a variety of mimetic expressions which represent sounds or manners. Among them, I focus on a mimetic compound that has repetitive or continuous meaning, as in (1) and (2). Such compounds are restricted not only semantically, but also phonologically. The phonological restrictions cannot be accounted for in terms of alternations, since each stem does not change. Rather, only the combinations that satisfy the requirement can be combined and become a compound. Possible candidates compete against phonologically null candidate. If it satisfies the requirement, it wins and compound is available. If it does not, the null candidate wins and compounding has to be given up. In this paper, I argue that such phonological restriction can be accounted for with correspondence theory if we extend the correspondence theory to account for compound assimilation. We argue that not only compound assimilation (1) kara-koro ‘light (complex) sounds of something rolling and/or clattering’  
gasa-goso ‘rasping sounds of something small’  
(2) uro-cor ‘something small is moving/ hanging around’  
dosa-bata ‘repeating/ continuing’ noisy sounds  

Sheri Purgman (University of Chicago)  
Licensing of [back] and [round] in colloquial Tamil  

In most versions of derivational, rule-based phonological theory, it has been standard practice to require underlying representations which contain a minimum set of phonological information. The requirement has been termed LEXICAL MINIMAlITY by Steriade (1995), and it ensures that lexical entries are kept as minimal as possible by limiting the features underlyingly specified for a particular segment to those which are not predictable. This motivation behind this drive to eliminate redundancy has primarily been to provide principled accounts of why segments containing nondominant feature specifications act as triggers for or block phonological processes, on the one hand, while segments which are redundantly specified for a particular feature appear to be nontriggers or selective targets of such processes, on the other. This paper demonstrates that the concept of lexical minimality cannot be upheld in light of evidence from colloquial Tamil regarding the licensing of [back] and [round]. Specifically, it is argued that (1) it is impossible to provide a relevant freestanding concept of exclusion of these two features without violating another major tenet of derivational phonology, structure preservation (Kiparsky 1985), and (2) the facts are better represented by an analysis which takes into consideration the principle of feature licensing adopted by Lidt, Moser, and Padgett (1995) within an optimality-theoretic framework (cf. Prince & Smolensky 1993).  

Frederick Parkinson & Mike Cahill (Ohio State University)  
Overgeneration in feature class theory  

Padgett (1995, 1996) proposes feature class theory (FCT) as an alternative to feature geometry (FG) (e.g. Clements & Hume 1995). Padgett claims FCT is superior to FG in accounting for ‘partial’ or ‘selective’ licensing of morphological information. However, there are the cases of assimilation (discussed in this paper) that shows that it is clearly a marker of contrastive focus: it occurs optionally on any nominal (though usually on demonstratives) in any role where that nominal refers to a new participant, or when discourse focus shifts back onto a previously backgrounded participant.  

Reb Pentsalfini (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
Jingulu focus marking as an instance of contact- and loss-induced change  

Focus marking in Jingulu is a recent phenomenon (less than thirty years old) that arises from a reanalysis of the ergative case-mark under the influence of a dominant accusative language, English. The Jingulu focus marker is homophonous with the ergative marker, but has a distribution that is consistent with its occurrence on nominal (though usually on demonstratives) in any role where that nominal refers to a new participant, or when discourse focus shifts back onto a previously backgrounded participant.  

William Philip (Utrecht University)  
Strong continuity and weak reciprocity in child language  

The strong continuity hypothesis, widely accepted in contemporary acquisition theory as a constraint on the acquisition of syntactic principles, has recently been extended in some acquisition research to apply as well to the acquisition of semantic principles (though learnability considerations do not support this extension). In this talk experimental evidence will be presented that casts doubt on the validity of this extension. Using a test case Dalrymple et al.'s (1995) semantic principle called the strongest meaning hypothesis, which regulates the assignment of truth conditions to reciprocal sentences, it is shown in several experiments using different paradigms that children even as old as 8 years do not consistently apply the strongest meaning hypothesis in their comprehension of simple reciprocal sentences such as The cat eats the fish. Rather, semantic principles can be acquired gradually or the strongest meaning hypothesis requires severe modification.  

Betsy S. Phillips (Indiana State University-Terre Haute)  
Linguistic diffusion is not lexical analogy  

Kiparsky (1995: 641) argues that 'genuine instances of lexical diffusion . . . are all the result of analogical change' and contrasts characteristics supposedly shared by lexical diffusion and lexical analogy with those of sound change. I present numerous counter-examples to K’s claims. (1) Analogical changes affect the least frequent words first, whereas lexical diffusion often affects the most frequent words first. (2) Lexical diffusion can affect gradient changes, such as /fs/ in loss in S. Am., English, /sf/ > /sf/ in OE, and 18th-century lengthening of [ei] before /f, s, v/. (3) Lexically diffused changes can affect the phoneme inventory, as in the creation of new diphthongs in Middle English.  

Karina Pieri (University of California-San Diego)  
Empathetic and nonmorality: The case of Mohawk weightless [e]  

This paper presents a unified, optimality theoretic analysis of weightless [e] epenthesis in the Iroquoian language Mohawk. The [e]s behave like underlying vowels with respect to such phenomena as stress placement and prosody, others appear to be invisible to these processes. The main claim of the paper is that the phonetic [e]s are nonmoramic except in cases where they must act as syllable heads in order for underlying consonants to be exhaustively inserted into well-formed syllables. Among the interesting theoretical issues raised by the analysis are questions concerning the relationship between deletion and underling and the continued need for PARSE constraints, construed as distinct from constraints barring segment deletion.  

Maria Polsinska (University of California-San Diego)  
Early acquisition of topic-focus structure  

This paper examines early stages in the acquisition of information structure (IS) (cf. Valdov 1992, Lambrecht 1994) by a monolingual Russian child. The findings are twofold: (1) the acquisition of IS in the second and third year proceeds in different stages; (2) there is an early distinction between contrastive and noncontrastive elements in IS. With regard to (1), the paper presents seven successive stages of the incremental acquisition of IS. With regard to (2), the paper argues that the child perceives emphatic accent as a separate mechanism of marking contrastive declarative (as early as 1.5) and a problem with his on-line production, leading to errors in realizing accent in the right place. Differences in the acquisition of noncontrastive and contrastive structure suggest that contrastive information should be recognized as a separate component of sentence structure, superimposed on the general information structure as expressed by morphosyntax. Given the importance of IS for a unified account of 'free' word order, this study is relevant for both L1 acquisition and syntactic theory.  

William J. Posey (University of Northern British Columbia)  
Verb classification in Carrier  

Aboriginal languages, including Carrier (northern British Columbia), have long been known to have systems of noun classification, but the existence of systems of verb classification has received little attention. Several constructions in the Stuart/Trembleur Lake dialect of Carrier involve a higher verb the choice of which depends on the nature of the lower verb, thus classifying verbs into several categories. The most complex version of this classification is ill shown by the construction to keep V-ing which in the main verb is followed by particle za ʻonly, which in turn is followed by one of five five pro-verbs. An example is aya za ʻhe just keeps on singing, literally ʻhe-sings only he-says'. The categories are: speech act: state (e.g. to sleep); ordinary intrusive (e.g. to work); transitive (e.g. to hold); and ʻareal intrusive (e.g. to rain). Two points are worthy of note. One is the heterogeneity of the features that distinguish the five types: speech act vs non-speech act, state vs nonstate, and valence. The other is the characterization of the areal category intrusive. These are mostly weather-verbs like ʻto rain' with no overt subject, but examples exist with overt subject (e.g. ʻhalf-falls'), suggesting a semantic rather than syntactic characterization.
Laryngeal metathesis is a phenomenon attested in, for example, the inaminate *fipe' root: Hitt. pakhr, Toch A par < *peAur; Gk. φιπρ, Toch B *par < *peAur. Applying it to 'jaw' allows us to reconstruct *genAur as the basic form; Skt. *dudha- reflects a form with metathesis of the laryngeal to the first syllable. This explanation also accounts for anomalies such as the double -m- of Germanic (e.g. Gzd. "sehen" < 'sehen') and the second-syllable -a- of some forms (e.g. Gk. gynaikeω 'woman').

Geoffrey K. Pullum (University of California Santa Cruz)

Licensing of prosodic features by syntactic rules: The key to Auxiliary Reduction (Section 12)

For example, he's got the -l- is well known to be blocked before sites of VP Ellipsis (*She's usually home when he's there*), pseudogapping (*It's doing more for me than it's for you*), wh-movement (*I wonder where he's now?*), etc. Most recent accounts have connected this to empty categories, but they generally fail to predict correctly on subcategorization examples (*She's a better scientist than he is* [p] or *She's [p] engineer*) or examples with subject-auxiliary inversion (*He's taller than his friend [p]*). Previously unnoticed is the relevance of rejinder emphasis with too or as, as in I'm gonna fix it! Auxiliary reduction is blocked (*I'm too gonna fix it*)—but here there IS NO MISSING OR DISPLACED CONSTITUENT. This observation is the key to the constraints on auxiliary reduction. A syntactic constraint of rejinder emphasis, a language-specific heavy accent on core arguments of non-contrastive reattachment, and an underspecification of this sort on syntactic constructions are not that uncommon. But since (as noted by Sciikir) an auxiliary can reduce only if it is completely stressless, there is an irreducible clash between the requirements of rejinder emphasis and auxiliary reduction. The augmentation also implies that auxiliary reduction can also require lightly accentuated auxiliaries. Thus the distribution in reduced VPs can be completely accounted for by Sciikir's stressless condition—except that there are certain left context conditions on licitization (noted by Kaise 1983), the only remaining syntactic conditions on reduction: auxiliaries cliticize only to subjects, subordinators (than, that), pronominal so, or wh-words. Our revised analysis offers no support for traces; in fact if traces exist, then Sciikir's condition has to be modified rather awkwardly.

Robin M. Queen (Kent State University)

Turkish-German-Indonesian patterns: Evidence of innovation in contact (Section 21)

While there are many studies examining the influence of cross-linguistic contact on various features of grammar, serious examination of the intralinguistic patterns of bi- or multilingual communities has been rare (De Bo 1986). In this paper, I present the results of a study of the intralinguistic patterns of a German-Turkish bilingual community in Germany. This study differs from previous studies by examining intralinguistic phenomena as a point of contact and potential change which affects the bilingual community as a whole. Based on an examination of conversational data, the results demonstrate that bilingual speech is characterized by a deep level of cross-linguistic integration, and that this process is not simply a matter of lexical substitution. The results of this study show that bilingual speakers use two distinct registers in both Turkish and German. The register of speech in (L[H]) appears to be related to a characteristic German style, while the other (L[H]) resembles a characteristic Turkish style. The results are used with the same relative frequency and have the same pragmatic function in both Turkish and German. Rather than simply a case of language transfer and interference, these facts indicate a dynamic interplay between the intralingual resources which are available to the bilingual speakers.

Janina Radd (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

On-line focus interpretation: The distinguished role of topic (Section 22)

How is a contrastively focused word interpreted on-line? I will present experimental evidence from Hungarian indicating that (1) the contrast set for the focused item is constructed immediately, and (2) topic plays a different role in focus interpretation. Topic will be argued to be helpful in the identification of the contrast set for a contrastively focused word, even when the phrase in topic is neither directly relevant to the contrast set itself, nor does it introduce any new information. However, if the focused topic does not provide any new information, topic does not facilitate interpretation. The distinguished role of topic in focus interpretation will be argued to follow from the hypothesis that the processor preferentially uses information whose relevance is structurally encoded. Instead of searching through the entire left context, the processor needs a 'pointer' to the relevant part of the context. Topic can serve as such a pointer, since it is anaphoric to the discourse (von Fintel 1994), and its discourse function is encoded structurally in Hungarian.

Pascal Rijkhoek (University of Groningen)

Scrambling does not involve movement of the object (Section 1)

As is well-known, an object noun phrase in Dutch may occur both before and after an adverb. In this talk I will present evidence that the adverb does not move over the adverb (which is the traditional analysis), but that the adverb is generated in positions to the left or to the right of the object. The relevant data involve interpretation differences between sentences with adverb > object and object > adverb order. If the interpretation differences at issue originated in leftward movement of the adverb, then the data would require a novel step in an account of color/categorization: we would have to derive directly from a root *Afam(a)-, since they do not evidence any a-coloring effects on the verb of the first syllable.

Tim Pulju (Rice University)

Indo-European *jaw*, *chekh*, *chin* (Section 16)

Skt. *dudha- 'jaw' is anomalous in comparison with its IE cognates (e.g. Gk. γένος 'jaw', *cheek*) in that it has an initial aspirate. This anomalous pattern occurs elsewhere, e.g. Skt. dudhr- 'daughter' vs Gk. δούρης, and has been explained by several different theories, including a historical step that an eventual a-coloring of the adverb is colorized is generalized to the two readings, because the interpretations of the two original sentences would correspond to different positions of the object. Crucially, however, a sentence in which the adverb is topicalized has only one reading (under normal intonation): that of a sentence with the adverb > object order. This shows that it is not the object that occurs in scope of the adverb, that
Yolanda Rivera-Castillo (University of Alabama-Tuscaloosa)

Vowel raising in Papiamento: Substratum and base language

Enclitic pronouns in Papiamentu exhibit vocative alternations that are conditioned by the tonal properties of surrounding syllables. The explanation of these variations presents a challenge to monogenetic and universal theories of Creole origin since the restrictions placed on vowel alternations constitute a reinterpretation of features from both the substratum and the contact features. The authors further observe that, although monogenetic models are related to individual suprasegmental features from one source (vowel height in Romance) are related to individual suprasegmental features from another (tone height in West African languages), contrary to the assumption that only sets of segmental features are related indirectly to suprasegmental properties. I will propose that two elements contribute to this kind of alternation: the first is vowel height constraints on tonal alternations from some Bantu languages (one high tone per foot); and (2) Romance feature-based underspecified definitions for vowels in an accentually weak position (l’/ and /l’/ = [+BACK,-LOW]). These general constraints show a high degree of compatibility with constraints in the other language family. Additionally, the relationship between suprasegmental features and segmental properties suggests an implicational relationship between feature type and properties that can be described as restrictions of constraints on vowel height. These relations suggest a reevaluation of assumptions about the interconnection between different types of phonological information, and of the claim that there is no direct relation between different kinds of features.

Claudia Roncalli (Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói)

Language in contact: and diachronic evidence in Portuguese

In this paper I attempt a comprehensive review of NEG variation in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). The data consist of conversations recorded by Emmerich (1984) in the Island Reserve of Xingu (Matto Grosso) and of written texts from the 15th to the 17th centuries. The first half of the paper focuses on NEG acquisition, as it is by the Xingu Indians, and reveals the presence of a pidgin feature associated with NEG: the usage of ‘never meaning not’ (see Naro 1986) in the initial stages of acquisition. The second half of the paper presents new data on double and triple discursive variation of NEG and discusses grammaticalization and borderline cases of NEG conjunctions and disjunctions. In addition, we discuss cross-dialectal variation of NEG as found in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Ceará, Sergipe, and Rio Grande do Sul. Finally, we review the so-called hypothesis of a Afro-American origin of the BP postverbal negation.

Johanna Rubba (California Polytechnic State University-San Luis Obispo)

Modern Aramaic: Endangered language field report

Modern Aramaic (Aramaic) is a language spoken in various regions of the Middle East. It is one of the most ancient living languages, with its roots dating back to the time of the ancient Hebrews. The language is known for its rich and diverse vocabulary, with words borrowed from various sources, including Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic. In this paper, I will discuss the current status of Aramaic as an endangered language and explore the challenges it faces in terms of preservation and revitalization. I will also highlight the efforts being made by various organizations and individuals to preserve this important language.

Jeffrey T. Runner (University of Rochester)

Rearing the case of object expletives

The analysis of sentences like those in (1) has been controversial. Superficially they appear to provide evidence against the GB claim: A expletives cannot appear in subcategorization positions.

(1) a) I consider it obvious that you should've done that.
   b) I dislike it that he is so cruel.

Postal and Pullum (1988) (P&P) argue that the expletives in (1) are surface objects, and A must be abandoned. Roethen (1989) (R) argues that the two classes divide as follows: one class is expletive, but predicational subjects and objects; the other is referential object pronouns (b); thus, A can be maintained. We argue that both P&P and R are correct: the expletive pronouns in (1) are surface objects, as P&P argue, and some of (predicational) subjects, as R argue. We believe that a P&P (contra R) all of the pronouns in (1) are expletive. The intuition guiding our analysis is that objects in English are parallel to subjects: just as feature types that will be needed for some analysis differ from its surface case position, an object's VP-internal thematic position differs from its surface case position. Following Johnson (1991), Kozuma (1993), Runner (1995), and Lasnik (1995), we argue that generally in English direct objects differ from their substratum position to their surface case position. What this provides for us, then, is a nonthetic, noncategorialized surface 'object' position in which an expletive can reside without violating A.

William J. Samarin (University of Toronto)

Conflating histories of the origin of Sango

Two histories of the origin of Sango, the language of the Central African Republic, are contrasted and evaluated. The earliest is my own, since I have claimed since 1955 that it was in origin a pidgin, and I have in articles (1982, 1984, 1986, 1989, and 1989) and a book (1989) provided considerable information to support the argument that it was an expropriation Africans on the Ubangi river, leading to the rapid emergence of this new language. The other history, better known in the 1986) — that Sango 'issues from' Dendi (a variety of Ngbandi) that was a vehicular language long before (1984) and, after reviewing his arguments, cite some of the linguistic consequences of his insisting that Sango is only an 'extension' of Ngbandi with some 'modifications'. The paper raises issues of historiography in the linguistics of the history of scientific argumentation, and of what a pidgin is.

Filomena Sundalo (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

D* incorporation, bare NP extraction, and the organization of the CP layer in a polysynthetic language

This paper argues that bare NPs undergo extraction to multiple specifier positions within the CP layer in Kadiwé, a polysynthetic language (PL) spoken in Brazil, instead of being generated as adjectives. Baker 1995 argues that PLs are generated under Agr nodes, and pro in the argument position of the verb, and NPs are base generated as adjectives. The proper NPs are adjectival predicates that NPs are freely ordered. Nevertheless, the presence of a topic (i.e., information familiar to all participants in the discourse) interferes with word order. Additional evidence that NPs are not base generated as adjectives comes from the impossibility of having subject CLD across a CP boundary, which is possible in Romance. The position occupied by subject NPs favors Rizzi's 1996 analysis of the phenomenon. In accordance to Baker, pro in argument positions do not c-command them and Condition C is not actually violated. I attempt an alternative analysis that presents the apparent cases of Condition C violation presented in Kadiwé as pronoun (D*) incorporation. Evidence for D* incorporation comes from the Relativized Minimality Constraint (Rizzi 1990) and the lack of determiners co-occurring with NPs.

Lynn Santelmann (State University of New York-Buffalo)

Infants' sensitivity to discontinuous dependencies: Evidence for early processing limitations

This paper explores the nature of the processing space in early language acquisition by examining whether 18-month-old infants are sensitive to discontinuous dependencies. To recognize dependencies, 18-month-olds must be able to compute the co-occurrence of morphemes over several syllables. In two experiments using the Head Turn Procedure, infants 18-month-olds were presented with matched versions of patawa: a 'natural version', where the -ing form of the main verb appears with the -ing verbal suffix, and an 'alternative' version, where the main verbal suffix appears with the -ing verbal suffix. In the first study the only word order that was produced was the -ing morpheme was c-commanded by a single sentence verb, e.g. grandma lican (almost always) singing. Our results indicate that the -ing morpheme was more likely when the main verbal suffix appeared with the -ing verbal suffix. There is a second finding which supports this interpretation of our results. In the first study, 7 of 8 children who produced two-word combinations showed a strong preference for the natural surface, while in the second study, only 3 of 11 children who combined words showed the same preference. This suggests that children who combine words have increased their processing space enough to be able to reliably detect dependencies separated by a single syllable, but not those that are separated by 2 or more syllables.

Salvatore Santoro (City University of New York)

Puerto Rican Spanish: Evidence of partial restructuring

This paper provides evidence that many of the distinctive features of the nonstandard Spanish that developed in Puerto Rico are the result of the processes of semicismORIZATION, rather than of codification as it has been claimed by Ricketson. This paper presents evidence that Puerto Rican Spanish, even though it is widely distributed Spanish-based creole in the Caribbean; by Lawson (1971) who by Osehoy (1972) who is one of the striking synchronic and phonological similarities among the Caribbean creoles. Sociolinguistic facts and research regarding the phonology, morphology, and lexis of this variety will be presented and analyzed to demonstrate that while Puerto Rican Spanish has few unequivocally creole features, many of its pecularities are due to the partial restructuring that this language underwent during its development.
Thomas R. Sawallis (University of Florida)

A versatile method for quantifying perceptual weights of acoustic cues

Existing tools for investigating phonemic perception lack any autonomous way to quantify the importance of acoustic cues, so we are unable to determine whether a given cue is more important in one language than another. To fill that gap, this research proposes a measurement system for experimentally assessing a cue's perceptual importance, and reports on a study implementing that system. First, the distribution of the cue's acoustic measurements is surveyed. Then, perceptual stimuli are generated in a pattern normalized to the surveyed distribution. After perceptual tests, the subjects' responses are used to calculate signal detection theory's d' sensitivities. Since d' is abstract, rather than acoustic, the system can measure the perceptual weight of any cue, and because of the normalization step, the measurements can be compared across languages. The initial application of this method to intervocalic /r/ in French gave statistically significant evidence that native French speakers use hold duration more in perceiving /r/ than in perceiving /l/. This important new tool can provide a new perspective on such topics as allophonic variation, phonetic and phonological universals, acquisition of phonology, and triggers and directions of sound change.

Ronald P. Schafer (Southern Illinois University-Evansville)

On the creeping pace of endanglement in Emailand

Despite general claims of diminished vernacular use and Pilgrim English spread, no controlled assessment of minority language use across social contexts in rural areas of south-central Nigeria has occurred. To remedy this neglect and to construct a fuller picture of Ocrankee in Bight, a 54-stem sample of secondary school students between the ages of 13 and 20 in rural Emailand. Among the 52 respondents, 30 identified themselves as Email speaking. Nearly all the latter expressed a desire to read and write Email. Additional responses reveal a clear shift in language use linked to the variables of home and peer-parent interaction. Respondents overwhelmingly identified school and church settings as requiring English but the village in general, home and market as demanding Email. At-home activities--speaking with parents, greeting elders, cooking, and farming--led to a uniform preference for Email. Out-of-home activities--speaking with peers away from school and greeting friends--showed an equal split between preference for English. Sibling-based interaction, however, revealed a split, with neither English nor Email clearly preferred. These data bear on two factors often highlighted as crucially determining endanglement. An intergenerational shift to a new language in the home, cited as decisive for language death (Mougeon & Beniaik 1987, Haugen 1987), has yet to occur at least as the age-group studied here. At the same time, the number of ECL--the language--is not held, as attested by positive responses toward Email literacy skills. The split preference for sibling interaction, however, argues that the primary determinant of language choice may be changing from social setting, i.e., home, to age, and that the conditions for a generational shift in language choice, driven by pressure for peer-based interaction, may be in place among minority-language speakers in the predominantly rural Edo-speaking regions.

Amy Schafer (University of Kansas)

Phonological vs. interphrasal phrases and real analysis

Although many studies have shown patterning effects of phonological phrase (PPH) and interphrasal phrase (IPP) breaks, they have relied on a clear PPH/IPP contrast or suggested they have similar effects (Speer et al. 1996). We will report the results of an experiment on the real analysis of lexical ambiguity, which show superficial processing takes place at IPP breaks than at PPH breaks, and argue that IPP breaks and PPH breaks have distinct processing effects not revealed by analysis of sentence properties. I will also argue that 'wrap up' effects, traditionally attributed to the presence of a clause boundary (Fodor, Bever, & Garrett 1974), may actually result from IPP boundaries. The results demonstrate that IPP breaks affect semantic interpretation as well as syntactic decisions, supporting grammatical analyses in which IPPs and IPs are phonologically distinct and those which posit semantic constraints on IPs, but not PPHs. The findings also strongly constrain the possible models of prosody in processing; their implications for current processing models will be discussed.

Nathalie Schapansky (Simon Fraser University)

Presupposition and the distribution of NPIs in Breton

This paper argues that the distinction presupposition versus assertion and the discourse function Focus play an important role in the licensing of negative polarity items (NPIs) in Breton, a verb-second language. Subject NPIs appearing preverbally represent sets of presupposed subjects. They are thus referential in the sense of Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharaki (GHZ) (1993). As such, they must occur in preverbal position outside the scope of negation, where they are interpreted referentially as left-adjunction arguments. Subject NPIs appearing postverbally represent sets which have no referent. They are thus nonreferential in the sense of GHZ (1993). As such, they must occur in postverbal position inside the scope of negation, where they are, according to Givón (1984), interpreted nonreferentially, as seen in (1).

(1) (a) dênet né zas.
    (b) né zas dênet.
    (c) man any not come
    (d) not came man any
    (e) No one came.
    (f) No one came.

Convexely, object NPIs, being asserted, appear in postverbal position inside the scope of negation, where they are inter-

presupposition nonreferential. However, they may appear preverbally as well as they have an emphatic focus reading. The paper contributes the following: It provides a unique opportunity to study NPIs in Breton. It offers an account for the function Focus play an important role in the licensing of NPIs.

Natalie Schilling-Estes (North Carolina State University-Raleigh)

The breakdown of dialect boundaries: Dialect recession is two postindustrial island communities

It is sometimes assumed that historically isolated dialects will recede in comparable ways as geographic and other dialect boundaries are broken down. However, my analysis of two postindustrial communities, Smith Island in Maryland's Long Island Bay, shows that such an assumption is empirically unjustified. Using data from cross-sectional sociolinguistic interviews, I demonstrate that whereas the once-distinctive Ocracoke variety is becoming more similar to outside varieties, the Smith Island dialect is becoming more distinct. This is in part due to the fact that the boundaries are being replaced by a shared dialect feature--the production of /t/ with a raised tongue--in the Caribbean Spanish analysis reveals that this feature is receding in Ocracoke but expanding in Smith Island. Further, raised /t/ is subject to quite different phonetic and sociolinguistic principles guiding the progress of dialect recession are proposed based on the current comparative analysis.

Wolfgang Schultze (University of Munich)

Aspects of agentivity in East Caucasian: The case of pronouns

It is a common view that most of the 29 East Caucasian languages (ECL) exhibit a system of canonical ergativity (cf. pronouns (PPs) are exempted from this dichotomy using the accusative case instead. This is explained by the fact that the system is highly connected with the case of natural animacy, whereas the third person pronouns and nominals are highly connected with the transitive and intransitive hierarchies and transitiveness (Silverstein 1976, Hopper & Thompson 1980). However, a comprehensive treatment of the three cases shows that only the pronouns exhibit the properties of ergativity. Thus, in a broad sense, ergativity in ECL is partly based on local case systems to use ergatives as the grammatical markers for transitive and intransitive cases in ECL contrastive generalizations on ergativity: they are ergative with respect to morphosyntax, but they tend towards active languages.

Armin Schwager (University of California-Irvine)

Monogeness revisited: On the absence of plural marking in some varieties of (Black) American Spanish and Portuguese

Some scholars continue to argue that several phenomena found in Afro-American Spanish point to the prior existence of a once widespread Spanish pidgin or creole (monogenesis). The ultimate source of this contact vernacular presumably would lead to the discovery of a even single "DEEP grammatical American Spanish creole feature" used in colonial West Africa. It has been said--correctly so--that validate the monogenetic theory. At year's SPCl meeting, I offered an alternative but compelling piece of data that would automatically favor the monogenetic pidgin/Creole theory by examining reflexes of the Afroport, yron eule < Port. être be ' and êtes 'they'). Recent research has shown in mostly remote and yet much understood African-American Spanish speech areas have uniquely helpful for proving the genetic relationship between the putative Afro-Portuguese pidgin/creole and the speech varieties in which they are found. This paper will (1) delineate the wide geographic distribution of this 'plural' feature (found in Cuba, Ecuador, Colombia, et al.), (2) examine its putative pidgin/Creole origin, and (3) highlight its unusual importance for reconstructing the history of Latin American Spanish. In doing so, data from relevant creoles (especially Paelugan) will be addressed to bolster the monogenetic theory. In the final portion of the paper it will be argued that the systematic elimination of -o in plural marking (as in los animal, las cérce, las cosas) must have been a primary cause for the frequent loss of 'plural' -s in Caribbean Spanish (cf. plural los animal, la cérce, las cosas).

Scott Schwyzer (Stanford University)

A contextual analysis of scalar marking

Recent research by Kay and others (1990, Michaelis 1993) attempts to systematically the meaning of scalar particles like even or still via entailment in a scalar model. This paper analyzes the distribution of the Spanish connective si, alone and with inclusio 'even'. I argue for an analysis which recognizes that scalar-marked scalar particles like si are proposition oriented towards a specific conclusion, as in (1). Examples are from 40 hours of colloquial Peninsular Spanish conversations (cf could translate in proposition oriented to a specific conclusion, as in (1). Examples are from 40 hours of colloquial Peninsular Spanish conversations (cf. could translate)
(h) Si (incluido) fue nombrado estudiante del año.
’Sí they (even) named him student of the year.’

(1a) and (1b) present arguments oriented positively towards the conclusion ‘Juan is smart’, but one proposition does not entail the other. I propose that in scalar and modal contexts, the use of extreme argument for some conclusion. Incluido (or even) marks a proposition supporting a particular conclusion to a greater degree than another contextually derived proposition, but does not require entailment. These explanations account for interactions between the two markers. This approach highlights the importance of considering scalar phenomena from a discourse perspective. Analyzing scalar phenomena in context must be extended to a consideration of how arguments in scalar contexts are oriented towards a conclusion.

Jolle Sellevy, Craig Chambers, Michael Tanenhaus, & Greg N. Carlson (University of Rochester) (Session 15)

An experimental look at interpreting adjectival modifiers.

There exists a large number of adjectives whose meaning is difficult or impossible to specify independently of the head that they modify or more general contextual constraints. The goal of the present study was to look explicitly at some of the contextual effects on adjectival interpretation. In particular, we examine the claim that a major function of modifiers is to signal a contrast between an entity and a set of similar entities, both of which share the property denoted by the head noun. We will call two propositions of contrast are relevant for the interpretation of adjectives: (1) an explicit contrast between two entities in the discourse model and (2) a contrast between a referent and some implicit or prototypical representation of entities denoted by the head noun. The study used a head-mounted eye-tracking technique which monitors a subject’s gaze to real objects in a visual display over the entire screen to determine what object the subject is looking at. Results indicate that subjects were highly sensitive to the presence of a contrasting object, being faster to locate the target, and less likely to look at competing objects when the display included a contrasting object. The effect of prototypicality had a weaker effect, with good prototypical species speeding eye movements only when there was no contrasting object. When a contrasting object was present, looks to the target were not affected by prototypicality. These results suggest that the presence of a contrasting object in the discourse model plays an important role in the interpretation of adjectives.

Rachel Selbach (Concordia University) (Session 31)

Solomon Island Pijin pronouns: An argument for inherited constructs and labels, and inherent, creative order.

As has been thoroughly documented by Roger Keesing, the pronoun paradigm of Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP) shows more complexity and regularity than do superstrate (English) or substrate (Oceanic languages). The three languages’ pronouns are all similar in form and meaning, but they differ in various ways: some and numeral forms, as well as dual and trial number, which would not be expected from a language that indiscriminately simplifies other languages in order to allow for basic instruction and communication. This may help to explain why the nature of the noun phrase and complex language as something of the people with specific cultural needs, whose sociolinguistic functioning is secured by an incendiary very logical arrangement of morphemes. Existing semantic slots (representing Melanesian speakers’ realities) are filled by phonetic trams (derived from English), but morphology seems largely innovative, reflecting an inherently motivated, creative order that cannot have been adapted from purely linguistic, pre-existent input. A reminder of the internal dynamics of both speakers and language.

Robbyn Seller (McGill University) (Session 31)

Narrative encounters: Confusion in Solomon Island kastom versus.

Kastom stories are considered by Solomon Islanders as traditional lore about a way of life that existed prior to Christianity and Westernization. However, as told by adolescents in the capital, Honiara, these stories are characterized by the confusion of Western and Melanesian structural and semantic elements. This paper examines six of these stories, told in Solomon Pijin, using the notion of recontextualization to understand how the content of the elements that person and text are motivated, creative order that cannot have been adapted from purely linguistic, pre-existent input. A reminder of the internal dynamics of both speakers and language.

Martha Senturia (University of California-San Diego) (Session 22)

Syllabification of vocative sequences in Spanish verbs: Evidence for glide.

There are two groups of verbs that contain the same voicing sequences in Spanish, yet stress and prosody in the verbs appear to match alike in most cases. This provides us with a challenge to test the predictions of traditional and phonetic grounds to refute earlier assumptions about the syllabification of Spanish ve.

Use data collected in 1995 from university students in Thailand, this paper reports the results of a study investigating the distribution of stress in Thai. The terms available for use in Thai are generally influenced not only by complex sociolinguistic factors, but also by the intonational characteristics. There are two first-person pronouns marked specifically for speaker gender-

Bita C. Simpson (University of Michigan) (Session 19)

Gender differences in first person referential forms in Thai.

Rita Victor Singler (New York University) (Session 33)

Optimality theory, minimal-word constraints, and the historical sequencing of subant influence in pidgin/creole genesis.

Substantial influence on pidgin/creole (PC) phonology ordinarily manifests itself in surface well-formedness constraints, in much as constraints on output form the building blocks of optimality theory (OT), that theory is well suited to capture the nature of PC phonology, particularly the role of subant input in shaping the PC. From the perspective of OT, the lexifier language usually provides the input to the subant. Generally, the constraints that describe the influence of the lexifier language are found at a lower tier than the constraints that describe the influence of the subant input. In this paper, I examine constraints that are found at the highest tiers of the grammar, in particular the lexical tone and melody constraints. These constraints are found at a very high tier, in the sense that they are not immediately subject to the Optimality Theory (OT) framework. However, these constraints are important for understanding the development of the pidgin/creole languages, particularly the languages in the Caribbean and the Americas. The constraints that are found at the highest tiers of the grammar are important for understanding the development of the pidgin/creole languages, particularly the languages in the Caribbean and the Americas.

Carl L. Spring (University of Arizona) (Session 6)

Assessing and addressing the needs of undergraduates in linguistics courses.

This paper assesses the undergraduate curriculum in introductory linguistics as documented in three university settings and as structured by three standard introductory linguistics textbooks. It proposes principles and methods by which the field of linguistics can accommodate the needs of diverse students in the university of the 21st century and still be rigorous. This paper reports on a pilot study of two courses which was intended to measure learning in a field-based learning paradigm, which is particularly appropriate for linguistics. The survey was conducted at the end of the course, with a baseline questionnaire (cf. Lee Schumman, Stanford University). With a 6% attrition rate (84 students began, 79 finished), 85% (68 out of 79) submitted their work (voluntary participation) to an anthology devoted to qualitatively evaluating the results of the model. The results of this anthology are presented here.

Laurel Smith Styan (Northwestern University) (Session 9)

Leaving town to meet at school: Testing for familiarity NPs.

The odd syntactic form of certain NPs occurs within locative PPs (e.g., in jail, at school, and on stage) is notable for the lack of article and modifier within the object NP (Soja 1994, as well as for creating a marked noncomitative meaning (Styan 1993). Of the 35 attested NP types that appear in such locative PPs, however, only a small subset of them correspond to the presence of other syntactic positions. At the same time, this same subset of locative PP objects is used to convey a known referent (in contrast to more opaque adnominal meaning). The two settings for this subset of NPs underscore the characteristics of this familiarity as objects of propositions, an NP from this set acts as a definite referring expression, picking out a familiar location. On the other hand, the objects, the NPs convey a more abstract sense of life in any such location (e.g. leave town, to set up camp). In this position they contrast with the objects of other PPs, which cannot occur as direct objects at all. Two diagnostics are suggested for recognizing familiarity NPs. Tense is shown to be crucial to the distinction between the other two. Expanding the use of this single-word NP helps to tease apart the core meanings of location nouns and better explicate the influence of verbs and prepositions in extending those meanings.
Joseph Subbiondo (St Mary's College of California)
Contemporary reflections on 17th-century philosophical language: Noam Chomsky and John Wilkins on universal language.

In this century, linguists have typically ignored the works of previous scholars in developing their theories; and historians of linguistics resist judging past works by contemporary standards in writing their histories. A notable exception to these trends has been universal grammar theory: contemporary linguists have drawn on the work of their predecessors and historians to evaluate the work of past ages according to modern standards. An illustrative example of this can be found in the universal grammar theory of Chomsky and Wilkins. This paper will focus on general assumptions and goals of both linguists and suggest a continuity of development in universal grammar from the 17th century to the present day.

Eve Sweetser (University of California-Berkeley)
Stable subject/object and extended uses of change predicates.

This paper analyzes limits on the use of change predicates in English. Examples such as The students get younger every year are seen, following Talmy (1988, 1996) as figure-ground reversals: the aging faculty member who makes such a remark is viewing her age as the fixed ground, and the student’s age is the moving figure, although the reverse is true. The student is a stable subject and is used to perform the subjective reversal: even if we think the average novel is based on a variety of examples, it is argued that the idea of a stable subject is crucial to an adequate description of the grammar of English change predicates. Concepts such as radial categories are also needed, to express the gradual change from central meaning and unrestricted use of a construction, to extended and restricted uses.

Anand Sreea (University of Westminster)
Distribution of la in Mauritian Creole: Discourse or syntax?

Sankoff and Brown (1976) claim that the distribution of Pok Sin la is discourse-driven. Is the same true of the distribution of la in Mauritian Creole? This paper compares the la and la and argues that although there is a significant degree of overlap, la is not driven by discourse but by syntactic changes. Historical evidence is presented in support of this contention.

Sail Tagliamonte (University of York)
The story of kaw in Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE).

In this paper I examine preverbal kaw in Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). Parachas (1987) claims that kaw (kaw) is a marker of realis modality unrelated to aspect or temporal relationship. In contrast, Pobjoy and Tagliamonte (1996) argue that kaw is a central part of NPE’s temporal tense system serving to denote sequential temporal relationships. Furthermore, the results reveal that the use of kaw has recently changed dramatically, having grammaticized according to ‘universal patterns of grammatical change’ and provides a new level of analysis of NPE’s kaw in narratives told by speakers from two generations. Analysis of over 1000 narrative contexts reveals that kaw is a highly cued form, occurring overwhelmingly in well-defined portions of narrative structure, rather than randomly throughout. In particular, kaw is confined almost exclusively to the complicating action sections, where it alternates with a bare verb. Alternation amongst these forms is the result of multiplex interaction structure constraints akin to, though distinct from, those used in Indo-European languages and also differing from those found in studies of known creoles. Moreover, these patterns are nearly identical across speakers. These findings contribute to a greater understanding of how NPE tense/aspect and discourse coherence apparatus appear to contrast with other varieties. The following specific findings are of particular interest: particularly in a contact situation, I explore the implications of pathways by which grammaticalization proceeds, and in particular, the interface between grammar and discourse.

Maggie Tallerman (University of Durham)
Case-licensing of subjects: The Middle Welsh ‘historic indefinite’

In Middle Welsh, nonfinite independent clauses of various kinds are common. All have an infinitival verb in initial position, in contrast with finite clauses which are strictly V2 in Middle Welsh. Within a principles and parameters framework, two questions arise: (1) where does the infinitival verb go in initial position? and (2) how is the subject of nonfinite clauses case-licensed? I propose that in one construction, V raises to Agr-G: evidence is that an object agreement projection appears on the verb when the object is pronoun. Agr-S fails to project, so the subject cannot be case-licensed in Spec, Agr-S, but remains in Spec, VP. As a ‘last resort’, subjects are case-licensed via an inserted pronoun. However, the subjects of teic inacceessive infinitival verbs are case-licensed in Spec, AdvP: such verbs display subject agreement in the tensed complement clause. Finally, the non-co-occurrence of complementizers with these infinitival verbs suggests that V ultimately raises to C. I link this to proposals that finite verbs in V2 clauses also move to C.

William Thompson (Northwestern University)
The semantics of English deadjectival verbs

Recent studies claim that deadjectival verbs formed with -if/i- and with -ent/- are of identical semantic type, differing only in expression. Contrary to these claims, we show that verbs formed by these two sets of affixes systematically differ in their semantics. Verbs formed with -ent/- are overwhelmingly formed from adjectives which are ‘true scalars’. There are qualitative adjectival denotations denoting a value on a scale, typically physical/perceptual in nature (e.g. cool and warm are values on a temperature scale). On the other hand, verbs formed with -if/- are formed from ‘nonscalar’ adjectives, typically abstract/nonperceptual in nature (cultural, provincial, electric, electrolyte). Cross-linguistic support for the existence of these two sets of adjectives is provided by the fact that true scalars form the core set of adjectives in those languages with a very adjective word class. Examples of typical adjectives which feed -ent/- affixation are deep, narrow, even, smooth, clear, and red. These are all values of physical, scalar concepts. Examples of typical adjectives which feed -if/- affixation are electric, pure, acid, provincial, federal, and military. These are all nonscalars which denote relatively abstract, nonperceptual properties.

Terese Thoos (Indiana University)
Syntactic and morphological serialization: Iconicity in Cariban languages.

Cariban languages have come to the forefront of interest in typological studies because of their marked object-initial word orders. If iconic semantics are suspended or modified in syntactic serialization in such languages, are they also absent in morphological serialization? This paper investigates this by looking at the facts of affixes that are part of stress phenomena expressed by the accentual syllable in the first syllable. The investigation adds depth and documentation to Bybee’s (1985) study of morphological serialization by examining the ordering of five inflectional categories in ten Cariban languages. Results suggest that a morphological relevance hierarchy (VALENCE > ASPECT > TENSE > MOOD > AGREEMENT) operates in languages such as Hixkaryana, which evidences ASPECT > [TENSE=ASPECT+NUMBER] serialization:

kaw yu ani-mi bi-xe -(yi)zau-kun.

fish [3S>3O] 1S-CONT-COLL

They began catching fish.’ (Derbyshire 1985)

Although the principle of temporal iconicity may be suspended in word order in object-initial languages, diagrammatic iconicity may still motivate the ordering of verbal inflections.

Bozena Tieszen (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Final stop diachrony in Polish: Incomplete neutralisation.

In Polish, as in some other Slavic languages, word final obstruents are devoiced. The present study examines the acoustic nature of word-final devoicing in three areas of Poland. The data consisted of nine minimal pairs containing /p, t, k, d, g/ preceded by each of the vowels /a, u, i/ and followed by an initial voiceless obstruent in one case, and a vowel in another. All of the test words, the ordering of affixes relative to the verb stem? This investigation adds depth and documentation to Bybee’s (1985) study of morphological serialization by examining the ordering of five inflectional categories in ten Cariban languages. Results suggest that a morphological relevance hierarchy (VALENCE > ASPECT > TENSE > MOOD > AGREEMENT) operates in languages such as Hixkaryana, which evidences ASPECT > [TENSE=ASPECT+NUMBER] serialization:

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Satoshi Tomokiyo (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)
Interpreting 3p in Japanese

In this paper, we present an analysis for sloppy readings of null objects in Japanese, as shown in (1).

(1) Ken wa zibun no uta o uta Erika no e uta.

Ken-top song gen house-Acc sold Erika-also sold

‘Ken sold self's house, too.’

First, evidence against Onishi and Whi m a n (1981) VP ellipsis account is presented. Our alternative proposal makes use of the ‘pronoun of laziness’ strategy for 3p, following the spirit of Cooper’s (1979) analysis. Some instances of Japanese 3p are interpreted as either one in (2).

(2) Definite pro: Lx.3=VP(y[i]-y=x) & P(x).

Indefinite pro: Lx.3=VP(y[i]-y=x) & P(x).

In (2), L is a property salient in the context. In (1), the salient property is being a house and owned by z (isbun is assumed as a bound variable). Then, the object pro is translated into Lx.3=VP(y[house(y) & own(y,x)] t=x) & P(x)] or (Lx.3=VP(y[house(y) & own(y,x)]) t=x) & P(x)]. Since the variable y is bound by the NP, Erika, the sloppy reading is obtained. The advantages of the current proposal will also be discussed.

Sara Treharre (California State University-Chico)
Effects of metalinguistic characterization on the genesis and obsolescence of Lakoia gender morphology

Lakoia speakers of the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations characterize the speech of men and women by citing oppositions for imperative clitics such as ‘men say yo, and women say ye.’ This metalinguistic description of the gram-
mutilatedness in the language is an idealization and linguistically almost completely inaccurate. The men's imperative is not in a complementary relationship with the form ye, which is used by women in expressing command and by both men and women expressing immediate assertions. However, as a linguistic construct it is potentially influential because it identifies ye solely with female speakers, and it serves as a masque for learners of Lakota to avoid embarrassment. I maintain that binary constructs like this combined with ideologies which characterize women's speech as 'manipulative or boring', restricting the context of its use, have reduced the grammaticalized linguistic options for women in Lakota historically.

However, in the context of the Lakota cultural model, gender differences where none previously existed are also being created through the same mechanisms.

(Maria Tsalaper (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

St. Augustine and Port Royalist language thought

Without an understanding of St. Augustine's writings and teachings it would be difficult to understand the Janzonian movement in and turn the Port Royalists or for that matter the Reformed movement in general. For example Calvists argue that human knowledge of God is immediate and direct. An overview of Augustinian philosophy and Janzonian beliefs makes it possible to understand the political consequences that earned Port Royal the fame. Also, understanding Augustinian philosophy makes it possible to see the unity present in the differing threads. To the Port Royalists the reason for the problems of the church in seventeenth century France was the turning away from the teachings of St. Augustine. The powerful leaders of the French church were the Jesuits who clashed with the Port Royalists. This clash helped the Port Royalist philosophy on education and in turn views their views on language. Since the ideas of St. Augustine were so important the focus was on the fusion between the Port Royalists and the Jesuits, it would be extremely useful to examine these ideas and their influence on the theory of language. In conclusion, St. Augustine is the bridge between ancient ideas and Christian beliefs on reason and belief and also the bridge to Cartesianism. St. Augustine 'I think, therefore God is'. Descartes, 'I think, therefore I am' Naumol listen to reason in the human sciences, and to authority in religious matters'.

(Ayako Tachida (Cornell University)

Laryngeal control in the production of Japanese vowels and th

In Japanese, the high vowels [i,u] become devocalized when they occur between voiceless segments. While vowel devocalization has traditionally been described as a phonological assimilation rule (McCawley 1968), Beckman and Jan (1994) claim that it is a phonetic process resulting from gestural overlap. Based on acoustic, fiberoptic, and electromyographic data, they argue that this is indeed a phonological rule, contrary to the recent claim. The production of high vowels followed by /h/ allophones (i.e., /I/, /u/) and /ɔ/ is investigated in the talk. The talk reveals that /h/ is phonologically voiceless. The result shows that the laryngeal processes for high vowels in the /h/ environment are completely different from those for typical devoiced vowels. The glottis was wide open during the production of devoiced vowels, while the high vowels in the /h/ environment were always closed and produced with a closed glottis.

The glottal opening for /h/ was comparable to that for [s], and much greater than that for [t]. Thus it is puzzling why high vowels were devoiced before [s] but not before /h/. If /h/ is a phonetic process, then /h/ should be 'overlapped' by the opening gestures for /h/. The present study can be explained if we assume that /h/ APD the phonology and that there is a phonological constraint against devoicing before /h/. Devoiced vowels are presumably specified for spread glottis, which results in the worldwide glottal high. The high vowels before /h/, on the other hand, enter the phonetics with specifications for being voiced, thus produced with closed glottis. Different voicing specifications in the phonology account for the different laryngeal gestures during the production.

(Kevin Tuite (University of Montreal)

Passive and perfect in prehistoric Karitvane

Proto-Karitvane, the ancestor of Georgians, Svan, and Laz-Mingrelian, is believed to have been an ergative language. The sorit, and other forms employing the unmarked stem, governed an ergative-absolutive case-marking alignment. As for the duratives verb forms (present, imperfect) in the daughter languages, their nominative-accusative case-marking pattern originated in a Proto-Karitvane unipassive transitive with partial demotion of the underlying patient to indirect-object status, allowing it to receive active case and control object agreement in the verb. I argue that the Proto-Karitvane passive operated in a similar fashion, where the patient transitive verbs they do not surface as clusters phonetically, and provides evidence for the sparsely supported yod suppletive form in the same way.

(Rachel Walker (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Bisyllabic triggers

In Tungusic languages, round harmony (RH) is usually triggered by an initial low round vowel, but in written Manchu (WM) and Oroen, RH requires the initial low round vowel. The first two syllables are tonal, e.g. bogo-nco 'colored', ino-ngo 'few' (WM); ino-wo 'tish', ino-wo-to 'tree' (Oroen). (Zhang & Drosher 1996). Previous studies derive RH from the interaction of constraints on licensing and feature contents. Independent of RH, in WM and Oroen low round vowels occur in the same position where the initial vowel is round. RH cannot be responsible, since both CoCo (unrounded second vowel) and CoSa (unrounded second vowel) are not round, and RH requires a bisyllabic trigger. I analyze this distribution as a result of round only being licensed when linked to the initial syllable.
Licensing is mandated by the constraint LIC[rd]. Both licensing and RH cause [round] to span more than one syllable. This is a feature of (round) that all associated segments be tautosyllabic. Most Tungic languages rank TAUT-cription below the RH constraint, SREAD[rd]. This enables an initial syllable to trigger RH. Yet in WUI and Orogen TAUT-cription SREAD[rd] so a single syllable cannot initiate RH. But TAUT-cription can be violated to license a round second syllable. With TAUT-cription independently violated [round] can spread thus deriving the blytical trigger effect.

I-Ping Wua & Jeri L. Jaeger (State University of New York-Buffalo)
The representation of tone in Mandarin: Evidence from speech errors (Session 17)

A corpus of 650 Mandarin speech errors is evaluated for evidence about the representation and processing of tone. We find that tones are linked to vowels in lexical phonological representations; in lexical substitutions words keep their underlying tones, and in lexical blends the spoken vowel keeps its tone: avanaugh [f pras] -> sann. In phonological spell-out tones become autosegments, and both tones and segments can move freely without affecting each other: pánssu [fss] -> fss [fss]. Tone sandhi occurs at the phonetic level, after tones are assigned the underlying tone. Tone sandhi is an important organizing function in the prosody of Mandarin, as syllables involved in phonological errors have the same tone only by chance. Finally, contour tones in Mandarin are unitary and not made up of segments of tones. All errors produced true Mandarin tones, no split or hybrid tones. Most tone errors were contextual, with the source tone occurring in the same utterance; even noncontextual errors cannot be explained by tone spreading. Findings are discussed in terms of phonological theories and processing models.

Michael T. Ward (Trinity University)
Japanese philosophy in France: The contribution of Haim Vital Sopher (Session 27)

Haim Vital Sopher is perhaps the most significant figure within current Judeo-Spanish studies in France. Despite the quality and impact of his work, however, he is not as well known as figures in the United States who achieve a scholarly stature. The present paper intends to outline certain salient points of Sopher's views as presented in two monographs, L'agonia des Judeo-Espanols and Le Judeo-Espanol. This theory at the heart of both studies involves a sharp division between two forms of Judeo-Spanish: 'Jadico' and 'Judeico', the former marked by Spanish lexicon and motivated to the present by the turn of the century 1620. It appears that, despite his claims to the contrary, the author's viewpoint has had a significant impact on the outlooks of other theorists.

Michael T. Wescott (Osaka University)
An attributional distribution paradox and its solution with lexical sharing (Session 11)

In English denominations often occur without any accompanying noun, e.g. those. Such forms may take some attributive modifiers but not adjectives, yielding seemingly paradoxical contrasts like (1):

(1) [those ambitious "to succeed"
(2) ambitious "to succeed"
people = people ambitious "to succeed"

Givon 2), though, it seems that only modifiers that may follow a common noun co-occur with denominator. This is difficult to predict under standard assumptions, but it follows simply from an analysis employing LEXICAL SHARING, which allows phrase-structure representations like (2):

(2) [pp[phoneme] [pp[stem] [p

Greek variables and ' indicates common lexical tokens, e.g. D and N are associated with the very same word, whence the term lexical sharing. Now, attributive APs without complements, which must precede the head noun, would fall between the N and D in (3), violating the lexical integrity of those, which is 'shared' by these two nodes. Thus, one correctly predicts that only attributive modifiers that may follow the head noun can co-occur with denominator, as in (4).

D. H. Whalen (Haskins Laboratories)
Bryan Glick (Yale University/Haskins Laboratories)

Is intrinsic F0 of vowels phonologically specified? (Session 2)

Although the vowels of a language can be produced with a variety of F0 values, high vowels tend to have a higher F0 on average. However, there is no direct evidence for this. This tendency has been found in every language that has been examined for it, and the size of the effect does not seem to differ across languages. Nonetheless, it has been proposed that this "intrinsic F0" (or IF0) of vowels is a deliberate 'enhancement' of the speech signal, one that must be specified in the phonology of the language. This theory proposes that the perception of vowel height is based on the difference between F1 and F2. Thus, having a high F0 for high vowels will make this difference even smaller, and the difference for low vowels correspondingly larger, making vowel height more easily perceived. Since IF0 does not differ in magnitude based on the number of vowels in a language, this enhancement seems unlikely. The only possible evidence in its favor is the finding that the activity of the cingulum (CT) muscle, which primarily raises F0, is larger for high vowels than for low vowels, just as we would expect if IF0 were being deliberately controlled. The present experiment explores this muscle activity further by having a subject produce vowels at slightly different frequencies in F0 being equivalent to the differences in IF0 for that subject. The vowels /ay/ and /a/ were produced to match zones of 117, 129, 135, and 141 Hz (129 is the typical value for this speaker). The vowel /a/ was produced to match 111, 117, 129, 135, and 135 (123 is typical). Bilateral recordings of the CT muscle were made with hooked-wire electrodes. F0 values were matched fairly successfully (r = -.64). To compare these results, the subject repeated tokens of the vowels that were within 3 Hz of the typical value for that vowel were analyzed. High vowels had the same level of CT activation as the low vowels, failing to replicate the earlier work. However, an analysis of all the results (across the various F0) indicates that a covariance showed that the high vowels had higher CT activation. Thus different vowels involve different levels of CT activity for a given F0, leading to the expectation that the previous findings were due not to F0 control but to F0/vowel quality interactions. Even the EMG evidence, then, makes it unlikely that IF0 is a deliberate enhancement of speech. Rather, IF0 appears to be an automatic consequence of vowel production.

Cheryl Wherry (East Central University, Oklahoma)
The amens of African American sermons: Genre and culture roles (Session 7)

Many discourse markers have been examined in conversation and lecture, but fewer researchers have analyzed markers in the sermon genre and in their diverse discourse communities. This paper examines, using ethnographic analysis and discourse analysis methods, hermeneutic expressions frequently found in performed African American sermons (e.g. Amen, Hallelujah, Praise God) and suggests genre and culture-related functions.

David White (Tarkunia University)
Postverbal consitutions, tone sandhi, and the structure of V in Tainwanese (Session 1)

An account is presented concerning interactions of VP syntax and tone sandhi (TS) in Tainwanese cases like (1), in which VP-postverbal constituents obligatorily do not trigger TS on the verb. (2), where the object does trigger TS on the verb.

(1) chihaNli khaANhshcit e. please you look one time
(2) chihaNli khaANhshcit e. please you look one CL

Please look at a bit.

Please look at one.

(3) the addion of more lexical material after a postverbal element in cases like (1) forces the TS form of the verb, as in (4).

(4) chihaNli khaANhshcit e. chhe. please you look one CL please read a bit.

These facts are derivable from the phrase structure constraint (PSC) interacting with the propositional structure of the object, which is adjuncts. The contrast in TS between (1) and (2) then follows. TS on the verb renders (3) acceptable because the postverbal chi is not an adjunct in (3) but a clitic in the verb, bringing (3) into conformity with the PSC.

Ronnie B. Wilbur & Howard N. Zelani (Purdue University)
Kinematic correlates of stress and phrase position in ASL (Session 8)

In speech, stress and phrase final position increase the duration of syllables. Increased duration is not the result of instructions to a timing mechanism, but is the emergent result of a complex set of factors, including duration, and other time-independent factors. Examination of the kinematic effects of stress and phrase final position in American Sign Language (ASL) reveals that, as in speech, final signs are lengthened but that unlike speech, stress is not reflected in increased duration but rather is displayed reliably by increased peak velocity. These findings have the potential to support modularity-independent timing mechanisms suggested by gestural dynamic approaches. They also reinforce the claim that ASL is a naturally evolved language designed for its production modality (as compared to signed English, which is artifically created).

Caroline Wilshire (University of Florida)
Louis Goldstein (Yale University/Haskins Laboratories)

Differential vowel effects on coronal consonants (Session 5)

Adjacent vowels affect the articulation of consonants, so that a consonant's position of articulation in the context [a] differs from that in [i] (e.g. Omhann 1967, Recasens 1984). This experiment evaluates the relative effects of three vowels on a set of (coronal) consonants and examines the magnitude of vowel effects on the tongue tips, under-ip, blade, and dorsum. Articulatory information was gathered from a Tamil speaker, whose inventory includes eight constraining coronal consonants: t, n, r, l, and their reflexes correspondences (i, a, 4, and l). The EMMA magnetometer provided positional values from a set of pellets mounted at the four tongue positions, as the subject repeated tokens of coronal consonants in symmetrical vowel contexts (a, u, i, i) within a frame. The differential effects of these vowels on a consonant's articulation are measured by comparing the positions of the tongue pellets for individual consonants, and
these vowel effects are then compared for various classes of consonants (i.e. dentals vs retroflexes, stops vs laterals, etc.). The results shed light on how coronal stops and vowels are coproduced, as an issue of interest to both phoneticians and phonologists. These findings can help to refine a gestural model of speech production (Brownman & Goldstein 1989) and improve accounts of featural organization in phonology (Keaning 1988, Hume 1994).

Walt Wolfram & Kirk Hazen (North Carolina State University-Raleigh)  
(Section 21)  
Dialect accommodation and postindustrial ethnonationalism

The nature of dialect diversity in small, isolated speech communities is considered by examining a unique sociolinguistic situation in which a lone African-American family resided for over 130 years on a small island community located off the North Carolina coast, surrounded by an Anglo-American community which maintained a unique variety of English due to their isolation from the mainland for over two centuries. The comparison of data from members of the African-American family, Anglo-American Ocracoke community, and mainland AAVE-speaking community on Ocracoke reveals that the Ocracoke African-American family has maintained core AAVE features. Interestingly, the phonology of the 91-year-old African-American Ocracoke female shows the retention of basilectal AAVE phonology while indicating some erosion of her AAVE morphological pattern. Her brother, however, assimilated some sounds Ocracoke phonemes while maintaining core AAVE morphosyntactic features. The study indicates (1) the long-term persistence of ethnonationalist boundaries in small, isolated linguistic communities, (2) the complex interaction of social and linguistic processes in patterns of dialect accommodation, and (3) the significant role of differential social interaction in dialect assimilation even in small, historically isolated language situations.

Makoto Yamada (Tohoku University/Hebrew University)  
(Section 1)  
Against IP-adjunction scrambling

As an optional movement, 'scrambling' in Japanese has been one of the major obstacles to the Minimalist Program (MP) (Chomsky 1995), in which movements occur only when necessary. Miyagawa (1996), in his attempt to accommodate this phenomenon to the MP, suggests that VP-adjunction scrambling should be analyzed as base-generated constructions and suggests that IP-adjunction scrambling is motivated by some special element like Focus. This paper argues that if we make a natural extension of the categories which can assume strong features, the IP-adjunction scrambling phenomena, too, can be accounted for in the MP without supplementing any special element. This study implies that even the small and weak NP-adjunction scrambling is based on the light verb v, can bear a strong D-feature, nothing is special about Japanese phrase structure, including possibly the head parameter. This is the situation which conforms to the general minimalist assumptions and the spirit of Kayne's (1993) universal word order. Thus in so far as we are successful, this study can be considered to be a contribution to the minimalist framework.

Li-chung Yang (University of California-Santa Barbara)  
(Section 2)  
Levels of intonation in discourse

New investigations into prosody have focused on the local and global aspects of intonation (Behckman 1995), and whether intonation should be considered as a linear or superpositional phenomenon (Regier 1995, Mithun 1995, Ladd 1996). The study suggests that intonational structures in spontaneous discourse exhibit both linear and superpositional characteristics, and these reflect the different scopes of multilayered emotional and cognitive processes. General levels of psychological and interactive involvement with topic, and extended processes of climax and resolution and a whole pitch level rise and fall extending over large sequences in this category. For example, it is that it is weaker in both its intensity in local and also spreading to the neighboring syllables. Furthermore, the segments /s, l/ y a/u blocking the spreading. In addition, it was found that the farther away the utterance is, whether it is a secondary or primary phrase that it is lowering the P2. These results lead us to an important conclusion that intonation spread is grammar. It is stronger when the trigger is a secondary intonation than when it is a primary utterance. Furthermore, the effect of intonation is strongest on the segments that are closest to the utterance trigger.

Larisa Zlatic (University of Texas-Austin)  
(Section 22)  
Noun phrases without functional categories

In recent linguistic literature (e.g. Abbey 1987; Hudson 1987, 1996; Radford 1993; Payne 1993; Meyers 1994) there has been a growing, debate about the headedness of noun phrases. The main question is whether the head of the noun phrase is a noun or a functional category, determiner. The goal of this paper is to show that noun phrases in Serbian, and perhaps in other articulatory languages, are headed by noun and that the head is not necessarily related to its complement. In addition, it was found that the farther away the utterance is, whether it is a secondary or primary phrase that it is lowering the P2. These results lead us to an important conclusion that intonation spread is grammar. It is stronger when the trigger is a secondary intonation than when it is a primary utterance. Furthermore, the effect of intonation is strongest on the segments that are closest to the utterance trigger.

Dina Rudolph Yoshimi (University of Hawaii-Manoa)  
(Section 23)  
Listener support, shared perspective, and subjectivity in Japanese

Studies of Japanese conversational discourse have identified frequent, supportive backchannel responses, including the formulaic response tokens ka desu ne, oka desu ne, or the nominal phrase of Japanese intensive style (lcaostro 1987, Maynard 1989). In discourse analytic approaches to conversational data, this token is frequently considered to function not only as an index of listener support, but also as an indication of the listener's shared perspective—epistemic or affective—with the speaker. The study finds that shifts in perspective listener response tokens is neither a purely epistemic nor a purely affective phenomenon, but rather is a function of constraints on the expression of speaker subjectivity. The findings challenge the characterization of listener support as a homogenous discourse phenomenon and provide a resolution to the debate over the indexical function—affection or epistemic—of FP net.

Eisuke Yasuma (University of Chicago)  
As an account of subordination-coordination mismatches

This paper investigates the notion of 'subordination', which is often assumed to be obvious and is often described with examples such as dependent (Yoshio 1969). It will be shown that this 'obvious' notion of subordination can be in fact decomposed into semantic and syntactic components, and I will argue that the fact that a subordinate structure in a component of grammar can hold independent of the other components supports the idea of the autonomy of the component of grammar, as claimed by autolexical syntax (Sadock 1991). The fuzzy nature of subordination has been pointed out by Hale and Keyser (1993) (Foley & Van Valin 1984; Van Valin 1984, 1993). RBG proposes 'crosseq by block' for switching referent constructions, which are neither clear-cut subordination nor coordination. While 'crosseq by block' raises interesting questions to the aspect of subordination, I claim that this notion has some problems. Autolexical syntax allows the autonomy of the component of grammar, hence I assume that the mixed properties of switching reference construction can be accounted for by the mismatch of syntactic subordination and semantic coordination. As autolexical syntax allows mismatches among different components of grammar, it also predicts the mismatch of syntactic coordination and semantic subordination, and the structures that Culicover and Jackendoff (1993) take up fit into this category. As an example, the autonomy of each component and the decomposition of the properties of coordination or subordination into different components of grammar, these different types of mismatches are easily incorporated and positively predicted. This paper will show new aspects of the notion of subordination, and the advantages of autolexical accounts that can shed light on new aspects of traditionally assumed notions such as subordination.

Badra Ahmad Zawawi (Indiana University)  
Graded uvelarization spread in Ammami-Jordanian Arabic

In this paper I investigate the issue of uvelarization spread from the secondary uvelarized (also known as 'emphatic') and uveal phonemes in the dialect of Ammami-Jordanian Arabic. Through a spectrographic analysis it was found that uvelarization spread from a secondary uvelarized phoneme spreads throughout the whole word. As for the vowels, it was found that the only uvelar segment in this dialect is the (j), and its uvelarization spread is different from the uvelarization spread from the secondary uvelarized segments in that it is weaker in both its intensity in local spreading and is spreading to the neighboring syllables. Furthermore, the segments /l, y a/u blocking the spreading. In addition, it was found that the farther away the utlization trigger is, whether it is a secondary uvelarized or a primary uvelar phonemes that it is lowering the F2. These results lead us to an important conclusion that uvelarization spread is grammar. It is stronger when the trigger is a secondary uvelarized segment than when it is a primary uvelar. Furthermore, the effect of uvelarization is strongest on the segments that are closest to the uvelarization trigger.

Larisa Zlatic (University of Texas-Austin)  
Case agreement with Serbian quantified NPs

This paper offers an analysis of quantified NPs (QNNPs) in Serbian, i.e., phrases introduced by undisclosed quantifiers such as mnogo 'many/much', malo 'few/little', nekoliko 'several', pono 'a lot of', and the numerals pet 'five' and higher. We assume that the nominal head bears an inherent genitive case, but the specific set of QNNPs listed above are the only ones which create a nuclear NPs. In this way we explain the following facts: the Q's complement NP appears in genitive case; subject QNNPs trigger default n.g.o., or, for some speakers, agreement with the Q's complement NP; QNNPs can be governed by nominal, accusative, and genitive environments, and in genitive, instrumental, or locative, and QNNPs occur as objects of prepositions taking any case. This analysis will be formulated within the HPSG framework (Pollard & Sag 1994).
Ke Zou (California State University-Dominguez Hills)
The syntax and morphology of the Chinese passive construction

This paper tries to offer a uniform account for the Chinese passive construction, the aspectual feature of its verb, and the alienable and inalienable relations between its subject NP and postverbal NP. Given that BEI in the Chinese passive is a functional category and it has no thematic relation with its following NP, a natural way to accommodate these facts is to project a BEI-phrase (BEIP) whose head selects an aspect phrase (ASPP) as a complement, to have the head of ASPP select a maximal projection headed by the null passive morpheme (PAP), and to have the head of PAP select a VP. Under this analysis, the formation of the Chinese passive and its other properties simply become the side effects of verb raising and NP movement. The verb-raising is morphologically driven, and the NP movements are forced by the case filter. As a consequence of this analysis, the presence and absence of the definiteness effect shown by the postverbal NP in the Chinese passive construction can be independently derived.

Abstracts of Organized Sessions
Thursday, 2 January

Statistical Methods for Linguistic Analysis Workshops
Organizer: American Dialect Society
8:00 AM - 6:00 PM

VARBRUL Analysis of Linguistic Variation
Robert Bayley (U TX-San Antonio)

This session will provide a rationale for and demonstration of the VARBRUL computer programs (Pintzuk 1988; Rand and Sankoff 1990; Sankoff 1988). The demonstration uses data from a study of consonant cluster reduction in Mexican-American English (Bayley 1994) and relative pronoun choice in speech and writing (Guy and Bayley 1995) to show the steps in the heuristic process of hypothesis generation, testing, and revision as it is carried out with the help of VARBRUL, including the following: (1) generating initial hypotheses to account for observed variation; (2) coding the data for the potentially large number of independent factors affecting variation; (3) conducting the initial VARBRUL run and interpreting the factor probabilities generated; (4) recoding the data to refine hypotheses on the basis of factor probabilities generated in step 3; (5) testing significance of individual factors and factor groups by means of log likelihood estimation. In addition, the workshop will consider several questions that are likely to arise when conducting a VARBRUL analysis, including dealing with suspected interaction among factors and choosing between competing analyses.

The Analysis of Vowel Systems
William Labov (Penn)

Using the Macintosh program PLOTNIK 03, this workshop will deal with the display and analysis of vowel formant data, with particular emphasis on the study of change in progress. Workshop participants should have a body of formant measurements in hand, or the opportunity to acquire them, through the use of such programs as Kay Elemetrics CSL, Eric Keller's Signalyze, GSW Soundscope, or Cornell Ornithology Lab's Canary. The workshop will show how vowel tokens are plotted, normalized, and automatically analyzed for segmental environment; how relevant subsets of vowels may be selected, plotted, or highlighted; how means and standard deviations are plotted; how to carry out t-tests on the difference of any two means; and how subsets of vowels may be plotted or highlighted by any combination of segmental environment, stress, or style. Participants will be given methods for determining the extent to which vowel systems participate in the Northern Cities Shift, the Southern Shift, the Canadian Shift, or the low back merger. Participants will receive copies of PLOTNIK 03 along with tutorial and full documentation. PLOTNIK 03 includes several dozen features introduced following the NWAVE 24 workshop with PLOTNIK 02, including adaptation to other languages, shift from color to black and white, and the addition of vectors from nucleus to glide targets. In addition, methods for superimposing large numbers of vowel systems will be introduced through the use of the program PLOTNIK MAJOR.

Computer Plotting and Mapping of Areal Linguistic Data
William A. Kretzschmar, Jr. (U GA)

This session will present a discussion of methods of computer plotting and mapping of linguistic data drawn from American linguistic atlas surveys. It will begin with the basic issues of the possible relationships between linguistic data and geographical locations, and of the nature of GIS (Geographical Information Systems). Computer plotting and generalizations to be made from observation of plots will be illustrated with the Graphic Plotter Grid from the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States, the LAMSAS plot program from the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS), and the LAMSAS Internet plotter. The workshop will then consider use of statistical procedures to assess geographical distribution of linguistic features drawn from LAMSAS: t-test, chi-square, and multiple comparison for fixed regions; spatial autocorrelation; and density estimation. Finally, it will consider uses of GIS software to assist visualization of distributions.
Advanced Multivariate Analyses of Linguistic Data
Robert Berdan (CA SU-Long Beach)

This session will focus principally on logistic regression, the general statistical approach underlying VARBRUL analyses. The generalized application is particularly useful for data sets that are well described by both categorical and continuous variables, a frequent situation both for language acquisition and for historical data sets, in which time is best considered as a continuous variable but various linguistic and demographic characteristics are categorical (or continuous). The SPSS implementation of logistic regression will be demonstrated in the workshop. The workshop will demonstrate the progression of analysis from text files to reportable graphics and statistics. Optimizing coding to the data set, hypothesis developing and testing, evaluating competing analyses, treatment of interactions among factors, and the interpretation of error and reliability will be considered. Continuous change over time versus discontinuities and restructuring will also be compared. The SPSS graphics tools will be explored both as analytic techniques and for reporting findings. Where comparable, SPSS reporting will be converted to VARBRUL terms.

Factor Analytic Procedures in Language Analysis
Ed finegan (USC)

In its linguistic applications, the statistical technique called factor analysis can be used to uncover patterned variation by deriving a relatively small set of underlying variables (called 'factors') from large sets of variable linguistic features. The workshop demonstrates the use of this technique for identifying factors that underlie large-scale variation of linguistic features across texts and for interpreting those factors as linguistic constructs (usually called 'dimensions'). The Promax rotation technique for minimizing the number of factors on which any linguistic feature loads; appropriateness of factor analysis to different kinds of linguistic investigations; and the pros and cons of factor analysis for linguistic inquiry in general are also included.

Correspondence (Dual Scaling) Analysis
Wladyslaw Cichocki (U New Brunswick)

This session demonstrates correspondence analysis (CA), a statistical technique which is closely related to multidimensional scaling and factor analysis. CA is particularly helpful in studying the type of categorical, ordinal, and frequency data commonly found in empirical linguistic investigations. While CA is predominantly a data exploratory technique, it can be used to formulate hypotheses. The presentation will avoid complicated algebraic formulas and will emphasize instead the simple graphical displays that are used to interpret and understand data structure. Applications will be chosen from dialectology, phonetics, sociolinguistics, and syntax. Discussion will include issues of interpretation, stability, and statistical significance as well as a review of available computer software.

Thursday, 2 January

Colloquium: Linguistics and the Speech Community: Service in Return
Sheraton Ballroom IV
7:00 - 9:00 PM

Organizer: John Rickford (Stanford University)

Discussants: Geneva Smitherman (Michigan State University)
Walt Wolfram (North Carolina State University-Raleigh)
Akiro Yamanoto (University of Kansas)
Ana Cella Zentella (City University of New York Graduate Center)

The purpose of this session is to focus the attention of the linguistics community on the need to provide 'service in return' to the speech communities which provide the data for our descriptive and theoretical work, and to explore alternative means of doing so.

The motivations for considering 'service in return' include the moral obligation, the fact that basic and applied research can be mutually enriching, the possibility that an orientation to service would help us respond to the interests of our students, and the possibility might increase job opportunities in our field.

The lead paper for this session will consider the situation in linguistics more generally, but focus on the contributions which the African American speech community has made to sociolinguistics and the areas in which sociolinguistics could contribute in return to the African American speech community—but has not done nearly enough. Education is where sociolinguists did significant and useful work, but our retreat from involvement in educational issues—including the use of dialect readers—was premature.

The discussants will respond to the lead paper while referring to other relevant experiences of their own, including work on the development of informed policies toward vernacular dialects and foreign languages in courses and schools, efforts to help Ocraoke dialect speakers on the outer banks of North Carolina appreciate the systematicity and subtlety of their vernacular, and the classroom implications of research on code-shifting and mixing among Puerto Rican speakers in New York.