The proceedings of the conference will be published in two volumes. For more information, please contact CLS:

1010 East 59th Street
Chicago, IL 60637
cls@diderot.uchicago.edu
http://humanities.uchicago.edu/cls

We would like to thank the many student volunteers who have devoted time and energy to mailings, abstract reading, and the various activities associated with running the conference.

We owe additional thanks to the following individuals and organizations whose efforts have contributed to the realization of CLS 36:

The University of Chicago Student Government
Vanessa Wright
Pizza Capri
Derrick Higgins
The Chicago Park District
Kathy Skurauskis
The Language Labs and Archives
Hank Way

CLS 36 Officers
John Boyle
Jung-Hyuck Lee
Arika Okrent

The 36th Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

With Panels on:
The Morpho-Syntax Interface

The Myth of Standard English

The Acquisition of Syntax

April 27-29, 2000
University of Chicago

CLS 36

HANDBOOK

for the

The Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the
Chicago Linguistic Society

with Panel Sessions on:

The Morpho-Syntax Interface

The Myth of Standard English

The Acquisition of Syntax

April 27-29, 2000

The University of Chicago
Gaylord and Dorothy Donnelley
Biological Sciences Learning Center
924 East 57th Street
Chicago, IL 60637

http://humanities.uchicago.edu/cls/
cls@diderot.uchicago.edu

Main Session - April 27th
BSLC - Rm. 001)

12:00 ----------

1:00 - Osamu Amazaki (State University of New York, Buffalo) **A Functional Analysis of Numerical Quantifier Structure in Japanese**

1:30 - Gianluca Storto (University of California, Los Angles) **Double Genitives Aren't (quite) Partitives**

2:00 - Scott Schwenter (Ohio State University) **Spanish Evidence for Implicature Denials**

2:30 - Jay Rifkin (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) **If Only 'if only' Were 'if' Plus 'only'**

3:00 - COFFEE

3:30 - Randall Eggert (University of Chicago) **Grammaticality and Context with Respect to *and*... and *or*... *respectively***

4:00 - Michael B. Smith (Oakland University) **Cataphors, Spaces, Propositions: Cataphoric Pronouns and Their Function**

4:30 ----------

5:30 - 7:30 - DINNER

7:30 - Bart Hollebrandse (Groningen University/Utrecht University) **Imperfectives in Dutch L2-Acquisition of English**

8:00 - Steven Kleinedler (Houghton Mifflin Co./University of Chicago) **Here's What 'you' Can Do**

8:30 - Mitsuaki Shimojo & Hye-Won Choi (State University of New York, Buffalo) **On Asymmetry in Topic Marking: The Case of Japanese WA and Korean NUN**

9:00 - Pamela Munro* (University of California, Los Angles) **The Leaky Grammar of Chickasaw Applicatives**

*** All Invited Speakers will Present in BSLC - Rm. 001**

The Morpho-Syntax Interface - April 27th
(BSLC - Rm. 115)

12:00 - Amy Dahlstrom* (University of Chicago) **Morphosyntactic Mismatches in Algonquian: Affixal Predicates and Discontinuous Verbs**

1:00 - Jeff Good & Lisa Conathan (University of California, Berkeley) **Morphosyntactic Reduplication in Chechen and Ingush**

1:30 - Claire Bowern & Gulsat Aygen-Tosun (Harvard University) **Titan's Tensed Prepositions**

2:00 - Larisa Zlatic (Synthesys Technologies, Inc.) **The Morpho-Syntax of Slavic Possessives**

2:30 - Beatriz Fernandez & Pablo Albizu (University of Basque Country - LEHIA) **Ergative Displacement in Basque and the Division of Labour Between Morphology and Syntax**

3:00 - COFFEE

3:30 - Jung-min Jo (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) **Korean Do-Support Revisited: Its Implications for Korean Verbal Inflections**

4:00 - Ardis Eschenberg (State University of New York, Buffalo) **Multiple Level Concatenation in Omaha-Ponca**

4:30 - Steven Anderson* (Yale University) **On Noun Incorporation**

5:30 - 7:30 DINNER

7:30 - Yuki Ishihara & Tohru Noguchi (Tokyo Institute of Technology) **On the Inflection Condition of Come/Go + V Construction**

8:00 - Farrell Ackerman (University of California, San Diego) **Syntactic Expression as Morphological Exponence**

8:30 - Derrick Higgins (University of Chicago) **A Stochastic Model of Morphological Learning and Lexicalization**

9:00 ----------

*** All Invited Speakers will Present in BSLC - Rm. 001**

Main Session - April 28th
(Morning Session, BSLC - Rm. 008)

9:00 - William D. Davies (University of Iowa) **Against Raising in Madurese**

9:30 - Elsi M. Kaiser (University of Pennsylvania) **The Syntax and Discourse Functions of OSV Word Order in Finnish**

10:00 - Genoveva Puskas (University of Geneva) **Quantification in the Left Periphery: A Syntactic Argument for 'split' Domains**

10:30 - Ileana Paul (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) **Concealed Pseudo-Clefts in Austroneasian**

11:00 - Ida Toivonen (Stanford University) **Fake Reflexives in Two Swedish 'Constructions': An LFG Approach**

11:30 ----------

12:30 - 1:30 - LUNCH

1:30 ----------

(Afternoon Session, BSLC - Rm. 001)

2:30 - Michelle J. Moosally (University of Houston-downtown) **The Basis for Agreement with Pronouns and Coordinate NPs**

3:00 - Paul D. Kroeber (University of Indiana) **Possessor Focusing in Thompson River Salish**

3:30 - COFFEE

4:00 ----------

5:00 - Brian Agbayani & Ed Zoerner (California State University, Dominguez Hills) **Unifying Left-Peripheral Deletion, Gapping and Pseudogapping**

5:30 - John Robert Ross (University of North Texas) **The Trajectory of a Construction Frozenness in Pseudo-Clefts**

6:00 - Ivan Sag* (Stanford University) & Jonathan Ginzburg (King's College, London) **In Situ Interrogatives**

7:00 - DINNER - Jerold Sadock

* **All Invited Speakers will Present in BSLC - Rm. 001**

The Myth of Standard English - April 28th
(Morning Session, BSLC - Rm. 324)

9:00 - Amy S. Orf (Northern Michigan University) **The Auxiliaries of the Spanish Progressive: A Historical Perspective**

9:30 - Herbert Stahlke (Ball State University) **On the Role of Pattern Congruity in the Development of Phonetic Systems**

10:00 - Laila Sakshaug (Universitaet Muenchen) **On Changes in Reflective Reference from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian**

10:30 - Charles Schleicher (University of Wisconsin-Madison) **Suppletion and Variation in Proto-Tupi-Guarani Pronouns**

11:00 - Elyssa Burg et al. (Northwestern University) **'had ought': A Midwestern Double Modal**

11:30 - Rosina Lippi-Green* **You Only Hear What You Want to Hear: Language Ideology and Language Perception in Linguistic Stereotyping**

12:30 - 1:30 - LUNCH

1:30 - James Milroy* (University of Michigan) **The Consequences of Language Standardization**

(Afternoon Session, BSLC - Rm. 324)

2:30 - Arthur L. Palacas (Universtiy of Akron) **The Role of Universals in AAVE and SE Differentiation**

3:00 - Sharon M. Klein (California State University, Northridge) **How We Might Reconsider Teaching Grammar?**

3:30 - COFFEE

4:00 - Walt Wolfram* (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) **On the Construction of Vernacular English Norms**

5:00 - Chris Corcoran (University of Chicago) **Creoles and the Creation Myth: The Relationship Between the Myth of Standard English and the Linguistic Use of Creole**

5:30 - Lisa McNair-DuPree (University of Chicago) **Influences of Regional Versus National Standards in Dialect Shift: A Case Study in the Southeastern United States**

6:00 ----------

7:00 - DINNER - Jerold Sadock

* **All Invited Speakers will Present in BSLC - Rm. 001**

Steven Anderson (Yale University) *On Noun Incorporation*
(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

Many of the world's languages exhibit constructions called Noun Incorporation, where some portion of the internal form of a surface Verb appears to correspond to one of the (usually nominal) arguments of the verbal stem. Two approaches to these constructions have fairly long traditions in the linguistic literature: one a lexical analysis, on which the complex Verbs in question are formed by morphological means in a way similar to compounds, and one a syntactic account, on which a Noun head is moved to adjoin to the Verb within the syntax. I will summarize the differences between these two theories of this problem at the morphology-syntax interface, and consider in some detail Mark Baker's defense of a syntactic account for Mohawk Noun Incorporation in his book "The Polysynthesis Parameter." I will conclude that in fact, Baker's arguments can be accommodated within a lexical account, and that there are some reasons to prefer this latter.

Most previous lexical accounts of incorporation have focused on cases where the incorporated argument is generic or non-referential, similar to the case of the non-head argument in compounds. Languages like Mohawk, however, require us to recognize a different type of compounding, which does not preclude the presence of a (phonologically null) referential argument subcategorized by the derived complex Verb. The syntax and semantics of these structures will be discussed, incorporating some features similar to those of Baker's analysis into the lexicalist picture. This leads to a more general picture of the difference begtween `doubling' and `non-doubling' constructions. Finally, some constructions which Baker suggests can only be accounted for on the syntactic view will be discussed and shown not to lead to this conclusion.

For the cognoscenti, it should be noted that this paper will not address the additional analytic issues raised by sleds in Greenlandic.

Amy Dahlstrom (University of Chicago)*Morphosyntactic Mismatches in Algonquian: Affixal Predicates and Discontinuous Verbs*

(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

In this paper I discuss phenomena from the Algonquian languages Fox and Cree which exhibit mismatches between a functional notion of 'argument-taking predicate' and a morphological or phonological notion of 'word'. On the one hand, a single word may contain two argument-taking predicates (causatives, incorporated secondary predicates); on the other hand, a single argument-taking predicate may be realized by two syntactically discontinuous words (separable preverbs). Evidence that an affix, such as causative *-h-* (Fox and Cree) or Fox *-e:nem-*, Cree *-e:yim-* `think, consider', may function as an argument-taking predicate comes from scopal relations of aspectual preverbs and of negation, from external modification of verb-internal elements, and from binding phenomena. The necessity for also allowing the notion of predicate to encompass syntactically discontinuous items can be seen most dramatically in the distribution of inflectional morphology on syntactically discontinuous verbs in Fox: the leftmost portion of the verb bears the inflectional prefix of the verb, while inflectional suffixes are attached to the rightmost portion of the verb. This is true even for inflectional categories expressed by discontinuous morphemes, where the prefix and the suffix cannot be factored into separate meaning-bearing units.

A further instance of morphosyntactic mismatch is found in Algonquian preverbs in general, as first pointed out by Goddard 1988: a particular member of the functionally heterogenous set of preverbs (e.g. aspect markers, adverbials, valence-increasing elements) may be realized either as an independent phonological word or as a bound morpheme within the simple verb stem, depending upon the lexical resources of the item with which it combines.

The factors needed to calculate the morphological realization of preverbs, combined with the phenomena of affixal predicates and discontinuous verbs, demand a view of the lexicon which is much more complex and flexible than that seen in many standard theories. In this paper I assume the theoretical positions on the lexicon presented in Ackerman and Webelhuth 1998 and Ackerman and LeSourd 1997, implemented in a lexical-functional framework. Using their model as a starting point, I explore the implications of the Algonquian mismatches for larger issues of constituent structure and morphological well-formedness.

Kenneth De Jong (University of Indiana) *Attention Modulation and the Formal Properties of Stress Systems*

(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

This paper sketches a description of stress that, along with the diachronic development of stress systems and synchronic function of stress, provides reasonable explanations of numerous of the formal properties of stress systems.

It considers the following properties of stress systems, culled from various sources in the generative literature:

1) Reduced Contrast - unstressed items sometimes have fewer contrasts and are often the targets of lenition processes
2) Hierarchical Nesting - there are implicational restrictions between the levels of stress such that higher levels require lower levels
3) Quantity Sensitivity - stresses tend to fall on heavy syllables
4) Morphological Marking - stress location is often determined by position within a morphological or lexical unit
5) Boundedness Variation - stress locations may either be determined by position in morpheme or by weight sensitivity
6) Accent Location - stressed items often are selected as the site for pitch accent docking
7) Lexicality - stress location may be phonemic
8) Syllabic Domain - stress is usually expressed over a syllable
9) Culminativity - stresses may bear a one-to-one relationship with some higher-level unit
10) Spacing - stresses tend to be distributed evenly throughout an utterance
11) Alternation - stressed and unstressed material tends to be collated.

Properties 1) and 2) follow from a definition of linguistic stress as conventionalized attention modulation at the level of the syllable. Properties 3) through 6) appear to be related to how stress historically 'grows from' seeds of syllable-level prominence. This paper reviews recent work on quantity-sensitivity in particular and exemplifies the proposed process of diachronic stress development with recent synchronic studies of Korean and Arabic. Finally, properties 8) through 11) may be derived from a functional model of attention modulation, such as that proposed by M.R. Jones and colleagues. Taken together, this survey illustrates how examining the formal properties of linguistic systems can be useful. Further, these formal properties can be explained by careful definition of the phenomenon embedded in a more general functional model of human capability and realistic scenarios of how particular languages develop over time.

Lila Gleitman (University of Pennsylvania) *Whorfian Renaissance?*
(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

The Whorf-Sapir hypothesis has fallen into relative obscurity in the past few decades owing to two main forces. First, Chomsky's conception of linguistic theory as providing an explanatory account of language acquisition has encouraged a universalist position about the mapping between thought and language. Second, Heider-Rosch's elegant experimental review of the independence of color perception from color terminology (1972) seemed to settle the case: Language is the human vehicle of thought, but not materially its cause. Recent studies, however, paint a rather different picture and have effected something of a Whorfian revival in psychological, anthropological, and linguistics circles. Much of this work has investigated possible relations between spatial terminology and spatial representation (Bowerman, 1996, Slobin, 1991) and reasoning (Brown and Levinson, 1993; Pederson et al., 1999). I will discuss three lines of experimentation that cast this debate in a somewhat different light. The first (Li, Gleitman, Gleitman, and Landau, in progress) asks whether cross-linguistically varying lexicalization patterns for spatial prepositions affect the categorization of events in a nonlinguistic task. The second (Papafragou, Massey, Gleitman, and Rosas, in progress) asks how memory may be affected by the ways that different languages encode the manner and path of motion events (Talmy, 1985). The third (Li and Gleitman, 1999) investigates potential effects of absolute (e.g., East/West) versus relative (left/right) spatial terminology on spatial reasoning. The results support a universalist perspective, an outcome (I will argue) that should cause rejoicing among the child language-learners of the world.

Nina Hyams (University of California, Los Angles) *Aspect, Modality and Finiteness in Early Grammar: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*
(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

Various studies of early language have revealed that children use non-finite verbs in root clauses. The best-known case of this is the root infinitive phenomenon observed in Dutch, French and other languages (eg. *Papa schoenen wassen.* 'Daddy shoes wash-inf.', *Michel pas dormir*. 'Michel not sleep-inf.'). Other root non-finite phenomena include bare verbs (eg English: *Eve sit floor),* bare past and present participles (eg. Italian: *Presa Checco campana* taken Francesco bell', English: *man making muffins)*, among others. There has been a great deal of research on the morphosyntactic properties of these constructions, but far less has been said about their interpretation. In this paper I will focus on the interpretive properties of root infinitives and the other non-finite forms, in particular their aspectual and modal properties. Indeed, I will suggest that RIs and other non-finite structures (which lack tense by definition) offer a unique window into the aspectual and modal properties of early language that might otherwise be obscured by the tense specification in finite sentences.

An understanding of these semantic properties will allow us to address a number of outstanding questions:

(i) Are these various non-finite constructions one in the same phenomenon, or do they differ from each other in interesting and important respects?

Most discussions of this early stage assume, either implicitly or explicitly that they are the same. Wexler (1994), for example, has proposed that the English bare verb construction is the English analogue of the RI phenomenon. Varlokosta et al. (1999) argue for a uniform treatment of participles and RIs, Also, a number of studies simply count participles as RIs in their analyses, the implicit assumption being that they are one and the same phenomenon (Llinas-Grau et al. 1999). We will show that although these structures are all arguably non-finite, they have very different aspectual and modal properties. Thus, an adequate account of root non-finite phenomena must explain not only the common property of being temporally unanchored, but also the aspectual and modal differences among the different structures.

(ii) Are these non-finite forms/structures are simply free (phonological or syntqctic) variants of the finite forms/structures in the respective languages?

Many accounts propose that the non-finite form is a free variant of a particular finite form. For example, Aldridge (1989) has suggested that the inflected form in English is an unanalyzed unit and hence that the *-s* form and the bare form are in free variation. In other accounts the non-finite clauses are structurally variants of the finite clauses, the former arising due to a lack of verb raising or feature checking (eg. Wexler 1994, 1999). We will show, however, that the non-finite forms have different aspectual and modals values from the finite forms. These differences are not captured by the variation hypotheses.

(iii) Are the non-finite clauses actually "hidden" finite clauses, as proposed for example by the Null AUX hypothesis (Boser et al. 1992, a.o.)?

We will again show that this hypothesis does not square with the aspectual properties associated with the non-finite forms.

Finally, we will offer a proposal concerning the structure and licensing of these non-finite clauses.

Rosina Lippi-Green *You Only Hear What You Want to Hear: Language Ideology and Language Perception in Linguistic Stereotyping*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 001)

Language ideology has been defined as "the mediating link between social forms and forms of talk" (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998, and elsewhere). One spot to observe the dynamic relationship between ideology, social structures and language itself is to look at practices in the movie industry, where variation linked to social discord and conflict is exploited by perpetuating stereotypes, all in the service of a good story. In this talk I will look specifically at language manipulation and stereotype in Disney animated film, in order to frame a larger question.

There is a growing body of research which works toward establishing that language variation linked to social difference (race, ethnicity, homeland, social class and gender, among others) plays a central role in the systematic construction of social dominance and subordinance, but what we don't understand at all is how variation is heard. Does the interpretation of language variation (and subsequent actions based on that interpretation) have to do primarily with phonology, or with less tangible and quantifiable social and cognitive processes? A closer look at the animated film data as well as data from Title VII testimony and perceptual dialectology will provide a starting point.

James Milroy (University of Michigan) *The Consequences of Language Standardization*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 001)

This paper investigates how standardization of language has affected the attitudes to language of speaker/ listeners, and in particular the attitudes of professional linguists (treated as a sub-type of speaker/ listener). Standardization is defined as the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects (including abstract objects). Thus, it applies to monetary systems, weights and measures, manufactured goods, etc. Language is a much more complex object than these, and language standardization is best seen as a process that is always in progress in those languages that are subject to it - never quite complete at every level of language. Uniformity in the structural parts of language can be seen as a goal of standardization. It is imposed on something (language) that is, in the nature of things, always variable. Uniformity is imposed through socio/ political institutions as leading to greater efficiency in exchanges of all kinds. In European nation states, language standardization has gone hand in hand with standardization of other things, and has accompanied the rise of large capitalist economies. The chief internal linguistic consequence of standardization is a high degree of uniformity of structure. Spoken vernaculars are never as uniform as the idealization that we call the 'standard'. An important speaker-effect of this is the development of the consciousness of a 'correct' or canonical form of language. This is the ideology of the standard language. The idea that some forms are 'right' and others are 'wrong' becomes common sense. Knowledge of 'correct English' is not seen as part of native speaker knowledge and has to be institutionally imposed: speakers cannot know intuitively what is right and must be told by 'experts'. Unsurprisingly, linguists who speak of native speaker competence and propose that all forms of language are equal are regarded as lunatics or dangerous subversives. Despite all this, professional linguists have themselves been affected by the consequences of language standardization. The languages that have formed the input to linguistic theory have generally been languages known to exist in standard, classical, or canonical forms, and this is true of quantitative sociolinguistics also. There are, however, attested language situations in which there is no consciousness of the community of any given language and where it may not be clear which languages are being spoken. Separateness of internal linguistic structure may not be definitive of separateness of language. Socio-political factors are always involved. Orthodox historical linguistics has been much affected, and influential scholars have explicitly stated that the best accounts of language history must be based on the standard language and the language of literature. All this has resulted in the developments of a canon of language history and a discourse of historical linguistics in which the separateness of language from speakers is enshrined as a principle. In particular, evidence for variability in the past has been partly neglected, owing to the belief that languages states are uniform, and that the historian's aim must be to define invariant states in the past. The reasoning used in quantitative sociolinguistics has also been affected by the fact of standardization. The standard language is frequently assumed to be the unmarked category in discussions of language variables, such as 'final stop deletion', 'copula deletion' and so on. Paradoxically, it seems that the Saussurean dichotomy between 'internal' and 'external' accounts has led to social ('external') factors being smuggled in by the back door, and I end this paper by questioning whether this dichotomy should be regarded as axiomatic.

Pamela Munro (University of California, Los Angles) *The Leaky Grammar of Chickasaw Applicatives*

(Main Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

The Western Muskogean language Chickasaw has a rich and typologically unusual system of applicative verb derivation in which seemingly intransitive sentences appear as grammatical transitives and syntax is done in the lexicon.

Applicative morphemes increase a verb's valence by adding an argument, often one that could alternatively be specified by an adposition, as in two versions of the San Lucas Quiavinî Zapotec sentence 'Mike sang with John'. In (1a), *Jwaany* 'John' is the object of the preposition *cëhnn* and the verb is intransitive, while in (1b) 'John' is a direct object of a transitive verb derived by the addition of the comitative applicative suffix *-nèe*:

(1a) B-ìi'lly Gye'eihlly cëhnn Jwaany.
perf-sing Mike with John
(1b) B-ìi'lly-nèe Gye'eihlly Jwaany.
perf-sing-with Mike John

Chickasaw, however, lacks prepositions, postpositions, or oblique case markers. Applicative prefixes must be used to introduce semantic obliques into a sentence. For example, Chickasaw *chompa* 'buy' is a strictly subcategorized transitive verb:

(2) Ihoo-at bala'-a chompa.
woman-nom beans-acc buy
'The woman buys beans'

A semantically oblique nominal can appear in such a sentence only if the verb includes one of a set of seven applicative prefixes.

(3a) Ihoo-at i-hattak-a bala' ibaa-chompa
woman-nom dat-man-acc beans com-buy
'The woman buys beans with her husband'
(3b) Ihoo-at chipot-a bala' in-chompa.
woman-nom child-acc beans dat-buy
'The woman buys beans for the child'

(3a-b) have three arguments, the original subject and object plus semantic comitative and dative/benefactive nominals, syntactic accusatives whose appearance is licensed by the appropriate applicative.

In (4), applicative *o-* appears on the intransitive verb *malli* 'jump', licensing the appearance of an 'on' argument marked with a 1sg prefix (from one of three agreement classes exemplified here):

(4) As-o-malli.
1sII-on-jump
'He jumps on me'

My analysis of the constituency of (4) as a derived complex verb taking a direct object (5a) differs from Ulrich's (1986) for comparable sentences in closely related Choctaw, where the agreement marker plus applicative prefix is a complex "agreement clitic" (5b):

(5a) [me] + [on+jump] 'he jumps on me' (Munro, Chickasaw)
(5b) [me+on] + [jump] 'he jumps on me' (Ulrich*, Choctaw)

Choctaw seems to be truly different from Chickasaw. Thus, Choctaw allows verbs with several inflected applicatives, like (6):

(6) Lynn-at kaah [chi-baa]-[am-i]-chopa-tok.
Lynn-nom car [2sII-com]-[1sIII-ben]-buy-pt
'Lynn bought a car for me with you'

In Chickasaw, however, obliques cannot be freely added to clauses (as PPs can in English, say): sentences with more than one oblique generally contain more than one verb:

(7) Lynn-at kaa a-n-chompa-ka ish-ibaa-chompa-tok.
Lynn-nom car 1sIII-dat-buy-diff.subj 2sI-com-buy-pt
'Lynn bought a car for me, and you bought it with her'

This syntactically restricted Chickasaw pattern is unusual, then, not only because there are no adpositions, but because its applicative prefixes are derivational rather than inflectional. There are verbs that only occur with applicatives or whose meaning or usage with one of these prefixes is non-standard, as well as verbs whose phonological form with one of these prefixes is exceptional. Such features are lexical rather than syntactic, characteristic of derivational rather than inflectional affixation.

Ivan Sag (Stanford University) and **Jonathan Ginzburg** (King's College, London) *In Situ Interrogatives*

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 001)

In situ wh-interrogatives like (1)--(6) have been given short shrift in the syntactic and semantic literature, either dismissed summarily as `metalinguistic' and not genuine questions (see Cooper 1983, Engdahl 1986, Haegeman 1991, Hornstein 1995), or else assumed to involve an intrinsically different logical form (Janda 1985).

(1) A: Sandy love barack palinka.
B: Sandy loves WHAT?
(2) A: Give me some gulab jamun.
B: Give you some WHAT?
(3) A: I'm annoyed.
B: Aha. You're annoyed with whom?
(4) A: We're going to buy a house.
B: Uh huh. And you're going to pay for it with what?
(5) Lester: I've been working here for 14 years. You've been here for how long? A month? [American Beauty]
(6) Michael Krasny [addressing a guest---who has not said anything yet---about the interim chief of the US Attorney's office]:
This is a position that is how important in your judgment, Rory? [Forum KQED--- July 29, 1998]

Note that examples like (4)--(6) have no straightforward analysis as reprises of the prior utterance.

Our basic claim is that a reprise interrogative (including `echo' and `ref' uses) is metalinguistic only in that the meaning that it gives rise to contains as a constituent the illocutionary force of the (previous) utterance that it reprises. Beyond that, we claim, there is nothing fundamentally different going on---syntactically or semantically---from other uses of interrogatives. We also argue, in light of examples like (4)--(6) that not all in situ interrogatives are reprises.

We develop an account of both reprising and non-reprising uses of in situ questions that incorporates a uniform treatment of wh-expressions, one stated in terms of stored parameters that are abstracted over in forming a question that serves as the content of a superordinate phrase. Our analysis is construction-based, using constraint inheritance to express the common properties of construction families, e.g. wh-interrogatives, wh-relatives, wh-exclamatives, and so-called `topicalized' sentences.

Robert D. Van Valin Jr. (State University of New York, Buffalo) *Some Issues in the Acquisition of WH-Questions*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

WH-questions in languages like English have played an important role in debates about syntactic theory, and the acquisition of WH-questions is a significant issue for theories of the acquisition of syntax. This paper discusses two issues in the acquisition of WH-questions in English: the occurrence of auxiliary inversion in WH-questions (Rowland & Pine 2000) and the production of anomalous WH-questions by English children, e.g. What do you think which Smurf really has roller skates? (Thornton 1990, 1995). Accounts of these phenomena will be presented in Role and Reference Grammar, and it will be argued that RRG provides an explanatory framework for their analysis.

Walt Wolfram (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) *On the Construction of Vernacular English Norms*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 001)

Current social dialectology tends to describe vernacular varieties only by comparison with Standard English norms despite the fact that vernacular speakers obviously develop independent norms within their indigenous speech communities. This presentation addresses this neglected situation by considering the development, instantiation, and diffusion of vernacular norms for two quite different dialect communities: African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and Lumbee Vernacular English (LVE). These contrasting situations demonstrate how linguistic, sociolinguistic, and ideological issues converge in the construction of vernacular norms.

Modern AAVE represents the case of a developing supra-regional norm in which core structures such as habitual *be*, copula/auxiliary absence, 3rd sg. 's absence, syllable-coda cluster reduction, and so forth characterize the vernacular variety regardless of its regional location. This observation is particularly noteworthy in light of the fact that recently uncovered data from isolated African communities in coastal North Carolina (Wolfram, Thomas, and Green forthcoming) indicate that earlier vernacular variety was considerably more regionalized than the contemporary version. We thus need to account not only for the supra-regional distribution of a common core of AAVE features but for the leveling of localized features that has taken place in twentieth century AAVE. In part, the supra-regional norming of AAVE has come about because of a long-term substratal language contact effect fostered through historic segregation, patterns of black migration, and the persistent social isolation of the African American community throughout the US. But part of the contemporary development of AAVE is also a product of the heightened symbolic role of language within the black community in the twentieth century that focuses on supra-regional AAVE core structures vis-à-vis regional dialect norms.

Lumbee Vernacular English presents a contrasting case of vernacular norming. The Lumbee Native American Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina, are the largest Native American group (47,000 in Robeson County) east of the Mississippi, yet they are virtually invisible on a national level. Their cultural status has been marginalized for well over a century; they are federally recognized as a Native American Indian tribe but have no entitlements. They also have no transparently recoverable Native American language since their ancestral language was lost early in their contact with Europeans. The Lumbee have, however, carved out a unique dialect niche in English, characterized by a couple of distinctive structural traits (e.g. leveling to *weren't* in past tense be as in *I weren't there*, perfective *I'm* as in *I'm been there*, and finite *be(s)* as in *It bes that way*) and the development of a distinctive constellation of other vernacular structures. In the tri-ethnic context of Robeson County, they have assumed the role of the dialect 'other' neither European American nor African American. The application of a dialect identification task to community residents and non-community residents indicates that LVE is clearly distinguished from black and white speech within the context of Robeson County but not elsewhere, thus revealing a highly localized vernacular norm. The difference between the localized vernacular norm of the Lumbees and the supra-regional norm of AAVE is explained on the basis of demographic factors (e.g. population size, migration, etc.). Language contact history, ethnolinguistic identity, and the bi-racial language ideology of the American South. Our comparison demonstrates the need to consider vernacular norming as a fundamental dimension of sociolinguistic inquiry.

Farrell Ackerman (University of California, San Diego) *Syntactic Expression as Morphological Exponence*

(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 115)

Within unification-based frameworks (LFG, HPSG, CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR) there is little explicit work on the nature of the morphological component and how it interacts with the syntax. Some recent work explores how word-based and word & paradigm realizational models of morphology (Anderson 1992, Aronoff 1994, Zwicky 1990, Stump 1993) can be embedded in these lexicalist frameworks (see Ackerman & Webelhuth 1998, Koenig 1999, Orgun 1997, Riehemann 2000, Spencer 2000, Spencer and Sadler 2000, among others.) Much of this work concerns the treatment of predicate constructions expressed by syntactically independent elements. For example, are the pieces of analytically expressed tense constructions in Slavic syntactic co-heads whose information combines to reflect properities of a single clausal nucleus (Holloway-King 1995, Bresnan in press)? Or, are analytic expressions associated with lexical representations, participating in morphological paradigms like their synthetically expressed analogues? If they are lexical constructions, what sort of morphology appropriately covers both synthetic and analytic expressions of lexical representations?

I focus on a subset of negative verb and analytic tense constructions in the Uralic languages Mordvin and Votyak (= Udmurt). Lexical predicates, following Ackerman & Webelhuth 1998, are content-theoretic lexical entities fully specified for all relevant lexemic and morphosyntactic information. They are associated with realization rules of exponence and referrral specifying their surface expression (Zwicky 1986, Stump 1993): they can be realized as synthetic morphological wordforms or ensembles of syntactically independent wordforms. Hence the claim that syntactic expression can function as morphological exponence.

Brian Agbayani & Ed Zoerner (California State University, Dominguez Hills)
Unifying Left-Peripheral Deletion, Gapping, and Pseudogapping

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 001)

This paper proposes a unified movement-based analysis of Left-Peripheral Deletion (LPD; Sag 1978), Gapping and Pseudogapping (PG; Levin 1979). A consequence of this unified analysis is that it naturally predicts a crosslinguistic typology of "gapping" phenomena which is not predicted by deletion-based approaches.

We extend Johnson's (1994) Across-the-Board (ATB) verb movement analysis of Gapping to LPD and PG in the following manner:

1.
a. LPD involved ATB verb movement from conjoined VPs.
b. Gapping involves ATB verb movement from conjoined light vPs.
c. PG involves ATB verb movement from a VP and subordinate CP.

This approach naturally accounts for a heretofore unnoticed implicational universal, shown in (2) with example languages.

2.

PG	> Gapping	> LPD	> None
English, German	Spanish, Japanese	Chinese	Vietnamese

A language showing PG also shows Gapping and LPD; a language with Gapping has LPD. Some languages, such as Vietnamese, permit none of them. We claim that languages that allow verb movement in general will be candidates for exhibiting these three. Languages that lack verb movement (e.g., Vietnamese), will necessarily lack all three. We argue that a deletion-based approach fails to capture the systematic relationship between verb movement and LPD, Gapping and PG.

Osamu Amazaki (State University of New York, Buffalo) *A Functional Analysis of Numerical Quantifier Structures in Japanese*

(Main Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

Restrictions on the distribution of the Floating Quantifier Structure (FL) in Japanese have been discussed mainly in terms of syntax. That approach, however, is problematic because the acceptability of two structurally equivalent FL sentences can be different. This presentation shows that a functional analysis based on the information structure can account for such distributional restrictions. The functions of FL are compared to those of two other major numerical quantifier (NQ) structures, namely the Pre-Nominal Structure (Pre-N) and the Intermediate Structure (IM). This contrastive functional analysis shows that the distribution of the three NQ structures, including their marked subtypes, are conditioned by the relative degree of activation of the host noun and NQ. In FL, the host noun and NQ have different activation values and the latter is always less activated. In Pre-N and IM, on the other hand, the host noun and NQ have the same activation value, both active in Pre-N and both inactive in IM. This contrast coincides with the syntactic constituency of the host noun and NQ. The host noun and NQ form a syntactic constituent in Pre-N and IM, but not in FL. These results suggest that the exclusive focus assignment on NQ is the structural motivation for the quantifier floating.

Aleka A. Blackwell (Knoxville Business College) *On the Acquisition of the Syntax of English Adjectives*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 324)

this paper explores the syntactic development of English adjectives based on the speech samples of Adam, Eve, and Sarah. The discussion relies on the analysis of 8,470 utterances with adjectives in terms of the following adjectival syntactic positions: prenominal attributive (red crayon), ordinary predicative (the crayon is red), postverbal (I getting tired), adverbal (it make me too tired), postnominal (I got something wrong in back). The following findings are discussed:

(a) the prenominal attributive and the ordinary predicative positions appear earliest in the children's language;
(b) adjectival syntactic positions emerge in the following order: prenominal/predicative < adverbal/postverbal < postnominal;
(c) the frequency of occurrence of each syntactic position in these language samples is strikingly similar across the three children.

A semantic analysis of the children's adjectives also reveals two distinct patterns of development of adjectival syntactic positions: Adjectives referring to color, dimension, age, value, and speed appear earliest and are used most frequently prenominally whereas adjectives referring to a physical or a human property appear earliest and are used most frequently, and sometimes exclusively, in predicative position. The paper concludes with a discussion of the relationship between the syntax and the semantics of English adjectives which accounts for the findings.

Claire Bowern & Gulsat Aygen-Tosun (Harvard University) *Titan's Tensed Prepositions*

(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 115)

In the Sivisa dialect of Titan (Admiralty Subgroup, Oceanic) there are a number of prepositions that agree in tense/mood with the main verb of the clause. The marker of tense on prepositions is homophonous with the third person subject agreement clitics on matrix verbs. The tense marked prepositions are also homophonous with lexical verbs. Synchronically, however, the deverbal prepositions cannot be analysed as verbs. The facts of Titan's prepositions are challenging for recent work in Minimalism, where Tense feature is claimed to exist on functional heads and subject DPs. These prepositions seem to bear a tense feature that must agree with the tense feature of the subject agreement clitics (hosted by the verb). We argue that the tense feature on this set of prepositions is deleted under the process of PROBE&GOAL agreement. Titan's tense agreement also shows that the feature [tense] is not limited to functional heads like T and C. This implies that the VP is a domain in which tense features can be checked, removing the motivation for any constituent within the VP to move out of it.

Elyssa Burg, Parris Caffey, Michael Walsh Dickey , Emily Ernst, Ankita Gandhi, Rachel Goldsborough, Mary Bridget Gurry, Jennifer Highsmith, Sarah Kaplan, Leslie Klein, Kelly Matheson, Simone Peart, Sharon Russell, Adam Smith, Kimberley Tester, & Kiran Varma (Northwestern University) *'Had ought': A Midwestern Double Modal*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 324)

Most descriptions of double modals (DMs) in American English claim that such forms are confined to Southern or African-American varieties. This paper reports on a little-described DM construction found instead in the Midwest, "had ought." Like other DMs, "had ought" has a modal meaning which is systematically related to the modal meaning of some of its single-modal counterparts ("ought," "should") (Labov, 1972). However, unlike Southern DMs, the meaning of "had ought" is not transparently related to the meaning of its parts. Further, it appears that only the first element of the DM, "had," is finite and can participate in syntactic processes such as inversion, unlike Southern DMs (Batistella, 1995). "Had ought" is thus highly syntactically decomposable but semantically non-transparent. These facts suggest that "had ought" cannot be analyzed as involving adverb-like modification (Labov, 1972; Batistella, 1995) or as being a single lexical item (Di Paolo, 1989), therefore presenting a genuine puzzle for the syntactic analysis of DMs.

Taehong Cho & Sun-Ah Jun (University of California, Los Angles) *Domain-Initial Strengthening as Enhancement of Laryngeal Features: Aerodynamic Evidence from Korean*

(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

Recent findings from several languages suggest that consonants are more strongly articulated at the beginning of a prosodic domain than in the middle of the domain. This phenomenon, known as domain-initial strengthening, has been interpreted as providing a perceptual cue of prosodic structure (e.g., Fougeron & Keating, 1997; Jun, 1993, 1995; Cho & Keating, 1999; Keating et al., to appear). Although it has been suggested that domain-initial strengthening is linguistically motivated, resulting in some sort of enhancement, the exact nature of domain-initial strengthening has not been clearly explained yet. The current paper examines aerodynamic data on three-way contrastive Korean stops (i.e., fortis, lenis, aspirated), and explores what kind of enhancement, syntagmatic or paradigmatic, domain-initial strengthening would bring about. Results suggest that fortis and aspirated stops are strengthened in a way that enhances underlying features of the stops (e.g., [constricted glottis] or [spread glottis])-i.e., paradigmatic enhancement, but that the lenis stop, unspecified for either of these features, is nonetheless strengthened, but this time presumably to enhance the consonantality that results in a greater CV contrast-i.e., syntagmatic enhancement. All in all, this study suggests that the domain-initial strengthening is a complex linguistic phenomenon which enhances not only the featural paradigmatic contrast but also the syntagmatic CV contrast, thus achieving the goal of cueing prosodic structure.

Chris Corcoran (University of Chicago) *Creoles and the Creation Myth: The Relationship Between the Myth of Standard English and the Linguistic Use of Creole*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 324)

In this paper I discuss the history of creole as it is used in the linguistic literature and argue that the result of this unexamined history has been to make linguists unwitting conspirators in the perpetuation of the myth of standard English. The term creole has been lurking in public discussions of Ebonics and more central to the hypothesis that African American Vernacular English is a decreolized variety of English (Stewart 1967, 1968, 1969; Dillard 1972, 1992). As has become evident by recent debates on the creole prototype (McWhorter 1998, 2000; DeGraff 1999, 2000), there is no consensus in the field on how to define creole languages or, perhaps, whether it is possible to define creole linguistically. In my examination of why many late 18th century and 19th century philologists adamantly neglected the study of creole languages, I explore the use of creole as a label borne out of a desire to categorize some data as unfit. I explore how the adoption of creole as a label within linguistic discourse is attached to the historical notion that some linguistic data is more fit than others and in turn how this has filtered into current public discussions of Ebonics.

William D. Davies (University of Iowa) *Against Raising in Madurese*

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 008)

It is generally assumed that Javanic languages have Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR) or (its analogue in nonderivational theories), e.g., Indonesian (Chung 1976, Kana 1986), Javanese (Davies 1990), Balinese (Wechsler & Arka 1998). SOR is governed by predicates such as 'think', 'know', and others and has the form of the Madurese sentence

(1) Siti ngera Hasan melle montor.
'Siti thinks Hasan to have bought a car.'

Various tests reveal that in (1) Hasan is a constituent of the matrix clause. This paper argues that in Madurese there is no SOR but the "raised NP" Hasan is a base-generated argument of the matrix verb coindexed with an NP position in the embedded clause. This gives the appearance of its having been raised out of the complement clause. Evidence against the raising analysis comes from (i) the fact that the "raised" element need not be a subject, (ii) the possibility of a resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause, and (iii) idiom chunks. The fact is that the Madurese construction is much more akin to the English construction exemplified by the sentence Fred assumed about Mary that Ashley had warned her. It is further argued that this analysis can be extended to other Javanic languages.

Pilar Duran & Stacy Klingler (Boston University) *What do ESL Teachers Offer to their Students that English Speaking Children don't Offer to their Hispanic Immigrant Mothers: A Comparison of the Input Offered by Children and Teachers to Hispanic Immigrant Women in the US*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 324)

A common finding in the second language literature is that Hispanic immigrant people have difficulty learning English. The major source of English input to many immigrant mothers, in particular, is their children. This study examines the range and variety of verbal forms produced by their children in conversation with Hispanic immigrant mothers (positive evidence). It also examines the reaction and possible corrective feedback produced by children in response to their mothers errors (negative evidence). In addition, the study compares the input of the children with that of teachers to their ESL students. Results indicate that positive evidence is equally rich with complex verb forms in both the children's and the teachers' input. However, negative evidence by children is impoverished with respect to the syntax and morphology of verbs, compared to input by teachers. Children's corrective feedback focuses on pronunciation and meaning with no attention to morphology and grammar. Teachers' feedback, although attending to pronunciation and meaning, also pays attention to morphology and syntax.

Jeff Good & Lisa Conathan (University of California, Berkeley)
Morphosyntactic Reduplication in Chechen and Ingush
(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 115)

Chechen and Ingush, two Nakh languages spoken in the southern Caucausus, both exhibit an interesting type of verbal doubling construction, as in the following example from Chechen:

Ahmada ʃa='a ʃiina, dʃa vaghara.
Ahmet.ERG stay.INF=& stay.PP DX V.go.WP
"Ahmet stayed (for a while), and left."

This construction always involves the presence of an intervening clitic, which, in this example, is the clause chaining particle *'a*. In some cases, the construction is emphatic and optional. However, in a well-defined class of cases, like the example above, the construction is obligatory and no emphatic meaning is associated with it. Because this construction is sometimes obligatory and always involves the stem form of whatever the main verb of the clause is, we claim that it is an example of reduplication—albeit not of the usual morphophonological variety. We will formalize this construction within HPSG, and analyze it as the syntactic specification of one verb appearing in two different positions in the VP each having its own morphological requirements. Finally, we will discuss some of the implications this data has for the morphology-syntax interface and for theories of reduplication.

John Goldsmith (University of Chicago) *Acquisition of Morphology by Computer*
(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

Generative grammarians have long been comfortable with the belief that a discovery procedure for grammars (an algorithm that takes data as its input, and produces a grammar as its output) is an inappropriate goal for linguistics. It is less often recalled that this belief is based largely on a passage in Chomsky's Syntactic Structures (1957) in which it is pointed out that a discovery procedure would be a great thing to have, but coming up with one is simply too difficult a task, and we should not be disappointed if we cannot at this point. In the forty years since, both learning theory and computational power have progressed rapidly, to the point where we may revisit this question. I will present an algorithm that is capable of taking a corpus from certain kinds of languages (including Indo-European languages) and producing a (partial) morphology with no prior knowledge of the language and no help from the linguist, and I will argue that the algorithm correctly models and characterizes what it is that a linguist would be looking for if faced by a set of data. A computer program that implements the algorithm is available for free downloading on the Internet.

Matthew Gordon (University of California, Santa Barbara) *The Tonal Basis of Weight Criteria in Final Position*
(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

In many stress languages, weight criteria for final syllables are stricter than for non-final syllables. For example, in many languages, CVV(C) and CVC(C) are heavy non-finally, but only CVV(C) is heavy finally. Examination of weight in tonal systems offers insight into these sonority-driven patterns. In many tone languages, sonority is crucial in determining which syllables can support contour tones. Heavier syllables have more sonorous segments which provide a backdrop for realization of contour tones. The connection between weight for final stress and tone draws on Hyman's (1977) suggestion that final stress avoidance is intonationally-driven. In Pierrehumbert's (1980) system, we can say that stress is associated with a pitch accent (T*), while the terminus of the phrase is linked to one or more boundary tones. In final stressed syllables, pitch accents and boundary tone(s) are realized on the same syllable. This results in tonal crowding, which languages characteristically avoid. Weight for final stress can be expressed by constraints governing associations between tones (pitch accents and boundary tones) and different syllable types. Restrictions against final stress result from interleaving these constraints with others requiring final stress. Constraints are implicationally ranked; languages draw different "cut-off" points separating permissible and impermissible final stressed syllables.

Derrick Higgins (University of Chicago) *A Stochastic Model of Morphological Learning and Lexicalization*
(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 115)

This paper presents a computational model of the acquisition and representation of morphology (suffixation in particular). This model has the virtues of language-independence, computational tractability, and learnability from occurring data. The approach is language-independent because suffixes are discovered by means of training on a sample of text from the language, and this training procedure is largely independent of properties of individual languages. It is computationally tractable and learnable because it employs a fairly simple hidden Markov model (HMM), a trainable stochastic model of the same type as is commonly employed in speech-recognition applications today (Charniak, 1993; Jelinek, (1997). In addition, the morphological analyses produced by this approach have properties which are commonly taken to hold of human beings' internal lexicons. In particular, a word in the test corpus is more likely to be unanalyzed by the program (lexicalized), to the degree that it is frequent, and its suffix is infrequent.

Bart Hollebrandse (Groningen University/ Utrecht University) *Imperfectives in Dutch L2-Acquisition of English*

(Main Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

This paper investigates the role of imperfectivity in English and Dutch complement clauses. Hollebrandse (1999) argued that only imperfective tenses (in the sense of Smith, 1991) allow simultaneity between events (Sequence of Tense). Dutch simple past tense is imperfective, whereas English simple past tense is perfective. However, English states (expressed by predicates with simple past tense, are not perfective. Therefore English shows Sequence of Tense for states and not for non-states, as in the complements of the sentences in (1) and (2). The paper will provide arguments for this claim. Moreover, the paper shows that Dutch L2-learners transfer the imperfective feature and its use in Dutch (L1) to English (L2).

(1) a. John said he was at school.
b. John said he drank a glass of milk.

(2) a. Jan zei dat hij op school was.
J. say-PST that he at school be-PST
'John said that he was at school'
b. Jan zei dat hij een glas melk dronk.
J. say-PST that he a glass milk drink-PST
'John said that he drank a glass of milk'

José Ingacio Hualde (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) *How General are Linguistic Generalizations?*

(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

The basic correctness of the strategy of preferring "the shortest description" and endowing it with psychological reality is widely assumed in phonological work. In this paper, I will argue that the formal simplicity criterion often leads to seriously misguided analyses and cannot be a decisive argument even when excessive abstractness is not an issue. I will consider three cases: Spanish plural formation, English plural formation and Basque verbal morphology. I will show that in all three cases the analyses that have been proposed in the literature based on simplicity and elegance do not appear to correspond to speakers' analysis of the data, as shown by 'wug' tests (Berko 1958), language acquisition, language change and other evidence. Instead, speakers appear to generalize very conservatively from the evidence, even when simpler generalizations and schemas can be easily extracted by the linguist. It will be suggested that the simplicity of analysis hypothesis is in serious need of being reevaluated.

Yuki Ishihara & Tohru Noguchi, (Tokyo Institute of Technology) *On the Inflection Condition of Come/Go + V Construction*

(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 115)

Come/go + V construction in American English (CGVC) has a well-known restriction: neither come/go (= V1) nor the verb following it (= V2) cannot bear overt inflectional morphology. We propose to derive this condition (= Inflection Condition (IC)) from a well-articulated conception of syntax/morphology interface in generative syntax, and we argue, essentially following the insight of Zwicky (1990) and Pollock (1994), that V2 is adjoined to V1 to form a compound verb in the syntax and that the structure thus obtained is the cause for IC. Specifically, we argue that both V1 and V2 are not appropriate hosts of inflectional features--V2 because it is not structurally adjacent to inflectional features and V1 because it is not a morphological head even though it is a syntactic one. This approach to CGVC has significant empirical consequences cross-linguistically as well as language-internally, and we discuss cases such as (i) the phenomenon involving the English verb help, (ii) the phenomenon known as Infinitivus pro Participio (IPP) in languages such as Dutch and German where a past participle is replaced with the infinitive under verb raising, and (iii) causative constructions in Romance languages where no IC holds on V1.

Jung-min Jo (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) *Korean Do-Support Revisited: Its Implications for Korean Verbal Inflections*

(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 115)

This paper argues that there is in fact do(ha)-support in Korean, which is the strong evidence that verbal inflectional elements are independently projected as formatives in the syntactic structure, counter to the lexicalist hypothesis and the Lexical Integrity Principle. Pointing out that ambiguities shown in so-called VP-focus constructions containing 'ha' result from structural ambiguities, this paper has reinterpreted 'ha' either as being the one of 'VP-focus' in which case it functions as a main verb, or as being the one of 'event-focus' in which case it functions as a dummy verb to rescue stranded verbal affixes after the event focalization process. Focusing on various 'event-focus' constructions, this paper argues that under ha-support analysis and the assumption that verbal roots as well as verbal inflectional affixes are independently projected to the syntactic structure we can precisely capture a close relationship between 'event-focus' constructions and corresponding simple sentences and also correctly predict the distribution of aspect, tense and mood morphemes, each of which is assumed to be the head of an aspect phrase, tense phrase, and mood phrase, respectively. After the focalization process to a simple sentence at the phrase level, the dummy verb 'ha' is inserted to rescue the stranded bound morphemes.

Elsi M. Kaiser (University of Pennsylvania) *The Syntax and Discourse Functions of OSV Word Order in Finnish*

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 008)

In this paper, I present a corpus-based analysis of the discourse functions of OSV word order in Finnish, a language which is canonically SVO. I provide empirical support for my claim that OSV order has three discourse functions in Finnish, subsuming but not restricted to the functions described in previous research (e.g. Sulkala & Karjalainen 1992, Vallduvi & Vilkuna 1998). The three discourse functions are as follows:

(1) Set Relation: OSV order indicates that the preposed object is in a salient partially-ordered set relation to other entities already present in the discourse (see Prince 1999).

(2) Focus: The preposed object represents new information, and the subject-verb part constitutes an open proposition known to, or inferrable by, the hearer (see Prince 1999).

(3) Old-information: The preposed object is information that has already been mentioned in the discourse, and the subject-verb part tends to be new information.

These findings bear on theories which posit that all syntactic movement is driven by feature checking: To derive the existence of multiple discourse functions for OSV order, such theories presumably have to assume that there exist multiple projections to act as landing sites for the object, each hosting a particular kind of feature, such as [Focus], [Topic] etc. (see Rizzi 1997). I explore the implications and validity of this approach for Finnish OSV order.

Meesook Kim (University of Pennsylvania, IRCS) *Learnability and Locative Verb Syntax*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 324)

The main goal of this study is to examine the learnability issue of how a learner succeeds in learning a verb's meaning and its associated syntactic structures, in particular focusing on the syntax and semantics of locative verbs, and to extend this learnability problem with a cross-linguistic perspective. We present elicited and spontaneous production task of child and adult speakers of English and Korean, in order to find out how much children have learned about the syntax of locative verbs by age 3-4, and in order to find out what the scope of their overgeneralization errors is. . Their descriptions showed striking syntactic differences: Korean-speaking children showed a strong Figure-frame bias, whereas English-speaking children did not. This contrast was also found in adult speakers of Korean vs. English. We further found that English-speaking children's syntactic errors with locative verbs were extremely restricted to a single verb 'fill'. The findings of this study lead to the question of how young children learn these very different syntactic patterns so early in acquisition, especially in the light of the potential problems raised by cross-linguistic differences in syntax-semantics mappings We suggest that the existence of this early observable morphological cue may help to explain the early target-like performance observed in our experiment. In addition to production data, I evaluate the feasibility of a statistical learning mechanism (Elman 1993; Seidenberg 1997), based on information on the use of locative syntactic frames in the maternal input with specific verbs for all of the English CHILDES database.

Se-Kyung Kim (Rutgers University) *Murmur Transfer and Extension of the Morphological Boundary*

(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

This paper deals with root-internal murmur transfer and extension of the root boundaries in Classical Sanskrit. The murmur in codas transfers to an onset, both locally and non-locally. The paper argues that the surface position of the murmur is determined by the ranking between the constraint that demands the murmur to be aligned to the right edge of the root (Align(murmur, root, R)), and the morphological constraints on the domain of roots (I-Anchor-R(F)) and the contiguity of the root string (Align(R, root, L, suffix)). I-Anchor-R(F) demands that the rightmost root feature be anchored to the rightmost root segment in the input and the output. Consequently, any suffix segments with a root feature are considered to be a part of the root. The local murmur transfer to the suffix is possible by this extension of the root boundary. When local process is impossible, non-local murmur transfer is derived by Max(murmur) and Align(R, root, L, suffix) that punishes interruption of the root string by a suffix segment. Dominance of Align(R, root, L, suffix) over Max(murmur) accounts for the murmur deletion when the non-local transfer would involve skipping a suffix. The proposed constraint ranking will account for the murmur transfer regardless of the number of murmur features present in the input or the linking status of the murmur.

Rose Letsholo (University of Michigan) *A Preliminary Investigation of the Structure Dependence Constraint in Children Aged 3-7*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 324)

This pilot study investigates whether children adhere to the structure dependence constraint. The investigation is conducted within the Matching Modularity Model (MMM) framework (Crain & Thorton (C&T) 1998) and it is modeled after Crain & Nakayama (1987). MMM makes the following assumptions: a) The child's processing system is essentially the same as that of an adult. b) The human language processing system is modular. According to C&T, children's linguistic performance in experiments is expected to be the same as adults' and if it is not, the difference is due to extra linguistic factors such as poor experimental design (pp6). Using an elicitation task, 16 test sentences were evoked from ten 3 to 7 year old children. The results of the experiment seem to be consistent with the predictions of MMM in as far as the prediction that children do not seem to violate the structure dependence constraint. Errors were mainly of the copy without deletion type e.g. " Is the bottle that is next to the TV is green?" These occurred mainly in sentences with subject NPs modified by a relative clause. In particular, children made more errors in the third task where one of the INFL elements is a modal. No ungrammatical utterances were recorded for the adult control group. Two issues arise out of the claims made by MMM above. a) Children make errors even outside experimental situations, b) if the child's processing system is the same as that of an adult, we predict that children should perform as well as adults in all the tasks.

Anna Lubowicz (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) *Faithfulness as Contrast Preservation*

(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

This paper proposes that faithfulness should be understood as surface preservation of underlying contrast (cf. Martinet 1961). A particular Underlying-Surface mapping (U-S) does not take place in isolation but happens in relation to other mappings within the same grammar (cf. Flemming 1995, Padgett 1997). Therefore, a candidate consists of a set of U-S mappings, called a scenario. Scenarios differ in whether particular underlying contrasts are preserved or neutralized. If contrasts are preserved, they may be displaced and/or realized in a different form than in the input (e.g. as in chain shifts). Formally, I propose a family of anti-neutralization constraints relativized to particular input properties P, PRESERVE CONTRAST(P) constraints. These demand that any two underlying words distinct in property P have their corresponding output words distinct (not necessarily in P). If ranked higher than conflicting markedness, PC constraints prevent particular neutralizations. The way in which neutralizations are avoided follows from the ranking. In addition, there is a general constraint DISTANCE that penalizes any type of input-output disparity, thus preventing random permutations of output forms within scenarios. The proposal will be illustrated with a case of neutralization, lack thereof and then shown to account for counter-feeding opacity (McCarthy 1999, Goldrick and Smolensky 1999).

Lisa McNair-DuPree (University of Chicago) *Influences of Regional Versus National Standards in Dialect Shift: A Case Study in the Southeastern United States*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 324)

Drawing both from established research which verifies diversity in early American Englishes in the South, and from an ongoing sociolinguistic investigation in a small semi-rural, semi-industrial Georgia town, I demonstrate that some linguistic sites in the southern United States continue to resist heavy influence from a US Standard. Places such as Griffin, Georgia, a textile mill town, are actually sites of competing non-standard vernaculars where the pressure of standardization plays a limited role in the linguistic ecology. Evidence reveals that dialect developments seemingly in favor of general US Standard could also owe their success to their similarity to existing non-standard vernacular forms. For example, the advent of /r/-constriction could stem from contact and demographic advantages traceable to speakers of Kurath's South Midland dialect (versus a hierarchical diffusion from city to country). Along these lines, the increase of unglided /ai/ before voiceless obstruentsóa stereotypical "southern" variantóis most likely a result of contact between Griffin's two non-standard dialects. Finally, I will address the question of whether the resultant "southern" dialect of Griffin is an example of stable variability of a non-standard vernacular, or whether it is an example of a new "standard" that imposes more constraints and permits less variation.

Michelle J. Moosally (University of Houston, Downtown) *The Basis for Agreement with Pronouns and Coordinate NPs*

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 001)

Recent theories of agreement de-emphasize morphosyntactic characteristics in favor of semantic or discourse-based features, citing as evidence comparisons among single, lexical NP, pronoun, and coordinate structure NP agreement patterns. Single, lexical NPs trigger agreement based on the morphosyntactic features of the linguistic object. Pronouns trigger agreement based on features of the actual discourse referent, since they lack a lexical head. Coordinate structure NPs (CNPs) contain lexical heads, but as a unit they lack a clearly defined lexical head, providing an interesting middle ground. CNPs also offer the potential for feature clashes, at morphosyntactic and discourse levels. Limited evidence suggests that agreement for CNPs is triggered by features of the discourse referent, creating a parallel with pronoun agreement patterns. This parallel is offered as an advantage to discourse-based theories of agreement-they can capture this shared patterning between CNPs and pronouns. This paper argues that the claim of parallelism between CNPs and pronoun agreement strategies is weakened when a broader range of data is considered. Data from native speaker consultants, focusing on mixed animacy gender agreement in Romanian and Ndebele, suggest that CNPs and pronouns do not employ identical agreement principles. Results show that, while pronoun agreement relies on principles based on discourse features, CNPs may rely on morphosyntactic features when the discourse features are in conflict.

Amy S. Orf (Northern Michigan University) *The Auxiliaries of the Spanish Progressive: A Historical Perspective*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 324)

Scholars generally agree that the modern Spanish progressives an analytic verbal construction, consisting of an auxiliary plus a gerund, which conveys aspectual meaning, normally that of developing or lasting activity. However, scholars do not agree which verbs may serve as auxiliaries of the progressive. While Keniston allows only *estar*, Lenz lists fifteen verbs as possible auxiliaries.

Heine contends that auxiliaries cannot be completely distinguished from main verbs, but that a continuum or "gradient" exists between them. This gradient reflects the diachronic relationship between auxiliaries and main verbs, whereby auxiliaries evolve over long periods of time from main verbs through a process of grammaticalization.

I apply this grammaticalization framework to the problem of the auxiliaries of the Spanish progressive, analyzing verb plus gerund constructions from the earliest Spanish texts through the modern language. I find that the verbs most commonly accepted by scholars as auxiliaries occur in such constructions from a very early date and are more grammaticalized. In contrast, those verbs not commonly accepted as auxiliaries begin to occur in such constructions more recently and occur more sporadically. These verbs show fewer features of grammaticalization. While such verbs are not considered auxiliaries of the modern progressive, their future remains to be seen.

Arthur L. Palacas (Universitiy of Akron) *The Role of Universals in AAVE and SE Differentiation*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 324)

Typological and other universals cause descriptive distinctions between AAVE and SAE. Thus, in spite of observed subject-verb agreement in tag questions in AAVE speaker behavior, the more prevalent observation of non-agreement suggests that AAVE is a non-agreement language. Under the assumption that a language cannot be both an agreement language and a non-agreement language, tag questions must not be intrinsically AAVE but pragmatic imports.

Similarly, auxiliary inversion in indirect questions suggests that AAVE has a non-complementizer-headed noun clause system, in which case sentences like I don't know if can he do that become observations of system mixing, not of an inherently contradictory system.

By a proposed Alpha Criterion--allowing only one aspectual marker for any particular aspectual function per VP structure--standard auxiliary have as a perfective marker conflicts with AAVE distal and proximal perfective been and done. Hence, its occurrence in He have done ate or He have been ate (Green 1998) must result either from reanalysis that removes have as a perfective marker or from a form of SAE and AAVE mixing.

Proper theoretical understanding of the relationship between AAVE and SAE will require description in a well-developed framework of linguistic universals.

Ileana Paul (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) *Concealed Pseudo-Clefts in Austroneasian*

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 008)

In a range of Austronesian languages, the cleft is associated with a particular focus interpretation.

(1) Rasoa no mandoko trano. (Malagasy)
Rasoa no paint house
'It's Rasoa who paints houses.'

It is tempting to analyze examples such as (1) as involving fronting to the specifier of a focus projection. I argue, however, that the cleft in (1) is in fact a (kind of) pseudo-cleft, drawing on data from different Austronesian languages. The focussed element (Rasoa) is a predicate and the presuppositional clause is a headless relative in subject position. A more accurate translation of (1) is thus 'The one who paints houses is Rasoa'.

I show that the focussed element patterns with predicates in taking verbal markers such as tense, agreement and negation. The presuppostional clause is often takes nominal or relative clause marking.

I account for the particular focus interpretation of clefts by invoking the headless relative structure. Headless relatives, since they are definite descriptions, carry precisely the same existential and exhaustivity presuppositions as those exhibited by clefts. This analysis does not depend on the presence of extra functional categories that encode focus features. Instead, the focus reading arises independently and with minimal additional assumptions.

Genoveva Puskas (University of Geneva) *Quantification in the Left Periphery: A Syntactic Argument for 'Split' Domains*

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 008)

This talk discusses the relation between the scopal properties of quantifiers and their syntactic position. The examples draw largely from Hungarian, a language in which surface positions are argued to reflect LF properties.

Beghelli (1995) proposed that English quantifiers occupy specific functional projections at LF which are hierarchically organized. Given the Hungarian data, some version of Beghelli's approach needs to be adopted as this language exhibits a visible hierarchy in the organization of preposed quantifiers within the preverbal fields such as 'Topic' and 'Focus'. Similarly, the interaction with negative quantifiers shows additional restrictions as to which elements can appear in the left-peripheral Quantifier Projection(s), and raises the question of a position hosting negative quantifiers in the left periphery. I propose, within the IP-external projections, a split, not only into Topic vs 'Focus' positions for quantifiers, as suggested in Szabolcsi (1997), but into specific projections within 'split Topic' and 'split Focus' fields.

One must also make a distinction between IP-internal quantificational positions and left-peripheral ones, since in Hungarian non-neutral sentences, the verb moves obligatory to the lowest of the CP-level projection, namely FP (Focus Projection), but not to higher projections, including the quantificational ones. I propose a distinction in terms of features between IP-internal and IP-external quantifier positions to account for the difference in behavior w.r.t verb movement.

Jay Rifkin (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) *If Only 'if only' Were 'if' Plus 'only'*

(Main Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

The if-only construction (if only I could fly), although widely assumed to be a conditional used to express a wish, diverges from familiar conditionals not just in its semantics but in numerous syntactic properties. Binding fails to hold across the if-only clause and a prior consequent. An if-only clause can coexist with an ordinary antecedent if-clause. If-only clauses may not be focused, conjoin with if-clauses, or license NPIs. Familiar analyses of if and only (e.g., Kratzer 1986, Rooth 1985) fail to yield these distinctions, but they all follow if if-only clauses are not conditionals but main clauses, a new use of if. If must then be the default realization of a complementizer with an irrealis feature. When V-to-C movement occurs, V replaces if, a phenomenon limited in English to counterfactual conditionals and if-only clauses.

With if-only as a root clause, only takes the entire proposition as its argument. Counterfactual morphology excludes the actual world from the set under consideration (Iatridou, to app). The source of optativity, assumed to be a bouletic modal, provides the modal base. Thus if only p asserts that in every relevant alternative world bouletically accessible to me, p. However, a counterfactual cannot be a declarative main clause, thus I propose that the if-only construction is an exclamative, given numerous commonalities with wh-exclamatives (McCawley 1973, Elliott 1974, Grimshaw 1979).

John Robert Ross, (University of North Texas) *The Trajectory of a Construction Frozenness in Pseudoclefts*

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 001)

This paper argues that some kinds of pseudoclefts are more central; or unmarked, than others. The most central type focuses a plain NP; the other foci, more and more peripheral, are shown below in order of decreasing centrality:

(1)	a. Most central: NP	What you are reading is a novel.
	a'. Matrix S marked:	Is what you are reading a novel?
	b. Less central: complement	What you hoped was that you would win.
	b'. Matrix S marked:	??Was what you hoped that you would win?
	c. Less central: VP	What you did then was tie your shoes.
	c'. Matrix S marked:	?*Was what you did then tie your shoes?
	d. Least central: AP	What we have always been to him is kind.
	d'. Matrix S marked:	**Is what we have always been to him kind?

Each type of pseudocleft is followed by a marked version - here, Subject-Verb Inversion has applied, but other transformations are also excluded. The more peripheral the focused element, the more frozen the copular matrix - the fewer rules can apply to it. It may be that these focus types form a cross-linguistic implicational hierarchy.

Margaret Russell (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) *Phonetic Aspects of Tone Displacement in Zulu*

(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

This study looks at the phonetic effects of tone displacement upon vowels immediately following depressor consonants, investigating both the pitch-perturbing effects and vowel length effects associated with the presence versus absence of depressors. Ohala (1979) and Sundberg (1979) report that pitch rises take longer to implement than pitch falls. Often, a pitch rise exceeds the duration of the target syllable, the final part of the rise realized in the next syllable, resulting in tone "flop". In short-voweled syllables, displacement ("flop") typically occurs. However, when depressor consonants flank a short-voweled syllable, displacement is blocked. The LH typical of displacement (the L portion due to the presence of the depressor consonant) is realized within the syllable of origin. What happens to this short vowel in Zulu?: There are two options: (1) the short vowel lengthens to accommodate the LH pitch rise needed; and (2) the short vowel remains the same in duration, the target H realized at a lower pitch (Silverman 1996, to appear). These accommodations are not necessary when a long vowel is flanked by depressors, as the length provides sufficient time for the H to be achieved on the syllable of origin. Displacement never takes place from a long vowel. In Zulu, (1) is observed. Given the observations of Hyman and Schuh (1974), Ohala (1979), Sundberg (1979), and Silverman (1996), this study shows that languages pattern in this way in the realization of tone.

Laila Sakshaug (Universitaet Muenchen) *On Changes in Reflective Reference from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 324)

The paper accounts for changes in reflexive reference from Old Norse to Modern Norwegian, by theory of language change and other modern linguistic theory. While the present paper to some extent builds on Binding Theory, there are also several respects in which it deviates from it, most notably in the following two respects:

- by modularizing the binding theory, such that semantic facets of it is treated independent of syntactic facets

- by including a separate dimension of a "closeness principle", based on linear order, in grammar.

The main claims of the paper are that the rules of reflexive reference have changed rather dramatically from ON to MN. This is a consequence of a reanalysis of the subject category, as part of a comprehensive typological change. Furthermore, this typological change is accounted for by an optimality-like ranking of autolexically organized forces of reflexive reference. While for Modern Norwegian the configurational rules of the Binding theory is a stronger force, for Old Norse this force is weaker, thus allowing the non-configurational closeness principle a more central place in the account.

Charles Schleicher (University of Wisconsin-Madison) *Suppletion and Variation in Proto-Tupi-Guarani Pronouns*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 324)

This paper analyzes pronominal markers in Tupi-Guarani (TG) languages and examines evidence mostly unexamined to show that first person plural inclusive subject markers **ya-* and **ti-* were related variations of the same morpheme and that they demonstrate a grammatical phenomenon seen also in the first person singular: fusing the optative prefix *t-* with pronominal markers.

In many TG languages, two forms of the first person plural inclusive subject marker exist: *ya-*, used with intransitive verbs, and *ti-*, used with transitive verbs. This ergative paradigm exists despite the fact that none of these languages are ergative. These forms have been determined by Jensen (1990a:96) to be derived directly from PTG **ya-* and **ti-*, respectively, having the same functions as in the daughter languages.

In the diagram below, Set 1 is used to reference nominative case, Set 2 for most oblique cases, Set 3 for reflexive possessors, and Set 4 to mark simultaneously accusative case in the second person and nominative case in first person.

The case system is diagramed in the following way by Jensen:

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4
1 s	a-	če	wi-	-
2 s	ere-	ende	e-	oro-
1pl incl. trans.	ya-	yande-	yere-	-
intrans.	ti-	-	-	-
1pl excl.	oro-	ore	oro-	-
2pl	pe-	pe	peye-	opo-

Data from Anchieta (1595) show that there was a free variation in historical times between Tupinamba *ya-* and *i-* as well as between *t-ya-* and *t-i-* (prefixed with optative *t-*). The forms *ya-* and *i-* have cognates in non-TG Tupian languages which show a common origin for *ya-* and *i-*. Furthermore, evidence is shown for a similar variation in the first person: **ye-* vs. ** če-*, **a-* vs. **ta-*.

The results of this investigation demonstrate how grammatical particles can fuse with pronominal markers to obscure the common origin of pronominal variants. This principle can then be applied to analyzing morphological suppletion and variation in languages of the world.

Scott Schwenter (Ohio State University) *Spanish Evidence for Implicature Denials*

(Main Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

Geurts (1998) proposes an analysis of various mechanisms of denial and argues that postulating a separate class of implicature denials is unnecessary. In this paper, I use conversational data to argue that Spanish has a lexical item specialized for the denial of conversational implicatures: *tampoco*. Usually translated as (n)either, *tampoco* is typically analyzed as an N-word (Aranovich 1996; Vallduví 1994) which presupposes a negative proposition in the prior discourse context. However, beyond this typical value, there is an extremely common use of *tampoco* in conversational Spanish which does not display this presuppositional requirement. In this use, *tampoco* can only appear in preverbal position, thereby distinguishing it from N-word uses, which can appear either preverbally or postverbally. In addition, this use of *tampoco* is in variation with the unmarked negator *no* and is not translatable as (n)either, but only as not. Examination of the contexts in which *tampoco* appears with this meaning reveals that it can only be used to express denials of implicated content. The analysis of Spanish *tampoco* therefore provides robust evidence for a separate class of implicature denials, contra Geurts, and for the existence of a lexical item specialized for the expression of these kinds of denials.

Ludovica Serratrice (University of Manchester) *Comparing 'like' With 'like': The Acquisition of Person Deixis in a Bilingual English-Italian Child*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 324)

In crosslinguistic studies of language acquisition it is standard practice to compare children's performance on verbal morphology to establish when and how productive control of functional categories such as tense and agreement is mastered. There may however be significant typological differences between the languages in which the acquisition of verbal morphology is being compared, such that would in fact make the comparison spurious. There is the danger that one is in actual fact not comparing like with like. For example, although verbal morphology in the Italian present tense indicative paradigm simultaneously marks tense and agreement, its main function is to mark person deixis in a language where subjects are not always overtly expressed. In English on the other hand, the same function is expressed by the use of obligatory subjects and not by the impoverished agreement morphology.

In this paper the acquisition of Italian verbal morphology in one English-Italian bilingual child is analysed alongside the child's production of overt subjects in English. The results show that at a time when no morphological correlates of agreement and tense are present in the child's English, he is nevertheless very accurate in his use of overt subjects. At the same time subject use in Italian is overall low, as one would expect in the acquisition of a null-subject language, but the child is beginning to mark person contrasts on verbs. Data from this bilingual child strongly indicate that children can and do focus on different language-particular formal devices of the language they are acquiring to express the same universal functions.

Mitsuaki Shimojo & Hye-Won Choi (State University of New York, Buffalo) *On Asymmetry in Topic Marking: The Case of Japanese WA and Korean NUN*

(Main Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

In Japanese, subjects of "predicate-focus" sentences (Lambrecht 1994) are typically marked with the topic marker WA, while in "sentence-focus" and "argument-focus", GA [nominative] marks the subjects. Despite considerable parallelism between WA and the Korean counterpart NUN, there is a striking mismatch most clearly observed in wh-questions denoting "individual-level properties" (Carleson 1977), such as 'what is this?' ['this'=subject]. For such subjects, WA is the only choice in Japanese due to predicate-focus structure, while in Korean, as discussed in Haig (1982), KA [nominative] is the canonical choice, and therefore, the optional NUN conveys contrastiveness. In this paper, we illustrate that NUN is also used in non-contrastive thematic contexts but in a more restricted way than the Japanese WA. We claim that the observed asymmetry is a consequence of different senses of "givenness" which WA and NUN indicate; WA marks salient information relative to the information represented by the other part of the sentence, whereas NUN denotes referents conceptualized as 'dominant' in a given context. A dominant entity should be previously activated and already familiar (i.e. 'established'), hence, NUN is not the first choice when individual-level properties are the focus of question.

Rajka Smiljanic & José Ignacio Hualde (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) *Lexical and Pragmatic Functions of Tonal Alignment in Two Serbo-Croation Dialects*

(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

Instrumental analysis shows that Serbo-Croatian is a language which, in addition to phonemic stress, possesses a lexical contrast in the alignment of intonational contours associated with stressed syllables. The analysis of Serbo-Croatian prosody in terms of lexical tones functioning as anchors for the placement of stress is incorrect. In words with initial stress (the most common pattern), there is a lexically-determined contrast between two types of tonal alignment: early peak ("falling accent") and late peak ("rising accent"). Some Serbo-Croatian dialects have lost the rise/fall accentual distinction. In this paper, we test the hypothesis that the prosodic system of such dialects will allow for greater freedom in the alignment of accentual contours. We analyze data from dialects with and without the lexical accentual contrast (Belgrade and Zagreb, respectively). For Zagreb speakers accentual peaks occur earlier under narrow than under broad focus, similarly to what happens in other stress languages; whereas Belgrade speakers, for whom peak alignment is lexically contrastive, show much less pragmatically-conditioned variation in the position of accentual peaks. The two types of pragmatically-conditioned alignment in Zagreb correspond quite closely to the two lexically-determined alignments of Belgrade.

K. Aaron Smith (University of New Mexico) *Modern Dutch as Diagnostic for Middle English : The Delimma of the English Progressive*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 324)

In theories on the reconstruction of the Modern English Progressive, many researchers have concluded that its source is an amalgamation of a Copula + Present Participle periphrasis from Old English and a Locative Construction from the Middle English Period (c.f He was an hontyng.). However, since our internal data are exclusively from written texts, we cannot test directly to what extent the two forms interacted in the minds of Middle English speakers, the necessary locus for such a merger. In this study, I offer a comparison of these two constructions in English to analogous forms in Modern Dutch. In Modern Dutch, the Copula + Present Participle is restricted to the literary language while the analogous Dutch Locative Form is a regular feature of the spoken language. Thus, in Dutch the two forms do not interact due to their use in different registers. Here I argue that a similar situation held in Middle English, making an amalgamation of the two 'sources' highly unlikely. The data from this study inform a different hypothesis on the development of the Modern English Progressive, one where it develops directly from the Middle English Locative Construction, having nothing to do with the older Copula + Present Participle periphrasis.

Michael B. Smith (Oakland University) *Cataphors, Spaces, Propositions: Cataphoric Pronouns and Their Function*

(Main Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

Building on Fauconnier's mental space theory (1985), I argue that some languages have space-designators, morphosyntactic elements which designate the mental spaces set up by linguistic expressions called space-builders. Cataphoric pronouns can serve this function (e.g. I despise it that John voted for the governor) as forward-referring devices that link with a discourse entity not yet overtly mentioned. Their discourse function is to anticipate the mental spaces set up by space-builders (such as despise) by grammatically designating the spaces themselves, which are then elaborated with linguistically-expressed propositions (e.g. that John voted for the governor). Evidence for this analysis includes English space-building verbs evoking negative feelings which require cataphoric object it (cf. dislike, resent): the cataphor's overt mention of the space itself accentuates the conceptual distance between the matrix subject and the undesirable relation(s) holding within the spaces by iconically distancing--in the grammar--the matrix subject from the subordinate clause describing those relations. The cataphor can also accentuate the salience of the space's boundaries as a setting for an event: You know (it) when the train goes by. Cataphoric it forces a reading emphasizing the train's effect on the setting prefigured by it, whereas omission of it emphasizes knowing when the train goes by (and not the train's effect on the setting). Similar data will also suggest an iconic link between cataphors and the meanings they convey.

Herbert Stahlke (Ball State University) *On the Role of Pattern Congruity in the Development of Phonetic Systems*

(Panel Session, April 28th - Rm. 324)

Pattern congruity has been invoked to motivate certain phonological splits. Sound change in several Yoruba (Niger-Congo) dialects suggests that pattern congruity also influences phonetic systems resulting from phonological mergers. Proto-Yoruba had nine oral and seven nasal vowels with an [ATR] contrast for all non-low vowels:

(1) Proto-Yoruba vowels

[+ATR] vowels		[-ATR] vowels	
i i̯	u̯ u	ɪ ɪ̯	ʊ̯ ʊ
e	o	ɛ ɛ̯	ɔ̯ ɔ
a a̯		a a̯	

In most modern dialects the high vowels have merged to [+ATR] with the result that high vowels are harmonically neutral. However, Northwest and Central Yoruba preserve elements of the Proto-Yoruba system.

(2) Modern Yoruba vowels

Northwest Yoruba		Central Yoruba	
i	u	ɪ ɪ̯	u̯ u
ɪ̯	ʊ̯	[ɪ]	[ʊ]
e	o	e	o
ɛ ɛ̯	ɔ̯ ɔ	ɛ ɛ̯	ɔ̯ ɔ
a		a	

Northwest Yoruba merges the high nasalized vowels to [-ATR], which are harmonically neutral. Central Yoruba keeps oral [ɪ] and [ʊ] before roots with [-ATR] vowels. While neither dialect maintains the earlier phonological [ATR] contrast, the new phonetic systems do. We can account for the persistence of the earlier pattern with the principle of pattern congruity if we recognize that the principle operates on the phonetic output of mergers as it does on the phonological output of splits.

Gianluca Storto (University of California, Los Angles) *Double Genitives Aren't (quite) Partitives*

(Main Session, April 27th - Rm. 001)

The interpretation of possessive DPs can be contextually determined. 'John's dogs' in (1a) can be easily interpreted as denoting the dogs which attacked John (rather than John's own dogs). The contrast between (1b) and (1c) shows that only possessive partitives (PPs), but not double genitives (DGs), license contextually-determined interpretations in English. In (1c) 'two dogs of John's' cannot be construed as denoting a subset of the entities introduced in the first sentence.

(1) Yesterday John and Paul were attacked by (different) groups of dogs,...
a. ...unfortunately John's dogs were pitbulls.
b. ...unfortunately two of John's dogs were pitbulls.
c. #...unfortunately two dogs of John's were pitbulls.

The contrast in (1b,c) is surprising in the light of analyses which treat English DGs as having the same underlying structure as PPs (Barker (1998); Zamparelli (1998)). Furthermore, it is surprising that DGs, which are arguably indefinite DPs, do not license a reading which seems to coincide with En('s (1991) partitive-specific reading, which is normally available for indefinites in general.

The data in (1) can be accounted for under the assumption that 'of' in both PPs and DGs determines an inclusion relation between the sets denoted by the nominals 'two dogs' and 'John's dogs.' I propose that the relevant difference between the two cases is that the second nominal is definite in PPs and indefinite in DGs. The indefiniteness of the second nominal in DGs accounts for their inability to license contextually-determined interpretations. In En('s (1991) terms, their second referential index is necessarily indefinite. In this talk I argue for and explore the consequences of this proposal.

Yi-ching Su & Stephen Crain (University of Maryland, College Park) *Children's Scope Taking in Double Object Construction*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 324)

This study investigates the acquisition of quantifier scope in English and Chinese. Using Truth-Value Judgement task, how children interpreted the double object sentences like "The teacher gave a girl every ball" and the to-dative sentences like "The teacher gave every ball to a girl" was examined. In both English and Chinese, the double object sentences allow only the existential wide scope reading, while the to-dative sentences can have both the universal wide scope and the existential wide scope readings. The results showed that English-speaking children tended to assign the non-adult universal wide scope reading to the double object sentences (50% of the time), but Chinese-speaking children gave the adult interpretation (over 90% of the time). It is argued that the non-adult interpretation given by English-speaking children resulted from an analysis of the double object sentences as the ambiguous to-dative sentences, and the lexical properties of the indefinite NPs explain why such errors were not found in Chinese-speaking children.

Takaaki Suzuki (Kyoto Sangyo University) *A Subject-Object Asymmetry in the First Language Acquisition of Japanese: The Omissibility and Retention of Case-Marking Particles*

(Panel Session, April 29th - Rm. 324)

In Japanese, a case-marking particle on a direct object NP may be deleted, while that on a subject NP may not. In order to investigate this subject-object asymmetry in the first language acquisition of Japanese, I have conducted two experiments.

Experiment I involved dyadic stative verbal constructions, where both subjects and direct objects are marked with nominative ga, and Experiment II involved two types of intransitive verbs-unergative and unaccusative-whose subjects are marked with nominative ga. The two experiments tested Japanese preschool children's production/omission of case-marking particles by using elicited production tasks.

The results of Experiment I were consistent with the subject-object asymmetry. The children dropped ga from direct objects more frequently than from subjects. On the other hand, in Experiment II, there was no difference in the deletion of ga between unergative and unaccusative verbs. This is not consistent with the subject-object asymmetry on the assumption that the subject of unaccusative verbs remains in the direct object position (i.e., sister of V) in Japanese (e.g., Kageyama, 1993; Nishigauchi, 1992). However, since the children's performance was compatible with adults' judgements reported in Hirakawa (1999), it may be the theoretical assumption of Japanese unaccusativity that requires reconsideration.

Ida Toivonen (Stanford University) *Fake Reflexives in Two Swedish 'Constructions': An LFG Approach*

(Main Session, April 28th - Rm. 008)

The use of so-called fake reflexives is more widespread in Swedish than in English. This paper will argue that fake reflexives actually occur in two different constructions in Swedish, the resultative construction and another construction which I will call the {\it directed motion construction} (DMC). The first main goal of this paper is to show that the DMC really is different from the resultative construction. This has consequences for any analysis of the English {\it way} construction. The Swedish DMC has much in common with the English {\it way} construction, and the fact that the DMC demonstrably differs from the resultative construction can therefore be taken as an indication that the {\it way} construction should be treated as distinct from the resultative construction ({\it contra} Marantz 1992 and LRH 1995). The second goal of the present paper is to provide a detailed description of the Swedish DMC, which has not been discussed previously in the literature. The description will be made explicit with the formal tools of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG).

Chris Lai-Kit Yuen (State University of New York, Buffalo) *The Perception of Japanese Devoiced Vowels*

(Main Session, April 29th - Rm. 001)

Some Japanese devoiced vowels have been reported to be deleted (Beckman and Shoji 1984; Yuen 1998). This study's purpose is twofold: first, to assess the extent of vowel deletion; and second, to assess the perceptibility of devoiced vowels. Two experiments were set up, one acoustic and one perceptual.

Recordings were made from 8 Tokyo Japanese speakers. Material includes 6 minimal pairs where each pair only differs by the devoiced vowel identities and 3 control pairs with voiced vowels. It is found that 13.7% were devoiced; 76.9% were deleted, and 9.4% were voiced. Preceding consonants (C1) of deleted vowels were systematically longer than those of voiced vowels, suggesting compensatory lengthening took place. A perceptual experiment was performed to test the vowel recovery effects CV transitional frequencies seemed to be the an influential cue for recovery.

The two major conclusions for this study are: 1) The claim that Japanese devoiced vowels are mostly deleted seems to be accurate, and 2) because these vowels are mostly deleted, listeners rely on transitional frequencies to recover vowel identity. A speculation is made that because compensatory lengthening of C1 takes place when a vowel is deleted, Japanese moraic timing (Beckman 1982, 1984; Port et al. 1987) is unaffected.

Larisa Zlatic (Synthesys Technologies, Inc.) *The Morpho-Syntax of Slavic Possessives*

(Panel Session, April 27th - Rm. 115)

In his seminal work on denominal Slavic possessives, Corbett (1987) showed that the syntactic behavior of Slavic possessives poses a problem for theories of morphology which treat inflectional and derivational morphology as two separate entities. This is because with respect to syntactic processses (e.g., control, pronominal binding) the possessive formation behaves as an inflectional process, whereas in other respects (e.g., change of word-class membership), it acts as a derivational process. In this paper, we show that Slavic possessives are in fact, well-behaved elements, formed by a regular, derivational morphological process that changes a noun into an adjective. The noun-like effects of possessives are explained if we assume that possessives have the semantics of nouns, inherited from the noun base from which possessives are derived.

Our morphological, derivational analysis is consistent with the lexical integrity principle, whereas the syntactic derivational analyses of possessive formation found in Babyonyshev (1997) and Rappaport (1998) are not. Our analysis also resolves the long standing controversy about the categorial status of Slavic possessives (cf. Ivic 1986, Corbett 1987, Babyonyshev 1997, Rappaport 1998).