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The 37th Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

April 19-21, 2001
University of Chicago

With Panels on:

Functionalism and Formalism in Linguistic Theory

Languages of the Arctic

The Autonomy of Morphology

Chicago
Linguistic
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The proceedings of the conference will be published in two volumes in the Spring of 2002. For more information, please contact CLS.

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Mary Andronis
Christopher Ball
Heidi Elston
Sylvain Neuvel

Handbook

The 37th Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

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With Parasessions on:

Functionalism and Formalism in Linguistic Theory
Languages of the Arctic
The Autonomy of Morphology

Gaylord and Dorothy Donnelley
Biological Sciences Learning Center
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Chicago, IL 60637

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Main Session - Thursday, April 19

BSLC Room 001

Time	Title
11:00 - 11:30	**Universal Grammar and Dialects: Half-hearted Determination of Adult Grammars by UG** Jane Ward, *Kyoto University of Foreign Studies and Kazuhiko Fukushima, Kansai Gaidai University*
11:30 - 12:00	**Clausal Nouniness and Genitive Marking of Subjects in Old Japanese (OJ)** Yu Hirata, *Ohio State University*
12:00 - 12:30	**Glides, Laterals, and Turkish Vowel Harmony** Susannah Levi, *University of Washington*
12:30 - 1:00	**On the Logic of Conditional Grounding** Eric Bakovic, *University of California, San Diego*

BSLC Room 109

Time	Title
11:00 - 11:30	**Argument Structure of English Psychological Verbs** Taegoo Chung, *Korea University*
11:30 - 12:00	**Partial pro drop in Hebrew and Finnish** Olaf Koeneman, *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*
12:00 - 12:30	**Models of causation and causal verbs** Phillip Wolff, Grace Song, & David Driscoll, *University of Memphis*
12:30 - 1:00	**Pluractionality in Chechen** Alan C.L. Yu, *University of California, Berkeley*

INVITED SPEAKER

Time	Title
1:00 - 2:00	**Context dependent similarity evaluations: the phonetics and phonology of half rhymes** Donca Steriade and Jie Zhang, *University of California, Loa Angeles*
2:00 - 2:30	**"You" can't say that!: Restrictions on overt subjects in the English imperative** Elissa Flagg, *MIT*
2:30 - 3:00	**Richard Returns: Copy Raising and Its Implications** Eric Potsdam, *University of Florida and Jeffrey T. Runner, University of Rochester*
3:00 - 3:30	**Towards a Non-Linear Account of Plural Marking in Caipira Portuguese** Eduardo Rivail Ribeiro, *University of Chicago*
3:30 - 4:00	**Case syncretism in and out of Indo-European** Matthew Baerman, Dunstan Brown and Greville G. Corbett, *Surrey Morphology Group, University of Surrey*
4:00 – 5:00	*(Invited Speaker – Parasession)*
5:00 – 7:00	DINNER
7:00 - 7:30	**Case Marking and Incorporation in Sino-Japanese** Kazutaka Kurisu, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
7:30 - 8:30	*(Invited Speaker – Parasession)*
8:30 - 9:00	**Gapping: In Defense of Deletion** Elizabeth Coppock, *Northwestern University*
9:00 - 9:30	**Distinguishing pitch accent from focus** Jocelyn Cohan, *UiL-OTS, Universiteit Utrecht*
9:30 - 10:00	**Interjections in Q'eqchi'-Maya** Paul Kockelman, University of Chicago

Functionalism and Formalism in Linguistic Theory - Thursday, April 19

BSLC Room 001

2:00 - 2:30 **Perception in phonology: the case of Turkish [h] deletion**
Jeff Mielke, *Ohio State University*

2:30 - 3:00 **Phonetic voice and phonological assimilation in the Germanic languages**
Wouter Jansen, *University of Groningen*

3:00 - 3:30 **Null Pronouns In Polynesian - Formal and Functional Constraints,**
Mike Dukes, *Stanford University*

3:30 - 4:00 **The Syntax of Paths and Boundaries**
David Stringer, *University of Durham, UK*

4:00 – 5:00 INVITED SPEAKER
Where is Functional Explanation?
Frederick J. Newmeyer, *University of Washington*

5:00 – 7:00 DINNER

7:00 - 7:30 **Link Phonology: a functional explanation of non-monotonicity in phonology**
Stefan Ploch, *University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg*

7:30 - 8:30 INVITED SPEAKER
Understanding and Explaining Applicatives
Marianne Mithun, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

8:30 - 9:00 **Chomskyan versus Formalist Linguistics**
Pius ten Hacken, *Universität Basel*

9:00 - 9:30 **Form and function in Kaqchikel word order**
George Aaron Broadwell and Timothy Smith, *University at Albany, State University of New York*

9:30 - 10:00 **Some fallacious arguments for the autonomy of syntax hypothesis and limits of autonomous functionalism**
Euiyon Cho, *Dongguk University, Seoul*

* All Invited Speakers will present in BSLC – Room 109

Main Session - Friday, April 20

BSLC Room 001

9:00 - 9:30 **The Semantics of "to"-Infinitival vs. "-ing" Verb Complement Constructions in English**
Michael B. Smith and Joyce Escobedo, *Oakland University*

9:30 - 10:00 **The lexical semantics of parenthetical-*as* and appositive-*which***
Christopher Potts, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

10:00 - 11:30 POSTER SESSION

BSLC Main Lobby

The role of morphology in the acquisition of two classes of Japanese adjectives
Miho Fujiwara, *Willamette University*

Falling Sonority Onsets, Loanwords, and Syllable Contact
Maria Gouskova, *UMass Amherst*

A Synchronic Approach to Maga Rukai Mid Vowels
Tien-Hsin Hsin, *Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica*

Case Checking and Numerically Quantified Phrases in Russian
Chia-Hui Huang, *University of Washington*

Restrictive Relative Clauses (RRCs) as Conjuncts
Daniela Isac, *Université du Québec à Montréal*

The Role of Agentivity in Unergatives: A Japanese Case
Yuki Johnson, *University of Michigan*

A Binding Theory Paradox in the Minimalist Program
Shin-Sook Kim, *University of Konstanz*

On Instrumental "with" in Child Language
Dave McKercher, *Stanford University*

Interplay between semantic codability and alternative lexical means in motion event descriptions: A developmental look
Seyda Ozcaliskan and Dan I. Slobin, *University of California, Berkeley*

Preserving Synchronic Parallelism: Diachrony and Opacity in Polish
Nathan Sanders, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

The passive as a complex category: towards a unified account of passive constructions
Andrea Sansò, *University of Pavia, Italy*

Variation in the acceptability of small clauses
Robin J. Schafer, *University of Canterbury*

11:30 - 12:30 LUNCH

12:30 - 1:30 *(Invited Speaker – Parasession)*

BSLC Room 109

1:30 – 2:00 **Conceptual metaphors and metonymies of metaphoric gestures of anger in discourse of native speakers of Japanese**
Mika Ishino, *University of Chicago*

2:00 - 2:30 **Western Armenian Verbal Morphology: An HPSG account without lexemes or morphemes**
Luc Baronian, *Stanford University*

Languages of the Arctic - Friday, April 20

BSLC Room 008

Time	Session
9:00 - 9:30	**The morphological encoding of degrees of temporal remoteness in Inuktitut** Mary Swift, *University of Rochester*
9:30 - 10:00	**North Sámi Causatives as Faire Par Constructions** Mikael Svonni, *Umeå University, Sweden* and Mikael Vinka, *McGill University*
10:00 – 11:30	POSTER SESSION – MAIN LOBBY
11:30 - 12:30	LUNCH

BSLC Room 001

Time	Session
12:30 - 1:30	<u>INVITED SPEAKER</u> **How special are Eskimo-Aleut languages?** Jerrold M. Sadock, *University of Chicago*
1:30 – 2:00	**The Participial, Emphasis, and Speaker Preference in West Greenlandic** Anna Berge
2:00 - 2:30	**The origin of phonemic tone in Yeniseic** Edward J. Vajda, *Western Washington University*
2:30 - 3:00	**Seven Prefix-Suffix Asymmetries in Itel'men** Jonathan Bobaljik & Susi Wurmbrand, *McGill University*
3:00 - 4:00	<u>INVITED SPEAKER</u> **Code-mixing constraints in Inuktitut-English bilinguals: The effect of language typology** Shanley Allen, *Boston University*
4:00 – 4:30	COFFEE
4:30 - 5:00	**A mood shift in Yupik Eskimo, and its implications for the directionality of semantic change** Willem J. de Reuse, *University of North Texas*
5:00 - 5:30	**The Aleut Effect: Competition at TP** John P. Boyle, *University of Chicago*
5:30 - 6:30	<u>INVITED SPEAKER</u> **Productivity and linguistic layering in West Greenlandic and Aleut** Michael Fortescue, *University of Copenhagen*
6:30 – 8:30	DINNER
8:30 - 9:30	*(Invited Speaker – Main Session)*

* All Invited Speakers will present in BSLC – Room 109

Time	Session
2:30 - 3:00	**Suppletion, frequency and lexical storage.** Andrew Hippisley, *Department of Computing, University of Surrey*
3:00 - 4:00	*(Invited Speaker – Parasession)*
4:00 - 4:30	COFFEE
4:30 - 5:00	**Semantic constraints on Clitic Raising: evidence from inalienable possession structures** Fabrice Nicol, *University of Paris-III, Sorbonne nouvelle*
5:00 - 5:30	**A stochastic OT approach to word order variation in Korlai Portuguese** Andrew J. Koontz-Garboden, *Indiana University at Bloomington*
5:30 - 6:30	*(Invited Speaker – Parasession)*
6:30 - 8:30	DINNER
8:30 - 9:30	<u>INVITED SPEAKER</u> **A Formal Language for Linguistic Morphology (Toward a Coherent Notional System)** Igor Mel'cuk, *Université de Montréal*
9:30 - 10:00	**Correlates of Stress: Typologically Unusual Results in Menominee** Marianne Milligan, University of Wisconsin

BSLC Room 001

Time	Session
9:30 - 10:00	**Problems for the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy** Philip LeSourd, *Indiana University*

Main Session - Saturday, April 21
BSLC Room 109

Time	Session
9:00 - 9:30	**L2 Comprehension of Reflexive and Oblique Clitics in Southern Quechua-Spanish** Susan E. Kalt, *University of Southern California & MIT*
9:30 - 10:00	**Experimental Evidence for a Predication-based Binding Theory** Ash Asudeh, *Stanford University & Frank Keller, Saarland University*
10:00 - 11:00	INVITED SPEAKER **Grounding and Attention in Language Acquisition** Eve V. Clark, *Stanford University*
11:00 - 11:30	**The phonologization of production constraints: Evidence from consonant harmony** Gunnar Ólafur Hansson, *University of California, Berkeley & University of Chicago*
11:30 - 12:00	**Turkic C+/ll/(uster) Phonology** Karen Baertsch and Stuart Davis, *Indiana University*
12:30 - 1:30	LUNCH
1:30 - 2:00	**Clitic Animacy in Dutch ECM Constructions** Annemarie Toebosch, *University of Michigan*
2:00 - 2:30	**Inversion and Pronominalization in Pseudocleft Sentences** Háj Ross, *University of North Texas*
2:30 - 3:30	*(Invited Speaker – Parasession)*
3:30 - 4:00	**What can the pragmatics of double object alternations tell us about their syntax?** Kieran Snyder, *University of Pennsylvania*
4:00 - 4:30	**Intonation in utterance-medial parentheticals and the syntax-phonology interface in French** Zsuzsanna Fagyal, *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*
4:30 - 5:00	**Allative and Ablative At-Constructions** Cristiano Broccias, *University of Pavia*
5:00 - 6:00	*(Invited Speaker – Parasession)*
6:00	RECEPTION *(with live performance by Mississippi Heat)*

The Autonomy of Morphology - Saturday, April 21
BSLC Room 001

Time	Session
9:00 - 9:30	**Morpheme Semantics and the Autonomy of Morphology: The Stable Semantics of (Apparently) Unstable Constructions** François Nemo, *Université d'Orléans, France*
9:30 - 10:00	**A Hybrid Account of Affix Order** Jochen Trommer, *University of Osnabrück*
10:00 - 11:00	*(Invited Speaker – Main Session)*
11:00 - 11:30	**Against Morphosyntactic Competition** John Frampton, *Northeastern University, Boston*
11:30 - 12:00	**Cherokee Tone Associations with Overt Morphology** Marcia Haag, *University of Oklahoma*
12:30 - 1:30	LUNCH
1:30 – 2:00	**Words and Paradigms: Estonian nominal declension** Michael Hughes & Farrell Ackerman, *University of California, San Diego*
2:00 - 2:30	**Unfamiliar solutions to familiar problems: How and why Bardi turns *i-n-l-bala-ij-ngay* into *ilaljarrngay*.** Claire Bowern, *Harvard University*
2:30 - 3:30	INVITED SPEAKER **How Independent is Tsezic Morphology?** Bernard Comrie, *Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig*
3:30 - 4:00	**Rich Agreement: On the Morphological Consequences of Syntactic Variation** Jonathan Bobaljik, *McGill University*
4:00 - 4:30	**On the Site of Morphology and Crosslinguistic Variation** James E. Lavine, *Wellesley College & MIT*
4:30 - 5:00	**Domains of syncretism: a demonstration of the autonomy of morphology** Greville G. Corbett, Matthew Baerman and Dunstan Brown, *Surrey Morphology Group, University of Surrey*
5:00 - 6:00	INVITED SPEAKER **Unmotivated morphology: the waste remains** Mark Aronoff, *State University of New York at Stony Brook*
6:00	RECEPTION *(with live performance by Mississippi Heat)*

* All Invited Speakers will present in BSLC – Room 109

Abstracts

Invited Contributions

Code-mixing constraints in Inuktitut-English bilinguals: The effect of language typology?
Shanley Allen, *Boston University*

The present research examined the nature of linguistic constraints in the code-mixing of preschool children acquiring English and Inuktitut simultaneously, and their bilingual caregivers. For purposes of this research, code-mixing is the use of elements (morphemes, lexemes, or phrases) from two languages in the same utterance. Research on adult bilinguals has demonstrated that intra-utterance code-mixing is linguistically constrained, and that such constraints serve to maintain the structural integrity and well-formedness of both languages. Some influential constraints proposed include Poplack's (1980) Equivalence Constraint and Free Morpheme Constraint, which both focus on surface phenomena (word order and morpheme combinations respectively), and Myers-Scotton's (1995) Matrix Language Frame Model (MLFM), which focuses on the underlying grammatical structure of the matrix language and the role of embedded language in a mixed utterance.

Code-mixing is well attested in bilingual children (e.g. Genesee et al 1993), and research to date with children speaking different language pairs largely supports the existence of adult-like constraints in their language (e.g. German-French: Meisel 1994; Norwegian-English: Lanza 1997; Estonian-English: Vihman 1998; French-English: Paradis et al 1999). However, recent research with six preschool children learning Inuktitut and English simultaneously shows potentially conflicting results: these children violate Poplack's Equivalence Constraint and Free Morpheme Constraint in 34% and 21% of their mixed utterances respectively (Allen et al 1999). Since this is atypical of other findings, it bears further investigation. Our hypothesis is that the radical difference in morphological and syntactic structure between the two languages drives different patterns of code-mixing than in language pairs of more similar typologies. English is relatively isolating with SVO word order, while Inuktitut is polysynthetic with SOV word order, and thus they offer maximal opportunity for divergence in surface structures. (Note that, though Vihman also looked at languages of very different structures, her subjects were substantially older (aged 2:8-9:10).

The present study reflects further analysis of data from the same six Inuit children (aged 1;8-3;9) and their caregivers. All the children were acquiring English and Inuktitut in their homes on a daily basis. Some 500 child and 1000 caregiver code-mixed utterances were examined. Analysis of caregiver utterances showed that child code-mixing represents a substantial subset of patterns in the input data. Thus, Analysis of the nature of these violations shows that almost all child mixes involve English content words used in utterances following Inuktitut morphosyntactic patterns. Caregiver data followed the same basic pattern though more utterances involved mixing of grammatical systems within one utterance. Thus, we conclude that the vast majority of the seeming constraint violations are better analyzed as instances of nonce borrowing, in which lexical items of one language are temporarily borrowed into a second language (Poplack & Meehan 1998), and we show how this pattern derives from typological differences.

(Parasession, April 20th, Rm. 109)

Autonomous morphology: the waste remains
Mark Aronoff, *State University of New York at Stony Brook*

What is the value of reductionist accounts of morphological systems? Among such accounts, we can distinguish two classic types, those which are semantically based and whose which are syntactically based. I will review one of each, Keren Rice's recent analysis of the Athabaskan verb and Chomsky's classic treatment of the English verb. In both cases, it can be shown that, although reduction goes a long way towards explaining the morphological structure, the structure itself defies reduction and remains as a residual unmotivated unreducible cultural construct. Language, like dance, may be natural to the human species, but languages, like dances, are not.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 109)

Grounding and Attention in Language Acquisition
Eve V. Clark, *Stanford University*

Grounding — the establishing of common ground — plays a critical role in all conversational exchanges. In this talk I examine grounding *first* as adults work to achieve joint attention with one-year-olds when they introduce them to unfamiliar objects; *second* as adults offer unfamiliar words and link them to familiar ones; and *third* as adults check on what their children mean when the children make errors in what they say. In each case, I argue that the achievement of joint attention for grounding allows adults to offer children the relevant conventional forms and track children's uptake of these forms in the course of conversation.

With very young children, adults may work to achieve joint attention before they can add to common ground. They begin with attention-getters that are non-verbal (gaze, gestures, touch) as well as verbal (calls for attention, name-use); once the child is attending, they use deictic terms to introduce terms for new objects, and often rely on gesture and demonstration as well, to maintain attention. Adults typically offer new words along with deictic terms that emphasize the importance of physical co-presence in each conversational exchange. They also often anchored new, unfamiliar terms to terms already known to the child. They do this by relating the new word to others through set membership, parts, properties, function, and other common relations. They may also offer definitions and identify the relevant domain through listing of familiar terms.

Finally, they offer reformulations for erroneous child utterances as they check up on just what the child intended by what he said. Their reformulations appear as parts of side-sequences and as embedded repairs; they serve to offer the usual (adult) pronunciation, the correct inflection, the right word, the appropriate construction — in short, the conventional forms that the child should have used as a member of the speech community.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

How Independent is Tsezic Morphology?
Bernard Comrie, *Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig*

The Tsezic languages, one of the branches within the Nakh-Daghestanian (Northeast Caucasian) language family, present some interesting data concerning the interaction of morphology with other components of the grammar. In my paper, I will examine three such problems in two Tsezic languages, Tsez and Bezhta.

In both Tsez and Bezhta, many nouns have an oblique stem distinct from the absolutive form. Where there is a distinction between absolutive and oblique stems, the latter usually differs from the former by one or more phonemes attached stem-finally. The question turns out not to be purely philosophical, since interaction with a phonological rule suggests that they do not constitute a morpheme. This in turns provides empirical input into a long-standing dispute in relation to Bezhta and many other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, namely whether oblique cases are derived from the ergative, or whether the ergative is rather the oblique stem with a zero morph.

Tsez allows multiple causatives, with iteration of the causative suffix, whose basic form can be argued to be -r. However, in many cases a usually automatic phonological rule would not reduce sequences of r's to a single r, thus in many cases (whenever an epenthetic vowel would not be inserted regularly) threatening to delete some of the causative forces the phonology to give way, with epenthetic vowels being inserted where they are not phonologically justified, and leading perhaps to a reanalysis of the second and subsequent causative suffixes.

In Bezhta, where the ergative is identical to the oblique stem, ergative and absolutive fall together in nouns whose oblique stem is identical to their absolutive. In literature based on work by Michael Silverstein in the mid-1970s, it has been argued that the distribution of distinct and nondistinct ergatives is constrained by the animacy hierarchy. In Bezhta, however, the distribution of distinct and nondistinct ergatives seems to be semantically random, suggesting that this is a purely morphological property of this language, and questioning whether distinctiveness of the ergative is as strongly constrained by the animacy hierarchy in languages that have zero exponency of the ergative. Though apparently details of particular languages, the phenomena referred to suggest far-reaching implications for the relation between morphology and the rest of the grammar.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 109)

Productivity and Linguistic Layering in West Greenlandic and Aleut
Michael Fortescue, *University of Copenhagen*

It is usually assumed that all languages, whatever their overall typological profile, share the same basic layering of grammatical patterning and that each level displays its own kind of compositionality *vis-à-vis* higher levels. In this paper I shall take a somewhat anti-universalist stance and argue that this may be so, but only on a loose and relativistic definition of 'level'. By 'levels' I do not mean 'representations' - say in different modules of a grammar - but rather the various structural aspects of the same linguistic object, e.g. a phonologically articulated utterance in a discourse context. Such objects are in varying degrees 'compositional' on multiple levels of structure, from the fine mesh of their smallest coding units to the broad mesh of the largest content-bearing units they express. I shall demonstrate my claim by considering some specific linguistic data from languages with different basic 'layering' patterns from English, namely Aleut and West Greenlandic. In the former the kernel morphosyntax is sensitive to higher-level pragmatic factors that are not grammaticalized as such in English, and in the latter there is clear evidence for a cross-over between syntactic and morphological patterning that is again quite alien to English. No universally valid boundaries can be drawn between 'modules', I would claim, since their exact positioning varies from language to language. In discourse there is also a concomitant variation between different languages in the extent to which reliance is made on on-line contextual inferences as opposed to overt grammatical coding. Such differences cannot be handled by parameter-setting in the generative approach to Universal Grammar except in the most *ad hoc* of fashions, since the very notion of 'parameter' presupposes the level on which - or module in which - it is supposed to apply. I shall argue that also the notion of 'productivity' is by necessity relativistic, since different kinds of productivity adhere to different levels, and if the levels themselves are not exactly isomorphic from one language to the next, generalizations about productivity cannot be made across all levels and all languages. This will be illustrated with West Greenlandic verbal affixes, where there is a whole spectrum of degrees of productivity within the rich morphological system of the language.

(Parasession, April 20th, Rm. 109)

A Formal Language for Linguistic Morphology (Towards a Coherent Conceptual System)
Igor A. Mel'čuk, *Université de Montréal*

1. A formal language for morphology is a set of concepts (with corresponding terms) built systematically out of a few basic concepts—*indefinibilia*. The aim of such a language is to make all linguistic statements uniform and unambiguous. The model for this undertaking has been the work of N. Bourbaki, a famous, but mythical French mathematician (actually a team, including J. Dieudonné and A. Weil), who developed a unified language for mathematics in 1930-1950.

2. A system of 248 morphological concepts is described in *Cours de morphologie générale*, 1993-2000 (in five volumes), Montréal—Paris.

3. The basic (= undefinable) concepts are the **signified**, the **signifier**, and the **syntactics** (= a set of data on cooccurrence of the pair <signified, signifier>). **Linguistic sign** is then defined as a triplet <signified, signifier, syntactics>. The concept of **representability** is introduced: a sign s is representable in terms of signs $s_1, s_2, ..., s_n$ if and only if $s = \oplus\{s_1, s_2, ..., s_n\}$, where $\oplus$ is the meta-operation of linguistic union (it puts signs together according to their syntactics and general rules of the language. The concepts of representability and quasi-representability (= representability in the signified or the signifier only) allows one to define the **elementary sign** (= not representable and not quasi-representable) as well as **suppletive** signs (quasi-representable in their signifieds) and **phraseologized** signs (quasi-representable in their signifiers). Etc., until all the relevant concepts are obtained.

4. To construct all the concepts needed in morphology, additional concepts must of course be brought in from semantics, syntax, and phonology; they are listed prior to the morphological study proper.

5. The approach proposed ensures the possibility to proceed by CALCULUS OF LOGICAL POSSIBILITIES, i.e. in a deductive way—under the control of the system of concepts in place.

6. An example: a calculus of grammatical voices.

The definition of an underlying concept: **diathesis**
‖ The **diathesis** of a lexical unit L is the correspondence between its Semantic [=SemAs] and its Deep-Syntactic Actants [= DSyntAs].

The definition of **voice**:
‖ **Voice** is an inflectional category whose grammemes specify such modifications of the diathesis of a lexical unit L that do not affect the propositional meaning of L.

For a basic binary diathesis, there are 11 possible derived variants, obtainable by the following three operations:
—Permutation of L's DSyntAs (with respect of L's SemAs)
—Suppression of L's DSyntAs
—Referential Identification of L's SemAs

1. | X | Y |
   | I | II |

2. | X | Y |
   | II | I |

3. | X | Y |
   | I | III |

4. | X | Y |
   | II | III |

5. | X | Y |
   | I | — |

6. | X | Y |
   | II | I |

*7. | X | Y |
   | II | — |

8. | X | Y |
   | III | — |

9. | X | Y |
   | — | I |

10. | X | Y |
    | — | II |

11. | X | Y |
    | — | II |

*12. | X | Y |
    | — | III |

13. | X | Y |
    | I | — |

14. | X | Y |
    | — | Y |

15. | X | Y |
    | I | Y |

16. | X | Y |
    | — | Y |

17. | X | Y |
    | I | — |

18. | X=Y | |
    | I | |

*19. | X=Y | |
    | II | |

20. | X=Y | |
    | III | |

The shadowed variants are 'illegitimate:' they either violate numbering conventions for DSyntAs (the asterisked ones) or else they coincide with some other variant, already on the list. This gives us 12 logically possible grammemes of voice for a prototypical binary diathesis.

(Main Session, April 20th, Rm. 109)

Understanding and Explaining Applicatives
Marianne Mithun, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Prototypical applicatives are derivational processes that add an argument to the core of the clause, either replacing an existing core argument or increasing the valency of the clause. The added argument, which usually represents a semantic recipient, beneficiary, instrument, direction, or location, assumes the grammatical role of object, absolutive, or grammatical patient. Applicatives can be seen in the sentences below from Kapampangan, an Austronesian language of the Philippines.

Buklat **ne.**
open 3.ERG/3.ABS
He (ERGATIVE) *will open it* (ABSOLUTIVE).

Buklat-an **ne.**
open-APPLICATIVE 3.ERG/3.ABS
He (ERGATIVE) *will open (it) for him* (ABSOLUTIVE). (BENEFACTIVE APPLICATIVE)

Pa-buklat **ne.**
APPLICATIVE-open 3.ERG/3.ABS
He (ERGATIVE) *will open (it) with it* (ABSOLUTIVE). (INSTRUMENTAL APPLICATIVE)

Applicative constructions appear in the majority of the languages of the world. Surely their ubiquitousness is no accident.

Several directions could be taken to explain their existence. One proposal is that they are a manifestation of a general structural principle labelled incorporation. Here applicatives are understood as the incorporation of prepositions into verbs (*open for -> open-for*). Others take as a point of departure the functions of applicatives within speech and/or grammar. Applicatives can, for example, provide speakers with devices for casting topical participants as core arguments rather than obliques. They can also position nominals for constructions that are restricted to core arguments, such as passivization or relativization.

But applicatives in certain languages suggest that none of these provides a full explanation for their existence. Good examples of this situation are provided by the Iroquoian languages. The languages contain robust benefactive, instrumental and directional applicative constructions, but no adpositions or case markers, in fact no oblique benefactive or instrumental nominals, and never more than two. Speakers do not introduce multiple new entities (those not expressible with a pronoun alone) in a single clause. One cannot say *He stirred the stew for his mother with a spoon*. But one can say *He stirred the stew*; *He stirred it for his mother*; *He stirred it with a spoon*. Applicatives in these languages provide speakers with choices not between core and oblique arguments, but between expressing events in one clause or two: *He stirred it; he used a spoon*; or *He stirred it with a spoon*. Understanding the function of a construction is a first step toward explaining its existence, but it is not sufficient. For this we must uncover the mechanisms underlying its origin and persistence. The origin of the Iroquoian applicatives can still be traced: the applicative suffixes are descended from verb roots which still occur in the languages. They were originally the second members of verb-verb compounds, though such compounding has not been productive for thousands of years. The persistence of the constructions over thousands of years is also easily explained: they provide a constantly exploited mechanism for regulating the flow of information in natural speech, a discourse pattern that has solidified into a syntactic requirement. As such, it is used constantly by speakers and so constantly heard and learned by children.

Where is Functional Explanation?
Frederick J. Newmeyer, *University of Washington*

This paper takes as a starting point the idea that major aspects of natural language syntax are motivated by external function. It is devoted to asking the question of where and how directly the effects of function upon form are manifested. There are, broadly speaking, two answers to this question, which I call 'atomistic functionalism' (AF) and 'holistic functionalism' (HF).

Atomistic functionalism (AF): Properties of individual grammars (rules, principles, structures, etc.) are directly linked to external functions.

Holistic functionalism (HF): There is no direct linkage between external functions and grammatical properties. The influence of the former on the latter is played out in language use and acquisition and (therefore) language change and is manifested only typologically.

AF is implicit or explicit in a wide variety of approaches, ranging from much of mainstream functionalism, which attributes great importance to functionally-motivated hierarchies, to the approach known as 'emergent grammar', and even to the version of optimality theory advocated by Joan Bresnan and Judith Aissen. The purpose of the paper, however, is to defend HF over AF. A number of considerations support HF over AF:

1. AF underplays or ignores the role of conventionality as an explanatory factor. A structure may enter a language primarily to serve a particular function, but be retained by that language by force of conventionality even after that function ceases to be served.

2. AF exaggerates the function-drivenness of language change. An important result of historical sociolinguistics is that social factors are more important than (user-based) functional ones in the propagation of a change.

3. AF is forced to downplay the (nonfunctional, in the ordinary use of the term) structural-systematic pressures on grammars.

4. AF has difficulty dealing with the incidentally dysfunctional consequences of an otherwise functionally-motivated change (the strategies that languages develop for extracting subjects is a good example).

The paper concludes by sketching a view of grammars consistent with HF. The centerpiece of the argument is an analogy between grammars and pathological conditions such as lung cancer. We can pinpoint smoking as a cause of lung cancer in general, even though the complexity of any pathology prevents us from conclusively attributing any individual case to smoking. Along the same lines, we can pinpoint parsing ease, iconicity, etc. as motivating factors for grammatical structure, even though, contra AF, there is no hope of identifying parsing or iconicity as motivators for particular structures or rules in particular languages.

How special are Eskimo-Aleut languages?
Jerrold M. Sadock, *University of Chicago*

It is well known that the extreme polysynthesis of Eskimo-Aleut languages has major implications for the syntax-morphology interface. Less well known, however, are the phonetic-phonological, and phonological-morphological puzzles that these languages present.

All languages in the family have rather severe restrictions on the phonological shape of morphemes and words. To an excellent approximation, the further east one moves, the more restrictive these principles become. In all Inuit from the Keewatin east, for example, both morphemes and words may end only in one of three vowels and in one of four consonantal points of articulation, one of which occurs only in a single morpheme. Though these languages have a nasal-stop distinction internally and initially in words and morphemes, there is in general no such distinction morpheme or word finally. In Eastern Canada, however, one of the marks of yes/no questions is the nasalization of a word-final consonant, producing a nasal-stop contrast under specific pragmatic circumstances. In West Greenland, words ending in the derivational affix -naq "one which is ___-able" can be truncated, leaving a final alveolar nasal that does not otherwise occur. This does, however, produce a word-final nasal on the surface that could theoretically contrast with the final stop. Thus nallin' "pitiable thing", (from nallinnaq, with the same meaning) is not the same word as the possible word nallit. In some West Greenlandic there is also a nasalization exactly at clitic boundaries and nowhere else. In some dialects this produces a short uvular nasal [N] that does not otherwise occur. A word like arnaNaa (arnaq+aa) "Oh, Lady!" has a unique shape that no word formed without a clitic can have. Recently, Shanley Allen and Mary Swift have reported that in Arctic Quebec, the stem of a verb may be truncated under circumstances very like those that allow VP ellipsis in European languages. This produces utterances that begin with otherwise illegal consonants or with a geminate consonant, something unheard of elsewhere in the language. Outside of discoursal truncation, there can be no word like *[nngitunga] "I don't".

The problems these phenomena cause for phonemic theory are the result of the polysynthetic character of the language. Polysynthesis produces long words. Long word are compatible with very restrictive morpheme- and word-structure conditions. Long words and restricted contrasts facilitates the phonologization of original fast speech forms.

Context dependent similarity evaluations: the phonetics and phonology of half-rhymes
Donca Steriade and Jie Zhang, *University of California, Los Angeles*

This study is a contribution to Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince 1995): it seeks to provide empirical evidence for the proposition that correspondence constraints are context-dependent and that their rankings are partly predictable from perceived similarity relations among different string types (Steriade 2000, to appear in Hume and Johnson eds). For many phonological processes, the exact division of labor between markedness and correspondence constraints is uncertain: the same process can frequently be described as the interaction of context-free correspondence with context sensitive markedness constraints (cf. Zoll 1998 ROA) or, alternatively, as the interaction between context-free markedness with context sensitive correspondence (cf. Lombardi 1998 ROA, Beckman 1997 Phonology).

We propose to resolve this type of ambiguity by focussing on phenomena where markedness plays no role and similarity alone determines the empirical outcome. With this in mind we study *imperfect rimes* (semi-rimes, SR); our starting assumption being that the poet's observed preference for one SR type over another reflects the poet's judgment that the better SR's involve more similar strings and thus a rhyming pair closer to perfect identity. Relative similarity will be reflected in correspondence rankings: if Corr₁ >> Corr₂ (where Corr₁ and Corr₂ are distinct correspondence constraints evaluating the identity between the rhyme domains of two lines) then a pair of lines violating Corr₁ will be, all else equal, less harmonic and thus dispreferred to a pair violating Corr₂.

The talk examines SR distributions in Romanian poetry of the late 19th and 1st half of the 20th centuries. Romanian is selected because its frequent feminine rhymes allow us to examine the relative distribution of SR's based on the same feature in a wide variety of contexts. We review three sources of SR evidence (rhymed translations, native poetry, and a rhyme dictionary written by a poet for his own use) which converge on identifying those SR types that are both frequent in some

individual SR corpus and well-documented across SR corpora. To evaluate the relative frequency of different SR types we compare, within a given corpus, the ratio of all rhymes containing a certain feature (say obstruent voicing) to SR's based on mismatches of this feature (e.g. SR's involving differences of obstruent voicing).

The immediate goals of the project are to determine whether changes of context induce different evaluations of phonological similarity and, if so, whether the different evaluations of similarity are tied to phonetic, context-dependent differences in the realization of the relevant features or to other factors. Our interest in the possibility of context-dependent similarity evaluations is directly tied to the debate between the proponents of positional (i.e. context sensitive) markedness and those supporting positional correspondence. We argue that for the latter conditions (though not against the former) by observing that positional correspondence conditions must be operative in the analysis of rhyming.

The following is one example of the evidence we analyze. We use the formula $\Delta(x-y)$ to refer to the phonological distance or dissimilarity between two rhyme domains differentiated by the strings x and y and we use the formula $\Delta(x)-(y) < \Delta(x)-(z)$ to abbreviate assertions of the form "the dissimilarity between x and y is less than that between x and z". The evidence for these assertions is the relative frequency of corresponding SR types in our corpora: our assumption is that more frequent SR's are those judged to involve more similar rhyme domains.

(Abbreviations: T: voiceless obstruent, D: voiced obstruent, N: nasal, V vowel, # end of word; rhyme domains are underlined in the examples.)

$$\Delta\text{(-NT\#)-(ND\#)} < \Delta\text{(-NTV)-(NDV)} < \Delta\text{(-VT\#)-(VD\#)} < \Delta\text{(-VTV)-(VDV)}$$

For instance, the SR type *timp-skimb* (based on the difference (-NT#)-(ND#)) is more frequent that the SR-type *piînte-asķûnde*, which is in turn significantly less frequent than the type *ved-fet*. The type *skáde-láte* occurs but is least frequent. We interpret this result as indicating that voicing differences are perceived as least distinctive in post-nasal, word final stops, more so in prevocalic and postvocalic position. An acoustic study of Romanian stop voicing in the post-N context reveals the existence of gradient post-nasal voicing, a possible source of the greater perceived similarity between T-D in the post-N context.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

Submitted Contributions

Experimental Evidence for a Predication-based Binding Theory
Ash Asudeh, *Stanford University* & Frank Keller, *Saarland University*

We present results of magnitude estimation experiments (Bard et al., 1996) on anaphoric and pronominal binding in picture noun phrases. While our results support theoretical predictions for binding of reflexives in object position (1), contrary to what has been reported in the theoretical literature, we found that anaphors in picture noun phrases do not have to bind to possessors (2). This can be understood theoretically if reflexive binding is predication-based (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993) and if the genitive possessor in NP is not a subject (Williams, 1985) or otherwise an argument of the picture NP's head. In other words, NPs do not have subjects on par with IPs/CPs, as has previously been assumed (Chomsky, 1986). We can also use the notion of predication to understand the pattern for certain accomplishment verbs (3), without positing a covert possessor. We argue that "take a picture" is one example, in which case the anaphor or pronoun in such examples is actually a coargument of the subject and governed by binding theory.

(1) a. $Hanna_i$ admires *her_i/$herself_i$.
     b. $Hanna_i$ thinks that $Peter_j$ admires her_i/*$herself_i$.

(2) $Hanna_i$ found $Peter_j$'s picture of her_i/$herself_i$.

(3) $Hanna_i$ took a picture of *her_i/$herself_i$.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

Case syncretism in and out of Indo-European
Matthew Baerman, Dunstan Brown and Greville G. Corbett, *Surrey Morphology Group, University of Surrey*

Since Hjelmslev (1935) and Jakobson (1936) it has been common to treat cases as composed of bundles of semantic or morphosyntactic features, and case syncretism as the result of underspecification for these features. However, the examples chosen to illustrate this have come almost exclusively from Indo-European languages, which combine typologically common and highly aberrant features. Through cross-linguistic comparison we have identified five types of case syncretism: (1) Syncretism of the core arguments of a transitive construction, either nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive. This is typically correlated with animacy; (2) The marked transitive argument assumes the form of an oblique case, thereby maintaining the distinction between the core grammatical roles; (3) Syncretism among all oblique cases; (4) Syncretism of a subset of oblique cases, e.g. the dative-ablative plural of Latin; (5) Compound syncretism, where both case and number values are different, e.g. the Kashmiri form *kul'* 'tree', which is ergative if singular but absolutive if plural. Only the first three are represented outside of Indo-European; the remaining types -- prime evidence for the analysis of case as feature bundles -- are specific to Indo-European. We suggest they represent purely morphological phenomena, and not the result of semantic or morphosyntactic networks.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

Turkic C+/l(uster) Phonology
Karen Baertsch and Stuart Davis, *Indiana University*

This paper examines phonological alternations evident in consonant clusters that result from morpheme concatenation in five Turkic languages (Turkish, Uyghur, Tatar, Yakut, and Kazakh). Many of the suffixes in these languages are transparently cognate; consequently these languages present an interesting study in how the different phonologies of the languages treat identical phonological environments. These differences are most telling in the alternations resulting from the addition of plural /-lVr/ and are analyzed as resulting from the interaction of three competing pressures. The pressure to maintain faithfulness to underlying forms is strongest in Turkish, weaker in Uyghur and Tatar, and weaker still in Yakut and Kazakh. In Yakut, pressure to share features across the cluster is very strong and this language consistently assimilates the suffix-initial

consonant, resulting in geminate and partial geminate clusters through much of the paradigm. Assimilation is much more limited in Turkish, Uyghur, Tatar, and Kazakh. These five languages differ most profoundly, however, in their tolerance for bad syllable contact. Turkish easily tolerates rising sonority across a syllable boundary. In Uyghur and Tatar, some minor changes result from syllable contact pressure. In Yakut and Kazakh, however, syllable contact is always respected and a syllable contact slope requirement becomes active.

On the Logic of Conditional Grounding
Eric Bakovic, *University of California, San Diego*

A class of vowels in a language may systematically fail to harmonically alternate, resulting in predicably disharmonic forms. Such disharmonic vowels are agreed to be incompatible with one of the harmonic feature values, preventing harmony from affecting such vowels. Systematic disharmony is commonly analyzed with conditional statements such as "if [+Io], then [atr]." Stating these in conditional form suggests that the antecedent feature (AF; [+Io]) is held constant while only the consequent feature (CF; [atr]) is alterable. If CF is the same as the harmonic feature (HF), disharmony is the result. But there is another relevant pattern that cannot be accounted for if CF = HF. Diola lacks a [+Io, +atr] vowel, so [atr] harmony results not in systematic disharmony but in an alternation between [+Io, atr] and [Io, +atr] vowel. This pattern has the same underpinnings as systematic disharmony: an [atr] alternation between low vowels entails the existence of a [+Io, +atr] vowel, an incompatible combination of features in Diola due not to "if [+Io], then [atr]," but to its contraposition "if [+atr], then [Io]." These conditionals are logically equivalent and I argue that they are necessarily and correctly interpreted as such within Optimality Theory.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

Western Armenian Verbal Morphology: An HPSG account without lexemes or morphemes
Luc Baronian, *Stanford University*

Word-based theories of morphology would hold the advantage of theoretical simplicity over morpheme and lexeme-based ones, because they must all recognize words, but morphemes and lexemes are less straightforwardly observable and must be postulated.

This talk has two goals: 1) propose a new tool, Lexical Connections, for morphological analysis in formalism, but without relying on the existence of lexemes or morphemes; 2) account for the morphological system of Standard Western Armenian verbs strictly with this new tool. This language's verbal system provides us with a good testing ground: finite verb forms are overtly and distinctly marked for person, number, tense and negativity.

The advantages of this approach are the following: 1) there is no more need for the concept of lexeme as a concrete object in the grammar never used in speech; 2) morphological functions and Lexical Rules are united as one; 3) this is a non derivational one-level morphology. Lexemes, in the theory, can still be recognized on semantic grounds, but are no longer entities from which words are derived. Likewise, morphemes can be considered as the pieces seen in the Connections, but have no independent existence.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 001)

The Participial, Emphasis, and Speaker Preference in West Greenlandic
Anna Berge

In studies of West Greenlandic, a connection is made between the use of the participial verb mood and focus/emphasis constructions, particularly constructions involving particles or deictic enclitics. The participial is used in many other ways, however, likewise, there are many ways of indicating emphasis. Further, there are no particles that specifically denote emphasis in West Greenlandic. Is the use of the participial with emphasis therefore specifically for the purpose of denoting emphasis? A closer look at a variety of texts suggests that this is not the case. Many cooccurrences of the participial and particles or enclitics are more easily explained with reference to more common functions of the participial. Similarly, emphasis is most often indicated through means other than the

use of the participial. More importantly, different speakers have noticeably different preferences both for the use of the participial and for methods of indicating emphasis, and the two do not necessarily coincide. In this paper, I present evidence for these findings and discuss the importance of speaker preferences in understanding the connection between the participial and emphasis. The results suggest that an adequate understanding of the parameters on linguistic constructions must include contextual information and ranges in acceptable variations among speakers.

(Parasession, April 20th, Rm. 001)

Rich Agreement: On the Morphological Consequences of Syntactic Variation
Jonathan David Bobaljik, *McGill University*

This paper presents empirical and theoretical arguments that what may be called the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH, given in (1), and its corollary) cannot be correct, even within the restricted domain of the Germanic languages (where it has received the most attention, see especially Rohrbacher 1999).

(1)   "Rich" agreement is the cause of (overt) verb movement to Infl.

      Diachronic Corollary: The loss of "rich" inflection causes the loss of verb movement.

The morphology-driven approaches are contrasted with an alternative (building on proposals in Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998) in which the morphology is a reflection of syntax (as in Halle & Marantz 1993); On this theory, independently motivated syntactic variation is the cause of subsequent morphological variation. Accepting the possibility of null morphemes predicts that verb movement may occur in the absence of "rich" morphology (effectively structural richness may be masked by zeros), but it is impossible for verb movement to be absent in the presence of "rich" morphology. This is, in fact, the empirically correct generalization, hence the alternative, presented here provides a more accurate account of the data.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

Seven Prefix-Suffix Asymmetries in Itel'men
Jonathan David Bobaljik and Susi Wurmbrand, *McGill University*

The Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages display agreement marking on the finite verb by means of a combination of prefixes and suffixes, including curious double agreement in intransitives: both prefix and suffix agree with the subject. As noted by Volodin & Vakhtin 1986, an analysis in terms of circumfixes misses the robust generalization that the prefix and suffix are clearly independent morphemes, but this leaves open the question of the hierarchical organization of the verb: is one affix more peripheral than the other or is the structure flat?

This paper identifies seven potential morphological and phonological asymmetries among prefixes and suffixes in Itelmen. In all cases, the juncture between agreement prefix and stem is special in a way that that between stem and suffix is not, suggesting that the prefix is more peripheral. If correct, this converges with the structure proposed by Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 1997 (B&W) and Bobaljik 2000 on independent grounds). While this paper draws a particular theoretical conclusion from the data noted, the principal aim of the paper is more descriptive in nature. We seek, in essence, to present a concise catalogue of certain asymmetries between prefixes and suffixes in one lesser-described language; with an eye, of course, to contributing to broader typological and theoretical investigations.

(Parasession, April 20th, Rm. 001)

Unfamiliar solutions to familiar problems: How and why Bardi turns *i-n-l-bala-ij-ngay* into *ilaljarrngay*.
Claire Bowern, *Harvard University*

In the languages of the far North-West of Western Australia we find a radical mismatch between underlying morpheme structure and surface syllable structure. One such language is Bardi, which is a non-Pama-Nyungan Nyulnyulan language spoken by approximately 30 people at One Arm Point and

Lombadina Aboriginal Communities. In this paper I show how Bardi applies familiar phonological principles, such as sonority sequencing and the sonority hierarchy, to problematic morpheme structures.

There are a number of repair strategies evident in Bardi phonology which deal with the resolution of unsyllabifiable clusters. The most starting is the deletion of the least sonorous segment in an unsyllabifiable cluster, and epenthesis between consonants of the same sonority. This is directly the reverse of more frequent resolutions of the same syllabification problem, exemplified, for example, in Zec's (1995) study of Pali. Repairs of this sort to sonority violations are surprising and are in direct conflict with other recent, well-supported research, including de Lacy (2000).

Some of the most surprising interaction between phonology and morphology, however, is found in Bardi's treatment of initial root consonants. Bardi targets the initial syllables of verb roots (the most prominent of Beckman's (1999) 'prominent positions') as the site for the greatest neutralization of features and deletion of segments.

In conclusion, Bardi is a language that illustrates very well the interplay between morphology and phonology. In this language we see familiar issues of sonority markedness, but we see unusual resolutions of conflicts between underlying structure and surface syllabification requirements.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

The Aleut Effect: Competition at TP
John P. Boyle, *University of Chicago*

Aleut displays a seemingly unusual agreement pattern in marking NPs. What are referred to as the relative (ergative) and absolutive cases are not really cases at all. The relative 'case' is used to indicate that somewhere in the predicate there is a null NP. This null NP can be an object, an indirect object, a NP associated with an adpositional, or a possessor of an object. This phenomenon has dubbed 'The Aleut Effect'. In this paper, I propose that over subjects and objects are base generated inside VP and move respectively to [SPEC, AGRoP] and [SPEC, TP] where 'absolutive case' is checked. I argue that the Aleut Effect reduces to a peculiarity of the licensing of null elements in this language, one which has the effect of requiring that additional structure be projected in these cases, namely AGRsP. My hypothesis is that what is peculiar to the grammar of Aleut is that *pro* in Aleut has a feature that can be checked only by T, in [SPEC, TP]. If *pro* can only be licensed in [SPEC, TP] a competition arises between *pro* and the subject of the clause. It is this competition for TP that produces the Aleut Effect. With *pro* moving into [SPEC, TP] the additional node (AGRsP) must be projected and this is where 'relative case' is assigned to the subject. It is only in this additional node that 'relative case' is assigned. This is why we never see 'relative case' on a subject in sentences without a null element. This analysis shows that it is this competition between *pro* and the subject for movement into TP that produces the Aleut Effect.

(Parasession, April 20th, Rm. 001)

Allative and Ablative *At*-Constructions
Cristiano Broccias, *University of Pavia*

In this paper, I will offer an analysis of conative sentences such as (1)-(2) (from van der Leek (1996)):

(1)   *Irv kicked at the wall.*

(2)   Sam chipped at the rock.

I will distinguish between two schemas: the allative schema and the ablative schema, which will be represented in a Cognitive Grammar format. Their linguistic instantiations will be called allative *at*-construction (relevant for (1)) and ablative *at*-construction (relevant for (2)), respectively.
The former encodes translational allative motion, is not necessarily associated with continuous actions, and makes use of non-final-state verbs.
The latter is associated with continuous actions, often implies a part-whole relationship, and encodes either the notion of (attempted) removal (as in (2)) or that of (attempted) effect (as in *stroking at the base of her neck, sending delightful shivers*, where *shivers* stands for the effect).

It will also be shown that, since *at*-constructions are relativised to conventionalised scenarios, the association of a verb with either of them may be a matter of degree. Further, some cases will be analysed as instantiations of a schema which shares features of both the allative schema and the ablative schema.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

Form and function in Kaqchikel word order
George Aaron Broadwell and Timothy Smith, *University at Albany, State University of New York*

Kaqchikel word order is demonstrably influenced by both formal and functional factors. In transitive clauses, two word orders are available -- a subject-initial order and a verb-initial order, as seen in the examples below:

1)   X-u-b'a'   ri tz'i'   verb-initial
       com-3sE-bite the dog the cat
       The dog bit the cat.'

2)   Ri tz'i' x-u-b'a'   ri me's.   subject-initial
       the dog com-3sE-bite the cat
       'The dog bit the cat'

We will show that the subject-initial order is a response to several kinds of markedness. Indefinite transitive subjects must appear preverbally, as must subjects whose possessor serve as antecedents for a following pronoun. Both represent marked feature combinations, and Kaqchikel requires a shift to subject-initial order when these combinations occur. Though the requirements are related to discourse function, they operate categorically in Kaqchikel as formal requirements on word order.

Preverbal order in Kaqchikel is also sensitive to discourse. The marked, subject-initial order is preferred in contexts of topic shift, and postverbal order is preferred in contexts of topic continuity. We will claim that both the formal and functional constraints operative in Kaqchikel can be successfully modelled in Optimality Theory, relying in particular on the approach to syntactic markedness introduced in Aissen (1999).

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

Some fallacious arguments for the autonomy of syntax hypothesis and limits of autonomous functionalism
Euiyon Cho, *Dongguk University, Seoul*

Newmeyer (1998) develops some arguments against integrative functionalism and the opts for the autonomy of syntax: some of the form and function correlations are explained by linking rules like Rochemont and Culicover's (1990) 'focus principle' connecting form and function and the division of labor between syntactic explanation and pragmatic explanation. The latter is the basic assumption of autonomous functionalism and the former is a kind of theoretic apparatus that formalists adopt. This paper shows that the linking rules and the division of labor are derivatives of the traditional generative architecture of grammar, which Sadock (1991) calls 'strict hierarchicality' concerning the organization of grammatical components. It is argued that any arguments build on such apparatus derived from the strict hierarchical organization of grammar could not be used against integrative functionalism since integrative functionalism rejects the strict division between syntax and pragmatics.

Autonomous functionalism has been given credence for explaining the functional aspects of form by keeping the autonomy hypothesis intact, adhering to the premise that formal grammar and discourse grammar are compatible, to use Kuno's (1980 and 1987) term. However, some of Kuno's (1987) and Kuno and Takami's (1993) functional rules fail to abide by this and the compatibility hypothesis is questioned.

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

Argument Structure of English Psychological Verbs
Taegoo Chung, *Korea University*

In this study I claim that the surface subject of the Experiencer-object (EO) verbs is external argument and the surface object is internal argument. This claim is different from those of Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Grimshaw (1990), and Pesetsky (1995).

The first evidence is the psych –er nominals since the suffix –er is attached to only the verbs with external argument (Fabb 1984, Sproat 1985, Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1992): *annoyer, frightener*. The second evidence is middle formation of the EO verbs since middle formation is possible only with the verbs with external argument (Roberts 1987, Fagan 1988, Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1995): *John shocks easily, John excites easily*. Finally, the resultative constructions of the EO verbs suggest that the surface object is internal argument since the resultative phrase is predicated of the surface object (Simpson 1983, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995): *The bears frightened the hikers speechless*.

This evidence rejects any approach proposing a specific syntactic structure of the EO verbs. It also suggests the binding problem in this construction should not be solved based on the transformed syntactic structure, but one should look into binding theory itself for another way of explanation, as suggested by Cancado and Franchi (1999).

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

Distinguishing pitch accent from focus
Jocelyn Cohan, *UiL-OTS, Universiteit Utrecht*

Ladd (1996) criticizes the "instrumental" tradition of intonation research because it attempted to find acoustic correlates for syntactic/pragmatic notions and word/sentence stress without considering the mediation of phonological structure. Much of the literature on semantic focus similarly blurs the distinction between pitch accent (a phonetic-phonological phenomenon) and focus (a syntactic-semantic phenomenon). Data to be presented indicate that pitch accent and focus in English are best treated as distinct phenomena, associated with different components of grammar.

Results of an analysis of naturally occurring data indicate that the presence of pitch accent does not always signal focus. Utterances from the corpus more accurately support the observation that focus is signalled by nuclear pitch accent (NPA)(Pierrehumbert 1980), but even this generalization has exceptions. The observations are confirmed by analysis of an experiment, which held constant the syntactic form of test sentences while varying their focus structure. The location of NPA was significant in association with the focus constituent of sentences. The experimental data display the same kind of exceptions as the natural speech data, further indicating that the presence of pitch accent cannot accurately be equated with focus.

Both sources of data suggest that research should distinguish between the syntactic-semantic phenomenon of focus and the phonetic-phonological phenomenon of pitch accent.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

Gapping: In Defense of Deletion
Elizabeth Coppock, *Northwestern University*

In light of recent work on ellipsis, a deletion analysis of Gapping becomes superior to one in terms of ATB movement. A recent dissertation gives a focus condition for deletion that makes accurate predictions for both sluicing and VP ellipsis: mutual focus closure entailment between antecedent and elided phrases. This condition makes accurate predictions for Gapping too.

Comparative AP remnants, e.g. (1), are problematic for the ATB movement analysis. They can only be derived via LBC (Left Branch Condition) violating movement (or illicit NP-internal ellipsis). It has been proposed that LBC effects stem from the presence at PF of an unpronounceable feature, and that deletion of this feature eliminates LBC violations. (1) follows from their hypothesis if Gapping is deletion.

"Split antecedents," e.g. (2) are problematic for the ATB-moved Gap. However, if the Gap contains an anaphoric element, as in (3), then the focus condition will be satisfied, appropriately licensing deletion.

A deletion analysis with a focus condition of mutual focus closure entailment gives a unified explanation for Gapping, Sluicing, and VP-ellipsis. Upon parallel investigations, we may discover that this is the general licensing condition for ellipsis.

(1) Mary wrote too short a paper, and Sue too long.
(2) Fred bought Suzy flowers in order to thank her, and Bob took her out to eat because they both like sushi, but neither did it because they want to date her.
(3) … but neither did it because they want to date her.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

Domains of syncretism: a demonstration of the autonomy of morphology
Greville G. Corbett, Matthew Baerman and Dunstan Brown, *Surrey Morphology Group, University of Surrey*

For any instance of syncretism we set out to establish the ways available for specifying the lexical items involved, using the Network Morphology framework. We consider each logically possible domain, illustrating from a range of languages: **phonological** (a common phenomenon, normally treated as outside 'real' syncretism); **lexical** (attested but rare); **morphological** (examples are common and varied; we therefore present a classification); **syntactic** (two possible candidates are discussed); **semantic** (we suggest tentatively that semantically determined syncretism is not found).

While the natural way of thinking of domains is in hierarchical terms, syncretism may require to be specified orthogonally to the morphological hierarchy (which we can distinguish from lexical specification). We illustrate this with the Russian animacy feature.

Morphological domains of syncretism are at best problematic (and better understood in other ways). Suggested syntactic domains of syncretism are well attested and varied. Our typology therefore provides a further argument for the autonomy of morphology. Moreover, there are several well-known instances where syncretism licenses syntactic constructions, as in conjoined constructions (e.g. in Chichewa). This strengthens our conclusion considerably, since we see that syncretism is a phenomenon with syntactic effects, yet its domain is regularly determined within the morphology, to the exclusion of syntax.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

A mood shift in Yupik Eskimo, and its implications for the directionality of semantic change
Willem J. de Reuse, *University of North Texas*

When one compares the subordinating mood suffixes in the two major Yupik Eskimo languages: Central Siberian Yupik (CSY), and Central Alaskan Yupik (CAY), one notes that form/meaning correspondences are skewed, as shown in the chart below. (Capital letters stand for cognate suffixes.)

Meanings:	'because'	'when'	'whenever'	'while'	'as soon as'
CSY:	A	B	C	D	E
CAY:	B	C	D	E	F

Apparently, a semantic shift must have taken place in one of the languages. Traugott (1989:35) argues that in semantic change, "meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition". Applying this tendency to the Yupik data leads one to assume that CSY had the original situation, i.e. that suffix B was originally temporal 'when (in the past)' and acquired the more subjective meaning 'because' in CAY.

However, this assumption is incorrect, since there is comparative evidence that CAY has the original situation, and there is evidence that the usage of the CSY suffix A to mean 'because' is an innovation. I will argue that the strong pressure of CSY suffix A initiated a shift in a direction which goes counter to general tendencies of semantic change.

(Parasession, April 20th, Rm. 001)

Null Pronouns In Polynesian – Formal and Functional Constraints.
Mike Dukes, *Stanford University*

This paper examines constraints on pronoun omission in the ergative Polynesian languages, focussing on Tongan. Despite the considerable freedom with which pronouns may be omitted, which is highly unexpected from standard formalist perspectives, there are indeed important grammatical

constraints applying to the phenomenon, though these constraints turn out to be quite different from the ones expected under standard generative treatments of null arguments. It is argued that the distribution of pronominal omission can be made more sense of from a grammatical perspective if the Tongan ergative argument is treated not as a subject but as an oblique, whose referent can be reconstructed pragmatically rather than via a grammatically expressed 'null' pronoun. Missing absolutives by contrast, are argued to be grammatically sanctioned null pronouns. Thus, paradoxically perhaps, it is claimed that the grammatical account of Polynesian pro-drop can be improved by appropriate appeal to non-grammatical factors. A factored division of labour between the two sources of constraints thus seems appropriate.

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

Intonation in utterance-medial parentheticals and the syntax-phonology interface in French
Zsuzsanna Fagyal, *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

This paper investigates the scaling of tonal targets in utterance-medial parentheticals in French. Four native speakers were recorded in controlled discourse contexts reading utterances that contained a noun phrase, a parenthetical, and a verb phrase, each of variable length. Utterances had only voiced consonants, and the same ratio of high and low vowels. In a control experiment, parentheticals were replaced by non-disjunct constituents representing new information. All speakers pronounced the utterances with an Intonation Phrase (IP) boundary before and after the parenthetical. They considered parentheticals background information, scaling high tonal targets lower in parentheticals than in surrounding IPs. All speakers scaled low targets lower in parentheticals than in the preceding IP, but only two speakers scaled them up in the following IP. In non-disjunct constituents representing new information, some speakers scaled up both low and high tonal targets, while others only extended the range of high targets. These results confirm non-linear syntactic representations of parentheticals as autonomous phrase structures. They suggest that intonation provides a tonal template for the final linearization of these constituents in the grammar, but the phonetic realization of this template is speaker-dependent, and does not differ from that of constituents carrying old vs. new information.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

"You" can't say that!: Restrictions on overt subjects in the English imperative
Elissa Flagg, *MIT*

The choice of an overt versus covert subject in the English imperative is often characterized as optional. I will show that the choice actually correlates with an aspectual distinction, and that the use of the overt subject in imperatives is not optional, but actually ungrammatical, with a certain set of verbs. The overt subject imperative crucially picks out the point of initiation of the event being ordered, while the covert subject imperative does not specifically make reference to that point. Thus, verbs whose meaning representation does not include a punctual start time cannot be used in overt subject imperatives. I suggest that the overt subject is licensed in an aspectual phrase headed by a feature which picks out the point of initiation of the event ordered by the imperative. On this approach, the overt subject does not itself contribute special meaning to the imperative; it signals the presence of the feature that picks out the starting point of the event. This approach is superior to accounts that attribute special meaning like emphasis, authority, or impatience to the imperative subject itself, since such accounts do not predict that a specific set of verbs will be incompatible with an overt subject in the imperative.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

Against Morphosyntactic Competition
John Frampton, *Northeastern University, Boston*

In many dialects of English, there are two anomalies in the paradigm of 1sg present tense *be* forms. First, *aren't* appears anomalously in certain negative questions: *Aren't I good enough?* Second, there is a gap in the paradigm of negative forms: **I amn't happy*. It is clear that these two anomalies are related. In the absence of *amn't* or an irregular variant of this form, anomalous *aren't* fills the gap in the interrogative.

Bresnan (2000) proposes an analysis in which a candidate set consisting of all the morphosyntactic realizations of a fixed lexical-conceptual structure compete along both syntactic and morphological dimensions. Since her analysis accounts for certain empirical facts, she offers it as evidence that syntactic choices compete with morphological choices.

I will first show that it is the assumption of a-morphous morphology which forces Bresnan into optimality morphosyntax. I will then show that a rule based account without competition between syntactic choices and morphological choices is not only possible but both simpler and superior on empirical grounds. The key is abandoning a-morphous morphology and treating *not* and inflectional *-n't* as alternate realizations of a morpheme.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

The role of morphology in the acquisition of two classes of Japanese adjectives
Miho Fujiwara, *Willamette University*

This paper examines the role of morphology and its acquisition in classifying two classes of Japanese adjectives. Japanese has two types of adjectives, each having its own inflectional paradigm. Japanese speakers need to know, for a given adjective, which class it belongs to in order to use the appropriate inflectional suffix.

The experiment was designed to identify how children determine the class of a given adjective. Fifty-seven children (4;3-6;3) and thirty-two adults participated in the elicitation task experiment. The participants were asked to instruct a puppet in providing the past tense form of a given adjective (both real and made-up adjectives), which they heard in their nonpast form. The results indicate that children did not utilize morphological information as effectively as adults did in order to predict the class of a given made-up adjective and consequently resorted to using default suffixes. Interestingly, some children's default suffix was different from that of the adult's. The data also indicates that two-thirds of the children did not associate a real adjective root with its class membership strongly enough to inflect it correctly when a root was presented with a suffix with the conflicting membership information.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Falling Sonority Onsets, Loanwords, and Syllable Contact
Maria Gouskova, *UMass Amherst*

When CVC languages borrow loanwords with complex onsets, they often repair the clusters differently depending on sonority: vowel epenthesis is peripheral in s-obstruent words, English 'speech' → Central Pahari [ispit͡ʃ], but internal in rising sonority clusters, English 'slate' → Central Pahari [silet]. Previous analyses (Selkirk 1982, Broselow 1992) have attributed the pervasive split pattern to the different structure of s-obstruent clusters: they are complex segments and cannot be broken up by epenthesis.

I propose instead that the pattern is an effect of SYLLABLE CONTACT ('sonority falls across a syllable boundary'). Epenthesis in clusters is peripheral whenever the resulting VCCV sequence has falling sonority, as in s-obstruent clusters. Epenthesis breaks up the cluster when sonority would rise, creating a CVCV sequence.

New evidence shows that the purported limitation of the split pattern to s-obstruent clusters is an artifact of the source of the loanwords. English and French, Russian has a wide variety of falling and flat sonority clusters, which are repaired differently in Kirgiz: by peripheral epenthesis in falling and flat sonority onsets, zveno 'link' → [uzvana], and by internal epenthesis in rising sonority onsets, kvas 'kvass' → [kubas]. The resistance of s-clusters to epenthesis is thus shown to arise from independently needed constraints rather than from a difference in structure.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Cherokee Tone Associations with Overt Morphology
Marcia Haag, *University of Oklahoma*

Internal phonological processes are a major diagnostic for determining the status of morphological boundaries. Recent primary research in Cherokee has focused on boundary phenomena and the behavior of pitch distinctions at what would be termed the righthand word boundary. Closer

inspection of what has been referred to as a "boundary tone" shows that citation forms of words (here limited to nouns) have a high fall that is manifested either as a final-syllable highfall, or by a high tone on the penultimate syllable followed by a low tone on the final syllable (in effect the highfall is distributed over two syllables). This highfall appears to be metrically determined. Using the highfall as a presumptive boundary marker, the same word in varying discourse environments shows interesting variation with respect to tone contours. Among the most interesting environments are those of clitic attachment. The effects of tone associations are unpredictable with respect to cliticization: some clitics are treated as simple clitics phonologically, others trigger the redistribution of the tone pattern to change the position of highfall. Syntactically similar clitics have different effects on tone redistribution that cannot be predicted by phonological phenomena.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

Suppletion, frequency and lexical storage.
Andrew Hippisley, Department of Computing, University of Surrey

The relationship between suppletion and high frequency is well known (Bybee 1995, Greenberg 1996). But what should we count as suppletion on the one hand, and frequency on the other? For frequency we distinguish between absolute and relative frequency, and for suppletion, we separate instances of 'strong' suppletion from various degrees of 'weak' suppletion. Disentangling suppletion and frequency allows for a more fine-grained claim about the relationship between frequency and suppletion, which sheds new light on questions relating to lexical storage in the mental lexicon. The paper draws on earlier work (Corbett et al.) which examined noun lexemes in a 1 million word Russian corpus.

Our findings can be summed up as follows. First, the evidence for a relationship between suppletion and frequency is strongest when the measure is absolute, regardless of degree of suppletion. Even stress shift proves significant. It is less strong for relative frequency. Second, distinguishing degrees of suppletion is only important with relative frequency. The overall evidence is that the suppletion and frequency relationship is strongest when we view the lexeme as a whole, suggesting lexemes are stored as wholes rather than as separate singular and plural forms.

(Main Session, April 20th, Rm. 109)

Clausal Nouniness and Genitive Marking of Subjects in Old Japanese (OJ)
Yu Hirata, Ohio State University

Genitive (GEN) marking of subjects is observable in many languages, among them English, Turkish, Yaqui, Korean, Chinese, and Modern Japanese. It is generally thought to be limited to subordinate clauses. Except for a few studies (Silverstein 1976, Foley and Van Valin 1984), this topic has not been discussed very much. In OJ, GEN-marking of subjects is observable in almost all types of clauses, including main clauses, albeit with different frequencies. Based on OJ data, this paper presents two claims. First, the different frequencies of GEN-marking of subjects are attributable to different degrees of clausal nouniness. In other words, each clause is "nouny" (or "verby") to a different degree. Second, the different degree of clausal nouniness is a result of category management in the domain of the sentence. All (major) categories in a single sentence must be managed along the category squish (cf. Ross 1972) between noun and verb. In principle, the main-clause verb must be most verby, and the other clauses in the same domain should be treated accordingly. The more subordinate a certain clause becomes, the more nouny it should be.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 001)

A Synchronic Approach to Maga Rukai Mid Vowels
Tien-Hsin Hsin, Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica

This study investigates the development of mid vowels of Maga Rukai, an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. Two hypotheses are presented in this paper. The diachronic analysis, e.g. Li (1977), suggests that the mid vowels are historically derived from Proto Rukai. However, intrigued by alternations found in the modern dialect, the current work proposes that the mid vowels are not inherited, nor underlyingly present, but are generated by synchronic processes, such as Syncope and Vowel Coalescence.

Two other phenomena, the echo vowel insertions and the $e{\sim}r$ / $o{\sim}v$ alternations, are examined in connection with the mid vowels. It is shown in the discussion that a number of puzzling issues concerning the two processes arise from the historical assumptions; in contrast, these puzzles are resolved under the synchronic analysis.

The proposed analysis not only is supported by evidence from other phenomena, but also brings about several desirable consequences. For instance, it reveals that the vocalic inventory of Maga in fact conforms to the other Rukai dialects in its underlying representations. Furthermore, it provides a consistent paradigm of reflexes for Li's reconstruction, i.e., *1 of PR corresponds to /i/ in all the dialects, since the mid vowels are only derived in Maga.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Words and Paradigms: Estonian nominal declension
Michael Hughes & Farrell Ackerman, University of California, San Diego

Research in word-based morphological models suggests that morphology represents a distinct domain of language not reducible to phonology or syntax. This perspective plays a role in the analyses of numerous practitioners of constraint-based lexicalist theories (LFG, HPSG, CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR). We develop a realizational analysis for a fragment of the complex Estonian nominal declension class system.

We examine three classes of polystemic nominals and show that, despite some phonologically conditioned allomorphy, stem selection is determined by morphological rather than phonological precepts. Further, certain cells in each paradigm bear a constant relationship to other cells, irrespective of a nominal's declension class, or of the phonological shape of the stem serving as the cell's base. Thus, while the cells in these paradigms demonstrate the same predictive relationships across declension class, the relationship of specific stem type to cells differs according to the declension class of the lexeme in question.

Among other results, our analysis of Estonian illuminates the notion of markedness within the Estonian nominal system, and argues for the need to reference the shape of forms in specific cells of paradigms for deducing the realization of forms for other sets of morphosyntactic properties in the same paradigm and across paradigms.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

Case Checking and Numerically Quantified Phrases in Russian
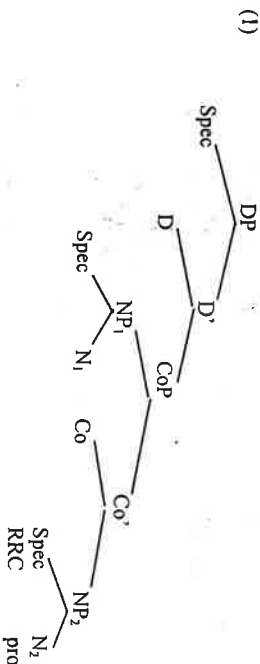Chia-Hui Huang, University of Washington

This paper argues that Russian NQPs exhibit a Case type whose properties are neither Structural nor Inherent Case. I argue that GEN within Russian NQPs constitutes a Case type dubbed s-selected Case derived from the notion of s-selection. This analysis predicts that the standard approach to Case is insufficient: Structural and Semantic Cases alone cannot account for Russian GEN in NQPs. The Case patterning in NQPs suggests that there is a distinction between Semantic Case and +Interpretable Case. In (1) the verb kupit checks ACC with its complement NP, however within this NP, only piat' surfaces in ACC, the following noun is marked with GEN. In (2), when the NQP appears in an Inherent Case environment, this Case 'split' disappears. Instead, the entire phrase displays a single Case marking.

To account for Case checking in Russian NQPs, I argue for a three-way distinction in Cases: Structural, Inherent, and s-selected. Structural and Inherent Cases are [-interpretable] (Lasnik 1995). S-selected Case is [+interpretable]. Russian GEN is the s-selected Case, therefore it does not need to be checked throughout the derivation.

(1)   kupil   piat'   knig
      bought five-ACC   books-GEN

(2)   s   piat'ju   knigami
      with   five-INS   books-INS

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Restrictive Relative Clauses (RRCs) as Conjuncts
Daniela Isac, *Université du Québec à Montréal*

RRCs are analyzed as complements of an abstract functional which heads a Conjunction Phrase, as in (1).

(1)

```
            DP
           /  \
        Spec   D'
              /  \
             D    CoP
          the-he  /  \
              Spec   Co'
              RRC   /  \
                   Co   Co'
                        / \
                      NP1
                     /  N2  NP2
                    N1        pro
```

(1) generates RRCs in the Spec of a nominal projection, on a par with APs. In contrast to APs, however, RRCs modify an empty Noun. RRCs cannot identify the external variable of the Noun they modify in the way APs do: the external variables of the RRC and of the Noun are different in nature (event vs referential) and RRCs have no open/unsatisfied argument position that could itself identify the Noun variable.

The constituenthood of the second conjunct in (1) is supported by languages in which NP_2 can be independently be selected as a complement of D^0.

(2) [[$_D$Celui] [qui est venu] pro].   (French)
    the-he   who has come
    [[$_D$Cel] [care a venit] pro].   (Romanian)
    the-he   who has come

We also propose that prenominal RRCs are merged in SpecNP_1, as modifiers of an overt head Noun. The differences from N-initial RRCs are shown to follow from the fact that N-final relatives lack a relative pronoun, which indicates the existence of an open argument position that can identify the external variable contributed by the noun.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Conceptual metaphors and metonymies of metaphoric gestures of anger in discourse of native speakers of Japanese
Mika Ishino, *University of Chicago*

The present study examines what metaphoric gestures of anger reveal about the conceptualization of anger by native speakers of Japanese by looking at conceptual metaphors and metonymies manifested in spontaneous gestures as well as those reflected in linguistic expressions of anger in actual discourse (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff and Kövecses 1987; Calbris 1990; McNeill 1992; Matsuki 1995; Webb 1996; Cienki 1998). Metaphoric gestures of anger were collected from native speakers of Japanese. The results show that while several conceptual metaphors and metonymies that are manifested in linguistic metaphors and metonymies of anger are observed in gestural metaphors, they are not always present in the speech accompanying them. Moreover, some conceptual metaphors and metonymies reflected in spontaneous gestures are made by more than one speaker. These findings suggest that spontaneous gestures provide a way to see important aspects of conceptualization of emotions at the moment of speaking which we might fail to discover by focusing on the speech alone. Furthermore, the results of this study suggest that metaphoric gestures are generated by conceptual metaphors and metonymies that are based upon experiences that we share as human beings and/or members of the same culture.

(Main Session, April 20th, Rm. 109)

Phonetic voice and phonological assimilation in the Germanic languages
Wouter Jansen, *University of Groningen*

This paper investigates the typology of phonetic voicing and laryngeal neutralisation phenomena in Germanic obstruent clusters. It argues that formalist models of the grammar are unable to simultaneously account for a number of generalisations including the following: (1) regressive assimilation to lenis obstruents is common only in languages such as Dutch and Yiddish where lenis stops are produced with prevoicing; (2) by contrast, neutralising and non-neutralising devoicing in obstruent clusters are not bound by the implementation of the fortis-lenis contrast; (3) whereas assimilation to lenis obstruents is always regressive, (neutralising) devoicing applies progressively as well as regressively. The hypothesis defended is that the voicing and devoicing phenomena and the patterns of laryngeal neutralisation found in Germanic obstruent clusters are a function of the relative difficulty of sustaining or terminating closure voicing, of the relative importance of cues available in cueing the fortis-lenis contrast, and the intrinsic amount of cues available in different contexts, reinforced by prosodic requirements on the phonetic realisation of lexical contrasts. Therefore, the observed phonetic voicing and laryngeal neutralisation patterns are best accounted for in a functional or grounded model of the phonology.

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

The Role of Agentivity in Unergatives: A Japanese Case
Yuki Johnson, *University of Michigan*

When considering the use of the negative form of the Japanese aspectual form *te-iru* with *mada* "not yet" in response to *moo-mashi-ta ka* questions "have you done ~?," one realizes that it is not always the case that only the perfective form ought to be used. Rather, there are some cases where the simple negative form of a verb may be used without creating awkwardness. This issue can be considered in light of transitivity / intransitivity of the verb. By applying the theories of McLendon (1978) and Rosen (1984) regarding transitivity and intransitivity, this paper demonstrates that unaccusatives have no restriction in the manner in which *mada ~masen* and *mada ~ te-i-masen* are used in response to *moo ~ mashi-ta ka*, whereas unergatives and accusatives make the *mada ~masen* response inappropriate. This means that the use of *mada* in negative sentences is not solely based on the syntactic features of transitive or intransitive; rather, it is based on the lexical concept associated with the protagonist's volitional controllability over an event with clear notions of inherent incipiency and terminus - i.e., where the change of state described by the verb occurs through human control. These findings also support the theoretical framework presented by Miyagawa (1989) that the subject of an unergative verb behaves relatively more like the subject of a transitive verb, both of which are controllable by a volitional instigator.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

L2 Comprehension of Reflexive and Oblique Clitics in Southern Quechua-Spanish
Susan E. Kalt, *University of Southern California & MIT*

I investigated the comprehension of Spanish sentences containing reflexive vs. oblique third person clitics and equivalent sentences with no clitic. A culturally appropriate picture selection task designed in accordance with Gerken and Shady (1996) was administered to 100 Bolivian schoolchildren ranging from monolingual to L2 Spanish-speakers ages 6-15 years. Unlike Standard Spanish, Southern Quechua has no overt third person object morpheme. However, reflexive marking is overt in both languages regardless of person:

Southern Quechua | Standard Spanish
1a) Ana (Jusi-man) juf'a-ta chura-n | 1b) Ana le pone la sandalia (a Jose)
    Ana (Jos-DAT) sandal-ACC put-3SUBJ | Ana 3DAT puts the sandal (to Jose)
2a) Ana juf'ata chura-ku-n | 2b) Ana se pone la sandalia
    Ana sandal-ACC put-REF-3SUBJ | Ana 3REF puts the sandal
3a) Ana juf'ata k'uchu-man chura-n | 3b) Ana pone la sandalia en el rincon
    Ana sandal-ACC corner-DAT put-3SUBJ | Ana puts the sandal in the corner

I predicted that differential comprehension of reflexive vs. oblique constructions among monolingual and L2 speakers would reveal whether morpho-syntactic features marked overtly in L1 transfer facilitatively to L2 in the initial state as in the TFull Transfer/Full AccessU hypothesis (Schwartz and Sprouse 1996). Preliminary results favor the full access view.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

A Binding Theory Paradox in the Minimalist Program
Shin-Sook Kim, *University of Konstanz*

Since Belletti & Rizzi (1988) and Lebeaux (1988, 1991) it has been generally assumed that there is some asymmetry in the binding theory. The so-called negative Condition A must be satisfied only at some point in the derivation, whereas the positive Condition A holds at all stages in the derivation. The Minimalist Program proposed by Chomsky (1995) takes only LF and PF as conceptually necessary representational levels. And binding theory, which is typically thought of as a condition on representations, is now assumed to apply only at LF. This raises the question of how to incorporate this asymmetry of the binding conditions into the minimalist framework. In this paper, I present an additional asymmetry between Conditions A and C in ACD constructions and some facts from quantifier scope which are both problematic for the assumption that binding theory applies only at LF. To account for these problems, I propose a revised binding theory which applies in the course of derivation. I further argue for Tancredi's (1992) analysis of ACD that ellipsis does not involve an LF copy operation but it is rather a result of deletion at PF restricted by Parallelism constraint.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Interjections in Q'eqchi'-Maya
Paul Kockelman, *University of Chicago*

I offer an account of interjections in Q'eqchi'-Maya that focuses on both their pragmatic functions, and speakers' understanding of their use and meaning. First, I discuss the grammatical form of interjections, across languages and in Q'eqchi'. Next, I characterize the pragmatic function of interjections in Q'eqchi'. In particular, I argue that interjections constitute a cross-linguistic form-functional domain, and I offer a basis relative to which the particular functional characteristics of interjections can be completely and non-redundantly assessed. Next, I examine the common pre-theoretic understanding, among laypeople and linguists, that interjections have mental states as their meaning, in particular *emotion*. In particular, I show how both their grammatical form and pragmatic function constrain and condition speakers' understanding of them. And finally, I outline what a rigorous theoretical account of their expressive-function would actually entail. Such an account, then, not only supplements and unifies the relatively scarce and disparate facts known about the pragmatic functions of interjections, but simultaneously accounts for the scarcity and disparity: in particular, the seemingly primordial relation of interjections to mental states rather than discursive and social context.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. #09)

Partial pro drop in Hebrew and Finnish
Olaf Koeneman, *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*

Hebrew and Finnish constitute a challenge for the classical pro drop parameter. As in both languages agreement is as rich as in Italian, one would expect identification of empty subjects to be possible across the board. Nevertheless, pro drop is possible in 1st and 2nd but not in 3rd person contexts. Hence, these languages cannot be accounted for by either of the two parameter values. In this talk I propose that 1st and 2nd person affixes are linked to two paradigms, the AGR paradigm and the pronoun paradigm. This ties in with the observation that 1st and 2nd person AGR shows a morphological correspondence with pronouns (Vainikka & Levy 1999). The consequence is that 3rd person AGR stands in opposition to the pronouns and is consequently marked [-pronominal], whereas 1st/2nd person AGR is underspecified, i.e. [±pronominal]. This hypothesis derives the partial pro drop paradigm since only pronominal AGR can be interpreted as subject/topic of the clause. Moreover, the hypothesis accounts for the fact (i) that overt pronouns are not obligatorily emphatic, like in Italian, and (ii) that Finnish declarative word order in 3rd person contexts is different from that in 1st/2nd person contexts, as I will show.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

A stochastic OT approach to word order variation in Korlai Portuguese
Andrew J. Koontz-Garboden, *Indiana University at Bloomington*

This paper examines a case of word order variation in Korlai Portuguese (KP), a Portuguese-based creole currently undergoing a typological shift under the influence of Marathi (Clements 1996). Using Hayes et al.'s (2000) OTSoft, Grimshaw's (2001) constraints on clause structure, and the frequency data collected by Clements (2001) on verb/object order in KP main clauses and KP verb/adjunct order, it is shown that the stochastic model of OT developed by Boersma and Hayes (2001) to deal with phonological variation can be extended to cases of syntactic variation as well. The crucial cases in the present study are those where e.g. OV/VO order is indeterminate at a given stage of the shift. Given variable word order as primary linguistic data, the gradual learning algorithm (Boersma 1998) learns a grammar that produces variation whose frequency is similar to that which is actually observed by Clements (2001). Given this finding, it is argued that a stochastic model of OT such as that presented by Boersma and Hayes constitutes a viable alternative to the competing grammars model of syntactic change (e.g. Kroch 1989, Taylor 1994).

(Main Session, April 20th, Rm. 109)

Case Marking and Incorporation in Sino-Japanese
Kazutaka Kurisu, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

Japanese has two semantically equivalent constructions when a Sino-Japanese noun (SJN) is followed by *suru* (a light verb): (a) cases where a SJN and *suru* are a single word (e.g., *kenkyuu-suru* 'do research'), and (b) cases where they appear as independent words (e.g., *kenkyuu-wo suru* 'do research'). In (b), the SJN carries accusative case *-wo*. These constructions have attracted considerable attention. I reassess their syntactic aspects with special attention to their interaction with case marking on the grammatical object. I argue for the following four points: (i) (a) obtains through syntactic incorporation, (ii) (a) and (b) have distinct underlying representations, (iii) the incorporation process is V-incorporation, and (iv) case marking on grammatical objects follows from (ii) and (iii).

My claim is remarkable in several respects. First, the V-incorporation analysis is a new proposal since earlier works assume either no syntactic movement or N-incorporation. Second, the case marking on grammatical objects naturally follows from the V-incorporation analysis. The case marking on the grammatical object of a SJN crucially relies on incorporation, so it is necessary to achieve a unified analysis of the construction alternation and case marking.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

On the Site of Morphology and Crosslinguistic Variation
James E. Lavine, *Wellesley College / MIT*

Polish and Ukrainian have a passive-participial construction whose complement appears in the ACC case. Given the surface homophony of the word-final morphology (/-no/ / /-to/), the superficially similar constructions in the two languages are generally held to instantiate the same phenomenon. However, these constructions exhibit significant syntactic variation. The Polish -no/-to construction is distinct from its Ukrainian counterpart with respect tot he following properties: (i) the /-no/-to/ morpheme in Polish does not co-occur with auxiliaries; (ii) a passive by-phrase in Polish -no/-to is ungrammatical; (iii) Polish -no/-to occurs with unaccusatives; and (iv) Polish -no/-to has a fully-thematic, syntactically-active pro-arb external argument. It is proposed that the source of this syntactic variation lies in the site or word-final /-no/-to/'s attachment to the verb stem. Ukrainian -no/-to is lexical in the sense that the participle enters the syntax with its word-final morphology intact; in contrast, it will be proposed that the /-no/-to/ morpheme in Polish enters the derivation independently, where it occupies its own syntactic position. The result is that the Polish construction is non-passive-participial. Polish /-no/-to/ is joined to the verb stem by means of the PF operation Morphological Merger (Marantz 1988). The central theoretical claim is that certain syntactic variation reduces to variability in the site at which morphology applies.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

Problems for the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy
Philip LeSourd, *Indiana University*

Much recent work has sought to explain why highly inflected languages typically display non-configurational properties by adopting one or another version of the Pronominal Affix Hypothesis (PAH), that is, by taking inflectional affixes rather than NPs to play the role of syntactic arguments.

This paper presents an analysis of a comitative construction in the Algonquian language Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (MP) that raises difficulties for such analyses. Verbs in this construction are inflected in such a manner that inflectional affixes overlap in reference. This pattern of inflection is surprising if the pronominal affixes are analyzed as arguments, since overt NP's within a clause (apart from appositives) must ordinarily be disjoint in reference. Indeed, even NP's in the construction in question are always disjoint in reference. This possibility arises because an NP in a MP sentence may represent a subset of the argument indexed by the corresponding inflectional affix. I conclude that adopting the PAH for MP leaves us without an explanation of a class of apparent exceptions to an otherwise general constraint.

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

Glides, Laterals, and Turkish Vowel Harmony
Susannah Levi, University of Washington

Processes of vowel harmony involve a type of non-local behavior that is absent from much of phonology. Two competing non-linear models have been proposed that redefine the notion of adjacency. First, the syllable-head approach (discussed in van der Hulst & van der Weijer 1995) is a theory that targets the syllable-head node is the location of spreading. Thus, adjacency is maintained because spreading occurs between adjacent syllables. Second, feature geometry (Clements 1990, Clements & Hume 1995), exploits the hierarchical structure of the internal features of phonemes. Here, vowel harmony is explained as a local process that involves adjacent V(owel)-place features. Turkish Vowel Harmony provides the perfect data with which to juxtapose these two competing theories. Crucially, Turkish has two segments that could interact with backness harmony: the glide /j/ and the palatal lateral /ʎ/. First, the glide is a potential problem because it is transparent to backness harmony, while the vowel /i/ is not. Second, the palatal lateral is not transparent and conditions new harmonic domains. In this talk, I will show that feature geometry explains the interactions of the glide and of the palatal lateral, while the syllable-head approach does not.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 001)

On Instrumental "with" in Child Language
Dave McKercher, Stanford University

In this paper, I provide evidence from two experimental studies against the existence of Instrumental "with" in child language and argue that children assign to "with" a weaker, more general meaning that subsumes at least instruments, accompaniments, and nominal attributes. In the first study, I showed children photographs of people doing things such as eating spaghetti with a fork or cutting paper with scissors (twelve actions in total). Children were asked questions such as "What is she eating?" and "What is she eating with?" While children usually gave Theme answers to "What is she VERBING?", they occasionally also gave Theme answers to "What is she VERBING with?" suggesting that both Themes and Instruments are possible answers to the latter type of question. In the second study, I used photographs of people and objects, organized in sets where children could guess what action the person was going to do, an action that involved using an instrument to act on an object. The task occasionally elicited the following type of non-conventional utterance: AGENT is gonna VERB INSTRUMENT with THEME, e.g., "He's gonna cut the knife with the apple". I offer an explanation for this finding and show how it supports the results of the first study.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Explaining Directional Asymmetry in Turkish [h] Deletion: A Crosslinguistic Study of Perceptibility
Jeff Mielke, Ohio State University

In this paper, evidence is provided that the existence and behavior of certain phonological alternations may be explained by functional factors such as speech perception, and that the sound structure of a language can influence how its speakers perceive speech.

It has been hypothesized that sounds which are less perceptible are more likely to be altered than more salient sounds (Hura et al. 1992, Kohler 1990, Steriade 2001). Turkish /h/ is often deleted in fast speech, but only in certain segmental contexts. It is argued in this paper that perceptibility plays a crucial role in selecting the environments where /h/ is deleted in Turkish.

A cross-linguistic perception experiment was performed, and the results show patterns of perceptibility that are common to all subjects and consistent with the deletion patterns in Turkish. Significant differences between the groups of speakers also exist, indicating that phonology plays a role in shaping perception.

The evidence from Turkish provides strong support for the proposal that less perceptible sounds are more likely to be modified than more perceptible ones. Furthermore, while phenomena such as Turkish [h] deletion can be described by formal phonological means, this type of account may only serve to obscure more explanatory phonetically-grounded accounts.

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

Correlates of Stress: Typologically Unusual Results in Menominee
Marianne Milligan, University of Wisconsin

Cross-linguistic studies on the acoustic correlates of stress show that pitch, intensity, duration and vowel quality may play a role in the implementation of stress (Fry 1955, 1958; Lehiste 1970). Furthermore, a language which uses duration phonemically will usually use the other cues to indicate stress. Preliminary results from Menominee, an Algonquian language which has phonemic long and short vowels, contradict the norm since pitch does not correlate with stress but, instead, both intensity and duration do.

To evaluate the correlates of stress other than the effect of stress on vowel quality, the fundamental frequency (F0), RMS amplitude, and duration of the vowels are measured. Results show that duration signals the stressed position as well as phonemic vowel length, while amplitude signals the degree of stress.

These preliminary results are interesting since, all other things being equal, it is typologically unusual for a language with a phonemic long-short distinction to also use vowel length as a correlate of stress. Since the morphological complexity of the language reduces the possibilities of minimal pairs, it is most likely nonproblematic for acquisition and speech processing to use duration both as a correlate of stress and to mark phonemic vowel length.

(Main Session, April 20th, Rm. 001)

Morpheme Semantics and the Autonomy of Morphology: The Stable Semantics of (Apparently) Unstable Constructions
François Nemo, Université d'Orléans, France

The aim of my presentation is to show that the question of the autonomy of morphology from syntax is directly related with the question of the autonomy of morphology from semantics. My starting point will be to highlight the fact that results in morpheme semantics contradict the thesis that morphemes are not associated with a constant meaning. I will thus consider i) these results; ii) the instructional semantics framework of morpheme semantics; iii) the study of the French prefixes *en-*, *re-* and *ier*; iv) the semantic headness of these affixes; v) the possibility to identify morphemes on purely semantic grounds ; vi) the relation between semantic stability and morphological and constructional instability.

I will hence focus on describing i) the morpheme/lexeme distinction; ii) the indicational nature of morphemes; iii) the indications/instructions *re-, en-, -ier* encode; ii) the semantic stability of *re-* in all its uses (including the *re: Hello/* email construction); I will conclude by showing that morphology cannot be autonomous from semantics if we want to avoid splitting our data between a regular word-based syntax-like morphology (which would account for *s'en-amour-er*) and an irregular lexicon (in which we would throw *s'en-tich-er*). And that if semantics is to be taken into account to explain word-formation, as my data shows, the autonomy of morphology from syntax is a matter of semantics.

(Parasession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

Semantic constraints on Clitic Raising: evidence from inalienable possession structures
Fabrice Nicol, *University of Paris-III, Sorbonne nouvelle*

Guéron (1985), Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) propose a set of syntactic constraints to account for the distribution of the French inalienable possession construction (IPC) in (1). Landau (1999), *contra* Guéron, claims and that the dative possessor in IPCs is generated within the DP denoting the possessee, subsequently moving out of its host. However, none of these proposals covers the full range of empirical data for French. In some contexts, subject to severe lexical constraints on the verb, a full dative noun phrase is legitimate, as in (2). Cliticization, a syntactic process, voids a number of semantic constraints on French full-NP IPCs, though not all of them. Therefore, the semantic content of the verb constrains clitic movement, a result which could not be derived in a reductionist theory of theta-role assignment in bare phrase structure. Such theories claim that syntactic movement is not semantically constrained, yet French clitic IPCs show that that this assumption is not.

(1)
Il	lui	a cassé	le bras.
He	her-clitic-dative	broke	the arm.

(2)
Il		a cassé	le bras à Marie.
He		broke	the arm prep-dative Mary (possessor)

(Main Session, April 20th, Rm. 109)

The phonologization of production constraints: Evidence from consonant harmony
Gunnar Ólafur Hansson, *University of California, Berkeley & University of Chicago*

Recent work on the typology of consonant harmony (CH) systems suggests that the general phenomenon of CH involves long-distance agreement rather than spreading of features or gestures. Furthermore, CH is sensitive to the relative similarity of the interacting segments, which strongly suggests that it is motivated in the domain of speech planning. This paper demonstrates the existence of 'palatal bias' effects in the typology of sibilant harmony systems, a previously undocumented phenomenon. In asymmetric systems, the assimilation involved is always /s/ → /ʃ/ rather than the reverse. A similar effect has been robustly documented in speech error studies: /ʃ/ is more likely to intrude upon a /s/ target than vice versa. Another parallel between CH and speech errors involves the directionality of the (long-distance) assimilation involved. Studies of speech errors have found that, other things being equal, contextual errors predominantly involve anticipation rather than perseveration. This asymmetry is mirrored by CH systems: when the directionality is not dictated by such morphological constituent structure, it is always strictly anticipatory (right-to-left). Taken together, such parallels constitute strong evidence that the sources of CH are in the domain of production planning.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

Interplay between semantic codability and alternative lexical means in motion event descriptions: A developmental look
Şeyda Özçalışkan & Dan I. Slobin, *University of California, Berkeley*

Two types of language are compared with regard to lexicalization patterns for encoding motion events (following Talmy): (1) verb-framed (V-language, represented by Turkish), in which the preferred pattern for framing motion events is the use of a path verb with an optional manner adjunct (e.g., *enter running*), and (2) satellite-framed (S-language, represented by English), in which path is lexicalized in an element associated with the verb, leaving the verb free to encode manner (e.g., *run in*). Previous work on verbs of motion has demonstrated that S-language speakers make more frequent mention of manner of motion, in comparison with V-language speakers, presumably because of the availability of a main-verb slot for expression of this event component. The present study investigates the possibility that V-language speakers may "compensate" for the typological pattern described above, making use of means for encoding manner outside of the main verb of a clause describing a motion event. We examine the use of optional lexical means for encoding manner of motion using developmental data of elicited narratives (ages 3-10, adult) in English and Turkish. Results point to comparable rates of use for optional lexical means of encoding manner in the two languages, suggesting the possibility of a compensatory effort.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Link Phonology: a functional explanation of non-monotonicity in phonology
Stefan Ploch, *University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg*

Link Phonology provides a *functional* explanation of non-monotonicity (prioritisation of axioms) in phonology, and possibly in linguistics in general. Links are asymmetrical relationships between units manipulated by the brain. I explain (a) non-monotonic logic in human reasoning as a consequence of the way in which the brain sets up such links, and (b) cognitive prominence of a link as a function of the frequency with which it is reinforced. Link Phonology will be shown to be more empirical than other theories handling non-monotonicity (default settings, constraint ranking as in OT, or strength assignment).

In agreement with Jensen (in prep.), the first step in my argumentation is to reject the widely held *Grammaticality Hypothesis*. Subsequently, I argue that the 'usual' ways of dealing with non-monotonicity (default settings, constraint ranking, strength assignment) are metatheoretically flawed. Instead, I introduce Jensen's claim that judgements of acceptability are attestation-, not grammaticality-based, and propose that the attestation-based (non-monotonic) nature of phonological systems can be explained in terms of Government-phonological *asymmetrical cognitive links* via linking link strength (relative acceptability) and link frequency.

Finally, I provide additional evidence for Link Phonology by predicting the existence of pre- and posttonicity.

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

Richard Returns: Copy Raising and Its Implications
Eric Potsdam, *University of Florida* and Jeffrey T. Runner, *University of Rochester*

The example "The boys seem like they are drunk" illustrates the construction known as Richard (Rogers 1971) or Subject-to-Subject Copy Raising (CR). In this paper we demonstrate that an actual movement/raising analysis of CR is at odds with several core principles of Principles and Parameters Theory, as other researchers have observed. First, the movement runs afoul of Case Theory and constraints on A-movement. In addition, we show that the pronoun in the embedded clause does not have any of the characteristics of a resumptive pronoun. We reconsider CR in light of recent Minimalist Program proposals and argue that the architecture permits a base-generated analysis which avoids many of the earlier problems.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

The lexical semantics of parenthetical-*as* and appositive-*which*
Christopher Potts, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

Despite superficial similarities, appositive-*which* (*Sue hates parties, which they noted*) and parenthetical-*as* (*Sue hates parties, as they noted*) show contrasting behavior in a range of apparently disparate domains, including (i) Weak Island contexts; (ii) equative constructions; and (iii) clause-internal "niching" (*Sue, as/*which they said, refuses to attend*). Additionally, parenthetical-*as* clauses allow for a wider range of interpretations relative to their antecedents than do appositive relatives. I offer a unified account of these differences and others based largely on the respective semantic types of the gaps these clauses define: the trace in *as*-clauses is propositional, whereas the trace in *which*-clauses is individual-denoting – specifically, it is a nominalized proposition. The type distinction follows from the lexical denotations of these morphemes, and combines with independently motivated principles to predict the clauses' divergent behavior. The analysis also unifies the various kinds of appositive-relatives, and similarly informs our understanding of predicate-type *as*-clauses (*Sue hates parties, as does Ali.*)

(Main Session, April 20th, Rm. 001)

Towards a Non-Linear Account of Plural Marking in Caipira Portuguese
Eduardo Rivail Ribeiro, *University of Chicago*

Standard Brazilian Portuguese, as other Romance languages, presents gender and plural agreement between the head of a noun phrase and its determiners and modifiers. In colloquial varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, however, there 's a strong tendency to morphological simplification, with

plural being marked mainly in pre-nominal positions within the NP. Although this tendency is fairly common among speakers of different dialects, it is probably in the Caipira dialect that it takes its most extreme form. In this dialect, the plural marker -s always attaches to the first element of the NP, regardless of its part of speech. Thus, even the vocative interjection ô, which is an invariable word in Standard Portuguese, takes the plural marker in the Caipira dialect:

Ô-s, menina bonita!
hey-PL girl beautiful
'Hey, beautiful girls!'

Adopting an Autolexical approach (Sadock 1991), this paper investigates the hypothesis that the plural marker in Caipira Portuguese is a clitic-that is, a phrasal affix, whose position is syntactically, rather than morphologically determined. This would provide a straightforward explanation for the distribution of the plural marker, explaining, among other things, the fact that it attaches even to words that are invariable in the other dialects of Brazilian Portuguese (and probably in other Romance languages as well), such as interjections.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

Inversion and Pronominalization in Pseudocleft Sentences
Háj Ross, *University of North Texas*

This paper argues that the failure of the sentences in (2) to exhibit the parallelism between plain sentences and their pseudoclefted avatars that (1) leads us to expect

(1)
  a. Max$_i$ said that he$_i$ was unpopular.
  b. *He$_i$ said that Max$_i$ was unpopular.
  c. What Max$_i$ said ___ was that he$_i$ was unpopular.
  d. *What he$_i$ said ___ was that Max$_i$ was unpopular.

(2)
  a. That he$_i$ was unpopular bothered Max$_i$.
  b. That Max$_i$ was unpopular bothered him$_i$.
  c. What ___ bothered Max$_i$ was that he$_i$ was unpopular.
  d. *What ___ bothered him$_i$ was that Max$_i$ was unpopular.

is due to the collaboration of the bisentential analysis of pseudoclefts, which takes their *wh*-clauses to be a question (the Question of the PseudoCleft [or QPC]), and their foci to be the answer to that question (the APC), and the constraint stated in (3).

(3) No cataphora into questions: No proform which is contained in the QPC may refer to an element of the APC unless the APC precedes this QPC.

Properly tweaked, this collaboration can be made to say why these two S's are OK:

(4)
  a. **[That Max$_i$ was unpopular]** APC was [what he$_i$ said ___] QPC. [=
    *(1d) "inverted"]
    *(1d) "inverted"]
  b. **[That Max$_i$ was unpopular]** APC was [what bothered him$_i$] QPC. [= *(2d)
    "inverted"]

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

Preserving Synchronic Parallelism: Diachrony and Opacity in Polish
Nathan Sanders, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

Certain types of phonological opacity have proven to be problematic in standard, strictly parallel OT. One of the most well-known cases comes from Polish, in which final obstruent devoicing masks the environment for o-raising before final voiced codas. The data below show the opaque singular form and the transparent (UR-faithful) plural:

grup grobi 'grave(s)'
rud rodi 'origin(s)'
stuk stogi 'stack(s)'

I propose that these Polish data can be accounted for within standard OT. The innovative step in my analysis is to drop the assumption that o-raising is productive, a step supported by both lexical exceptions and experimental evidence based on nonsense words.
I analyze the Polish data as resulting from a diachronically ordered series of synchronic, parallel OT grammars, each representing different historical stages of Polish. A key assumption in this analysis

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is that language learners use a strong version of Lexicon Optimization and create underlying representations which are identical to the surface forms prior to reranking constraints to create sound change.
This diachronic analysis gives this case of opacity the serial analysis it seems to require, yet allows the synchronic phonology to remain strictly parallel and unburdened by extraneous opacity-based modifications.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

The passive as a complex category: towards a unified account of passive constructions
Andrea Sansò, *University of Pavia, Italy*

In this paper, we claim that both functional approaches to passivization, according to which in a passive clause a relative shift in topicality of agent and patient takes place, and agent-demotion approaches, in which the demotion of the main participant is seen as the main function of the passive, are grossly incomplete and one-sided. The approach we adopt is contrastive rather than typological. Our discussion stems from the comparison of some Italian and Spanish data. The consequences of our analysis, however, have typological significance and go beyond a simple contrastive study. We believe that a thorough analysis of the passive in a limited number of languages, involving also a look at the textual patterns of the construction, constitutes the basis for important generalizations about the passive in general and contributes to an increased comprehension of passive systems in other languages as well. In order to get rid of the usual difficulties characterizing most approaches to passivization, we propose a representation of the passive within the transitive-middle-intransitive domain explored by Kemmer 1993, arguing that (a) passive semantics may be usefully represented by resorting to the notions of prototype, instantiation and semantic extension, and that (b) the construct "relative elaboration of events" introduced by Kemmer 1993 in her description of the middle voice domain bears some theoretical relevance also to our characterization of the passive voice.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

Variation in the acceptability of small clauses
Robin J. Schafer, *University of Canterbury*

Data are presented from a study collecting acceptability judgments on sentences containing two types of predicative constructions: small clause (SC) complements and depictive adjuncts. The predicative structure in both types of constructions varied according to grammatical category (AP, NP, PP) and stage-level (SL) or individual-level (IL) aspect. In addition, items containing SC complements included higher verbs from three verb classes *make, think* and *consider*. Items were counterbalanced, randomized and interspersed with filler items. Subjects were asked to supply both a grammaticality judgment (ranking on a four point scale) and a social acceptability judgment (ranking on a scale from casual or slang to formal use).
Results indicate that judgments on the two types of predicative constructions vary according to IL or SL aspect. This is interpreted with respect to current proposals concerning the difference between subjects of IL and those of SL predicates. Moreover, on items containing small clause complements, judgments differ according to verb class. This suggests that the processor is sensitive to the possible frame alternations that define the three verb classes, thus this result is interpreted as support for a view of the processor as constructing candidate sets as permitted in Optimality Theory.
Finally the data are used to explore the interaction between grammatical acceptability judgments and social acceptability judgment, revealing an interesting disassociation of grammaticality and formality and of ungrammaticality and violation of principles or constraints.

(Poster Session, April 20th, Main Lobby)

The Semantics of "to" Infinitival vs. "-ing" Verb Complement Constructions in English
Michael B. Smith and Joyce Escobedo, *Oakland University*

We argue that the occurrence of *to*-infinitival vs. *-ing* complements after most English matrix verbs is not semantically arbitrary, but is usually motivated (though not strongly predictable) by the meanings of the matrix verbs, *to*, and *-ing*. Infinitival *to*'s retained path-like sense (*Jethro went to*

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feed the pigs) can extend to abstract notions of purpose (He does that to annoy her) or future goal (They want to buy a BMW). But often the only vestige of to's path sense is the holistic construal of the to-marked process vis-à-vis the main-clause relationship (since a goal is strongly relevant, though not realized. In contrast, -ing complements focus attention on an interior subpart of a verbal process and evoke "temporal overlap with the main-clause process" (cf. She tried {to lie/lying} still) (Langacker 1992: 304-308).

Problematic verbs of pretense such as appear, seem, pretend, claim prefer to-complements because to's path sense iconically evokes the conceptual distance between the matrix and subordinate propositions, whereby the latter are not actually realized (i.e. seeming to do something doesn't entail doing it). Also, though the -ing complements of verbs like dread, avoid, resist lack objective temporal overlap with the matrix processes, they take -ing complements because they evoke a speaker's subjective construal that contact (overlap) should occur (i.e. avoiding something still implies that it ought to be done).

(Main Session, April 20th, Rm. 001)

What can the pragmatics of double object alternations tell us about their syntax?
Kieran Snyder, University of Pennsylvania

There has been much debate over the underlying structures of the dative and benefactive constructions. Proponents of the transform hypothesis (Larson 1988, 1990) hold that the double object form is transformationally derived from the underlying prepositional variant. However, as noted by several researchers (Green 1974; Oehrle 1976; Goldberg 1995; Harley 1995; Pesetsky 1995), prepositional variants license an additional reading not present in their double object equivalents; while the double object cases seem to indicate that the theme has actually been transferred to the possession of the recipient, utterance of the prepositional variants guarantees no such thing. This apparently semantic difference between the two orders has led some people (Harley 1995; Pesetsky 1995) to claim that the two surface forms result from distinct underlying structures. The alternations have also been considered in the pragmatic literature and classified according to various discourse criteria (information status, heaviness, definiteness, and pronominal status, to name a few). Most notably in the recent literature, Arnold et al. (2000) argue that the alternation is sensitive to heaviness and information status, in that order.

On the basis of a corpus study examining dative and benefactive alternations for information status and heaviness, I argue that Larson's account seems to be correct in an important respect. The discourse phenomena pattern such that there is reason to believe that the double object and prepositional variants share an underlying structure and that the double object form is derived from the prepositional one. I further argue that surface prepositional forms are ambiguous between locative and true dative structures, and this ambiguity accounts for the additional interpretation not available in double object forms.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

The Syntax of Paths and Boundaries
David Stringer, University of Durham, UK

Typological investigations by Leonard Talmy (e.g. 1985, 1991) have shed much light on how a universal semantics of motion events underlies the crosslinguistic expression of such events in syntax. Semantic elements that play important roles in motion events include the PATH of a moving object and its MANNER of motion. Talmy's findings have inspired research by linguists working in both functional and formal frameworks (as broadly defined in Newmeyer, 1999). In this paper, I contrast certain functionalist forays into this linguistic domain (Talmy, 1985; Aske, 1989; Slobin, 1996) with more formal approaches (Pinker, 1989; Jackendoff, 1990; Emonds, 1991, in press). I argue that the former have combined insightful research with a certain laxity in terminology and argumentation, whilst the more rigorous approach of the latter is essential if we are to understand how the semantics of motion and space constrain the syntax of event structure. I build on Emonds' (in press) reanalysis of lexical semantic elements as syntactic features, and I suggest that in order to explain parameterized constraints on the linguistic expression of motion events, boundedness may

also be formally expressed as a syntactic feature [±b], accounting for a wide range of data in English, Romance and Japanese.

North Sámi Causatives as Faire Par Constructions
Mikael Svonni, Umeå University, Sweden and Mikael Vinka, McGill University

In this talk we argue that productive morphological causatives in North Sámi should be analyzed as Faire Par constructions (Kayne 1975). The argument is based on Travis (1991) who proposed that Faire Par causatives can only be obtained from agentive verbs. In Sámi, transitive verbs and unergative intransitives can be causativized, whereas unaccusatives cannot. A further characteristic of Faire-Par causatives is the optional expression of the causee. Unlike languages like Italian and Chichewa, the causee in Sámi can not be expressed as a by-phrase, but surfaces with accusative case. This complication, we claim, is due to the fact that by-phrases in general are prohibited in Sámi for independent reasons, forcing the causee to be licensed in an alternative way.

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

The morphological encoding of degrees of temporal remoteness in Inuktitut
Mary Swift, University of Rochester

Tense markers, such as those in Indo-European languages, typically specify temporal location as at, before, or after a temporal reference point. Temporal remoteness markers, on the other hand, specify temporal location as a more precise measure of temporal distance from a reference point, such as 'a moment ago', 'earlier today', 'yesterday', or 'long ago'. Bantu languages are known for distinguishing several degrees of temporal remoteness, but this feature is unusual for an Inuit language. This paper presents data documenting the use of morphological markers of temporal remoteness in the Tarramiut dialect of Inuktitut, spoken by the Inuit of arctic Quebec. The Inuktitut temporal remoteness markers distinguish at least five degrees of temporal remoteness in the past, and four in the future. The temporal remoteness markers are discussed with respect to the temporal boundaries for the specified distinctions, the degree of rigidity with which the distinctions are interpreted, the expression of temporal distance as absolute (measured from a deictic reference point) or relative (measured from an anaphoric reference point), and their cooccurrence with lexical temporal adverbials. The data presented here, taken from both conversational speech and structured elicitations, demonstrate the robustness of the temporal remoteness system for speakers of Inuktitut.

(Parasession, April 20th, Rm. 008)

Chomskyan versus Formalist Linguistics
Pius ten Hacken, Universität Basel

The title of this parasession suggests that the principal dividing line between opposing approaches in linguistics is the one between functionalist and formalist approaches. I want to argue, however, that it is not possible to construct a generalized formalist approach encompassing both Chomskyan linguistics and purely formal theories such as Montague semantics and Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG), because the dividing line between them is at least as fundamental as the one separating them from functionalist linguistics.

The distinction between Chomskyan linguistics and functionalist linguistics is a matter of different types of explanation. GPSG and Montague semantics, by contrast, do away with any reference to psychology in a way which makes explanation as such impossible. As a consequence, linguistics can only be scientific in this approach if it is taken to be a formal science on a par with formal logic, rather than an empirical science.

From the proposed analysis it follows that we should at least assume a tripartition in the approaches to linguistics. Chomskyan linguistics shares with functionalist approaches the concern for explanation and with formalist approaches the emphasis on the form of language.

(Parasession, April 19th, Rm. 001)

Clitic Animacy in Dutch ECM Constructions
Annemarie Toebosch, *University of Michigan*

Dutch weak pronominal forms have a syntactic distribution different from strong pronouns and full NPs. In the sense of Zwicky (1977), they are special clitics, not so called simple clitics (phonologically reduced pronominals that have no special syntactic properties).

I propose that the distribution of Dutch clitics is parameterized depending on the semantic feature of animacy. In the varieties of Dutch described in this work, clitic objects referring to inanimate objects can precede the ECM subject whereas animate clitics cannot. In other varieties of Dutch (see Zwart (1993, 1997)), all object clitics, independent of animacy, can precede the ECM subject.

In my analysis of the data, I adopt an SVO analysis for Dutch basic word order, proposed in Zwart (1993b). Following Zwart (1997), I adopt a Sportichian analysis of clitic constructions where direct object clitics are generated in (or adjoined to) the lowest AgrO head, and where the XP complement moves into a Spec-head agreement relationship with the clitic at some point in the derivation.

I will argue that inanimate object clitics move overtly from their base position past the ECM subject to a higher head position in order to check the formal feature [+/-animacy], whereas animate object clitics surface in their base position.

(Main Session, April 21st, Rm. 109)

A Hybrid Account of Affix Order
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Most syntactic accounts of affix order in inflection are actually "hybrid". Closeness of affixes to stems reflects syntax, but the position of affixes w.r.t stems is determined by morphological stipulation. In my talk I argue that affix order is in fact subject to two different sets of principles, but the borderline is quite different: Affix order of contentful items like Tense and Aspect is the effect of syntactic movement, while the order of Agreement heads is the result of universal alignment constraints applying in a post-syntactic morphology module according to the Principles of Optimality Theory. This approach obviates the need for any arbitrary stipulation in affix order and allows to explain the different restrictions on ordering patterns for Agreement and Tense/Aspect affixes that are observable crosslinguistically. Since Agreement typically appears after syntax as in Distributed Morphology: the account supports a model, where morphology applies "outside" of morphology.

(Parsession, April 21st, Rm. 001)

The origin of phonemic tone in Yeniseic
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The phonology of Ket, a language isolate of Central Siberia, differs from other North Asian languages in having a system of phonemic tones. Recordings of several extinct Yeniseic languages shows that a similar system of four to five phonological word-based (rather than syllabic) tones functioned in Common Yeniseic (spoken perhaps 2,000-2,500BP near the headwaters of the Yenisei River). Beginning with examples from modern Ket, the paper compares data from all documented Yeniseic language forms to reveal that the various tones originated as a compensatory suprasegmental response to the elision of specific consonant or vowel segments. The evidence presented is three-fold. First, the shape of morphologically complex words demonstrates the retention of syllable-initial consonants whose disappearance word-initially yielded tones in simple words. Second, the phonology of loan words borrowed at different times during the dispersal of the Yeniseic daughter languages substantiates these findings. Finally, I show that the reconstructed, non-tonal phonology of Proto-Yeniseic exhibits systematic sound correspondences with Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit. In fact, idiosyncracies in the sound-shape of two of the Common Yeniseic tonal word-types (falling tone, high-even tone), not explainable by internal Yeniseic comparison, find elegant explanation when external comparative data from AET basic vocabulary are considered. The paper's conclusion proposes a new reconstruction of Proto-Yeniseic phonology that suggests a distant genetic link with AET.

(Parsession, April 20th, Rm. 001)

Universal Grammar and Dialects: Half-hearted Determination of Adult Grammars by UG
Jane Ward, *Kyoto University of Foreign Studies and Kazuhiko Fukushima, Kansai Gaidai University*

Intra-linguistic variation has been widely considered 'peripheral' Recent UG-oriented research (Henry 1995; Wilson and Henry 1998; Toribio 2000) suggests otherwise, namely parametric. Though not every dialectal difference is attributed to UG by UG-oriented researchers, a question remains regarding the extent to which a parametric approach is viable. This paper suggests that intra-linguistic variation is compatible with but seriously under-determined by UG. Consequently, complete explanations for intra-linguistic variation (and language acquisition) have to be sought elsewhere than UG. Acquisition of post-verbal morphemes in Japanese renders some evidence where children are systematically inventing (possible but not actual) 'dialects' via unconscious hypothesis testing (employing a mechanism like 'language-making capacity' (Slobin 1985). The result of parameter setting, then, seems to be the 'archetype grammar' of Japanese from which variant adult (dialectal) grammars are derived by making UG-compatible but arbitrary choices.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 001)

Models of causation and causal verbs
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This research investigates the system of meanings encoded by the verb cause and related verbs (e.g., cause, make, let, enable and prevent), often called periphrastic causatives. Borrowing from formal models of causation, we can derive two possible category structures for the verbs of causation in the mental lexicon. According to the probabilistic contrast model, such verbs are organized with respect to the likelihood of an effect in the presence of a candidate affector and the occurrence of an effect in the absence of the affector. According to the force-dynamic model, such verbs are organized according to the degree to which the affector has a natural tendency for the effect, the degree of opposition between the affector and affectee, and the degree to which the affector has a natural tendency for the effect. To test between these accounts, we obtained a list of the verbs of causation through a syntactic-based corpus search. We then inferred the major components of meaning through a series of sorting and rating experiments. Our findings provide support for the force-dynamic model but not the probabilistic contrast model. Given the success of the force-dynamic model in psychological literature, we suggest that the best analysis of causation in the causation for the purposes of cognition may be quite different from the best analysis of causation in ordinary language.

(Main Session, April 19th, Rm. 109)

Pluractionality in Chechen
Alan C.L. Yu, *University of California, Berkeley*

Pluractionality (PLR) is the morphological category that generally signifies multiple actions (e.g., Cusic 1981; Mithun 1988). This paper, based on original fieldwork, provides the first investigation on PLR in Chechen, a Nakh language spoken in the eastern central part of the North Caucasus. The data reflects the standard dialect of Chechen spoken in and near the cities of Murus-Martan and Grozny. Chechen PLR, which is marked by stem vowel alternations, prototypically signifies the repetition of an event (e.g., saca/sieca 'to stop once/many times'; laaca/liica 'to catch once/many times'). The plurality of the nominative argument can affect the interpretation of some verbs (e.g., ghitta 'to wake up'; hitta 'to assume a standing position'), rendering the reading distributive. More interestingly, a durative reading, that is the prolongation of an event is available for some verbs (e.g., xouzha/xiizha 'to ache momentarily/for a while', zouza/ziiza 'to itch momentarily/for a while') but not others. Following Ojeda 1998 and Lasersohn 1995, PLR is accounted for in terms of the pluralization of the event argument of a predicate. The various semantic effects are the results of interactions between the aspectual property of individual verb and event pluralization.

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