

## ABSTRACTS

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### **The audio-visual and syntactic priming effect on specific language impairment and gender in Modern Standard Arabic**

This study aims at exploring if priming is affected by gender in Modern Standard Arabic and if it is restricted solely to subjects with no specific language impairment (SLI). The sample in this study consists of 74 subjects, between the ages of 11;1 and 11;10, distributed into (a) 2 SLI experimental groups of 38 subjects divided into two gender groups of 18 females and 20 males and (b) 2 Non-SLI control groups of 36 subjects divided into two gender groups of 17 females and 19 males. Employing a mixed research design, the researcher conducted this study within the framework of the relevance theory (RT) whose main assumption is that human beings are endowed with a biological ability to magnify the relevance of the incoming stimuli. Each of the four groups was given two different priming stimuli: audio-visual priming (T1) and syntactic priming (T2). The results showed that the priming effect was sheer distinct among SLI participants especially when retrieving typical responses (TR) in T1 and T2 with slight superiority of males over females. The results also revealed that Non-SLI females showed stronger original response (OR) priming in T1 than males and that non-SLI males in T2 excelled in OR priming than females. Furthermore, the results suggested that the audio-visual priming has a stronger effect on SLI females than Non-SLI females and that syntactic priming seems to have the same effect on the two groups (Non-SLI and SLI females). The conclusion is that the priming effect varies according to gender and is not confined merely to Non-SLI subjects

## Double-Obviatives and Direction Marking in Kutenai

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In the standard account of direction-marking in the language isolate, Kutenai, a transitive clause is marked as direct or inverse, depending on which argument is proximate and which obviative (e.g., Dryer 1996, Zúñiga 2006). Though not common, in some clauses, both arguments are obviative. Such clauses may arise if there is a proximate noun in the clause, but it is not one of the core arguments. This can happen in sentences with a noun possessed by a proximate noun (1) or, if a proximate noun in a previous clause is still considered to be within the scope of the current clause (2).

(1) maʔí ma-ʔis wu·kat-s-i misáʔ-<sub>s</sub>

Mary mother-3.POSS see-OBV.SUB-IND Mike-OBV

Mary's [PROX] mother [OBV] saw Mike [OBV]. (Dryer 1991, p.196, 29(b))

(2) n-'u'pxane lka'm·u'-s n-'i'k-s-e· a'm·ak-s

IND-see-IND child-OBV IND-eat-OBV.SUB-IND earth-OBV

He [PROX] saw a child [OBV]; [the child-OBV] was eating earth [OBV]. (Boas p.17: 9)

Clauses in which both arguments are obviative pose a problem for the traditional account of direction-marking. For, on this view, direction-marking depends on a distinction between proximate and obviative arguments, and double obviative constructions are precisely those clauses lacking a proximate argument. Since both arguments in double-obviative clauses are of equal rank, an initial thought is to suppose that double-obviative clauses are simply unmarked for direction. This would be equivalent to describing them all as morphologically direct clauses. However, double-obviative constructions may be either direct

(1) or inverse (3).

(3) ma-ʔis misáʔ wu·kat-aps-is-ni maʔí-<sub>s</sub>

mother-3.POSS Mike see- INV- OBV.SUB-IND Mary-OBV

Mary [OBV] saw [INV] Mike's [PROX] mother [OBV]. (Dryer 1991, p. 196, 31)

I suggest that we can account for the distribution of direct and inverse double-obviatives if we allow that

the arguments in such constructions are ranked, not in terms of the proximate/obviative distinction but in terms of higher- and lower- obviatives. We can rank 2 obviative nouns using the same standards –used to rank 2 nouns as proximate or obviative: semantic animacy and discourse salience. If the two nouns are of unequal animacy status, the one with the higher animacy status will be the higher-ranked obviative, and, if it is the A argument, the clause will be direct (4). In the cases where the 2 obviative arguments are of equal animacy, the clause may be direct (5) or inverse (6), depending on which the A argument is more or less prominent in that stretch of discourse.

(4) [tilnamu-'s] tsukua't-s-e• a'tsu•-s.

old.woman-OBV take-OBV.SUB-IND. dish-OBV

The old woman [OBV] took [DIRECT] a dish [OBV]. (Boas 2005, p.31: 13)

(5) tsuku

a't-s-e• yawo•'nɪk-'s [tɪlnamu-'e•s]

take-OBV.SUB-IND Yawonik-OBV [wife-3.POSS]

Yawo'nik [OBV] had taken her [his wife-OBV]. (Boas 2005, p. 40: 29,30)

(6) at qa-'it!xanaps-ís-ne• kła'wła-'s [skin•ku•ts-•]

but NOT-bite-INV-OBV.SUB-IND bear-OBV [coyote-OBV]

Grizzly bear [OBV] did not bite[INV] coyote [OBV]. (Boas 2005, p. 142: 51)

A consequence of this solution, though, is it raises a question about the role of obviation marking in the standard cases. The question is: if we do not need to appeal to a proximate/obviative distinction to account for direction marking in double-obviative clauses, why do we need it in the more usual cases with one proximate and one obviative argument? In order to account for direction-marking in the case of double-obviative constructions in Kutenai we appeal directly to semantic animacy and discourse salience, by-passing the assignment of proximate and obviative which mediates direction marking in the more usual case. But this suggests that the proximate/obviative distinction is not crucial or necessary for determining direction marking in Kutenai. If this is so, it represents a significant departure from the basic picture of how direction marking and obviation interact in Kutenai...and it raises the further question of what then the primary function of obviation in Kutenai grammar is.

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## **EMERGING NEW GRAMMATICAL PARADIGMS IN KOREAN: FROM NOMINALS TO SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES**

This paper attempts to illustrate how new grammatical paradigms resulting in reorganization of grammar emerge from the Korean lexical nouns that acquire new and peculiar properties by the processes of grammaticalization. An attempt is made at delineating a grammaticalization path, which reveals the extent to which grammaticalization intersects with a number of cognitive mechanisms such as metaphor, (inter)subjectification, reanalysis, and analogy. Korean with a verb-final (OV) structure exhibits an intriguing phenomenon in that nouns functioning as a pre-nominal modification in the verb phrases often develop into clausal connectives (DeLancey 1986, Horie 1998, Yap 2011) and further sentence final particles (Baik 2016, Rhee 2012). Such extensions of nouns in the verb phrase construction (cf. ‘copula construction’ Nam 2004; ‘mermaid construction’ Kim 2013) into the grammatical markers are robust in Modern Korean. To acquire new grammatical status, lexical nouns recruited as items to run up the cline of grammaticalization go by way of the intermediate stage of the so-called defective nouns. In particular, the lexical forms belonging to the nominal category advance in grammaticalization into versatile markers of grammatical concepts such as tense-aspect-modality, style indication, etc. through diverse channels (‘polygrammaticalization’ Craig 1991). Considering such versatilities of the nominals as a result of the historical pragmatics and cognitive reanalysis, this paper sheds light on the extensiveness of grammaticalization and significance in emergence of new grammatical paradigms that bring forth reorganization of grammar in Korean language.

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### **Overt copula, indefinite root, and tense marking in Rukai clefts**

This paper aims to analyze a type of cleft constructions of Budai Rukai by examining its overt copula, indefinite root, and tense marking. Budai Rukai, a dialect of the Rukai language family, is an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. As a predicate-initial language, it allows a flexible order among the post-predicate nominal arguments due to case marking. A declarative sentence like (1a) has a predicate-initial word order, in which the nominative case-marked agent follows the predicate. The agent can be positioned before the verb to receive a specificational interpretation, as in (1b). In recent works, sentences comparable to (1b) have been analyzed as cleft or pseudo-cleft sentences for some Austronesian languages, such as Malagasy, Seediq, and Tagalog (e.g., Aldridge 2002, 2014; Paul 2001; Potsdam 2006; Law 2005, 2007), as exemplified by (2). Notably, unlike English, these sentences do not have an overt copula. One goal of this paper is then to show that Rukai as an Austronesian language has a cleft construction with an overt copula. The structure that can be used to place a focus on a nominal phrase has *ka-mani* as its predicate, as shown in (3). Note that the copula *ka* does not surface in nonfuture tense. What separates sentences in (3) from (1b) includes the overt predicate with tense marking, as well as an exhaustive reading with presupposition; the sentences presuppose a house-building event, in a non-future or future time frame, and conveys that Takanaw is the only person who accomplished or will accomplish that event. While Rukai has grammatical nonfuture and future tenses, tense marking (*a-*: NF, nonfuture; *lri-*: FUT, future) allows the eventualities of identifying and housemaking to receive independent temporal interpretations. The form of the predicate contains *ka*, which bears the same form as that of a nominative case marker, a definite determiner, a relativizer, and a complementizer in Rukai. In the current analysis, *ka* is considered as a copula (COP) which heads a verbal phrase. As (4) shows, *mani* is obligatory, and *ka* cannot be a predicate on its own. In the structure, *mani* appears under a predicative phrase headed by *ka* (cf. Den Dikken 2006). Based on a comparable pattern seen in the formation of interrogatives and

indefinites with a set of indefinite roots, given in (5), *mani* in the predicate *(ka)mani* is analyzed as the generic indefinite root (IND) which is not marked for a [human] feature. Thus, *mani* is referential in nature (cf. English *it* in Gundel 1977, Hedberg 2000). While *ka* is analyzed as an overt copula, it enables the indefinite root to be part of the predicate, which in turn can be tense-marked. A focused DP can appear after the *(ka)mani* predicate or before it, as in (6), and thus the structure should have these positions available. This paper follows a biclausal analysis advanced in Law (2005, 2007; (7a)) and suggests a structural analysis as in (7b), under which the agent *ka* *Takanaw* moves out of its base-position and then to Spec,FP, and eventually appears in Spec,TP.

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## **ANOTHER WAY TO LACK CONTROL IN SALISH**

What happens when a member of a whole language family lacking non-finite clauses begins to innovate them? This is precisely the situation in Salish, where two members of the Northern Interior branch (St'át'imcets/Lillooet and n̓́ekeʔpmxcín/Thompson River Salish) have developed

infinitive complements from subject-centered relative clauses. In this talk I analyze St'át'imcets infinitivals in detail, focusing on the raising-control distinction. First of all, I argue the infinitivals are characterized specifically by a lack of finiteness, instantiated in St'át'imcets by the nominalizer s= and associated possessive subject morphology. Second, I show that raising and non-obligatory control are both instantiated in infinitivals, but that obligatory control is systematically absent. Third, I show that the raising-control distinction is also instantiated (via pronominal copies) in non-infinitival complements. Fourth, I show that when a root takes an infinitival complement, it does so across-the-board, irrespective of whether it derives a raising predicate, a control predicate, or both. I conclude that the raising-control distinction is independent of the existence of infinitival clauses, relying on thematic properties of the predicate.

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### **The development of subject expression in U.S. Spanish-English bilingual children**

While much research has focused on subject expression among adult U.S. Spanish-English bilinguals (Montrul 2004), relatively little is known about the development of subject expression in U.S. born children acquiring both languages simultaneously (see Silva-Corvalán 2014 for a recent exception). The current study set out to address this gap in the literature by investigating subject expression in U.S. Latino children who are bilingual in Spanish and English. As is known, Spanish is a pro-drop language, allowing for the grammatical subjects of tensed verbs to be phonetically non-expressed in certain linguistic environments, while English is a non-pro-drop language, explicitly mandating that subjects of tensed verbs be phonetically expressed in most instances (Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007). Thus, the children in our study need to learn the morpho-syntactic as well as the discourse-pragmatic constraints of each language. A number of possibilities exist given the typological, as well as the socio-political language status differences between Spanish and English in the United States. We hypothesized diverse outcomes based on cross-linguistic influence from the majority language (English) and reduced access to input in the minority language (Spanish) among the U.S. Spanish-English bilinguals in our study (see Hulk & Müller 2000, Silva-Corvalán 2014). Data for the current study consisted of picture-book narrations and bilingual language profiles conducted with 14 Spanish-English bilingual kindergarten children of Mexican descent residing in eastern North Carolina. Children were between the ages of 4-6 at the time of the study with a mean age of 67.35 months (SD = 7.28). Gender distribution was balanced with 50% females and 50% males. We obtained data samples from the children in both languages in order to provide a comprehensive view of their developing bilingual grammars. We extracted all tensed verbs from

the narrations in Spanish and English. After exclusions, we obtained a total of 847 tokens (tensed verbal phrases and surrounding context) for further analysis. Based on the findings of previous research on adult constraints in subject expression (Otheguy & Zentella 2012), each token was coded for: participant age, gender, continuity of referent (same vs. switch), number of the referent (singular vs. plural), clause type (main vs. subordinate clause), and TAM (tense, aspect, mood) of the verb phrase. Three independent paired-sample t-tests reveal that the mean percentage of subject forms is significantly different in each language (Spanish vs. English) for null forms and pronouns, but not significantly different for noun phrases (Table 1). Results from a series of regression analyses show that the linguistic constraints for each subject form differ between the Spanish and English productions of the children in our study. Further, we found a number of instances of possible cross-linguistic influence, whereby, for example, participants expressed the subject in Spanish in cases that would normally elicit a null form, or pronominal form, by adult speakers (example 1). Thus, our findings indicate that subject pronoun development, an area of the grammar at the interface between pragmatics and syntax, shows cross-linguistic transfer in the bilingual children in our study.

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### **Positive Transfer and Multilingualism: The case of Romance Languages**

The study of multilingualism is of great importance; nevertheless, many scholars argue that the subject of multilingualism has not received the focus it merits. For example, Hufeisen and Marx (2004) argue that, “despite the claim that third language acquisition and tertiary language learning and multilingualism, rather than second language acquisition and bilingualism are the real-life norm in most societies, many researchers themselves do not seem to follow this trend” (p. 74). One of the areas of interest in the study of multilingualism has been transfer. The concept of transfer is commonly connected to the idea of interference or negative transfer from a first language (L1) to a second language (L2) mainly after Lado’s (1957) Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis. However, this concept should not be narrow to idea of negative transfer since positive transfer can also occur from an L1 to an L2 and beyond. For this reason, the aim of this essay is to examine how positive and negative transfer occurs in the process of acquiring an L3. Therefore, I argue that learners should be presented with the potential of positive transfer in order to enhance their metalinguistic awareness, especially, in the case of Roman languages. The potential of positive transfer can be found in languages that share the same roots. For example, in the Romance languages (L1 Spanish- TL French, Portuguese, and Catalan) positive transfer can be anticipated by comparing the vocabulary that matches both languages. Such observations are necessary since the learners can truly benefit from knowing that the languages they speak and/or are learning are related. As De Angelis (2005) points out “Lexical information transferred from one non-native language to another may be easily retained” (p. 9). In the case of Spanish-Portuguese or vice versa, Filho (2001) states that 85% of the Portuguese lexicon is the same as Spanish, and this might enable learners to understand the language sooner. Certainly, some facets of negative transfer could arise by the closeness of the languages. However, VanPatten’s (2002) processing instruction alerts learners to the relevant of such differences. These dissimilarities could be point out to the learners with a series of interpretative activities. Furthermore, language learners tend to relate new information to prior knowledge. This strategy is linked to meaningful learning and successful language acquisition. Heidrick (2006) argues, “the research indicates that those learning a third language do indeed transfer from the second language, and that often, it is the preferred source of transfer” (p. 2). Furthermore, (Gonzalez, 1976; Kabore, 1982) indicate that the transfer is much higher initially at the beginning levels, and that this will gradually disappear as learners acquire better communication skills in their target language (TL). Applying previous knowledge and recognizing common patterns between the L1 and the TL is essential. This strategy applies to both perceptions and production of the

TL. Further, this knowledge will enable learners to rapidly understand certain grammatical and lexical features of a TL.

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### **Semantic Opposition in Oromo Syntax: An Ethnolinguistic Perspective**

The prominence of semantics in syntactic structures is construable especially when the meaning of a certain sentence is communicated through a different sense from the meanings of the individual constituent words. Hence, the form-meaning relation can happen in euphemistic expression through which the customary norms of the language speaker community can be well maintained. Oromo is rich in exchanging ideas through adversative expressions whereby the meaning encoded is different from the surface structure which is derived from the customary positivity or optimism in the society. The forms of semantic considerations happen, especially, by using positive expressions to indicate negative ideas lest the direct expression of the negative message would result in some kind of destruction. The situation oriented use of such expressions is an aspect of ethnolinguistic phenomena with involvement of pragmatics in Oromo. The semantic implication as per the particular situation they occur in and the peculiarity of meaning inference from the existing structures makes Oromo an interesting area of research in the field of cognitive theory. This paper aims to elaborate some form and meaning relations in the language in terms of the way through which they reveal the society's customary values. Semantic contents conveyed in syntactic structures as (non-)verbal constructions indicate the prominence of semantics in sentences of Oromo, and here are some explanations of such features.

Key words: euphemism, structure, prominence, meaning, ethnolinguistic

## **The innovated directional verb prefixes of Qiang**

### **Thurgood Graham**

The relationship of the languages in the Qiangic group has long been a problem. Sun Hongkai (1990 [1983]), on basis of similarities between Qiangic, Pumi, rGyalrongic, and Ersuic as well as other languages found in the West Sichuan Ethnic Corridor, concluded these languages

were a subgroup, which he termed Qiangic. The potential problem, however, Chirkova (2012, 2014) notes, “the similarities among certain proposed “Qiangic” languages may be at least as likely to reflect convergence due to language contact as it is due to linguistic genealogy”.

The beginning of an answer is suggested in the innovated directional verb prefixes (see Shirai 2009, Sun H. 1981a), which appear not only genealogically inherited, but they also provide

some internal subgrouping (implicit in Table 1).

For the directional prefixes, the broadest group of related languages is Qiang, Pumi, Ersuic, and rGyalrong, which are in turn distinguished from each other by shared innovations not found in the

other subgroups: At the highest level, Qiang, Pumi, Ersuic, Muya, and rGyalrong all share the

directional prefix for ‘up’, an innovation which distinguishes them from non-Qiangic languages. The Qiangic languages are divided into Qiang and Pumi-Muya-Ersuic-rGyalrongic by the latter’s

shared innovations of ‘down’ and ‘away’. This group is divided into rGyalrongic and Pumi-Muya-

Ersuic by the latter’s shared innovations of ‘inward, upstream’, and this group is divided into

Ersuic and Pumi-Muya by the latter’s innovation of ‘outwards, downstream’. Finally, Pumi subgroups with Muya rather strikingly. As noted, each of the lowest level subgroups has at least one set of innovated prefixes not shared with any of the other four low-level subgroups: Qiang has

a unique innovation for ‘down’ and for ‘outwards, downstream’, Pumi has a unique innovation for

‘toward center’, Ersuic has a unique innovation for ‘outwards, downstream’ and rGyalrong has a unique innovation for ‘inwards, upstream’.

Notice that, while the evidence for Pumi, Muya, and Proto-Ersuic is intriguing, the evidence for the remaining candidates is weak. That is, Tangut and Qiang, may ultimately grouped

elsewhere, and the placement of Queya and nDrapa [Zhaba] is tentative. Finally, other languages

within the Qiangic linguistic area have directional verb prefixes with no obvious genetic connection to the prefixes in Table 1.

Notes on correspondences: The vowels of the prefixes often display vowel harmony (ignored in Table 1). The semantics have their patterns of variation. The cardinal directions north,

south, east, west vary as they were originally the location and orientation of the where the speakers

lived. The notion of toward the center and upriver may be coded differently or the same way;

likewise, with other prefixes. Matching prefixes across languages, however, is largely

straightforward. It is interesting that Hiroyuki (p.c.) argues that this lack of identity disqualifies the

system as a candidate for a genetic relatedness. It is, rather, the fact that the pieces correspond rather than being identical that makes it genetic. The definitive answer will have to wait for a full reconstruction of these languages.

**Eman Hadadi**

**Sentential Negation Varieties in Standard Arabic and Arabic Dialects**

Negation in Standard Arabic (SA) and colloquial Arabic dialects is expressed in diverse ways that have led to its being studied extensively by many linguists (e.g., Al-Shurafa & Al-momani 2011; Benmamoun 2000; Eid 1991; Harrama 1983). This paper explores the extent to which a unified analysis is possible and details those phenomena that resist a unified account by presenting some examples from corpora and previous studies of negative expressions in SA and modern Arabic dialects in past and present tense.

Benmamoun (2000) and Ouhalla and Shlonsky (2002) identify five negative elements in SA: *maa*, *la*, *lam*, *lan*, and *laysa*. In this context, the focus will be on the negative particle *maa* due to its variant usage in Arabic dialects. According to Aoun, Choueiri, and Benmamoun (2010), colloquial Arabic dialects show two types of sentential negation, “depending on whether the negative is hosted by the verb or whether it is realized independently.” Moutaouakil (1993:80–81) illustrated a variety of contexts of the particle *maa* in SA, as in these examples:

(1) a. *maa saafarat hindun*

Neg travel. past.3fs Hind

‘Hind did not go on a trip.’

b. *maa yu-saafiru ʕamrun ʔilla fii S-Sayfi*

Neg 3-travel Amr except in the-summer

‘Amr travels only during the summer.’

c. *maa muhammadun kaatibun*

Neg Mohammad writer

‘Mohammad is not a writer.’

d. *maa hindun haziinatun*

Neg Hind sad

‘Hind is not sad.’

e. *maa xaalidun fii l-bayti*

Neg Khalid in the-house’

‘Khalid is not in the house.’

In 1a, *maa* precedes the perfective form *saafarat*. In 1b, it negates a habitual present tense sentence. In 1c, it negates a non-verbal sentence with a nominal predicate. In 1d and 1e, *maa* negatives an adjectival and PP predicate, respectively.

In Arabic dialects, maa negation can be expressed by using the two-negation elements pattern, the discontinuous negative ma- ʃ as in 2 from Moroccan Arabic. In

3, from Egyptian Arabic, ma-ʃ is a single discontinuous particle in imperfective and future tense with both verbal predicates and verbless predicates. In 4, from Syrian Arabic, maa or muu is used but not ma-ʃ. In 5, from Kuwaiti Arabic, muu negates the present tense tegʃuun. We can notice that negative maa, muu, and miʃ precede the verb, as in SA.

(2) ma mʃ aʃ Omar (Ouhalla & Shlonsky 2002)

neg go.3ms-neg Omar

‘Omar did not go.’

(3) la miʃ ʔadiim (Brustad 2000:279)

neg neg old

‘No, it’s not old.’

(4) maa ha-yzidkti:r (Brustad 2000:285)

neg fut-addmuch

‘It is not going to add much.’

(5) muu tegʃuun ʔil-kahribah (Al-muhareb 2007:53)

neg cut.2mp the-power

‘Don’t cut the power.’

This proposal highlights the varied syntactic structures of sentential negation in SA and other Arabic dialects. The negative marker maa is from SA, while ʃ developed from the word ʃay ʔ, which means ‘thing’ (Ouhalla 2002). Benmamoun (2000) stated that ʃ seems to have evolved relatively recently to reinforce the negative maa. These two-negation elements maa and -ʃ do not exist in SA.

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### **Linguistic features between green Hmong, white Hmong, and Hmong leng.**

This presentation introduces the linguistic features of the three Hmong dialects spoken in America. Coming mostly from Laos, the Hmong minority has migrated to the United States in the mid-seventies. These refugees are divided into three linguistic groups called Green Hmong (G), White Hmong (W) and Hmong Leng (L). Despite an early study of G dialect by Lyman (1974), there has always been a certain ignorance of the differences between G and L. In addition, the statements of another early researcher like Lemoine (1972) led current Hmong and non-Hmong researchers (Thao (1999), Golston & Yang (2001), Niederer (2001-2002), Mortensen (2004), Thao & Yang (2004), See (2005), Bruhn (2006), etc.), and even the Hmong population of America itself, to the wrong conclusion that G and L are the same dialect. Recently, Lemoine (2013) tried to correct his original misstatement by giving some examples of differences between G and L, but on one hand, the choice of language for his book (French) did not reach the anglophone researchers, and on the other hand, his examples contain many mistakes.

The author has studied the features of the three dialects by comparing different dictionaries (Lyman's Dictionary of Mong Njua (on Green Hmong), Lang Xiong et al.'s English-Mong-English Dictionary (L), Yuepheng L. Xiong's English-Hmong/Hmong-English Dictionary (W), and Bertrais' Dictionnaire Hmong-Français (W)) and by contrasting them with his own knowledge of Green Hmong (as a native speaker of this dialect). The results of this research will be presented here. The phonetic features suggest that, to the contrary of what the creators of the most used Hmong alphabet (Hmong RPA) claim, RPA does not allow one to write all the G sounds. As a conclusion, the author hopes that such a study will finally and definitively set clear differences between the three dialects to current and future researchers, and to the different Hmong communities in the world.

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## **A unified stack-sorting account of Universal 20 and the Final-over-Final Constraint**

Recently, two classes of word order universal have come into empirical focus: 213-avoidance, as in verb clusters (Wurmbrand 2006) and nominal phrases (Universal 20; Greenberg 1963, Cinque 2005); and the Final-Over-Final Constraint (FOFC; Sheehan et al 2017), a ban on head-final phrases dominating head-initial phrases. These word order constraints, while robustly documented, seem difficult to reconcile: for underlying hierarchy [1[2[3]]], the Universal 20 pattern avoids 213 permutations, while the FOFC pattern avoids 231 permutations. I present a unified analysis of these effects in a parser-is-grammar (cf. Phillips 2003) architecture based on stack-sorting, described by Medeiros (2018). In the stacksorting model, elements in surface order are stored to stack memory, then retrieved to form a universal interpretation sequence (in “bottom-up” 321 order). The sorting algorithm (1), while language-invariant, is a partial algorithm: 213 surface orders prove unparsable. The fact that only 213-avoiding orders are stack-sortable accounts for the Universal 20 pattern (Figure 1). That is, all and only such orders are rearranged into a uniform interpretation sequence, matching the bottom-up order of semantic composition. 213-containing orders are sorted into a deviant sequence, presumably uninterpretable. The stack-sortable orders are exactly the attested nominal orders, as reported by Cinque (2005). Beyond distinguishing attested from unattested orders, and explaining the mechanism by which they are assembled into a universal interpretation, the model also provides appropriate labeled brackets, though understood in a novel way; see Medeiros (2018) for details. Crucially, in this model heads precede their complements in the interpretation sequence. That claim finds empirical support in the finding that even OV languages effectively have VO interpretation order: in such languages, the onset of an object triggers immediate prediction of a verb in parsing, while in production verbs are planned before objects (Phillips & Lewis 2013: 19; Momma et al 2016). Head-complement interpretive order is the key to reconciling FOFC with the \*213 prediction of stacksorting. Notably, FOFC effects (see (2) for an illustration) are found only with headcomplement structures. One robust FOFC effect is avoidance of V-O-Aux order (Biberauer et al 2014: 173, and references cited there), with underlying hierarchy [Aux [V [ObjP]]]. Suppose Aux and V are both heads with respect to stack-sorting. Interpretive order of Aux and VP is  $\langle 3,2,1 \rangle$ , while the interpretive order of V and ObjP is  $\langle 2,1,3 \rangle$ . Composite interpretive order is then  $\langle 3,2,1,2,1,3 \rangle$ . Keeping to the convention of numbering hierarchies top-down,  $\langle 3,2,1 \rangle$ . Then unattested

V-O-Aux order is actually an instance of non-stack-sortable \*213 order. The key is that semantic order means heads are “below” complements, and complements’ contents. Insofar as the heads relevant to FOFC are stack-sorting heads (beginnings of sorting domains), FOFC effects fall together with 213- avoidance, already predicted by stack-sorting. We now understand why FOFC only governs head-complement relations: only here do standard intuitions about hierarchical depth not match precedence in the semantic output of stack-sorting. Elsewhere, “deeper in the tree” means earlier in interpretation, but complements are “higher” than heads, so later in interpretation.

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### **Poetic meter in the Persian poem: Tarji-band of Saadi**

It has been analyzed by some scholars like Elwell-Sutton that the meter of Persian poetry comes from Arabic meter, and there are many similarities between them in shape, number, and the combination of metrical units. However, the fact is not like that. This traditional method hypothesizes the poetic meter of the famous work of Saadi, Tarji-band, which looks like (HHL)(LHLH)(LHH) is borrowed from Arabic Hazaj meter that is (LHHH)(LHHH)(LHHH). This kind of traditional categorization for the meter of this Persian poem makes three problems. Initially, the first unit is made of one heavy and two light syllables which is shown as (HLL) and the third unit is made of one light and two heavy syllables that is displayed as (LHH) while a poetic foot should be one of these meter units to be considered as a foot: spondee=(HH), trochee=(HL), dactyle=(HLL), iamb=(LH), pyrrhic=(LL), tribrach=(LLL), anapest=(LLH), or proceleusmatic=(LLLL). As can be seen, the second unit of this Persian meter is made of two iambs=(LH)+(LH), and it seems it does not have any problem based on poetic foot rules, but the first and third units do not belong to any of those eight mentioned units and are not real feet. Second, the first and third units are not binary because the first one is (HLL) and the third unit is (LHH) while a poetic binary foot should be again one of these eight units: spondee=(HH), trochee=(HL), dactyle=(HLL), iamb=(LH), pyrrhic=(LL), tribrach=(LLL), anapest=(LLH), or proceleusmatic=(LLLL). In other words, the second unit of this Persian Hazaj that is made of two iambs=(LH)+(LH) does not have any problem based on foot binarity rules, but the first and third units are not binary feet. Third, As a rule in poetic meter, two light syllables which come along each other in the same feet can be replaced by a heavy syllable, but the problem is these two light syllables that can be replaced as a heavy syllable are in two different units based on Persian Hazaj meter. By way of explanation, two proceeding light syllables have placed at the last syllable of the first unit. The first syllable of the second unit looks like (HHL) (LHLH), and we want them in the same unit to be replaced by a heavy syllable which can be the first and second syllables of the second unit with this categorization: (HH)(LLH)(LH)(LH)(H-). Crucially, these three problems will not go away unless the poetic meter of Tarji-band of Saadi is treated as lyric meter which is made of heterogeneous feet that in this poem are spondee, anapest, iamb, iamb, and a heavy syllable at the end, rather than stichic meter that is made of homogeneous feet like iamb, iamb, iamb. This argument is based on the approach along the lines of Golston & Riad's 2004 analysis of the phonology of Greek lyric meter. For all that, the meter of Tarji-band

of Saadi would be more similar to Sappho works in using heterogeneous feet rather than Homer's.

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### **Bilingual Kazakh Children's Code Switching**

Kazakhstan is a post-Soviet country comprising more than 100 cultural and language groups, where Kazakh-Russian bilingualism is widespread across its whole territory. The Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan designated the Russian language as an 'international' language. It functions in the society simultaneously with the official Kazakh language and serves as a lingua franca. Social factors require Kazakh children to grow up bilingually, switching between the two most important languages for the population. We recorded the oral speech of bilingual Kazakh children who were from nine to ten years old at the time of data collection. Children were asked to describe a picture book, i.e. a story without words, about a little boy (the famous children's picture book *Frog, Where Are You?* by Mercer Mayer). The bilingual children were attending the fourth grade of a school-lyceum in Almaty, Kazakhstan, which has both Kazakh and Russian classes. Based on the language of their education, we instructed children either in Kazakh (if a student was from the class taught in Kazakh) or Russian (if a student was enrolled in a Russian-speaking class) to describe the pictures and narrate a coherent story using the language which was more convenient for them. During the child's description of the pictures, the researcher tried not to interfere in his/her story, giving him/her a free choice of the linguistic means of both languages possessed by the young bilingual narrator. In a system of bilingual competence, obviously, the languages do impact each other. During the experiment, some children used code switching between and even within sentences, alternating Russian and Kazakh phrases and words, and sometimes even parts of words. This type of speech is also used

by many adult speakers in our society, so it might be a reflection of social factors. These bilingual children used their language skills and knowledge in Russian and Kazakh languages with varying degrees of success. Code switching was used by many bilingual children as a language tool in the implementation of their communication strategy, while code mixing was characteristic of spontaneous decisions to replace certain linguistic units of one language with appropriate ones from the different language. We have categorized the main types of mixing, they were: using words from different languages in the same utterance, combining a stem from one language with an affix from another, using word order of one language with the vocabulary of another. We also found children responding in a language which was different from the language addressed to them. Some children, however, did not mix the languages. Based on the use of switching and mixing of language codes by the bilingual children, it was possible to determine the dominant language of a child at the current stage of language development. For children who managed to refrain from mixing linguistic resources within the framework of the single story, a conscious attitude toward language and the ability to manage a targeted choice of linguistic means were the main characteristics.

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### **The effect of L2 experience on the perception-production link**

Previous research suggests that the relationship between perception and production is not static and can change over time. In the initial stages of language acquisition, perception tends to precede production but with more experience and exposure to the L2, learners' production abilities become more nativelike, whereas perceptual skills start to lag behind (e.g., Bohn & Flege, 1997). The goal of the current study was to investigate what effect L2 experience had on the perception-production interface in the acquisition of palatalized consonants in L2 Russian by native speakers of American English. Palatalization is a secondary feature of articulation. It is phonemic in Russian and affects 15 consonants that can occur in any prosodic environment. Palatalization poses much difficulty for L2 learners both in perception and production (e.g., Hacking et al., 2016). Establishing two separate categories for plain and palatalized consonants, as well as mastering an array of articulatory gestures that differ for various consonants depending on the primary features of articulation should require a substantial amount of time and practice to acquire. Therefore, it was hypothesized that L2 learners of Russian who had longer experience and instruction were more likely to produce and perceive palatalization accurately. Forty American learners of Russian at different levels of proficiency enrolled in an intensive Russian program performed an oral picture-naming task to evaluate their production abilities as well as an ABX task with the same words to measure their perception of the contrast. Ten Russian native speakers served as a control group and three Russian native listeners performed ratings of the learners' productions. Results showed that learners' experience with the target language had no effect on their abilities to differentiate plain and palatalized consonants in perception. Low-intermediate (length of instruction less than 3 years) and highly-advanced (length of instruction more than 4 years) learners of Russian had an error rate of around 30% on the ABX (Table 1), despite spending significantly more time on the test trials involving the plain/palatalized contrast than on the control trials. Learners' accuracy in discriminating the target contrast was significantly higher in intervocalic position than in word-final position (Figure 1). On the oral picture-naming task, however, L2 experience had an effect on learners' performance (Table 2). Advanced learners were significantly more accurate than the intermediate learners in their production of palatalized consonants, especially in word-final position (Figure

2). Moreover, there were strong and statistically significant relationships between perception and production in the performance of advanced learners but not in the performance of intermediate learners. Even though learners' perceptual skills did not change significantly over time, advanced learners seem to make better use of their perceptual ability to discriminate plain and palatalized consonants in order to improve their production. The findings of the study will be discussed from various perspectives: linguistic (perceptual salience and markedness constraints), psycholinguistic (formation of phonological categories and their interaction with the mental lexicon) and pedagogical (urgency for pronunciation instruction).

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### **An acoustic-phonetic description of the vowels of Crow**

Crow is a member of the Missouri Valley branch of the Siouan language family. It is spoken primarily in Montana. While Crow has a long history of language documentation, there has been very little in the way of phonetic analysis with regards to the vowel inventory. Crow has been documented to have a vowel system that includes five long vowels (/iː/, /eː/, /aː/, /oː/, /uː/), three of which have short counterparts (/i/, /a/ and /u/) and three diphthongs (/ia/, /ua/ and /ea/). To date, the most comprehensive phonological description of the Crow vowel inventory is found in Graczyk's (2007) *A Grammar of Crow*. This grammar is limited in that it describes only the gross vowel characteristics and does not provide any specific information relating to the acoustic properties of the vowels (e.g., formant and duration measurements). A preliminary acoustic analysis was performed by Simonian (2015). That analysis measured F1 and F2 values at 3 equally-spaced time points through the vowel's duration across 20 tokens of each vowel for 11 of the 16 sounds measured. The findings of Simonian (2015) were that, on average, long and short vowels separated as they progressed in time, diphthongs showed a greater degree of movement than monophthongs, and back vowels showed more movement than front vowels (although they, in general, were under-represented). In this study, we present preliminary data for a comprehensive acoustic analysis of the monophthongs and diphthongs in Crow. In particular, we acoustically analyzed a subset of 20 vowel tokens, surrounded by alveolar obstruents, preferably voiceless ones spoken by one male and one female speaker. Specifically, we measured the formant trajectories by extracting F1, F2 and F3 values at 30 equally spaced time points from the central portion of the vowel, using the same method used in acoustic descriptions of English (e.g., Williams & Escudero, 2014; Elvin et al., 2016), as well as under-described languages such as Nambo, a Papuan language (Kasima et al., 2016). Our preliminary analysis focuses on the vowels /i/, /iː/, /a/, /aː/, /u/, and /uː/. Graczyk (2007:15) describes how vowels vary by environment. For the environments we are examining, /i/ surfaces as [ɪ] and /a/ surfaces as [ə]. We replicate the findings of Simonian (2015) but provide a higher level of detail. This enhanced detail comes from a more selective context for vowels as well as measuring at ten times the number of points across the duration of the vowel. While the relative positioning of the vowels is not shocking, e.g. high vowels have lower F1s than low vowels, what is remarkable is the large degree of movement present in the monophthongs, both in the F1 and F2 dimensions. Movements over 100 Hz over the course of the vowel is seen in several

vowels. This exploration of Crow vowels documents phonetic facts of this language that have never been recorded with such precision

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### **Domain of suppletion: From Japanese numeral**

Synopsis: The aims of this paper argues the domain for suppletion with Japanese classifiers and honorification. Number based suppletion in Hiaki: In Hiaki, an intransitive verb ‘go by walking’ exhibits suppletion weeye~kaate’ with its the subject of the verb as in (1), but in a transitive verbs like me’a~sua ‘kill’, the suppletion triggering argument is the object as in (2). Following Harley, Tubino-Blanco and Haugen’s (2009) observation, BH (2017) conclude that the intransitive suppletive verbs in (1) are unaccusative and the suppletive triggering item is base-generated in sister of V. With the number suppletion in Hiaki, BH proposes following stringently locality in (3). Number Suppletion is not Local: Oseki (2016) argues against BH’s stringently locality with the following Ainu data. According to Oseki, an transitive verb, ray~ronnu ‘kill’ shows suppletion. In this language, exactly same as Hiaki, exhibits number based suppletion. According to Oseki, the number based suppletion is triggered by either object or subject as illustrated in (5) Contrary to the BH’s prediction, in Ainu, the suppletive form is triggered by a subject, not an object. This shows the sister of X0 may not be a locality of suppletion. Numeral Classifier in Japanese: Japanese is known as a classifier language (Dowling 1992) and I assume [CaseP [#P QP [# NP # ]]] for the structure of DP and the surface form of Japanese nominal is yielded by massive remnant movements following Wantanabe (2006). Based on the current assumption, the surface word order NP- #-cl such as Gakusei-san-nin “students-3-cl” is derived by NP movement to Spec.CaseP. Following Watanabe, cl is located on #0. Here I focus on the alternation observed on cl, such as numeral cl for NPs with [+human] “人”, which exhibit suppletion ri~nin as in (9). Closer investigation reveals that this type suppletion is not mere number suppletion but suppletion based on lexical stratum. As shown in (4), cl for date “日” also shows numeral based suppletion between kaNJ~nichiSJ. In the case of “日”, 1 and 2 are SJ and the number greater than 3 is NJ. Here, Numeral and cl are doubly conditioned. In other words. the numerals in Quantifier shows alternation between Native Japanese (NJ) and Sino Japanese (SJ) as in (4) depending on the lexical stratum of cl and cl alters between NJ and SJ depending on the stratum of numeral. This suppletion data shows the case of non stringently local relation. Honorification: Another NJ/SJ suppletion is observed in subject/object honorification. They are so-called honorification prefix o~go. They precede continuative form of verb and the suppletion is triggered by lexical stratum of  $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ . Here following Embick and Halle’s (2005) I assume stems include their class features like NJ or SJ.

The prefix is attached to continuative form of verbs, which are used as a nominal, since they are followed by Post Position “ni”. Hence, the structure of (7,8) has [NP {o/go} [ N ]] and this is another instance that XP is the domain of stratum conditioned suppletion.