(7) a.   *[+F$_1$] years ago;   *[+F$_1$] meetings later;
          *[+F$_1$] summers ago; *[+F$_1$] streets ahead

   b.   * The patch is[+F$_1$] meters long; * this box weighs [+F$_1$] ton

   c.   * It took[+F$_1$] seconds (years, summers, meetings, etc.)

   d.   * I have [+F$_1$] brothers; * He has[+F$_1$] warts

   e.   * a house with[+F$_1$] windows^5; * a girl with[+F$_1$] brothers/warts

   f.   * [+F$_1$] questions came into his mind; * She draws[+F$_1$] conclusions

   g.   * Ik heb er [+F$_1$] (lit: I have there Det)
   h.   * [-F$_2$] following books are sold out: ....

Anticipating a general account of the data under discussion, we can draw some
conclusions already. Whatever has been called (in)definiteness in connection
with the contexts in (1) - (4) is related to a more general phenomenon, viz.
the existence of various contexts restrictive to various subclasses of determiners.
If one wishes to deal with (in)definiteness as part of this more general
phenomenon, it should be reanalyzed as a notion covering more than one opposition.
Definiteness should not be regarded as a monolithic concept. It can be decomposed
in at least two factors.

        Apart from this, the preceding discussion shows that the distribution
of most, neither and sommige sheds an interesting light on the nature of the
feature system for natural language determiners. So any theory of determiners
which ignores these cases must be regarded as biased.

        The features [+F$_1$] and [+F$_2$] can be given explanatory modeltheoretic
definitions. Cf. De Jong & Verkuyl (1984). It seems that some of the distributional
restrictions discussed here are due to semantic aspects rather than to aspects
of representation. Hence the correspondence of the distributional and modeltheoretic
properties strengthen the idea that within a modular approach to grammar,
semantics must be taken as one of the components.

Rhythmic Stress Phenomena in English and Dutch

R. Kager / E.Visch

        Since Liberman and Prince (1977), rhythmic stress phenomena occupy
a special place in non-linear phonological research. LP propose two kinds of
formal representation: binary-branching trees as representations of stress, and
metrical grids as representations of linguistic rhythm. Over words, trees are
built by special rules, while above the word-level syntactic structure is taken
as the point of departure. Grids, in their turn, are translations of trees in
ways that we will turn to shortly.

        One of the most important empirical claims of LP, and in fact one
that we consider in detail in our research project "Metrische aspecten van
ritmische klemtoonverschijnselen", is that relative prominence is preserved
under embedding. Examples of this phenomenon are cases such as dèw-covered láwn,

where the relative prominence of the compound déw-covered is preserved in the phrase. There is, however, one significant class of exceptions to this generalization: if in a configuration with embedding two very prominent elements are close, a change in relative prominence follows, as in the examples under (1).

(1)   thirtéen   thirtèen mén   ⟶ thírteen mén
       Tennessée   Tennessèe áir   ⟶ Tènnessee áir
       achromátic   achromàtic léns ⟶ àchromatic léns

LP observe (1977:310):

> "Such cases are commonly mentioned in discussions of English stress patterns, often with some reference to the concept of 'rhythm' and the desire to maintain an alternating pattern".

A crucial role in their analysis of these cases is reserved for the notion 'metrical grid', which is considered to be a representation of 'linguistic rhythm'. Grids are translations of metrical trees by a so-called Relative Prominence Projection Rule (RPPR) (see LP (1977):(104), 310)) and define a 'stress clash': two adjacent elements on the same level without an intervening element one level down. In (2) we have boxed a case of clash. Clash is considered to be the trigger of stress shift, which itself is accounted for by a rule operating on the relative prominence pattern, reversing the strong-weak relation within one of its subconstituents (see circled nodes).

(2)
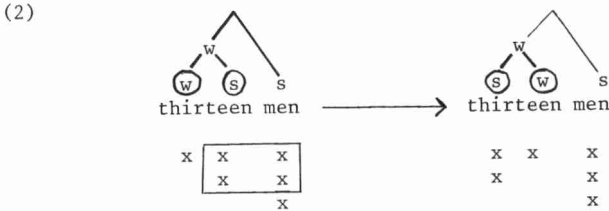
The new tree triggers a new grid, from which the clash has disappeared.

After 1977, discussions both of the empirical and conceptual properties of the LP-model led to various revisions, falling out into three main streams: the tree-only model, the grid-only model, and the tree-cum-grid model. The most important conceptual objection was that the functions and principles of grids as opposed to trees were not independently motivated, making LP's theory vulnerable to criticism on the grounds of redundancy.

Tree-only theory, defended among others by Kiparsky (1979), has to define both stress shift and the immediate cause for stress shift on trees. Kiparsky proposes rule (3), which indeed accounts for cases like (1).
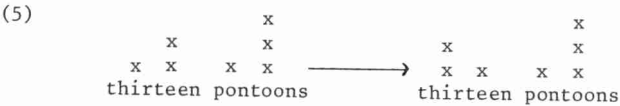
(3)

Objections to tree-only theories are both empirical and conceptual. As regards the former, a well-known pair from the literature is (4a,b), which should not be, but nevertheless is treated differently by (3).

(4) a.

Mary-Ellen Mathers → Mary-Ellen Mathers

b.

Farrah Fawcett-Majors → ?
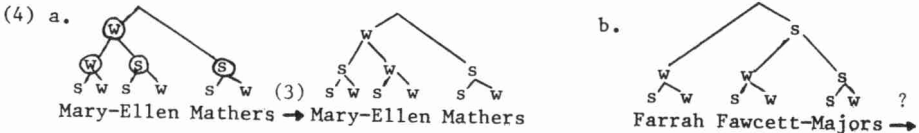
As regards to the latter, trees are observed to contain overly rich constituent-information, especially so in those variants (e.g. Selkirk (1980)) that introduce separate constituent-levels, such as Foot, Word, etc. Furthermore, rhythmic principles are hard to define on trees (-only): in grids, binary patterns follow from principles of rhythmic alternation while tree-only theory requires the stipulation that binary feet are unmarked.

Grid-only theory, defended by Prince (1983) and Selkirk (1984), has the opposite task, i.e. to formulate and to constrain the rhythmic rule(s) in such a way that they can operate on grids. And, of course, grid-building rules are required in the absence of grid-triggering trees. In this model, the notion clash is crucial. Grid-building potentially produces rhythmically ill-formed situations, which have to be improved by rhythmic adjustment rules. Prince proposes a general rule of Move x which moves one clashing element in the grid at a time to the first available position. This rule is constrained by several conditions whereby its applications may be blocked.

An important objection against Prince's analysis is that its crucial notion of clash appears to be very ill-defined. Also 'quasi-clashes' as in thirteen pontoons under (5) dissapear by Move x, which does not contribute to the reliability of his proposal.

(5)

```
                    x                        x
         x          x            x           x
     x   x      x   x   ------->  x   x      x   x
    thirteen pontoons          thirteen pontoons
```

In Selkirk's variant, rhythmic adjustment rules interact with grid-construction, this as opposed to Prince, where adjustment rules apply on a full grid. Selkirk proposes three kind of adjustment rules: rules which move grid-elements, rules which delete them and rules which add them. The application of these rules is stimulated by a principle that expresses an abstract ideal of rhythmic patterns. Selkirk enriches her theory further by also trying to account for pauses and pitch accent, but this desire for completeness raises, in our mind, more questions than it solves. We will abstain from going into these matters here, however.

Finally, tree-cum-grid theory is defended by Hayes (1984). His most important observations on tree-only theories are that they do not fully recognize the notion of linear distance with respect to rhythmic phenomena, and are not capable of expressing the notion of rhythmic wellformedness. Grid-only theories, however, deny the important role of metrical constituency for rhythmically motivated rules. Therefore both theories must be wrong.

He rejects clash-based proposals for stress shift phenomena (therefore he rejects LP as well) and considers <u>linear distance</u> between grid-elements the necessary basis of a theory of rhythmic wellformedness. In a rhythmically wellformed grid, prominent elements prefer to be at equal distances of one another, regularly alternated with less prominent elements, as we have tried to depict in a fairly complex example in (6) (=Hayes (1984 : 49:(33)))

(6)

The general idea is that rhythmic adjustment in the tree must improve rhythmic wellformedness in the grid.

He proposes to account for rhythmic phenomena by one metrical adjustment rule on trees. This operation is an adjunction of two nodes X and Y, as is formalized in (7):

(7)   <u>Rhythmic Adjustment</u>
        In the configuration ...XY...DTE..., adjoin Y to X

Y is always weak with respect to X. This rule is restricted by an analyzability-condition on tree structure. This condition constrains the possible choices of X and Y. The two most occurring operations are those in (8).

(8) a.

Along with (6), (9) gives another example of application.

(9)

After the application of (7), the grid is reconstructed. The rule thus also accounts for cases for which grid-only theories would have to invoke a rule adding a grid element.

We will wind up this note with a number of remarks on Dutch. In Dutch, the phenomenon of stress shift is quite common. Some characteristic examples are in (10).

(10) a. Lèonie Jánsen sprak met Liselóre
'Leonie Jansen spoke to Liselore'

    b. Lìselore Gérritsen sprak met Leoníe
'Liselore Gerritsen spoke to Leonie'

    c. De fònologische áfwijking was speciáal
'The phonological deviance was special'

    d. De spèciale áfwijking was fonológisch
'The special deviance was phonological'

Therefore, Dutch qualifies as a potential field of investigation with respect to the above mentioned models. A key observation is the fact that Dutch observes linear distance in stress shift and therefore can not be regarded as strictly 'clash-based'. See (11).

(11) a. intensief ónderzoek   'intensive research'
      b. biologisch ónderzoek   'biological research'
      c. ?càrdiologisch ónderzoek   'cardiologic research'
      d.??ànestesiologisch ónderzoek 'anesthesiologic research'

      e. Lèonie Jánsen   (name)
      f. Lèonie van Bládel   (name)
      g. Lèonie van der Vliet   (name)
      h.??Lèonie van der Genúgten (name)

Dutch thereby provides some evidence for a theory à la Hayes, in which linear distance is a central notion.
Furthermore, stress assignment in underived words in both English and Dutch is governed by a principle of binary alternation (feet) in words like (Dutch) èncyclòpedíe, pàrallèllográm, and (English) Apalàchicóla, ònomàtopóeia. English and Dutch also correspond in being sensitive to syllable weight. Word stress in both languages must then be considered thoroughly, as a prerequisite for a theory of stress shift.

However, Dutch is not only of interest by being prosodically comparable to English, but much more so by its deviations. The vocabulary includes a great amount of finally stressed words, many of which are originally non-native adjectives (speciáal, intensíef, dom“inánt). These words contribute considerably to the class of potential stress shift targets.

Furthermore, Dutch has stress-attracting suffixes such as -baar and -ig (ópblaas 'inflate' - opbláasbaar 'inflatable' and víjand 'enemy' - vijándig 'hostile'), whose stress-properties are partly morphologically governed. For this reason, and others, the relation between phonological rules and word-formation, i.e. the structure of the lexicon, will have to be considered. Rightward stress shift of this kind may interact with leftward stress shift (exemplified above). The degree of interaction seems to be limited however (?? òpblaasbaar kússen 'inflatable pillow', ?? vijandig vóorkomen 'hostile looks').

As a further point of difference with English, Dutch has many schwa-ful inflectional suffixes (speciaal - de speciale aanbieding 'the special offer'). The rhythmic relevance of these schwa's as opposed to non-inflectional schwa's is of interest (de cèntrale]$_A$ vráag 'the central question' - *de cèntrale]$_N$ vráagt 'the station asks ...').

A final rhythmic property of Dutch worth mentioning is the occurence
of rightward rhythmic stress shift, as in (12).

(12) a. vóetbal 'soccer'   -   záalvoetbàl   'indoor soccer'
      b. árbeid   'labour'   -   dwángarbèid   'forced labour'
      c. pásta   'paste'   -   tándpastà   'tooth paste'
      d. ópname   'recording'   -   bándopnàme   'tape recording'

In parallel cases, English may only have equal prominences on the righthand
constituent, but never shift of prominence (*spórts contèst, *láw libràry).
By allowing for both left- and rightward rhythmic shift, Dutch opens the
possibility for these phenomena to interact. The question arises as to the
extent of this interaction and its constraints, against the background of the
above models. For this reason, Dutch bears considerably on the issue of evaluating
grid-only, tree-only, and tree-cum-grid theories.

Views of the Bloomfieldians: Sources and Differences

J. Kaldewaij

Z.W.O-researchproject 'Structuralism and transformational-generative
grammar' (17-22-04) has as its goal a description of the several types of
relations between several variants of structuralist theories of language,
and the TG-model. Against this background, this year's stage of the project
dealt with some of the core notions of structuralist theories, and the way
these notions have been commented upon in more recent work. Strikingly, these
comments are far from uniform, but contain a number of sharp contrasts. This
is especially so for those American structuralists usually called the
'Bloomfieldians', for whom one even finds completely conflicting opinions.
After Chomsky (1964) and Lyons (1973:6,7), one would have to characterize the
Bloomfieldians as follows:
1. Bloomfieldians are concerned with a corpus of utterances not with a
    linguistic system behind these utterances (in Saussurean terms: not with
    'langue').
2. Bloomfieldians only provide descriptions, without theoretical pretence.
3. Bloomfieldians proceed from an 'inductive' model of language description:
    taking utterances as strings of sounds, they try to arrive at an analysis
    of the sentence into phonemes, morphemes, and morpheme-groups.

Almost the converse of this characterization can be found in Hymes and Fought
(1981:116ff.) and Conrad (1977), who highlight the following properties:
1. Bloomfieldians proceed from a variant of 'language': a system separate
    from language use.
2. The Bloomfieldians base their descriptions on a large number of theoretical
    considerations.
3. Next to an 'inductive' model the Neo Bloomfieldians also advocate a
    'deductive' model, which would not also allow the description of a corpus,
    but also that of novel sentences.
An explanation of these differences may at first sight be sought in different
attitudes towards the Bloomfieldians: Chomsky (as a linguist) opposes his own theory
of language against that of the Bloomfieldians, and thus tends to caricaturize
the latter; Hymes/Fought and Conrad, on the other hand, are primarily linguistic