

Research in the supporting sciences

LINGUISTIC THEORY

85–250 Allerton, D. J. (U. of Basle). Three (or four) levels of word co-occurrence restriction. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **63** (1984), 17–40.

Restrictions on the co-occurrence of words have in the past been treated at two levels, syntactic and semantic (making due allowance for borderline cases). While syntactic co-occurrence restrictions seem clear enough and can be described under rules for government, etc., semantic ones require more attention. Certainly some semantic combinatory restrictions are a matter of analyticity, contradiction and anomaly; such combinations simply do not occur in 'normal' use. There are, however, other more subtle kinds of semantic word selection, which depend on certain semantic relations existing between the words, such as semantic 'tailoring', 'reshaping' and 'characterisation'. Beyond syntactic and semantic word selection a third level of lexical co-occurrence restriction, termed 'locutional', is proposed, in order to account for arbitrary limitations on prepositions and 'general verbs' in their non-literal uses, where a kind of lexical neutralisation takes place. This phenomenon has links with other arbitrary uses of words, such as unique elements and idioms. Finally, a fourth level of co-occurrence restriction is tentatively suggested to deal with an apparently pragmatic aspect of word usage.

85–251 Bogusławski, Andrzej. An analysis of promise. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **7**, 6 (1983), 607–27.

An analytic statement of the necessary and jointly sufficient conditions of a truthful application of the functor '*a* promised *b* that...'. According to this analysis, promising is saying *c* with an eye to the addressee's realising or thinking (i) of the speaker's intention to act towards the state of affairs *d* about which the speaker knows or thinks that it is not the case that the hearer suspects the speaker's ignorance about his dissatisfaction should *d* fail to materialise, (ii) of the speaker's belief that the hearer could approach him as obliged to act towards *d*, (iii) of the speaker's placing himself under an obligation to act towards *d* (a simplified account). Particular points of the definition are discussed and justified. Special attention is paid to the notion of obligation. A critical comparison of the definition with Searle's concept of promise is made. The author concludes with remarks on the relationship between promise and morality and on the relationship between descriptive and evaluative statements.

85–252 Comrie, Bernard (U. of Southern California). Form and function in explaining language universals. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **21**, 1 (1983), 87–103.

Some linguists, notably Chomsky, have argued for exclusively formal, linguistic-internal explanations of language universals. Evidence exists, however, to show that at least some universals have functional explanations. The fact that the control

properties of certain verbs such as 'promise' are the same in many languages, for example, can be explained on pragmatic grounds. Similarly, in the case of conjunction reduction, there seems at first sight to be no formal account of contrasting behaviour of accusative and ergative languages, but the apparently anomalous accusative properties of imperative sentences in an ergative language such as Dyirbal can again be given a pragmatic explanation. Finally, functional considerations account for the syntax of resultative constructions in Nivkh and Modern Eastern Armenian, which again behave ergatively in these otherwise non-ergative languages. The domain of formal/functional explanations remains to be established, as does their relation to the problem of innateness.

85–253 Gopnik, Alison (U. of Toronto). Conceptual and semantic change in scientists and children: why there are no semantic universals. *Linguistics* (The Hague), 21, 1 (1983), 163–79.

Many semantic theories assume that there is a fixed, universal 'language of thought' which is mapped into natural languages. But just as scientific theories can differ conceptually from each other while still talking about the same world, so the child, also building theories about the world, changes his central conceptual apparatus as he develops. Moreover, the concepts of one theory, whether in science or a child's development, cannot be reduced to those of another. Changes in the child's knowledge are reflected in the semantic structure of his language; several non-nominal items, for example, in the child's earliest vocabulary have meanings that are not encoded in the adult's language, and these items appear when the concepts they encode themselves appear. Semantic theories should investigate the principles governing our construction of new theories and new meanings, rather than attempting to construct fixed representational systems.

85–254 Hyman, Larry M. (U. of Southern California). Form and substance in language universals. *Linguistics* (The Hague), 21, 1 (1983), 67–85.

Only a combination of system-internal and -external explanations can account for language universals. Phonetics provides the 'substance', or input, for phonologisation, and pragmatics (communicative needs) for grammaticalisation, but neither of these processes of 'overformalisation' can be explained by reference to the origin of the substance. Data from phonology – the development of tonal contrasts and distinctive nasality – and syntax – definiteness in subjects' NPs, the acceptability of possessive constructions in certain contexts, French causatives, and sentence focus marking – illustrate the various possible relationships between form and substance.

85–255 Kalverkämper, Hartwig. Textuelle Fachsprachen-Linguistik als Aufgabe. [Textual linguistics of languages for special purposes: a new field of research.] *LILI: Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* (Göttingen, FRG), 51/2 (1983), 124–66.

The linguistics of languages for special purposes (LSP) must be delivered from its self-inflicted restriction to the lexical and – sporadically – the syntactical level and

should be directed to the real and essential dimension of communication: texts. Research into LSP must primarily study special texts (i.e. texts for special purposes). These are representatives of a certain – a special – text-type. Therefore it is necessary to reflect, on the one hand, upon the ‘specialicity’ (i.e. the quality of being special, *Fachlichkeit*) of the objects, facts, and procedures, and, on the other hand, upon the linguistic qualities of the texts which are the linguistic representatives of specialised communicative intentions.

Therefore, this paper differentiates between two focal scopes of the textlinguistic research into LSP, which are termed ‘textual linguistics of specialicity’ (textual linguistics related to specialicity, *Fach-Textlinguistik*) and linguistics of special texts (linguistics of texts for special purposes; *Fachtext-Linguistik*).

Textual linguistics of specialicity (*Fach-Textlinguistik*) primarily explores whether and how the quality of being special is signalled for objects, facts or procedures. As this is only possible by means of texts and their essential co-ordinates (i.e. the communicators and the referent), this paper advances the view that specialicity should be regarded as a relational quality rather than a static, absolute, and fixed category – a view which has frequently been held in the linguistic literature.

The postulated relativity of specialicity as a quality of objects, facts and procedures, which is accessible only by means of language, is related to the communicators (producer, receiver), to the referent (objects, facts, procedures), and to the text between the communicators about the referent.

The specific characteristics of these texts are analysed by the branch called ‘linguistics of special texts’ (*Fachtext-Linguistik*). Its primary task is the study of special texts on all levels of linguistic description, which must always use the textual entirety as a methodological background. Thus it has to consider the pragmatic circumstances, the textual constitution and macrostructure, the means of coherence, the characteristic features of special syntax, the terms, which should be regarded as condensates of memorised texts fulfilling the function of definition, and, further, the problem of comprehensibility of terms and of special texts.

The two main fields of textual linguistics of LSP – textual linguistics of specialicity and linguistics of special texts – co-operate in extending the spectrum of research into LSP and thus give it an interdisciplinary perspective.

85–256 Lehrer, Keith. Coherence, consensus and language. *Linguistics and Philosophy* (Dordrecht), 7, 1 (1984), 43–55.

Coherence is a defining feature of a communal language. The relevant kind of coherence is the simplest amalgamation of linguistic information speakers possess. Such simplicity can be represented mathematically as a weighted average of the information aggregated. Coherence, then, is a mathematically simple form of amalgamation of information. When the information is distributed throughout a speech community, the amalgamation represents an implicit consensus. The primary contribution of coherence to a theory of language is to articulate what constitutes a communal language when, in fact, the people belonging to the community often express themselves in quite idiosyncratic idiolects. Beneath the surface of eccentric

and idiosyncratic speech, coherence lies hidden. The object of this paper is to explain in what way that coherence or consensus exists and how it can account for and justify the assumption of a communal language.

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

85–257 Lindblom, Björn (Stockholm U.) **and others.** Self-organising processes and the explanation of phonological universals. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **21**, 1 (1983), 181–203.

A 'self-organising model' of the origin of phonological structure is proposed to explain the existence of substantive phonological universals such as 'segment' and 'feature' used in coding meaning. A computer implementation calculates systems of k CV syllables made up of holistic signals, i.e. transitions from consonantal positions (using 'locus patterns' without plosion 'bursts') towards vowel positions and assigns each to distinct 'meanings'; phonetic constraints such that sufficient perceptual differences are obtained at acceptable articulatory costs limit the forms of syllables according to the size of the 'lexicon'. This produces 'minimal pairs' sharing beginning or end portions in the transitions. Such results are taken to argue for 'phonemic' rather than 'holistic' coding and for the well-foundedness of the concept 'segment', analysable along traditional 'distinctive feature' dimensions, as implicit properties of phonetic signals. This has implications for the phylogeny and ontogeny of speech; the emergence of phonemic coding is seen as a necessary consequence of the 'self-organising' principle, whereby the interaction of subsystems gives rise to structuration.

85–258 Phillips, Betty S. Lexical diffusion and function words. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **21**, 3 (1983), 487–99.

Most investigations into the implementation of sound change through lexical diffusion have concentrated on the role of word frequency. Word class also plays an important role, however, especially noticeable being the often divergent development of function words. Since the two most salient features of function words are their high word frequency and their low sentence stress, these two elements are examined in a review of the behaviour of function words in a number of sound changes. It is discovered that low sentence stress is the main determining factor in whether function words change first or last in the diffusion of a sound change: with only one minor exception, weakening processes affect function words first, whereas strengthening processes affect them last.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

85–259 Arndt, Horst and Janney, Richard W. (U. of Cologne). Intuitive linguistic knowledge as a problem of non-autonomous linguistic research: the verbal co-ordination of group role identities. *Forum Linguisticum* (Lake Bluff, Ill), **6**, 2 (1981) [publ. 1984], 95–116.

Neither strict rationalist nor radical positivist views of linguistic knowledge fully account for the fact that our knowledge of language has highly interdependent intuitive and experimental dimensions. To adequately explain the influences of these on speakers' conventional linguistic choices in everyday conversation, it is necessary to assume that intuition and observation can be used together as complementary concepts in linguistic theory, and that conceptual analysis and the observation of actual language behaviour are potentially compatible linguistic methodologies. In an attempt to demonstrate the feasibility of this position, the authors discuss the notions of intuition and observation in linguistic theory and the notions of intersubjectivity and conventionality in verbal interaction, and present the results of an experiment recently conducted on the use of intuitive linguistic knowledge in the verbal co-ordination of group role identities.

In the experiment, subjects made intuitive judgements as to whether utterances were likely to be said to persons from various different groups: (1) primary (relatives, friends), (2) secondary 1 (random strangers, neutral colleagues), and (3) secondary 2 (professors, doctors, officials). Subjects responded more decisively to primary and secondary 2 type utterances, confirming that there are regulative linguistic conventions for distinguishing between speaking styles. Secondary 1 type utterances caused subjects the most indecision; they appear to be intersocially more neutral than other types. The ambivalence of responses to utterances in this category suggests that speakers' senses of stylistic choice and projected group membership are more accurately described by a continuum than by a series of more or less fixed categories.

85–260 Bell, Allan (U. of Reading). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* (London), **13**, 2 (1984), 145–204.

The style dimension of language variation has not been adequately explained in sociolinguistic theory. Stylistic or intraspeaker variation derives from and mirrors interspeaker variation. Style is essentially speakers' response to their audience. In audience design, speakers accommodate primarily to their addressee. Third persons – auditors and overhearers – affect style to a lesser but regular degree. Audience design also accounts for bilingual or bi-dialectal code choices. Non-audience factors like topic and setting derive their effect by association with addressee types. These style shifts are mainly responsive – caused by a situational change. Speakers can also use style as initiative, to redefine the existing situation. Initiative style is primarily referee design: divergence from the addressee and towards an absent reference group. Referee design is especially prevalent in mass communication.

85–261 Hock, Hans Henrich. Language-death phenomena in Sanskrit: grammatical evidence for attrition in contemporary spoken Sanskrit. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences (Urbana, Ill)*, **13**, 2 (1983), 21–35.

Sociolinguistic evidence indicates that Sanskrit, after more than 3,000 years of continuous history, is now in the process of dying out in its spoken use. This paper shows that this process of language attrition or 'language death' is mirrored in an attrition of the grammatical rule system of spoken Sanskrit: even excellent, fluent speakers of Sanskrit exhibit considerable difficulties in judging the grammaticality of structures involving 'major' changes in grammatical relations. On the other hand, other aspects of grammar seem to be relatively little affected by the process of language attrition. This suggests that in language death, the relatively more 'complex' rules which affect or refer to grammatical relations are more easily lost than relatively superficial rules such as gender marking or negative placement.

85–262 Joseph, John (Oklahoma State U.) The engineering of a standard language. *Multilingua (Amsterdam)*, **3**, 2 (1984), 87–92.

A dialect normally becomes standard within a language area by 'circumstantial' emergence: one faction of the nation or race has a disproportionate share of power and prestige, and on this basis its speech attains 'standard' status. (Internal linguistic features can help promote the dialect, through not so extensively as is often believed.) If, on the other hand, several dialects of similar prestige are proposed as standard (opening a *questione della lingua*), or if none comes forth, emergence must be engineered: partisans attempt to augment their candidate's prestige or even to 'create a new dialect'. Our knowledge of the emergence process is clouded by a centuries-old accumulation of fallacious opinions.

85–263 Yamamoto, Akira Y. (U. of Kansas). Presuppositional culture spaces: language use in everyday life. *Papers in Linguistics (Champaign, Ill)*, **16**, 1/2 (1983), 303–19.

In our everyday interaction, we assume roles appropriate to a given culture space. If we do not, some conflict arises, or we will be totally incapacitated as participants in the culture space. In the culture space framework, we can pinpoint which roles we are presently assuming and what changes take place. The number and variety of possible role-players and the roles themselves are limited in a given culture space. Even if we know the total range of the language variations that are possible in the culture space, we will not be able to participate in the activity unless and until we know which role(s) is available for us. This knowledge comes to us when we recognise which culture space we have just entered. Until at least some sampling of culture spaces of each of the types within a domain becomes available, we will not succeed in describing the variations of the language. In this sense, sociolinguistic work is at the same time the investigation of the cultural knowledge of the members of a speech community.

PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

85–264 Brown, Carolyn J. and Hurtig, Richard R. (U. of Iowa). Children's discourse competence: an evaluation of the development of inferential processes. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **6**, 4 (1983), 353–75.

Children's discourse competence is assessed in three story tasks designed to evaluate the inferential processes necessary to construct sequences of events to confirm a given consequence and those processes necessary to infer consequences from premise information. The use of pictured story elements minimised memory and expository skill factors and allowed us to study the discourse competence of children as young as four years of age. The data suggest that even the youngest children use systematic strategies in ordering the elements of a story based on causal temporal relationships.

85–265 Bucci, Wilma (Adelphi U., NY). Linking words and things: Basic processes and individual variation. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **17**, 2 (1984), 137–53.

This study investigates individual differences in activity or strength of the system of referential connections between verbal and nonverbal representations in the mind. Level of Referential Activity (RA) as measured by direct naming speed is related to performance in two more complex verbal performance tasks: (1) generating descriptive terms to distinguish closely related colours; and (2) generating brief spoken descriptions of a personal experience. Subjects with rapid naming speeds were more likely to produce spoken narratives high in qualities of immediacy and objectivity, and also to use a metaphoric style in generating colour terms, i.e., by using terminology referring to entities outside the colour domain. Performance in both tasks indicated greater use of 'image to word' links in the high RA subjects; more reliance on 'word to word' links in the low RA group. The function involved in RA is distinct from the type of abstract ability measured by standard verbal intelligence and fluency tests, and is also from imagery ability *per se*.

85–266 De Boysson-Bardies, Bénédicte and others. (Lab. du Psychologie, CNRS). Discernible differences in the babbling of infants according to target language. *Journal of Child Language* (London), **11**, 1 (1984), 1–15.

Samples of babbling productions of 6-, 8- and 10-month-old infants from different language backgrounds were presented to adult judges whose task was to identify the infants from their own linguistic community. The results show that certain language-specific metaphonological cues render this identification possible when the samples exhibit long and coherent intonation patterns. The segmental indications that are present in the fully syllabic productions of canonical babbling do not allow the judges to identify the infants correctly from their own linguistic community. These results seem to support the hypothesis of an early influence on babbling of the metaphonological characteristics of the target language.

85–267 Gleitman, Lila R. (U. of Pennsylvania) and others. The current status of the motherese hypothesis. *Journal of Child Language* (London), **11**, 1 (1984), 43–79.

Partially conflicting results from correlational studies of maternal speech style and its effects on child language learning motivate a comparative discussion of Newport, Gleitman & Gleitman (1977) and Furrow, Nelson & Benedict (1979), and a reanalysis of the original Newport *et al.* data. In this analysis the data are from two groups of children equated for age, in response to the methodological questions raised by Furrow *et al.*; but, in line with the original Newport *et al.* analysis, linguistic differences between these age-equated children are handled by partial correlation. Under this new analysis the original results reported by Newport *et al.* are reproduced. In addition, however, most effects of the mother on the child's language growth are found to be restricted to a very young age group. Moreover, the new analysis suggests that increased complexity of maternal speech is positively correlated with child language growth in this age range. The findings are discussed in terms of a theoretical analysis of the Motherese Hypothesis; the conditions of both learner and environment in which 'simplified' data could aid a learner. Finally, the results of the authors' past work, those of Furrow *et al.*, and those of the present analysis, are discussed as they fit into, and add to, current theorising about the language acquisition process.

85–268 Grodzinsky, Yosef (Brandeis U.) The syntactic characterisation of agrammatism. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **16**, 2 (1984), 99–120. .

A new characterisation of agrammatism is suggested, based on new data from Hebrew-speaking agrammatic aphasics, and a re-examination of data from Russian and Italian. This characterisation is formed in relation to linguistic levels of representation. First, the description of agrammatism as omission of closed-class items is challenged on the basis of the data, and a new description is suggested – viewing agrammatism as mis-selection of items + default: in English the default procedure may always be used, but in the other languages discussed the patient is forced, for structural reasons, to unconscious guessing that results, in many instances, in syntactically aberrant sentences in which each lexical item is well formed.

Secondly, after discussing issues concerning the proper relation between linguistic theories and processing models, a condition on a syntactic level (S-structure) in linguistic theory (Chomsky, 1981) is proposed, to account for agrammatic data from all the languages considered. Agrammatic performance in a variety of tasks (including comprehension) is explained naturally as a consequence of this condition. Several related processing issues are discussed, in particular, the relationship between the proposed structural account and the model offered by Bradley *et al.* (1980).

85–269 Grosjean, François. How long is the sentence? Prediction and prosody in the on-line processing of language. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **21**, 3 (1983), 501–29.

The gating paradigm (Grosjean, 1980) was used to determine whether subjects who are listening to the 'potentially last word' of a sentence (in this case, a noun before

an optional prepositional phrase) can indicate whether the sentence is over or not, and if it is not over, how much longer it will last. Sentences that contained endings ranging in length from zero to nine words were gated on the object noun and presented to subjects who had to choose which of four sentences was being presented or press a key at a point in time when they felt the sentence would have ended had it been presented in full. Results showed that, basing themselves solely on prosodic cues, subjects were surprisingly accurate at predicting the length of the upcoming endings. An acoustic analysis of the test sentences showed a strong relationship between measures of fundamental frequency, amplitude and duration, and the experimental data. These findings are discussed in terms of the predictive and interpretative roles of prosody during the on-line processing of language.

85-270 Hudson, Judith and Nelson, Katherine (City U. of New York). Play with language: overextensions as analogies. *Journal of Child Language* (London), **11**, 2 (1984), 337-46.

This study experimentally investigated the hypothesis that some of young children's overextensions are analogic expressions by comparing children's labelling of objects in a naming task to their labelling of the same objects in a play situation. All of the 11 children (1;8-2;4) renamed substitute objects during pretend play. Criteria were established which identified 27% of children's renamings as analogic. Analysis of children's choice of substitute objects in pretend play showed that older children's (2;2-2;4) selections were influenced by their previous naming of the objects. In addition, both younger and older children tended to choose more functionally similar objects over more physically similar objects although ambiguous objects were renamed most often. Records collected by mothers for one week provided further evidence that children spontaneously produce analogic extensions.

85-271 Hynd, George W. (U. of Georgia & Medical Coll. of Georgia) and **Hynd, Cynthia R.** (U. of Georgia). Dyslexia: neuroanatomical/neurolinguistic perspectives. *Reading Research Quarterly* (Newark, Del), **19**, 4 (1984), 482-98.

Dyslexia has been and continues to be a controversial term describing a severe reading disability that is presumed to be of neurological origin. Researchers in reading base much of their criticism regarding dyslexia on seriously outdated views of the psychological and neurological literature. Much, if not all, of the recent research on dyslexia conducted by neuroscientists is ignored in favour of a simplistic view of this disorder. In response, two areas of concern regarding dyslexia are addressed in this article. First, a review of attempts to define dyslexia adequately is presented, with a focus on recent efforts at developing a nosology of dyslexia. Secondly, the neurological basis of reading and severe reading failure is also discussed with an emphasis on validating evidence provided through brain-mapping procedures and cytoarchitectonic (post-mortem) studies. Neurolinguistic investigations that relate deficient sub-processes in reading to neuropsychologically derived models of reading failure may provide further evidence as to important brain-behaviour relations. It is argued that the application of the term dyslexia to severe reading failure of neurologic origin is

appropriate, since an adequate definition of this condition exists and concrete evidence is available attesting to the unique neurolinguistic and neuropsychological nature of the disorder.

85-272 Kachru, Braj B. The bilingual's creativity: discorsal and stylistic strategies in contact literatures in English. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* (Urbana-Champaign, USA), **13**, 2 (1983), 37-55.

The processes of the bilingual's creativity are discussed with special reference to what have been termed 'contact literatures' in English. The term refers to creative writing by non-Western bilingual users of English in typical non-Western settings where English is primarily used as an institutionalised second language. Such literatures exhibit stylistic and discorsal characteristics that differ markedly from the traditional canons of English literature. This divergence arises from the novel social and cultural thematic contexts of contact literatures, and from the transfer of cohesive devices, rhetorical strategies, and underlying thought-patterns and conventions of coherence from writers' other languages. As a result, 'un-English' linguistic, aesthetic, social and cultural norms develop for creative writing in non-native varieties of English, giving to each contact literature a unique 'meaning potential'. Discorsal and stylistic features of these contact literatures are shown to have far-reaching implications for linguistic theory, language change and research methodology. The linguistic innovations used in this fast-growing body of writing are also important for understanding the bilingual's creativity, and for the accurate interpretation and analysis of literatures in English.

85-273 Kail, Michèle (Lab. de Psychologie Expérimentale associé au CNRS, Paris) and **Weissenborn, Jürgen** (Max-Planck-Inst. für Psycholinguistik, Nijmegen). A developmental cross-linguistic study of adversative connectives: French 'mais' and German 'aber/sondern'. *Journal of Child Language* (London), **11**, 1 (1984), 143-58.

This study concerns the acquisition of the meaning of adversative connectives in French and German children from 7;8 to 9;11. French *mais* has both a substitutive and a contrastive use which is expressed by two different connectives in German, i.e. *sondern* and *aber*. 36 French and 36 German children were tested in a completion and a judgement task. Two hypotheses are confirmed: (a) substitutive *but* is easier to process and hence is acquired earlier than contrastive *but*; (b) the interpretation of contrastive *but*-sentences depends on their inferential complexity relative to a given context. A third assumption about the facilitative effect of lexical differentiation in German was only partially supported by the data. This issue needs further investigation with more languages and younger children.

85-274 Klein, Harriet B. (New York U.) Learning to stress: a case study. *Journal of Child Language* (London), **11**, 2 (1984), 375-90.

A repertoire of polysyllabic words, produced by an approximately 2-year-old child, was analysed for primary stress application. A general rule for stress application did

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not emerge from the data. Instead, much variability existed among tokens of individual lexical items (which were imitative and/or spontaneous) and among different lexical items with the same stress contour, regarding the placement of primary stress. Intraword and interword variation suggested the existence of four groups of words treated differently with respect to primary stress placement. The word groups were separated by their characteristic stress contours, which were (1) conventional primary stress, (2) misplaced stress, (3) level stress and (4) undetermined stress. In general, consistent application of conventional stress was related, significantly, with lexical items represented by primarily spontaneous tokens. Results support a view of lexical primacy during early stages of learning word stress.

85–275 Marshall, Philip H. and Caraveo-Ramos, Libardo Eduardo (Texas Tech. U.) Bilingual frequency encoding. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), **13**, 4 (1984), 295–306.

Two experiments are reported that examine the nature of the processing of frequency information in Spanish-English bilinguals. In the first study, subjects studied a list of English-only, Spanish-only and mixed-language words varying in their frequency of occurrence, and under conditions of being either informed or uninformed about the later frequency test. Subjects were then shown pictures representing the nominally presented items and had to give frequency judgements for the words depicting the objects. Frequency judgements were significantly faster when the words had been presented in a single language, suggesting a summation of access times for the mixed-language words. Instructional conditions had no effect on frequency judgements, but the latency to judge was significantly reduced for the informed subjects. In the second study, using similar acquisition procedures, subjects were shown test words in either the same or the different language from the one in which the words were originally experienced. Subjects demonstrated a clear ability to assign frequencies according to the relationship between acquisition and test language. The data are discussed in terms of supporting the hypothesis of separate bilingual language processing, and implications for the automatic nature of frequency acquisition are also addressed.

85–276 Roth, Froma P. (U. of Maryland). *Journal of Child Language* (London), **11**, 1 (1984), 89–107.

To examine the effects of direct intervention on language learning, 18 children ranging in age from 3;6 to 4;6 were systematically taught linguistic structures still beyond their developmental grasp. Four types of relative clause sentences were trained, using a toy manipulation task. Solid improvement was found in the performance of subjects in the two experimental conditions between the pre- and post-test phases. No significant improvement was demonstrated by the control condition subjects. This successful outcome is viewed as demonstrating that the language learning process is somewhat independent of cognitive development. In addition, error response analyses indicated that the First Noun strategy accounted for the majority of errors, providing support for the canonical-sentoid hypothesis.

85–277 Scott, Cheryl M. (Oklahoma State U.). Adverbial connectivity in conversations of children 6 to 12. *Journal of Child Language* (London), **11**, 2 (1984), 423–52.

Natural language samples of 114 children aged 6 to 12 years are analysed for instances of discourse connectivity via adverbial conjuncts and disjuncts. Conjunct use is just emerging at 6 and is limited to the encoding of a subset of possible logical relations with only one lexical item per relation (transitional *now*, inferential *then*, result *so* and concessive *though*). Developmental progress takes the form of increasing use of the same conjuncts, plus additional logical relations and an increasing repertoire of lexical items per relation. Disjunct use is rare at all ages and largely limited to *really* and *probably*. Developmental interactions between form, content and use (discourse context) are probed. The 12-year-old child falls far short of an adult rate of production but is learning a similar set of connectivity forms.

85–278 Shanon, Benny (Hebrew U. of Jerusalem). Answers to 'where'-questions. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **6**, 4 (1983), 319–352.

This study consists of an empirical test of the psychological reality of the formal room theory proposed by Rumelhart (1974) for the characterisation of appropriate answers to *where*-questions. This theory defines an answer-generation algorithm which specifies the level (room) on which an answer is given as a function of the category of the target questioned about and its distance from the conversants. The answers generated are vertical in the sense that they consist of the placement of the target in a room which contains it (e.g., 'The Empire State Building is in New York City').

Three experiments conducted on normal adults in both Israel and the US showed that the answers people give to *where*-questions do, in fact, vary with the category of the target and its distance. However, systematic deviations from the predictions of the room theory were noted. Consequently, an extended room theory is proposed which includes amendments having to do both with conceptual representation and with processing. The extended theory provides for the generation of not only vertical answers but also of horizontal relational ('North of Israel' and featural ones 'It is hot there'). In addition, the study includes a structural-linguistic typology of the variety of expressions employed in the answering of *where*-questions, a consideration of the interaction between the formal-topological room theory and the factors of knowledge and intention, and a discussion of the place of the present proposal within a general pragmatic framework of cognition.

PRAGMATICS

85–279 Bouchard, Robert. (U. of Grenoble). De l'analyse conversationnelle à l'évaluation de l'oral en classe. [From analysis of conversation to evaluation of classroom talk.] *Français dans le Monde* (Paris), **186** (1984), 33–41.

A communicative profile of what happens in the language classroom is established on the basis not of a single model but of several superimposed models, each exemplifying

a different set of data. There is, however, no attempt to be totally comprehensive since it is possible to understand the essentials of the complex interactions of classroom talk without utilising every conceivable recordable aspect of it. Analysis proceeds from an external quantitative study of the length and frequency of interventions to an internal approach in terms of 'moves' (in the sense used by Goffmann) and from there to a study of the relations between moves. [An annexe includes the text of a brief analysed extract from a 45-minute French language class and a diagram illustrating the communicative profile derived from it.]

85–280 Candlin, Christopher N. and Saedi, Kazem Lotfipour (U. of Lancaster). Processes of discourse. *Journal of Applied Language Study* (Weybridge, Surrey), 1, 2 (1983), 103–33.

Text is the meeting ground between writer and reader, the former using an 'elaborative' discourse process to fill in the information gap, while the latter engages in a 'reductive' process in selecting the information he needs. The writer produces text under five constraining factors: subject matter, communicative intentions, genres and schemata, presumptions about the reader's background knowledge and the reader's cognitive limitations. The reader negotiates the message by reduction under four constraints: his goals, background knowledge, accumulated knowledge and cognitive abilities.

This contention is illustrated with detailed reference to medical texts, and it is shown that text consists of schemata composed of hierarchically organised clusters of 'hyperthemes' incorporating discorsal themes on a vertical dimension, which in their turn can be linked together on a horizontal dimension, which taxes the various reader limitations.

Pedagogic applications of these insights are suggested. Reading passages might be restructured to clarify the schema for learners. Since note-taking represents the reader's reductive process, it can be applied in reverse to make him both a better reader and a better writer, alerting him to the need for clear schemata.

85–281 Ehlich, Konrad (Dortmund U., FRG). Writing ancillary to telling. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), 7, 5 (1983), 495–506.

In present-day European and North American cultures there is a clear division of tasks between oral and written forms of communication: oral forms accomplish the tasks of 'simple', everyday communication ('empractic' linguistic activity, i.e. fulfilling practical purposes, and 'homiletic discourse', i.e. discourse for entertainment); while written forms accomplish the tasks of 'higher', complex communication (institutional communication of any complexity and importance, and the organisation and transmission of collective, societal knowledge). The latter type of task is generally held in higher esteem, but historically this has by no means always been the case. One facet of this shift in evaluation is considered here, namely, the role of written v. oral communication in the transmission of societal knowledge. It is hardly possible nowadays to imagine how the latter could be organised without the help of writing because societal knowledge is so complex. Groups who transmit knowledge without

written forms utilise highly complex transmission processes. Knowledge itself has to be fitted into forms which facilitate transmission, e.g. lists, registers, narratives.

Writing seems to have begun in two centres: the Far East and the Near East. Clay tokens used as counters for book-keeping were the immediate precursors of writing systems. The economic transactions thus reported are a different kind of knowledge (about particular events) from that transmitted orally by means of practice and oral communication ('know-how' and knowledge about events and actions relevant to the group). Such economic transactions are 'ephemeric knowledge', which must be stored because by its nature it is easily forgotten. Writing at this stage was a poor means compared to the rich and complex forms of oral transmission of knowledge.

Nevertheless, writing gained ground steadily through the following centuries, and the domain of its application expanded. It became a means of transmission of societal knowledge, then a dispute arose as to which of the two forms was the best. A central topic was the question of the reliability of the personal/oral method as against the impersonal/written method. For Plato, writing was inferior to telling precisely because of the absence of personal contact. Authenticity was guaranteed by the personal continuity of oral transmission; the written text was vulnerable to forgery. The devaluation of the oral tradition was an important part of the Reformation and of the transformation of feudal society into today's various forms of societal organisation. The modern trend is towards a renewed interest in oral forms of communication and the values they incorporate.

85–282 Gardès-Madray, Françoise (U. of Montpellier III). *Praxématique et interaction verbal*. [Praxis and verbal interaction.] *Langages* (Paris), **74** (1984), 15–29.

An analysis of a fragment of conversation data focuses on the ways in which one interviewee (a French miner of Polish extraction) expresses his socio-cultural identity through his conversation. Breakdowns, phonology and pausing, sociocentric sequences (*bon, j'sais pas*), self-interruptions, naming and avoidance strategies are described in varying detail. The fragment has been chosen because it exhibits a high frequency of conversational 'breakdowns' and it is suggested that this may be in part the result of the sensitive nature of the topic – the interviewee's Polish name. The Polish names used have an unstable phonology (French/Polish) throughout the conversation – a surface manifestation of unstable social-psychological status.

85–283 Gardner-Chloros, Penelope (U. Louis Pasteur, Strasbourg). *Code-switching: approches principales et perspectives*. [Code-switching: principal approaches and perspectives.] *Linguistique* (Paris), **19**, 1 (1983), 21–53.

This review of work on code switching since the inception of the term some 30 years ago includes description of the main lines of research and the principal theories. Various definitions of the term are reviewed and types of code switching outlined. The research is categorised into two broad areas: psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. The two most fruitful directions for future research are (i) attempts to formulate discourse rules for mixed discourse, and (ii) sociolinguistic studies which see code switching as

one manifestation of more general conversational strategies such as accommodation and divergence.

85–284 Guespin, Louis (U. of Rouen). Interaction verbale et catégorisation dans l'entretien: sur une enquête sociologique à Louviers. [Verbal interaction and categorisation in interviews: a sociological survey at Louviers.] *Langages* (Paris), **74** (1984), 47–91.

A corpus of four conversation extracts, matched for topic and socio-economic background of participants, are used for an ethnomethodologically based (conversational analysis) account of question–answer exchanges in interviews. Questioning has a special status conferred on it by interviews; this is shown by details of the conversation (e.g. you don't thank someone for each piece of information). Each extract is subjected to a close social psychological analysis.

85–285 Harness Goodwin, Marjorie. Aggravated correction and disagreement in children's conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **7**, 6 (1983), 657–77.

This paper investigates features of 'aggravated' correction and disagreement in the naturally occurring conversations of urban black children, ages 4–14. Intonation contours, turn shapes, and the patterning of sequences demonstrate an orientation towards displaying rather than mitigating expressions of opposition with previous utterances. Such phenomena are constructed through systematic selections of alternatives to procedures for constructing agreement and for accomplishing repair in adult conversation.

85–286 Haverkate, Henk. Strategies in linguistic action. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **7**, 6 (1983), 637–56.

Strategies in linguistic action can be properly described in terms of a componential analysis of the speech act. The sub-acts to be distinguished are the phonetic, the illocutionary, the referring and the predicating act. The first section serves as a general introduction to the subject, dealing in particular with the concepts of weak and strong successfulness, and the intention and the purpose of actions. In the following sections some concrete examples are presented in order to demonstrate which kinds of strategies speakers develop in performing each of the four sub-acts distinguished. At the referring level, for instance, the category of vocatives and the distinction between polite and familiar forms of address is discussed; at the illocutionary level particular attention is paid to the strategies inherent in the performance of impositive speech acts. In relation to this certain formal and strategical properties of indirect speech acts are analysed. In the concluding section the hypothesis is put forward that languages might differ as to the proportion in which their speakers prefer to make use of phonetic, illocutionary, referring or predicating strategies.

85–287 Hutchinson, Chris (Mohammed V U., Rabat). The act of narration: a critical survey of some speech-act theories of narrative discourse. *Journal of Literary Semantics* (Heidelberg, FRG), **13**, 1 (1984), 3–34.

Searle and others have contended that the speech acts of fictional discourse are in fact pretended speech acts. Several flaws in this argument can be located, resting as it does on an unnecessarily narrow conception of language use. The writer of fiction is not pretending to make assertions about purportedly actual events and states of affairs, but rather actually making assertions of a particular kind whose function is to evoke an imaginary or ‘possible’ world. The purpose of narrative is to engage the hearer in issues – moral, aesthetic and the like – that the speaker regards as in some way important. Nevertheless, the constituent propositions of a narrative, understood literally, have no intended relevance in the world and exact no commitment from the hearer.

85–288 Lüger, Heinz-Helmut. Some aspects of ritual communication. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **7**, 6 (1983), 695–711.

This paper deals first of all with the relationship between conventional and individual aspects of speech activity. When individual factors of communication are reduced and constitutive conditions changed or distorted, certain consequences for communication ensue. An analysis of these consequences is offered. The ritualised element in speech is characterised by restricted individuality, as well as by being the consequence of a specific over-conventionalisation. Particular emphasis is placed on the degree to which this ritualised element in speech can be described. Finally, by examining selected examples of communication, the paper hopes to contribute to a more differential definition of the concept of linguistic ritual.

85–289 Manelis, Leon (Illinois State U.) Effects of prose structure on memory. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **6**, 4 (1983), 403–10.

Predicting the relative memorability of ideas within prose passages has been based on several complex types of analysis. One such analysis is examined here. It is suggested that a factor underlying the complex analysis is amount of elaboration. The results of two experiments support this interpretation, and it is argued that elaboration is a parsimonious and theoretically meaningful explanation, at a general level.

85–290 Platt, John and Webster, Heidi (Monash U.) Speech convergence miscarried: an investigation into inappropriate accommodation strategies. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Amsterdam), **46** (1984), 131–46.

Inappropriate accommodation strategies in recorded interaction between native English speakers and speakers of Singapore’s local nativised variety of English are exemplified and discussed. The three main causes of ‘misfire’ in attempts at convergence are: (i) interference from the background languages and from cultural strategies (e.g. intonation, greeting exchanges) appropriate in ethnic intergroup communication; (ii) insufficient knowledge of the communicative strategies and/or

stylistic variations within the other speech variety (e.g. Singaporeans' use of formal, literary or archaic English to tourists); and (iii) incorrect or insufficient membership of the addressee. Other examples indicate that misfire can occur because of incomplete attempts at convergence where, for instance, a speaker may have achieved a high degree of approximation in some features, a lower degree in others, and zero approximation in another set, or because of inappropriate attempts (e.g. wrong choice of code).

85–291 Reeder, Kenneth (U. of British Columbia). Classifications of children's speech acts: a consumer's guide. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **7**, 6 (1983), 679–94.

This paper enumerates eight problems of design and application which must be addressed by any proposed analysis of children's language production into speech acts. These problems fall into two main classes. 'Problems of definition' include defining the unit of analysis and its domain in speech data, and defining and relating one to another the taxonomy's levels of abstraction in a motivated fashion. 'Problems of application' include vagueness of textual realisation of illocutionary force, canonical syntactic realisation of illocutionary acts, sequentially and simultaneously multiple illocutionary forces, conversational implicature, illocutionary forces constructed in dialogue, and discontinuous illocutionary acts.

Each problem is explicated and exemplified by production data from subjects taking part in a naturalistic longitudinal study of illocutionary act development. Published proposals for the analysis of children's speech acts are critically reviewed with respect to the adequacy of their treatment of each problem in turn.

Finally, it is proposed that clinical or research 'consumers' who require speech-act analytic tools for use with samples of child language should assess the appropriateness of such taxonomies by means of their relative success in addressing the range of conceptual and design problems enumerated here.

85–292 Rehbein, Jochen (U. of Hamburg). Remarks on the empirical analysis of action and speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **8**, 1 (1984), 49–63.

This contribution aims at giving insight into procedures of an action-oriented speech-analysis. The basic idea is that speech actions (as actions in general) have to be analysed with regard to their function within the broader frame of action which we call 'action-pattern', and which encompasses mental as well as interactional types of actions. The method is illustrated and reflected *in actu* by way of interpreting transcribed language material; the linguistic phenomenon of 'question sequence' is explained in terms of pattern categories. At the end, extensions of the method conceived of as 'comparative pragmatics' are pointed out.

85–293 Rumelhart, Marilyn A. (San Diego State U.) When in doubt: strategies used in response to interactional uncertainty. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **6**, 4 (1983), 377–402.

This paper is an analysis of the interaction strategies employed by a conversational participant who is unsure that he or she understands the content and/or the context of the interaction well enough to contribute appropriately to it but feels impelled to continue participating anyway. Data gathered during a participant-observation study of an organisation serving developmentally disabled adults led to the identification of 11 such strategies. The strategies fall into two basic classes: defensive strategies, in which the participant attempts to manage the conversation by saying as little as possible of substance; and offensive strategies, in which the uncertain participant tries to push the conversation toward safer and more certain grounds.

85–294 Ströeck, Jürgen (Free U., Berlin). Embodied contexts, transcontextuals, and the timing of speech acts. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **8**, 1 (1984), 113–37.

The notion 'context' appears to be among the most widely used concepts in recent linguistics. Researchers in semantics and pragmatics argue that the performance of speech acts and the understanding of utterances depend upon situational circumstances of language use. Nevertheless, Erickson's statement that 'our theoretical understanding of context is singularly undifferentiated' (Erickson, 1980: 4) does not seem exaggerated. In contrast to other units of linguistic communication and analysis (e.g., phoneme, sentence, or speech act), contexts have rarely been subjected to empirical scrutiny, nor have they been defined as 'bounded' and 'recognisable units' of communicative behaviour. The term 'context' generally serves as a waste-basket category under which any potentially relevant kind of extralinguistic factor is listed.

The two uses of 'context' which predominate in discourse analysis and linguistic pragmatics (the 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches), are unlikely to lead to a theoretically sound and empirically viable definition of contexts as units. An approach to context is proposed based on the analysis of the behavioural organisation of face-to-face interaction, which takes interactive territories and 'embodiments' (postural configurations) as its starting point. A detailed analysis of one incident in teacher-child communication shows how the timing of speech acts with respect to postural configurations bears upon their interactive treatment, and how it affects the consequences of those acts.

Postural configurations are public manifestations of a group's working consensus; they constitute the most immediate communicatively achieved contextual frames in terms of which talk is organised. The group's interactive responses to a participant's speech act depend, in part, on the issue of whether or not the latter 'fits' into this consensus.

85–295 Stubbs, Michael (U. of Nottingham). Can I have that in writing, please? Some neglected topics in speech act theory. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **7**, 5 (1983), 479–94.

The first half of this article discusses some everyday problems in interpreting language acts. These problems are caused partly by the distancing effect of various media (writing, television, etc.) in which language may be conveyed, as opposed to face-to-face spoken interaction; and have to do mainly with the interpretation of propositional and illocutionary commitment. The second half of the article discusses why speech act theory has failed to provide a satisfactory analysis of such interpretative problems; and discusses the kind of model of the relationship between a speaker/writer, audience and text which is necessary if such real-life examples are to be satisfactorily explained. Studies of the kind proposed can give insight into what it means to be literate in modern societies which depend on the technology of print and other media.