Linguistic description and analysis

91-222 Chur, Jeannette and Dietrich, Rainer. The structure of elementary learner language: a semantic approach to its description. *Linguistics* (Amsterdam), **28**, 3 (1990), 417–52.

Although very simple linguistic varieties of languages like, for instance, learner languages, are assumed to be regularly structured systems, they cause particular problems in the description of their structural properties. Form-oriented approaches, applying the analytical procedures of PSG, may produce adequate grammars of momentary stages of interlanguages. They are, however, not suited for an integrated modelling of both form and function of a given structural device, nor do they provide an appropriate coherent frame for related descriptions of subsequent interlanguages or of other sorts of interrelated variants of a language. UG-based models, on the other hand, run the risk of being substantially underdetermined by elementary learner varieties, to say the least.

This paper discusses a theoretical frame for the integrated semantic and syntactic reconstruction of elementary L2 systems which, at the same time, provides the possibility of being extended in a natural way to fit the needs of more elaborate and complex grammars. Rooted in the basic semantic structures of sentences, it supplies the analyst with a general level of comparison independent of the formal features of different varieties. Using as a theoretical background an extended second-order predicate calculus, the grammar of predication, it is argued and evidenced by data from elementary German L2 of Chinese learners that at the start a grammar is composed of two basic semantic categories denoting individuals and properties respectively, the former being syntacticised as N, and the latter as V. Also discussed is the application of the model to more elaborate L2 varieties and to some related phenomena of the target language.

91-223 Tanaka, Toshiya. Semantic changes of CAN and MAY: differentiation and implication. *Linguistics* (Amsterdam), **28**, 1 (1990), 89–123.

It is widely known that the meanings of English CAN and MAY have changed from 'to know (how to)' to 'to be able to', 'to be possible', etc., and from 'to have power (to)' or 'to be able to' to 'to be allowed to', 'to be possible', etc. The main concern of this paper is to investigate why CAN and MAY have undergone such semantic changes and what kind of linguistic mechanisms are involved.

In order to approach this problem, this paper analyses corresponding cases in other Germanic languages and in the Romance languages. These analyses reveal that the semantic changes of CAN and MAY are due to a peculiarly Germanic distribution of the relevant items in the vocabulary, and that these changes can be understood in terms of two mechanisms of semantic change: 'differentiation' and 'implication'. Evidence from Russian is also presented to endorse the validity of this approach.

Sociolinguistics

91-224 Becker-Mrotzek, Michael. Kommunikation und Sprache in Institutionen. Ein Forschungsbericht zur Analyse institutioneller Kommunikation. [Communication and language in institutions. Research into the analysis of institutional communication.] *Deutsche Sprache* (Berlin, Germany), **18**, 3 (1990), 241–59.

Four contributions to the theory and practice of institutional communication are reviewed. (1) Schröder's book contains transcriptions of dialogues at advice centres on different topics. (2) Nothdurft's monograph examines doctor–patient dialogues in the area of genetics and notes that institutional structures preclude the discussion of ethical aspects. (3) Wenzel examines dialogues in Social Security offices relating to applications for welfare payments, while (4) Selting looks at the problems of comprehension in a Citizen's Advice Bureau and a Society Security office. The general conclusion is that dialogues in institutional contexts are much more constrained and that people who do not have access to information kept by the institution or are not familiar with appropriate procedures are at a great disadvantage.

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91–225 Grin, François (U. of Montréal). The economic approach to minority languages. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Clevedon, Avon), **11**, 1-/-2 (1990), 153–73.

This paper begins with a brief survey of existing contributions about language by economists. The relevance of these contributions to the specific case of minority languages in Europe is then critically assessed. After defining what is meant here by 'minority languages', the paper explains the fundamental economic reasoning on the basis of which minority language use can be modelled. A simple model of minority language use is developed, providing some results that can be of help in evaluating the efficiency of proposed language policies. The impact of subsidising minority language goods, of increasing wage rates in minority language areas, and of offering better exposure to the minority language are shown to yield ambiguous results unless some conditions are met; these conditions regard the sensitivity of minority language activities to certain prices and to the wage rate offered on the labour market. The model also suggests that pouring money into minority language areas will yield disappointing results unless there is a firm commitment to improve the image of the language.

91–226 Watts, Richard J. Language, dialect and national identity in Switzerland. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), **7**, 3 (1988), 313–34.

This paper deals with language and socio-cultural identity in Switzerland, one country within Europe with an avowed multilingual policy which, on the surface at least, appears to work. However, if we go below the surface of official policy making and the apparently harmonious co-existence of the various ethnic groups, linguistic conflict is in evidence. One way of revealing this conflict and highlighting possible reasons for it is to study what happens at the micro-level of interpersonal, socio-communicative interaction. It is noticeable that a number of official, semi-official and unofficial pronouncements are made on the macro-level of the mass media in Switzerland on the problems of language conflict, most of which, however, fail to get at the complex relationship between language, ethnic identity and national identity. In order to demonstrate the validity of the hypothesis, certain relevant sections taken from a one-and-a-half-hour discussion on German-speaking Swiss television between French-speaking and German-speaking Swiss, conducted in standard German, are commented upon and evaluated.

91–227 Woolard, Kathryn A. (U. of California, San Diego) **and Gahng, Tae-Joong** (U. of Wisconsin, Madison). Changing language policies and attitudes in autonomous Catalonia. *Language in Society* (London), **19**, 3 (1990), 311–30.

The effects of language policies on the symbolic value of the linguistic repertoire merit consideration in needed studies of the consequences of language status planning. Since achieving political autonomy within Spain in 1979, Catalonia has instituted a number of policies, particularly in education, to enhance the status and use of Catalan. A matched guise test was conducted among students in Barcelona in 1980 and again in 1987 to gauge changes in attitudes toward Catalan and Castilian. Conflict between positive status and negative solidarity values of Catalan for non-native speakers found in 1980 appears to be resolved in 1987. Three aspects of public language policy have attenuated ethnic constraints against non-native use of Catalan, but further changes in social relations may be necessary to alter patterns of language choice.

Psycholinguistics

91–228 Bohn, Ocke-Schwen and Flege, James Emil (U. of Alabama, Birmingham). Interlingual identification and the role of foreign language experience in L2 vowel perception. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **11**, 3 (1990), 303–28.

This article examines the perception of four English vowels (/i, ɪ, ɛ, æ/) by adult native speakers of German. From the standpoint of German, it appears that English /i, ɪ, ɛ/ are perceptually similar, if not identical, to German /i, ɪ, ɛ/, whereas /æ/ is a 'new' vowel for German learners of English. The role of

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foreign language experience in the perception of second-language vowels was examined through labelling responses to members of synthetic continua (*beat–bit*, *bet–bat*) in which vowel duration and spectrum were varied factorially. The subjects were relatively experienced and inexperienced second-language (L2) learners and a monolingual English control group. The results suggest that L2 experience did not affect perception for the continuum with the two 'similar' vowels /i/ and /ɪ/. However, for the continuum involving the 'new' vowel /æ/, the experienced Germans more closely resembled the native English speakers than the inexperienced Germans. The predominant use of duration cues in differentiating the English /ɛ/–/æ/ contrast by the inexperienced Germans suggested that when spectral cues are insufficient to differentiate an L2 vowel contrast, duration will be used.

91–229 Bryant, Peter and others (U. of Oxford). Rhyme, language, and children's reading. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **11**, 3 (1990), 237–52.

It has been shown that there is a strong relation between children's phonological skills and the progress that they make in reading. But there is some uncertainty whether this is a specific connection or whether it is just a byproduct of variations in general language ability. Evidence from a longitudinal study is reported showing that the relation between children's sensitivity to rhyme and alliteration and their success in reading is highly specific and cannot be accounted for in terms of general language ability. In this study measures were taken of a group of children's linguistic and metalinguistic skills when they were 3 and 4 years old. The linguistic measures were of the children's vocabulary, their receptive and expressive use of grammar, and their ability to imitate sentences. The metalinguistic measures were of their ability to detect rhyme and alliteration and of their awareness of syntax. Two to three years later, when the children were 6;7, their progress in reading and spelling was measured. The children's rhyme and alliteration scores were related to their reading two years later even after controls for differences in linguistic skills and also for differences in intelligence and social background. The other metalinguistic task – syntax awareness – did not predict reading after these controls. Awareness of rhyme makes a distinctive contribution to reading by helping children to form spelling categories.

91–230 Cutler, Anne (MRC Applied Psychology Unit, Cambridge) **and Scott, Donia R.** (U. of Sussex). Speaker sex and perceived apportionment of talk. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **11**, 3 (1990), 253–72.

It is a widely held belief that women talk more than men; but experimental evidence has suggested that this belief is mistaken. The present study investigated whether listener bias contributes to this mistake. Dialogues were recorded in mixed-sex and single-sex versions, and male and female listeners judged the proportions of talk contributed to the dialogues by each participant. Female contributions to mixed-sex dialogues were rated as greater than male contributions by both male and female listeners. Female contributions were more likely to be overestimated when they were speaking a dialogue part perceived as probably female than when they were speaking a dialogue part perceived as probably male. It is suggested that the misestimates are due to a complex of factors that may involve both perceptual effects such as misjudgment of rates of speech and sociological effects such as attitudes to social roles and perception of power relations.

91–231 Deffner, Gerhard. Concurrent thinking aloud: an on-line tool for studying representations used in text understanding. *Text* (Amsterdam), **8**, 4 (1988), 351–67.

The material analysed here comes from an experiment concluding a series of earlier experimental investigations of the possible effects of concurrent verbalisations. The new study clarifies some open issues and suggests that no serious qualitative effects are to be expected. The question of whether the method can help uncover relevant data on text understanding is discussed in the light of the subjects' use of strategies that imply the use of different kinds of representations. Concurrent verbalisations are shown to provide data about strategy use, and thus about the type of understanding that has occurred (pictorial analog representations vs. logical structure). On the basis of this, it becomes possible to trace also the time course of strategy selection. Concurrent protocols on the other hand do not

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reveal any information about the processes of strategy selection. This fact has to be seen in the light of Ericsson and Simon's model of concurrent verbalisation: it only claims that the products of controlled processing can be verbalised. The fact that no processes of strategy selection are reflected in concurrent protocols must be interpreted as an indication that such processes are very fast and highly automated. In order to gain access to such metacognitive processes, the use of heavily cued retrospective verbalisation is suggested.

91-232 Ericsson, K. Anders. Concurrent verbal reports on text comprehension: a review. *Text* (Amsterdam), **8**, 4 (1988), 295-325.

Ericsson and Simon's theoretical framework for verbal reports on cognitive processes is described. Current theories of text comprehension are reviewed to identify information to which people pay attention during comprehension of text. Predictions for the extent and content of subjects' verbal reports during comprehension are derived. In an empirical review of studies in which verbal reports on reading and text comprehension were collected, these predictions are evaluated, and empirical results are summarised for several categories of studies with different verbal-report procedures. Studies using unconstrained reading are distinguished from studies using sentence-by-sentence reading, and studies in which subjects' report on actual thoughts during text comprehension are separated from those in which subjects' comment on their comprehension of texts. Studies of reading aloud and of comprehension of specialised texts, such as problem descriptions and legal case descriptions, are discussed and related to the general model of verbalisation of comprehension processes. Concerns and future directions for research on text comprehension with the verbal-report methodology are discussed.

91-233 Ochs, Elinor and Schieffelin, Bambi. Language has a heart. *Text* (Amsterdam), **9**, 1 (1989), 7-25.

In the past several years, the social sciences have been articulating how emotion impacts cognition and social action. Linguists have underestimated the extent to which grammatical and discourse structures serve affective ends. A cross-linguistic analysis indicates that languages dedicate phonological, morpho-syntactic and discourse features to intensify and specify attitudes, moods, feelings and dispositions. These features provide an affective frame for propositions encoded. Such frames can be considered as part of the information expressed, as affective comments on the expressed propositions they address. These comments interface with gestural cues to provide interlocutors with critical information on which to base subsequent social actions.

91-234 Pléh, Csaba and others. Individual differences in story recall. *Text* (Amsterdam), **8**, 4 (1988), 395-410.

Experimental data about the relationships between story recall and personality are presented. Subjects were asked to read a short legendary tale under incidental or intentional study instructions. Recall followed half an hour later and after six weeks. Psychometric data on intelligence and 18 scales from the CPI were used to predict recall.

One general feature of the results was that relations between personality and recall were situation dependent. Higher IQ subjects, for example, were better adapted to the requirements of the task: after intentional studying, they recalled most from the inessential parts of the story, while after incidental study they produced the greatest number of additions.

More reliable subjects usually produced fewer additions. The same was true for introverts with little self-respect. However, introverts, according to the CPI dominance scale, produced relatively more additions compared to the number of facts recalled. These latter results suggest that intraversion, as a cognitive style, influences the process of encoding decreasing specificity, while intro-extraversion is related to the recall attitudes as well: in this respect, extraverts produce more *post hoc* additions. Individual differences, both in encoding and in recall attitudes, affect individual differences in recall in contrast to the unitary proposals found in the literature.

The results of the experiments are discussed with reference to the issue of whether by using entirely verbal material, we can learn something about the overall issue of the relationships between personality and memory. The data support the modest claim that some aspects of verbal self-reports about social skills and habits indeed seem to be related to behaviour in real-life social situations.

91-235 Schmalhofer, Franz and Boschert, Stefan. Differences in verbalisations during knowledge acquisition from texts, and discovery learning from example situations. *Text* (Amsterdam), **8**, 4 (1988), 369-93.

Verbal protocols are intricate data which may lead to detailed insights about comprehension processes. An objective and fruitful analysis of such data requires constraints which reduce the arbitrariness of otherwise only exploratory protocol interpretations. In order to analyse the verbal protocols from the text understanding and discovery learning tasks of two experiments, a model of text- and situation-based learning, the empirical validity of which was thereby further asserted, served as such constraint in the protocol analysis procedure. In the · first experiment, all subjects had the same very general comprehension goal while acquiring some basic knowledge of a programming language (LISP) by studying text and/or programming examples. In the second experiment, specific comprehension products had to be generated: in one instance, programming examples had to be constructed from the presented text, in the other instance general statements had to be inferred from programming examples. In addition to the formation of a text base, the verbal protocols showed the construction of example situations as a process in comprehending technical texts. In the learning from example situations on the other hand, hypothesis formation and generalisation processes were more frequently observed. The model accounted for approximately 60 and 70% of all verbalisations in the two experiments.

91-236 Slowiaczek, Louisa M. (State U. of New York). Effects of lexical stress in auditory word recognition. *Language and Speech* (Hampton Hill, Mddx), **33**, 1 (1990), 47-68.

Although research examining the use of prosodic information in the processing of spoken words has increased in recent years, results from these studies have been inconclusive. The present series of experiments systematically examines the importance of one prosodic variable (lexical stress) in the recognition of isolated spoken words. Data collected in an identification task suggest that segmental information may be more heavily relied upon when appropriate lexical stress information is not available. Results of subsequent reaction time experiments support the hypothesis that lexical stress influences the processing of auditorily presented words. In three shadowing experiments, correctly stressed items were produced faster than incorrectly stressed items, and in a lexical decision experiment, correctly stressed words were classified faster than incorrectly stressed words. Thus, this work provides evidence across several experimental tasks for the use of lexical stress information in the processing of spoken words. Moreover, the data suggest that lexical stress should be an important aspect of the representation of words in an interactive model of auditory word recognition.

91-237 Underwood, Geoffrey and others (U. of Nottingham). Eye fixations predict reading comprehension: the relationships between reading skill, reading speed, and visual inspection. *Language and Speech* (Hampton Hill, Mddx), **33**, 1 (1990), 69-81.

This experiment addressed the question of whether reading comprehension and speed could be predicted by eye fixations. From a sample of university students who completed tests of reading comprehension and vocabulary, a group of highly skilled readers and a group of less skilled readers were selected. These two groups then read sentences as their eye movements were monitored, with fixation locations and durations recorded. A discriminant function analysis showed that fixation duration was a successful predictor of reading comprehension, but that the number of fixations, regressive fixations, reading speed, and vocabulary were not reliable predictors. A multiple regression analysis revealed that reading speed was predicted by the number of fixations, the average fixation duration, and the duration of the final fixation upon the sentence, but there was no relationship with reading ability. Highly skilled readers are those who can extract information efficiently, but are not necessarily those who have fast overall reading rates.

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91-238 Vocate, Donna R. (U. of Colorado at Boulder). Luria on language and mind. *Language and Communication* (Oxford), **10**, 4 (1990), 267-84.

The author describes the work of A. R. Luria, a Soviet neurologist and psychologist, believing that it could expand the domain of human communication theory from a concern with spoken language as a single human behaviour to a domain which includes the attribute of 'mind', the complex essence that defines humanness itself.

Luria was convinced that higher mental processes are sociocultural rather than innate, and voluntary rather than reflexive. Moreover, the most important feature of these processes is that speech plays a decisive role in their formation. Language and speech are intertwined, the former being a culturally determined syntactic system of signs/symbols. For Luria, speech always originates in close connections with immediate experience and is to some extent extemporaneous, whereas 'written speech' is always the product of special training and conscious effort. Luria vehemently rejected 'locationist' approaches which attempt to isolate higher mental processes in particular areas of the brain.

The author infers from Luria's research eight explicit relationships between higher mental processes and language, e.g. that speech is the means by which these processes derive their sociocultural origins. Spoken language is also felt to reorganise the cortical zones which underlie higher mental processes and to provide the means by which the individual actually becomes aware of conscious and voluntary processes.

91-239 Waern, Yvonne. Thoughts on text in context: applying the think-aloud method to text processing. *Text* (Amsterdam), **8**, 4 (1988), 327-50.

The application of the think-aloud method to the study of different text processing tasks is illustrated and discussed. Exploratory studies indicated that some stable general characteristics of think-aloud comment during reading could be found. These characteristics could be categorised reliably in different studies of the reading of various texts. The suggested categories were also sensitive enough to capture the effects of different instructions and texts. In later studies, think-aloud comments were used to illuminate conditional reasoning and interpretation of words in context. The think-aloud comments formed the basis for suggesting a descriptive model for the latter task.

To conclude, it was found that the think-aloud method forced the consideration of a wide range of aspects in describing text processing. Whereas previous models have mainly focused on intratextual relationships and readers' prior knowledge, the new aspects include the use of prior knowledge not only for comprehension but also for idea processing and criticism.

The think-aloud method further stresses the importance of considering evaluation and monitoring processes. In particular, readers have to decide how to continue their processing, once they have failed to comprehend. Finally, the reconstruction of meaning adds a creative aspect to the pure text processing.

Pragmatics

91-240 Bensoussan, Marsha (Haifa U., Israel) **and Rosenhouse, Judith** (Technion, Haifa, Israel). Evaluating student translations by discourse analysis. *Babel* (Budapest), **36**, 2 (1990), 65-84.

Translation of a text was used to evaluate the comprehension of 62 first-year students at the University of Haifa. They translated an English narrative text (530 words) into their mother tongue, either Hebrew (31) or Arabic (31). The translations were examined for their faithfulness to the original at the macro-level (schema) and micro-level (propositions; communicative functions, explicit and implicit; vocabulary and expressions; verb tenses; agreement between nouns and pronouns; cohesion; and acceptability of style).

The results of the two groups indicated that it was not the number of errors but their type and level which was tied in with comprehension of the text. Errors at the macro-level, especially with regard to implicit communicative function, demonstrated lack of comprehension better than micro-level errors, such as in vocabulary.

91–241 Biber, Douglas and Finegan, Edward. Styles of stance in English: lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and effect. *Text* (Amsterdam), **9**, 1 (1989), 93–124.

The present paper identifies and describes various speech styles of English as marked by stance. By stance is meant the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message. In an earlier paper the investigation was limited to the adverbial marking of stance; here the analysis is extended to include adjectival, verbal, and modal markers of stance. All occurrences of a large set of stance markers are identified in 500 texts, drawn principally from the LOB and London–Lund corpora (of written and spoken British English). The stance markers are divided into 12 categories based on semantic and grammatical criteria, and the frequency of occurrence for each category in each text is computed. The 12 categories are (1) affect markers (adverbs, verbs, and adjectives); (2) certainty adverbs; (3) certainty verbs; (4) certainty adjectives; (5) doubt adverbs; (6) doubt verbs; (7) doubt adjectives; (8) hedges; (9) emphatics: (10) possibility modals; (11) necessity modals; and (12) predictive modals. Using a statistical technique called cluster analysis, texts that are maximally similar in their exploitation of stance markers are sorted into clusters. Each cluster is interpreted as a stance style by consideration of the predominant stance features in the cluster, the situational characteristics of the texts constituting the cluster, and a functional analysis of individual texts. Overall, six stance styles are identified, among which are 'Emphatic Expression of Affect', 'Expository Expression of Doubt', and 'Faceless'.

91–242 Blum-Kulka, Shoshana and Weizman, Elda. The inevitability of misunderstandings: discourse ambiguities. *Text* (Amsterdam), **8**, 3 (1988), 219–41.

This paper argues for the inevitability of unresolved misunderstandings in ordinary talk. The discussion combines a pragmatic theory-based formal analysis with a more interpretative approach in the analysis of discourse ambiguities in two naturally occurring conversational segments. First, the authors analyse the interpretive options opened up for the participants by each move of a dialogue lacking in surface evidence of any type of misunderstanding. Second, they follow participants' efforts to clarify intentions in a case where misunderstanding is acknowledged and its nature negotiated. The first case represents a non-negotiated misunderstanding, the second a negotiated one. It is argued that dialogues containing discourse ambiguities feature a prolonged indeterminacy which can be unattended to by both parties, and are furthermore characterised by lack of clear resolution and frame. Either negotiated or not, they leave interactants with contradictory perceptions of the meaning of particular interactions. The analysis raises questions about the adequacy of current views on miscommunications, showing that the levels at which a misunderstanding exists may remain covert.

91–243 Burkhardt, Armin. 'Das ist eine Frage des Intellekts, Frau Kollegin!' Zur Behandlung weiblicher Redner in deutschen Parlamenten. ['It's a question of intellect, dear Madam!' The treatment of women speakers in German Parliaments.] *Sprache und Literatur* (Munich, Germany), **21**, 1 (1990), 61–83.

Linguistic discrimination against women has less to do with masculine-oriented vocabulary than with the way their contributions to discussions are interrupted, ignored or ridiculed. Heckling represents in theory remnants of conversation in a monologue and may be described as interruption signals which can be both verbal and non-verbal. Comparing interruptions in the parliaments of the Weimar Republic and the present-day Bundestag, the author formulated five theses which were sent to each of the 63 women members of the German Bundestag for comment. The way men behave towards women speakers in the Bundestag may be categorised as 'jovial' (patronising, belittling, pseudo-gallant), 'bovial' (aggressive, obstructive, disruptive) or 'chauvial' (making personal remarks about appearance, clothing and manner). Heckling is an essential element of democracy but it is being abused. In comparison with previous parliaments, the 'jovial–respectful' mode of treating women speakers has given way to a 'bovial–contemptuous' one.

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91-244 Chapelle, Carol (Iowa State U.). The discourse of computer-assisted language learning: toward a context for descriptive research. *TESOL Quarterly* (Washington, DC), **24**, 2 (1990), 199–225.

Understanding how the speed, power, and flexibility of computers can facilitate second-language acquisition is an intriguing challenge faced by instructors, researchers, and theorists. Progress in this area, however, does not appear to be forthcoming from current research on computer-assisted language learning (CALL), which suffers from the same limitations as early research on classroom instruction: little detail is provided to describe the interaction among participants during instruction. Moreover, descriptions of CALL activities included in reported research are not empirically based: they fail to describe what subjects actually do while working with CALL. A third problem is that the terms used to describe CALL activities have been developed specifically for that purpose, and are therefore not comparable to those used for classroom activities. At the same time, these descriptors are not sufficiently uniform and formally stated to allow specific comparisons among CALL activities.

Towards a solution to these problems, this paper proposes a discourse analysis of student–computer interaction enabled by viewing the student and the computer as two participants in a dialogue. It argues that the discourse analysis system of classroom interaction developed by Sinclair and Coulthard provides the necessary elements and structures to describe CALL discourse, analyse data from student–computer interaction, and compare CALL activities with other (classroom) activities.

91-245 Dorr-Bremme, Donald W. (U. of California, Los Angeles). Contextualisation cues in the classroom: discourse regulation and social control functions. *Language in Society* (London), **19**, 3 (1990), 379–402.

Under certain circumstances, contextualisation cues become powerful means of achieving social order. The social organisation of a daily group meeting in an American primary-grade classroom is closely examined. Participants recurrently generate certain contexts within the meeting in varying sequence from day to day. Transitions from one to another regularly occur smoothly and unremarkably as interaction unfolds. On some occasions, however, this does not happen. Order breaks down, and the teacher and students implicitly negotiate what the context will be. On the surface, these contrasting patterns seem to arise unpredictably as students choose either to 'behave' or 'misbehave'. That is how the teacher accounts for them. Nevertheless, a closer analysis shows that they are explainable with reference to some subtle contextualisation cues that the teacher, without being consciously aware of it, routinely provides but occasionally omits at context boundaries. Students routinely act on the presence and absence of these cues, which thus become a tacit, jointly constructed means of discourse regulation and social control. Their inadvertent 'omission' becomes a recurrent source of interactional trouble.

91-246 García, Carmen. Apologising in English: politeness strategies used by native and non-native speakers. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), **8**, 1 (1989), 3–20.

This paper presents the results of empirical research comparing the politeness strategies used by Americans and Venezuelans in an English language roleplay situation, apologising to a friend for not having attended his party. The analysis of their conversations indicates that whereas the Americans were deferential and self-effacing towards the offended American host (using negative politeness strategies), the Venezuelans, in line with their sociocultural rules of language use, were friendly but not contrite, expressing themselves in terms of familiarity and solidarity with the host (using positive politeness strategies).

The result of the American approach was the establishment of harmony. It left both the participants and the host comfortable with the outcome. By contrast, the Venezuelan approach led to disharmony between the host and the participants resulting in miscommunication of the intended message. The host was offended by what he perceived as callousness on the part of the Venezuelans, and the Venezuelans for their part felt harassed by a friend who demanded respect when none was called for.

This and other studies have shown that differences in conversational style have the potential for creating disharmony and misunderstanding. Thus it may be desirable to improve cross-cultural communication by using a common highly deferential style which subsequently could be modified if mutually acceptable to the communicative parties.

91-247 Green, John O. and others (Purdue U., Ind). Social goals and speech production: effects of multiple goals on pausal phenomena. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* (Clevedon, Avon), **9**, 2 (1990), 119-34.

There is a current widespread recognition that communication involves the production and processing of messages aimed at accomplishing multiple social goals. Despite this, it remains to discover how people design and implement such messages. The research reported here was undertaken to examine various temporal and content features of multiple-goal messages on the assumption that these features are essential to the development of theory in this domain. The speech of participants given a great number of social goals was contrasted with that of participants assigned the task of pursuing fewer goals. Messages developed in pursuit of more goals were found to be characterised by slower speech onset latency, longer message duration, more frequent use of sociocentric sequences, and a higher rate of ideational repetitions. The effects of construct differentiation on these variables were also examined, but proved to have little effect on the message features of interest.

91-248 Gu, Yueguo (Beijing Foreign Studies U., China). Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **14**, 2 (1990), 237-57.

While politeness in language may be a universal phenomenon, it is argued with reference to modern Chinese that what constitutes polite behaviour is both culture- and language-specific. A model of politeness grounded in the concept of the face-threatening act is revealed to be inadequate to describe Chinese politeness strategies; for example, an invitation considered an imposition in an English context may not be so in Chinese. More generally, this model cannot account for the normative function of politeness in Chinese, constraining speech acts and sequencing in conversation. This moral conception of politeness, underpinned by two cardinal principles of Sincerity (of action) and Balance (concerning what is offered versus what is accepted) makes analysis of a 'Politeness Principle' in terms of maxims appropriate. Seven such maxims are posited, of which four are discussed here. That of Self-Denigration demands modesty regarding oneself and respect for the addressee, while the Address maxim decrees an appropriate term of address for one's interlocutor. The maxims of Tact and Generosity are discussed in the context of invitations. These maxims together enshrine the essential notions of respect, modesty, attitudinal warmth and refinement which underlie the Chinese conception of *limao*, or politeness.

91-249 Harlow, Linda L. (Ohio State U.). Do they mean what they say? Sociopragmatic competence and second-language learners. *Modern Language Journal* (Madison, Wis), **74**, 3 (1990), 328-51.

Defined broadly, sociopragmatic competence consists of the ability to use language appropriately according to its social and situational context. A series of empirical studies on bilinguals and language learners have stressed that acquisition of this ability is as important as acquisition of language structure if a speaker is to communicate successfully in a foreign language.

One such study, of native speakers and non-native learners of French, is reported in detail. Responses to written questionnaires concerning requesting, thanking and apologising strategies reveal how the age and sex of, and the familiarity with, the addressee can affect the strategies used by native speakers to request and thank [examples with discussion]. In comparison, learners' incorrect choices, such as the wrong speech act, the use of *tu* versus *vous* with respect to age and familiarity, or direct requests when indirection is more appropriate, may appear rude or aggressive. Such an effect may prove more detrimental to communication than any lack of fluency in a foreign language.

Thus it is urged that language teachers and textbook authors should guide learners in understanding how contextual variables affect communication strategies, and in so doing encourage them to acquire sociopragmatic competence.

91-250 Held, Gudrun. On the role of maximisation in verbal politeness. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), **8**, 2/3 (1989), 167-206.

In contrast to the more recent linguistic research which identifies verbal politeness with strategies of weakening and indirectness (MIN), this paper examines the relationship between politeness and

forms of linguistic intensification and emphasis (MAX). So far a corpus of French and Italian data has been collected by means of an experimental questionnaire on reactions to imaginary situations. These were set up in order basically to provoke two different types of 'polite' speech acts, *thanking* and *requesting*. With respect to maximising speech strategies, the following points can be made on the basis of a structural analysis of the utterances: (1) In its function of supporting *alter*, *thanking* is rich in routine hyperbolic linguistic means. (2) Requests contain MAX strategies of different types in the contact and appeal phases, in those *supportive acts* in which the reason or justification for the request is given, and, finally, in the focus, which is only possible, however, by their being balanced with MIN strategies.

MAX refers to psychological components which are hierarchically responsible, above all, for the total effect of politeness, viz. truth content, affect and efficiency.

91-251 Herbert, Robert K. (State U. of New York, Binghamton and U. of the Witwatersrand). Sex-based differences in compliment behaviour. *Language in Society* (London), **19**, 2 (1990), 201-24.

Sex-based differences in the form of English compliments and in the frequencies of various compliment response types are discussed. Based on a corpus of 1,062 compliment events, several differences in the form of compliments used by women and men are noted. Further, it is found that compliments from men are generally accepted, especially by female recipients, whereas compliments from women are met with a response type other than acceptance. These findings are set within a broader discussion of male–female differences in speech and the sociology of compliment work. Parallels are drawn between these sex-based differences and differences in norms for national varieties of English relating to the function and frequency of compliments as speech acts and to different response types elicited by diverse functional exploitations of compliment formulas in discourse.

91-252 Holmes, Janet (Victoria U. of Wellington, New Zealand). Hedges and boosters in women's and men's speech. *Language and Communication* (Oxford), **10**, 3 (1990), 185-205.

This investigation into the form, function and distribution of some pragmatic particles identified by Robin Lakoff as characteristic of women's language challenges Lakoff's claims. Analysis of data collected in a range of conversational contexts reveals how tag questions, as well as particles hitherto regarded as simply hedges (*sort of*, *you know* and *I think*) or an intensifier (*of course*), can have a variety of functions. Analysis from a functional perspective shows that these particles are frequently used by women to assert their views with confidence, or as 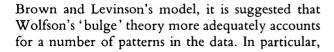signals of solidarity with the addressee, contrary to Lakoff's findings. Hence both tag questions and *sort of* and *you know* are used more often by men than women to express uncertainty. Furthermore, men use *I think* most often in its tentative function and *of course* as an intensifier more than women. Distributional analysis reveals that women do not, again *contra* Lakoff, use significantly more of the particles than men do. Overall, women's usage is seen to be remarkably consistent and reveals them to be confident, facilitative and supportive conversationalists.

91-253 Holmes, Janet (Victoria U. of Wellington). Apologies in New Zealand English. *Language in Society* (London), **19**, 2 (1990), 155-99.

The function of apologies is discussed within the context of a model of interaction with two intersecting dimensions – affective and referential meaning. Apologies are defined as primarily social acts conveying affective meaning. The syntactic, semantic, and sociolinguistic features of apologies are described, based on a corpus of 183 apologies. While apology exchanges divided equally between those which used a combination of strategies and those where a single strategy sufficed, almost all apology exchanges involved an explicit apology. An account is provided of the kinds of social relationships and the range of offences which elicited apologies in this New Zealand corpus.

Apologies are politeness strategies, and an attempt is made to relate the relative 'weightiness' of the offence (assessed using the factors identified as significant in Brown and Levinson's model of politeness) to features of the apology strategies used to remedy it. Though some support is provided for

Brown and Levinson's model, it is suggested that Wolfson's 'bulge' theory more adequately accounts for a number of patterns in the data. In particular, the functions of apologies between friends may be more complex than a simple linear model suggests.

91–254 McHoul, A. W. (Murdoch U.). The organisation of repair in classroom talk. *Language in Society* (London), **19**, 3 (1990), 349–77.

This article is a conversation-analytic investigation of the forms of organisation that allow specific items of classroom discourse – words, phrases, up to whole turns at talk – to be altered by subsequent items. Central to the article is an analytic discussion between self-correction and other-correction, that is, between repair sequences in which the speaker of the initial item (the 'trouble source') makes the correction and instances in which this is performed by one of her or his interlocutors. The classroom case is analytically interesting both for its own sake and on account of research speculations that other-correction should be more frequent in adult–child talk than in other genres of conversation. However, in order to provide an analysis of the problem sensitive to the particularities of the classroom, it is necessary to look not merely at corrections, but at the larger repair trajectories in which they occur. These trajectories consist of corrections plus their prior initiations, the latter being means by which speakers mark out some item as requiring correction. Once the social identities of teacher and student are mapped against self- and other-forms of initiation and correction, it is possible to discern some of the structural preferences of classroom discourse along the general axis of repair. The materials are taken from geography lessons in Australian high-school classrooms.

91–255 Matsumoto, Yoshiko. Politeness and conversational universals – observations from Japanese. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), **8**, 2/3 (1989), 207–21.

Principles of conversation as postulated by Grice, and the politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson, are both presented as universal. Observations of politeness phenomena in Japanese, especially in the use of honorifics, cast such doubt on the explanatory power of these two theories for non-Western languages that it is not clear how, short of major revision, they can be considered as giving an adequate acco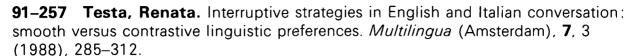unt of conversation and linguistic politeness. In Japanese, for example, social context plays a much larger role than is assumed in their theories. The discrepancy between the theories and practice in Japanese seems to be rooted in the variability across cultures in the expectation of the quantity and type of information that should be conveyed in linguistic communication and in the variability of the motivations underlying the manifestation of politeness.

91–256 Moirand, Sophie (U. Paris III, CEDISCOR). Décrire des discours produits dans des situations professionnelles. [Describing discourse produced in professional situations.] *Français dans le Monde* (Paris), special number Aug/Sept (1990), 52–62.

Language is not normally used simply to inform, but to exercise power and to cause the addressee to act in a certain way. This is done by indirect speech acts: a bank's advertisement for cash machine cards does not say 'use these cards' or 'don't be afraid', but makes the 'factual' statement that use of the cards is simple. The same pattern is seen in an oral exchange between a bank clerk and a customer about whether the latter should or should not use the card machine. Examples from medical texts show that here too the authors are not merely providing facts, but seek to justify themselves and to engage their addressees on a personal level.

Moirand suggests a classification system for professional discourse: the first dimension includes the categories 'narrative', 'descriptive', 'demonstrative', and 'appreciative', the second 'popularisation', 'didactic', 'research', whilst the third covers pragmatic aims, namely to influence what the addressee believes, says, does etc. Language learners should be made aware of such variables, to help them to anticipate and thus to understand.

91-257 Testa, Renata. Interruptive strategies in English and Italian conversation: smooth versus contrastive linguistic preferences. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), **7**, 3 (1988), 285-312.

This paper presents an analysis of the distribution and linguistic features of interruptions in British English and Italian ordinary conversations. Following earlier studies carried out with the paradigm of Conversation Analysis, it is shown that analyses of interruptions require an interpretative study of conversational activities and that interactional factors other than competitive ones may be at work in irregularly marked speaker switches. Contrary to a common belief among native speakers, no relevant differences in frequency of interruptions as violations of conversational rules are found in the two contexts (viz. English vs. Italian conversations). Significant differences are found in terms of the lexical selection of pragmatic particles recurrently marking interruptive turns. Thus, the common use of indirect interruptive pre-starts in English such as *well* or tokens of agreement contrasts with an overwhelming use of direct contrastive markers like *ma* ('but') in Italian. It is suggested that such findings reflect different cultural understanding and preferences in linguistic interaction.