

## Research in the supporting sciences

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### LINGUISTIC THEORY

**86–515 Gee, Julie** (U. of California, Berkeley). An interpretive approach to the study of modality: what child language can tell the linguist. *Studies in Language* (Amsterdam), **9**, 2 (1985), 197–229.

Research into children's use of *will* and *gonna*, and the activity-types proposed to account for their use, indicates that a more ethnographic approach to modality is needed. A more discursive approach which characterises the use of modals in terms of the social activities they are part of and enable gives us a way of unifying their temporal, modal and various other meaning components. If our goal is to understand linguistic modality from the perspective of the speaker, we cannot restrict ourselves to applying preconceived modal categories of children's modal uses without going further and interpreting how the different modalities are worked out and used. The relation between the temporal and modal meanings of modals is discussed in detail.

**86–516 Romaine, Suzanne** (Max-Planck-Inst. für Psycholinguistik, Nijmegen). Why the problem of language acquisition should not be explained logically. *Studies in Language* (Amsterdam), **9**, 2 (1985), 255–70.

The logical problem of child language acquisition becomes virtually unanswerable within the context of research into generative grammar because of the exiguous data base from which the theory selects its facts. The argumentation employed by contributors to Hornstein and Lightfoot (eds.), *Explanation in linguistics. The logical problem of language acquisition* is defective on a number of grounds. To show that one can postulate an abstract analysis of a feature of grammar is one thing; but then to argue that because it could not have been formulated on the basis of 'degenerate' primary linguistic data is another, and the conclusion that such a feature is innate is still another. In order for this line of reasoning to be valid one must first of all show that the abstract analyses are correct, and secondly that the child's primary linguistic data are in fact inadequate to trigger the feature in question which the analysis claims to describe. None of these assumptions is actually shown to be the case. The abstract analyses focus on the syntactic aspects of grammar and are in a sense slaves to the formalism. It also appears that the alleged degenerateness of primary linguistic data has little basis once one looks at actual corpuses of speech.

**86–517 Schaefer, Ronald P.** Toward universal semantic categories for human body space. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 3 (1985), 391–410.

A little-used manner of investigating lexical universals is explored with special reference to the domain of human body space. The investigation is supported by data

obtained from verb–noun collocations in the field of dress in Japanese, Tswana, and Yoruba, as well as from underextension of the superordinate category CLOTHES by English-speaking children and description of events of dress by Japanese-speaking children. Each of these sources establishes equivalence relations among clothing exemplars. Careful examination of the resulting categories reveals the existence of an extremely similar semantic organisation of body space, with the controlling factor appearing to be where a given clothing exemplar is normally worn. In particular, the spatial area of the torso receives prominence, requiring the unmarked verb of dress and specifying where exemplars of the category CLOTHES for English-speaking children are worn. And the complementary extremity area breaks down into three potential categories, for which a top-down principle, favouring the head over the feet, appears to guide their emergence across languages and within child development.

**86–518 Smith, Barry.** Ten conditions on a theory of speech acts. *Theoretical Linguistics* (Dordrecht), 11, 3, (1984), 311–30.

Taking Husserl's theory of dependence as a starting point, this article considers its applications to speech acts in the work of the Munich phenomenologist Adolf Reinach. It can be argued that Reinach had already developed in 1913 the essential elements of what later came to be called the theory of speech acts. A necessary preliminary is the discussion of the criteria for determining what the essential elements of such a theory are. Ten conditions relating to the content of performative acts of language are proposed; they are assembled primarily on the basis of Austrian and German writings around the turn of the century. Reinach's work is shown not to be an isolated phenomenon. Husserl's act-based theory of meaning together with Marty's theory based on the communicative aspects of intimation and appeal are shown to have made possible the synthesis which is Reinach's work of 1913. Reinach's studies in law played an important role in his theory. He was the first to take account of the way in which language actions such as promissings and commandings may have consequences in the quasi-legal sphere. Reinach's theory is shown to be a theory of ontological structures satisfying principles of conditional necessity ('implicational universals') of the forms discussed by Husserl.

## LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

**86–519 Vandeloise, Claude.** Au-delà des descriptions géométriques et logiques de l'espace: une description fonctionnelle. [Beyond geometric and logical descriptions of space: a functional description.] *Linguisticae Investigationes* (Amsterdam), 9, 1 (1985), 109–29.

This paper asks what is the best way of describing spatial prepositions? Even though geometry and logic provide rigorous and useful tools for this undertaking, it is demonstrated that they fall short of describing completely these prepositions. A complete description must take into consideration the movement and the function of their prepositional terms as well as cognitive notions like access to perception, poten-

tial meeting, the relationship container/contained, etc. General orientation, a family resemblance concept whose main features are the frontal direction, the direction of movement and the line of sight, is also needed.

## PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

**86-520 Morais, José.** Literacy and awareness of the units of speech: implications for research on the units of perception. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 5 (1985), 707-21.

The notion of phonetic awareness is discussed. Experiments with preliterate children, illiterate adults, and nonalphabetic literates are reviewed, which show that literacy in an alphabetic system evokes phonetic awareness. It is suggested that literacy also contributes, though to a smaller extent, to the development of explicit segmentation of utterances into syllables. The assumption implicit in many studies that order of conscious recovery reflects order of unconscious processing is rejected for both theoretical and empirical reasons. In particular, results obtained with illiterate adults suggest that data from monitoring experiments may be better interpreted in terms of conditions of conscious recovery than in terms of processing order or comprehension strategies. Finally, the question of whether or not phones play some role in perception is addressed. Fast learning in tasks of phonetic analysis and complete generalisation from phones on which subjects were trained to phones on which they were not trained suggest that, during learning, subjects find access to some tacit knowledge of phones.

**86-521 Rossi, Mario** (Institut de Phonétique d'Aix-en-Provence, France). L'intonation et l'organisation de l'énoncé. [Intonation and the organisation of utterances.] *Phonetica* (Basel). **42**, 2/3 (1985), 135-53.

Syntactic theories of intonation assume that intonation is congruent to syntax. It is, however, in the cases where it is not that intonation can restructure an utterance and become informative. In a first stage, the author identifies the prosodic units which play a part in the organisation of utterances. In a second stage, he examines how intonation contributes to the linear and hierarchical structure of utterances. The functioning of prosodic units in semantic and pragmatic organisation of the sentence allows syntactic constraints to be brought to light. This method seems the best way to evaluate the respective interactions of intonation with syntax and pragmatics. These syntactic constraints constitute formal marks which justify the content of prosodic rules (syntactic, semantic, accentual and rhythmic) which make it possible to predict or explain the intonation of utterances.

**86-522 Singh, Rajendra** (U. of Montreal, Canada). Prosodic adaptation in interphonology. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **67**, 4 (1985), 269-82.

The purpose of this paper is to argue that some of the apparently arbitrary prosodic aspects of English loans in Hindi and of the interphonology of native speakers of Hindi learning English as a second language can be adequately accounted for only in terms

of the metrical theory of the syllable of the sort proposed in Kiparsky (1979). Such an account is quite explanatory and provides a fairly precise characterisation of the role played by universal and language particular (L1) factors in shaping the syllables of borrowed words or interphonology syllables (cf. Tarone, 1976). The author's search for an explanatory account of the prosodic aspects of English loans in Hindi and of the shape of syllables in the interphonology of native-speakers of Hindi learning English leads to the conclusion, for which substantial evidence exists, that there is perhaps no difference in the rules that shape language syllables and those that shape the syllables of borrowed words and interlanguage syllables.

**86–523 Spencer, Andrew** (Poly. of Central London). Towards a theory of phonological development. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **68**, 1 (1986), 3–38.

A reanalysis is made of some of the material of Smith's (1973) study on the acquisition of phonology from the vantage point of recent phonological theory, notably non-linear phonology and underspecification theory. An analysis can be motivated of such processes as lateral harmony, velar/labial harmony, cluster reduction, labial attraction and segment structure neutralization, which is more elegant and less *ad hoc* than Smith's SPE analysis. A fact of development which is a mystery on Smith's account (the simultaneous loss of labial attraction and cluster reduction) is given a ready explanation on the revised account. There are interesting new points of contact possible under the revised theory between analyses (such as this one) couched in the generative tradition of Smith (1973) and analyses in other traditions addressing a younger population of learners. Clinical studies in this area have some intriguing implications.

## SOCIOLINGUISTICS

**86–524 Ager, Dennis E.** La politique linguistique en France: une 'politique de réparation historique pour les langues et cultures minoritaires'. Linguistic politics in France: a 'politics of reparation for minority languages and cultures'.] *ACTIF* (Birmingham), 1986, 59–72.

Recent changes in the age-old centralist language policies of France were reflected in the simultaneous announcement, in August 1985, of a National Council of Regional Languages and Cultures and of the first teaching qualifications (CAPES) in minority languages. The Council had been proposed in the 1982 Giordan report, which had also classified the languages and dialects of France, both those which are geographically based [map] and others.

The extent of change in government thinking, however, is limited, as shown by ministers' statements about the 'fundamental cultural unity of the nation', and that children should not be taught languages which are without 'perspective'. It is widely felt to be too late to rebuild the regional languages, graver problems being posed by (i) the under-privileged situation of the non-indigenous language groups in France (Jews, Arabs, Portuguese, Armenians) and (ii) the Anglo-American linguistic and cultural hegemony.

376 *Research in the supporting sciences*

**86–525 Aston, Guy** (U. of Bologna). Trouble-shooting in interaction with learners: the more the merrier? *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **7**, 2 (1986), 128–43.

A number of recent studies have compared interaction involving learners with interaction involving native speakers, finding that what may generically be termed 'trouble-shooting' procedures are more frequent in the former. In this article, the author argues that a higher frequency of these procedures does not necessarily indicate a greater 'negotiation of meaning', or entail more appropriate input for acquisitional purposes. These procedures can also be seen as concerned with dealing with the difficult circumstances of unshared participant backgrounds by maintaining and enhancing rapport. The social difficulty reflected by their use would imply that where these procedures are very frequent, interactions may be frustrating and hence pedagogically undesirable for learners.

**86–526 Daniels, Karlheinz**. Geschlechtsspezifische Stereotypen im Sprichwort. [Sexual stereotyping in proverbs.] *Sprache und Literatur* (Munich, FRG), **56** (1985), 18–25.

This article examines the way in which women and men are portrayed in proverbs and idiomatic language, as well as the relationship between stereotypes and proverbs. There are far more proverbs about women than men; most of them view women from a man's standpoint, and nearly all describe negative qualities and rigidly-defined roles. Many proverbs are quoted, such as: *Gilt die Boshaftigkeit etwas, so ist das Weib teurer als zehn Männer*, and *Der Frau geziemt keine andere Weisheit als der Spinnrocken*.

Proverbs are closely linked with the stereotyping of a certain social class or group, and have been a major force in establishing stereotyped masculine and feminine characteristics and in perpetuating the rigid division into accepted male and female roles in society. In the present day, advertising slogans have largely taken over the role of proverbs and women continue to be portrayed by the same stereotyped image. Similarly, anecdotes and jokes about women present the old prejudices in a modern idiom. With the growth of the women's movement, however, there is some indication of a new use of language by women, e.g. *Als Gott den Mann erschuf, übte sie nur*.

**86–527 Dunn, Andrea S.** Swahili policy implementation in Tanzania: the role of the National Swahili Council (BAKITA). *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* (Urbana Champaign), **15**, 1 (1985), 31–47.

This paper describes the structure and activities of the National Swahili Council (BAKITA), the official governmental agency in charge of the coordination and implementation of Tanzania's Swahili language policy. One of BAKITA's activities, the preparation of new vocabulary for subjects where Swahili has not previously been used, has been criticised in preliminary evaluations which show that the new vocabulary is not readily accepted. It is suggested that problems in the creation, dissemination, and acceptance of new vocabulary might be avoided through the adoption of a model of the vocabulary expansion process such as that proposed by Marshad (1984).

**86-528 Gudykunst, William B.** (Arizona State U.). A model of uncertainty reduction in intercultural encounters. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* (Clevedon, Avon), 4, 2 (1985), 79-98.

Uncertainty reduction theory is one of the major theories used to explain interpersonal communication between people of the same culture. The model proffered in this paper extends the theory to account for uncertainty reduction during intercultural encounters. An initial test of the model indicated that it provides a good fit to data provided by students in the United States on their relationships (i.e. acquaintance or friendships) with international students. It is argued, however, that since the model is a straight-forward extension of an interpersonal theory, it may only apply to intercultural encounters where intergroup salience is low and not adequately explain communication in encounters that have high intergroup salience. Therefore, an elaborated model that integrates uncertainty reduction and ethnolinguistic identity theories is suggested.

**86-529 Hogg, Michael A.** (Macquarie U., Sydney). Masculine and feminine speech in dyads and groups: a study of speech style and gender salience. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* (Clevedon, Avon), 4, 2 (1985), 99-112.

An examination of the impact of the situational salience of gender on males' and females' speech styles is identified as a lacuna in the sex and language literature. An experiment was conducted in which subjects' ratings of speakers for whom sex was more or less salient were employed to monitor real speech differences. Tape-recorded extracts of the spontaneous discourse of males and females, from interpersonal debates in single sex dyads (gender less salient) and intersex debates in mixed sex four-person groups (gender more salient), were rated on sex-stereotypical speech dimensions. It was predicted, from speech accommodation theory and the general social identity analysis of group behaviour, that females in groups would be rated as speaking in a more masculine and less feminine manner than in dyads, and that this effect would be less pronounced for male speakers. The results, which entirely confirm the experimental hypotheses, are discussed in the context of a possible alternative explanation in terms of conformity to situational speech norms. Some suggestions for further research are made.

**86-530 Ide, Sachiko** (Jōsai U.) and others. Sex difference and politeness in Japanese. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Amsterdam), 58, (1986), 25-36.

The seeming correlation between the politeness of women's speech and their social position is not as straightforward as previous sociolinguistic studies have suggested. Two hypotheses were tested: (1) that 'polite' language choice involves independent linguistic and social rules, and (2) that politeness is primarily interpreted by reference to the social, age, status and class differences between conversational participants (or 'interactants').

The main focus was a study of the use of formalised style and honorific morphemes in Japanese. Questionnaires elicited subjective opinions on perceived 'politeness'

### 378 *Research in the supporting sciences*

differences in various linguistic forms. The subjects were also asked to assess the degree of politeness they would demonstrate towards several types of interactants. The results were analysed by computer [tabular data], and it seemed that women and men differ in their linguistic politeness criteria, and in their perceptions of social distance. Women tended to use politer forms than men, on average, and it was concluded that this can be partly attributed to the fact that men communicate in employment domains whereas women are primarily engaged in private, social contexts.

**86–531 Ingram, J. and others** (U. of Queensland, St. Lucia). Developmental and sociolinguistic variation in the speech of Brisbane schoolchildren. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* (St Lucia, Australia), 5, 2 (1985), 233–46.

Speech samples were gathered in one-to-one interviews from 97 Brisbane schoolchildren of all social classes aged between 5; 8 and 9; 5. Data from the recitation of the days of the week and of the numerals 1–10 and a picture-naming task were analysed from the developmental and sociolinguistic point of view. Sociolinguistic development is taken as a matter of acquired motor control over the natural processes of assimilation and liaison in running speech. Among developmental processes, those of dentalisation (e.g. [θ] for [s]), breaking (i.e. insertion of epenthetic [ə] between consonants) and assimilation (i.e. consonantal assimilation beyond the bounds of adult allophony) were most prominent. Breaking and *Ing*-strengthening (i.e. the plosive release of final velar nasals) decreased with age. Otherwise most developmental processes were complete. Little sociolinguistic variation was found although [f] for [θ] substitution, [I] vocalisation and breaking varied according to social class. The two domains appear to be relatively independent and chronologically sequenced.

**86–532 James, Carl** (University Coll. of North Wales, Bangor). Welsh foreigner talk: breaking new ground. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Clevedon, Avon), 7, 1 (1986), 41–54.

Proficient native speakers of a language have at their disposal a simple form of that code (or an ability to produce a simplified form thereof). This simple code has several uses, one of which is to facilitate communication between the native speaker of the full code and non-proficient learners of the same code. When so used the simple code is called 'foreigner talk'. Prior research suggests the processes of simplification underlying 'foreigner talk' are not language-specific and consequently forms of FT produced in widely different language communities have much in common. A further expected consequence of the non-specificity of FT is its transferability across languages. This is why a study of FT in a bilingual community such as Wales is of interest: studies of FT to date have been restricted to its manifestation in non-minority 'national' languages spoken in monolingual communities. The present study is of the use of FT in a minority language (Welsh) in a bilingual community. Initially, the existence of Welsh FT is established through elicitation. The salient features of the code are described. Some evidence is adduced bearing on the issue of the possible derivativeness of Welsh FT from English FT. Finally, some indications are identified

of the attitude of native Welsh speakers toward the use of the simple code of their threatened language.

**86–533 Macedo, Donald P.** (U. of Massachusetts at Boston). The role of core grammar in pidgin development. *Language Learning* (Ann Arbor, Mich), **36**, 1 (1986), 65–75.

Traditionally, researchers in the field of pidgin and creole languages have supported the simplification theory which regards a pidgin as a simplified version of the colonisers' language. This paper examines the process of pidgin development within the context of Government and Binding theory as proposed by Chomsky (1981). Empirical evidence given in this paper from Capeverdean creole (and others) indicates that the linguistic phenomenon generally labelled pidginisation, creolisation, de-creolisation, etc. can be explained as follows. The contact of various languages may produce a new experience which subsequently fixes the parameters of Universal Grammar, providing a pidgin core grammar. This core is guided by a preference of structure imposed by the markedness theory allowing the learnability condition to operate. The resultant core grammar can later incorporate a marked periphery. The addition of this marked periphery is what had been viewed in the past as creolisation. If one of the donor languages is characterised by structures which meet the learnability criterion, the incorporation of the marked periphery will be targeted toward that language. The directionality of the pidgin periphery may then be predicted. However, if none of the languages meets the learnability condition, the pidgin periphery may develop independently of the peripheries of the donor languages.

**86–534 Martin-Jones, Marilyn** (U. of Lancaster) and **Romaine, Suzanne** (Merton Coll., Oxford). Semilingualism: a half-baked theory of communicative competence. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **7**, 1 (1986), 26–38.

The notion of 'semilingualism' has emerged in connection with the study of the language skills of ethnic minorities in various different settings, who are thought to 'speak no language tolerably'. Researchers have tried to account for the fact that middle-class majority-language children do well in immersion programmes, whereas many minority-language children who receive all their schooling in the majority language attain inadequate command of both their L1 and L2. For such children, 'language shelter' programmes are advocated, in which L1 skills can be consolidated before the dominant language is introduced into the classroom. This concept is applauded, but the theoretical arguments which justify it are challenged here; the criteria for defining semilingualism reveal some basic misconceptions about the nature of language and language competence.

Cummins argues that semilingualism relates to cognitive, rather than linguistic, development, and draws a distinction between 'surface linguistic competence' and 'cognitive linguistic competence'. However, language skills cannot be neatly compartmentalised, nor are those skills which can be measured necessarily those most important for communicating effectively. Cummins' later adoption of the terms BICS (basic interpersonal communicative skills) and CALP (cognitive academic language proficiency) promotes the same dichotomy as his earlier work. CALP is really only

an appropriate display of schooled language, or 'test-wiseness' – a highly prescriptive notion of language and competence.

Terms such as 'semilingualism' are misleading because they imply that there is such a thing as an ideal, fully competent monolingual or bilingual speaker with a full or complete version of a language. In many social situations, code-switching and mixed codes are common, yet they are stigmatised. Bilingual children among linguistic minorities often acquire complex multilectal repertoires. The productive skills of bilingual children should be regarded as strategic accomplishments in performance, rather than deficits in competence. Language assessment procedures ought to be grounded in community-based norms.

**86-535 Ogino, Tsunao (Saitama U.).** Quantification of politeness based on the usage patterns of honorific expressions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Amsterdam), **58** (1986), 37-58.

488 Japanese informants were asked what expression for *Yes I know* they could use when addressing various acquaintances, friends and relatives. 115 ways of saying *I know* were elicited. These were subjected to a quantification method which, it is claimed, can determine the politeness of expressions from their use to particular hearers, and at the same time the politeness with which hearers are treated from the frequency of each expression. A three-dimensional grid was used, politeness being plotted against closeness of hearer to speaker and age of hearer.

Politeness was found to decrease with closeness, and to increase with age of hearer, except that younger close people were treated more politely than same-age close. Women were politer than men to all hearers, and graded politeness mainly by closeness, whereas men graded mainly by age.

**86-536 Poth, J. (Unesco).** L'utilisation des langues nationales dans les écoles primaires d'Afrique: Pourquoi? Comment? [The use of mother tongues in African primary schools: Why? How?]. *Revue de Phonétique Appliquée* (Mons, Belgium), **77** (1985), 491-505.

The use of mother tongues is gradually being generalised in the educational systems of African countries South of the Sahara. Experience shows that this initiative does no harm to the international languages of communication which were, until recently, practically the only languages used in educational contexts. The problem is how to avoid possible conflict between languages by developing a situation of complementarity in which the particularities of each language are respected and integrated completely into the linguistic teaching offered to the child.

In order to reach this aim, linguistic reform must be able to rely on operational and flexible guidelines to which the supervisors of the innovation can constantly refer to regulate and evaluate the process. The principal tasks are linked to essential and mainly concrete activities.

It is too late to ask whether national languages should be used in African schools or not. 37 countries out of 45 have already initiated, or are about to initiate, educational reforms involving national languages. The real problem now is to supervise the

process set in motion with a view to the best interests of the mother tongue and the international language, which both contribute to the child's progress and preparation for life.

**86–537 Preston, Dennis R.** (Eastern Michigan U.). Fifty some-odd categories of language variation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language (Amsterdam)*, **57** (1986), 9–47.

The author's aim is to provide a taxonomy for language variation which is more detailed than those outlined by previous writers, notably Hymes, Gregory, Ervin-Tripp and Halliday. He discusses his list under the category headings 'Participant' (i.e. speaker characteristics), 'Interaction' (characteristics of language use), 'Code' and 'Realisation', comparing these with similar concepts in other major studies and revealing both where new ground has been broken and where there is terminological overlap. Code and Interaction interpenetrate in complex ways, though for analytical purposes the author subsumes discourse structure and illocutionary force under the former.

The author adds characteristics to 'Participant' descriptions that others have included under 'Interaction', in particular the idea of 'specialisation' (i.e. that some professional groups evince a unique 'way of speaking') and 'stance' (the authority with which a speaker approaches the very act of speaking itself). American studies have focussed on 'Interaction', whilst British research has aimed at clarifying 'Participant' identification.

The resulting taxonomy is applied to the 'marking' of dictionary entries in terms of such criteria as 'naturalness', 'historicity', 'sex' and 'area'; the multiple meanings of the word *dude* (which has literary and Black English connotations) and their attendant configurations of 'marked' categories are considered in detail.

**86–538 Sridhar, Kamal K.** (City U. of New York). Sociolinguistic theory and non-native varieties of English. *Lingua (Amsterdam)*, **68**, 1 (1985), 39–58.

A careful study of second-language varieties of English shows that they are qualitatively different from the categories recognised in current sociolinguistic typology. They also provide some of the clearest evidence of socio-cultural determination of language variation, both on the micro- and macro-levels. An adequate account of these varieties calls for the descriptive techniques and explanatory power of the variationist, interactionist, and sociology of language paradigms within sociolinguistic theory. The circumstances of their acquisition and their viability as modes of communication argue for a re-evaluation of some of the traditional assumptions about second language acquisition and teaching.

PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

**86-539 Aaronson, Doris and Ferres, Steven** (New York U.) Sentence processing in Chinese-American bilinguals. *Journal of Memory and Language* [formerly *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour*] (New York), **25**, 2 (1986), 136-62.

This study compares metalinguistic ratings for English words done by Chinese-English bilinguals and monolingual English speakers. Bilinguals generally rated English words as contributing more to both the meaning and structure of their sentences than did monolinguals. Further, on a relative basis, bilinguals rated English content words as contributing more to structure and function words as contributing more to meaning than monolinguals. Language-specific differences are shown to be consistent with these differences in the cognitive processing of linguistic information. These processing differences suggest ways in which the bilingual's languages interact during sentences processing.

**86-540 Berg, Thomas.** Is voice a suprasegmental? *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 6 (1985), 883-915.

This study introduces a new category of slips of the tongue exemplified in German, called oblique, whose defining characteristic is non-identity between error and source element. Their difference is systematic in that the intruding segment takes on the voicing feature of the target it replaces. This pattern occurs consistently in non-morpheme-initial positions but inconsistently in morpheme-initial ones. It is claimed that the disengagement of voice from the error process lends itself most plausibly to an interpretation in terms of suprasegmentality. In particular, the autosegmental approach to phonology provides an adequate means of coming to grips with the independent behavior of the voicing feature. This view of voice seems to call for a revision of what counts as a suprasegmental. The psycholinguist's perspective on this issue suggests that suprasegmentality is related to the binary status of feature dimensions. It is shown that the production of suprasegmentals can be incorporated without any difficulty into a spreading activation framework in which suprasegmentals produce higher activation (and deactivation) energy than segmentals. Finally, the case is made for a closer interaction between linguistics and psycholinguistics.

**86-541 Bialystok, Ellen** (York U.). Children's concept of word. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), **15**, 1 (1986), 13-32.

The development of the concept of word as a unit of speech is a metalinguistic insight that usually corresponds to the acquisition of literacy skills. Further, as a fundamental aspect of language structure, it converges as well with skills involved in bilingualism. A framework that describes the structure of metalinguistic awareness is applied to this task in order to relate the development of word concept to literacy and bilingualism. Children between 4 and 6 years old who are prereaders or early readers, and bilingual or monolingual, are given three tests of word concept. The results show that concept of word emerges gradually and is evident to some extent even in the 4-year-olds. Further, literacy and bilingualism are shown to promote specific aspects of its development.

**86-542 Casby, Michael W.** (Michigan State U.). A pragmatic perspective of repetition in child language. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), **15**, 2 (1986), 127-40.

An investigation into the pattern of children's verbal repetitions during an early period of language development and the relation this behaviour has to communicative functions being expressed within a conversational context. It was found that repetitions served the following communicative functions: (1) imitation (no apparent communicative function other than to mimic the model), (2) statement, (3) request – in, for the most part, that order of frequency of occurrence. In addition, (4) performative play (repetition of alphabet, numbers, nursery rhymes, etc.) and (5) conversational devices (*hi*, *OK*, *mmm*, etc.) intended to maintain interpersonal contact, were observed, but far less frequently.

It was also found that each repetition had a certain discourse profile – a sequence of linguistic and behavioural events prior to, during and after the repetition – depending on the communicative function being expressed. For example, prior to the child's expressing a statement via repetition, the mother would most often be labelling, describing or requesting information. Then the child's selective repetition would occur. This statement repetition was generally followed by another, either repeating or expanding the child's repetition or following up with a communicative device.

**86-543 Cutler, Anne and others.** The suffixing preference: a processing explanation. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 5 (1985), 723-58.

Cross-linguistic studies of morphology have demonstrated that there is an asymmetry in the type of affixation preferred: languages which would be predicted on independent structural grounds to prefer suffixes to prefixes do so, but languages which would be predicted to prefer prefixes to suffixes also show a tendency toward suffixation. In other words, independently of other structural considerations there is an overall preference for suffix morphology. It is argued here that this preference results from the way language is processed by its users. Two lines of psycholinguistic evidence are drawn upon: (1) word onsets are more psychologically salient than other parts of the word; (2) stems and affixes are processed separately. In the light of these considerations it is argued that language users prefer to process stems before affixes, and for this reason languages prefer to order stems before affixes. Thus the linguistic and psycholinguistic evidence combine to suggest an explanation which has implications both for language typology and for the structure of psychological models of language processing.

**86-544 Deutsch, Werner and Wijnen, Frank.** The article's noun and the noun's article: explorations into the representation and access of linguistic gender in Dutch. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 5 (1985), 793-810.

This study deals with the processes that operate in the verification and access of linguistic gender in Dutch nouns. Two tasks, article assignment and article verification, were employed to compare the time courses of these processes. Article verification involves deciding whether auditorily presented combinations of articles

### 384 *Research in the supporting sciences*

and nouns agree in linguistic gender. Assignment involves deciding which article goes with an auditorily presented noun. The reaction time results indicate a category priming effect, i.e. the priming of the syntactically appropriate word class (noun) by the presentation of an article. In addition, a gender effect was found. Verification and assignment involving nouns of the *de* class produced shorter reaction times than the same task involving nouns of the *het* class. This finding agrees with the authors' suggestion that Dutch linguistic gender is mentally represented as an abstract binary feature ( $\pm DE$ ), rather than as a 'link' between morphemes belonging to the same gender class. The relevance of linguistic gender in a cross-linguistic approach to the study of language processing is discussed.

#### **86-545 Frauenfelder, Uli H.** Cross-linguistic approaches to lexical segmentation. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 5 (1985), 669-87.

This paper examines the problem of lexical segmentation in order to identify language-specific and language-independent properties of lexical processing systems. A potential universal of lexical segmentation is first evaluated for its efficacy across languages. This postlexical segmentation strategy assumes that listeners recognise each word rapidly enough to be able to predict both its offset and the onset of the following word. It is argued that this strategy cannot account for every lexical segmentation decision in utterances in any language. Listeners must also use other types of segmentation information. Two types of segmentation information, distributional and relational, which appear to vary cross-linguistically, are presented with examples. To exploit this information, listeners must infer word boundaries or boundaries of other domains from events or sequences of events in the signal. The problem posed for current models of spoken word recognition by the integration of such segmentation information with that from the putative postlexical strategy is discussed.

#### **86-546 Hartl, Barbara** (U. of Leipzig, GDR). Schemageleitete Strukturierung bei der fremdsprachlichen Textproduktion. [Schema-directed structuring in foreign language text production.] *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (Leipzig, GDR), **22**, 6 (1985), 327-32.

A text production experiment is described in which the question is posed whether the subjects had particular pre-knowledge in the form of a text schema available to allow them to structure a foreign language (FL) text. It was assumed that even in the FL, the schema of a text influences comprehension and hence all sub-semantic and semanto-syntactic processing. For the purposes of the investigation a specialist teaching text (an experimental description) was chosen, as the text type is, as a rule, always structured according to the same schema. This schema may be acquired in the course of instruction either in the mother tongue or in the FL. In the 'reproduction' of the text (study 1) under different conditions, no significant deviation from the original text structure was found for native speakers and foreign learners of German. At the same time, the subjective and creative character of the construction by the subjects of an individual schema-directed text structure could not be convincingly

proved. Hence a second investigation was devised, which included a sentence-sorting task, an interview and a schema-component sorting task. The aim was to ascertain whether the subjects could produce in the FL a structured (schema-directed) text from randomly presented sentences or schema-components. The two sorting tasks demonstrated that the foreign subjects possessed an internal text schema. This was largely responsible for the structuring of the FL text. The article concludes that the existence of such schemata needs to be taken into consideration in both mother-tongue and foreign-language teaching.

**86-547 Hjelmqvist, Erland and Gidlund, Åke.** Free recall of conversations. *Text* (The Hague), 5, 3 (1985), 169-85.

Memory for conversations was studied using a free recall technique. The subjects took part in an informal conversation, and four days later they were unexpectedly tested for memory of what had been said. Compared to previous studies using immediate free recall, the recall level was lower but indications were still found of verbatim recall in terms of key-words, i.e., words central in an expressed idea. This finding is in accord with a view on the processing of spoken discourse which claims that one can quite often find substantial memory for the particular wording of utterances. This is at variance with other views on language processing, claiming that only gist information is stored for longer periods of time. According to the authors' view, the particular wording can convey gist information. The role of recall and reconstruction for the results is discussed.

Most of the ideas recalled by the subject had been said by the person him- or herself in the original conversation, i.e. memory for what one had said oneself was generally better than memory for what the interlocutor had said. This finding corroborates observations in the authors' previous research, using recognition technique. However, the difference between memory for one's own and other's utterances found in the present study seemed qualitatively different from the difference found using recognition technique.

**86-548 Jarovinskij, A.** Picture description of bilingual children at preschool age. *Acta Linguistica* (Budapest), 34, 1/2 (1984), 95-106.

Eighteen bilingual children aged between 3½ and 6, with Hungarian fathers and Russian mothers, were asked to describe ten unconnected colour pictures each depicting a child's play environment. The descriptions were elicited first in Russian, then, two or three weeks later, in Hungarian, by separate researchers who each spoke to the children exclusively in one of the languages involved. All the families lived in apartments not shared with grandparents and had lived in Budapest for an average of six years. In home situations the families mostly used Russian, switching to Hungarian outside the home. From analysis of the children's language, it was concluded that Hungarian was the dominant language for most of them, though six appeared to be balanced bilinguals.

The children, particularly the younger ones, made more grammatical errors when speaking Russian. In most cases, models of Hungarian grammar were found to

interfere with Russian language use. The older children, many of whom had visited Russia, had received a more diversified Russian linguistic input than the younger ones; most of the older group were first or only children and more of them were balanced bilinguals, with a tendency towards the co-ordinate model. Most of the younger children were second or third children, enjoying less contact with the Russian-speaking mother and tending to use the language of the cultural context with their siblings. There was no clearcut division between compound and co-ordinate bilinguals, the children covering the continuum between the two.

**86–549 Kraetschmer, Kurt** (U. of Nebraska). Current trends in neurolinguistic studies of bilingualism. *JRAL* (Heidelberg, FRG), **24**, 1 (1986), 1–11.

The author reviews several studies of the role of the right hemisphere in bilingual or polyglot speakers, particularly in regard to 'language lateralisation', i.e. the possible relationship between the two hemispheres in second language acquisition [brain structure diagrams]. Krashen's Modified Stage Hypothesis and putative differences in the neurophysiological mechanisms involved in acquisition/learning are scrutinised, as are the investigations undertaken by such researchers as Galloway (1982) and Obler (1981).

The conclusions reached by most lateralisation studies (e.g. that the right hemisphere seems to have a cluster of non-verbal pragmatic abilities connected with communicative competence) are speculative, unsupported by research data and fraught with terminological vagueness. In view of such limitations, more attention should be paid to the findings of applied linguistics, especially with regard to the observed efficiency of different second-language learning methodologies. This would provide clues as to the actual exploitation of right-hemisphere learning strategies. The article concludes by stating the intuitive belief that Suggestopedia evinces the most viable approach to lateralisation, since it works on the assumption that the brain functions holistically, and should therefore be a prime target for further research.

**86–550 Mougeon, Raymond and others.** A sociolinguistic study of language contact, shift, and change. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 3 (1985), 455–87.

Bilingual speech communities provide linguists with a favourite laboratory to study the effects of language contact on linguistic structure. Without denying the interest or importance of this traditional contrastive approach to the problem of bilingualism, attention is attracted to the often concomitant problem of language shift and to the linguistic consequences of the resultant restriction in subordinate language use: grammatical simplification and stylistic reduction. These internal developments, but also external ones due to language contact, are examined through the multiple variants of a prepositional variable in Ontarian French, a contact variety of Canadian French whose speakers evidence varying degrees of knowledge of and shift to English. It is shown that even a high level of retention of French is not a safeguard against grammatical influence from English, any more than maintenance of French on a par with English is a guarantee against simplification. This suggests that in a situation of unstable bilingualism, speakers may be unable to preserve the structural 'integrity' of the subordinate language.

**86-551 Murphy, Sandra** (U. of California, Berkeley). Children's comprehension of deictic categories in oral and written language. *Reading Research Quarterly* (Newark, Del), **21**, 2 (1986), 118-31.

This study examined children's ability to understand the use of deictic terms in oral and written language. Three categories of words with deictic content were investigated: pronouns (e.g. *I, you*), locatives (e.g. *this, here*), and motion verbs (e.g. *come, go*). Three groups of second-grade students performed three types of tasks: oral-language tasks, written-language tasks, and picture-selection tasks. Planned comparisons indicated that written-language tasks were more difficult than comparable oral-language tasks, that motion verbs were more difficult for children to interpret, and that children found it more difficult to interpret deictic terms when they were observers than when they were participants in a conversation. Children had as much difficulty interpreting deictic terms in written texts addressed to the reader as in written texts representing quoted dialogue. Factors that contributed to the difficulty children had in interpreting words with deictic content are discussed.

**86-552 Niemi, Pekka and Virjamo, Markku** (U. of Turku, Finland). Proofreading: visual, phonological, syntactic or all of these? *Journal of Research in Reading* (Leeds), **9**, 1 (1986), 31-8.

A proofreading task was employed to investigate whether function and content words are processed differently in a text. Both categories included misprints created by substituting one letter in the middle of the word for another letter. The frequency and length of the words were controlled by utilising the Finnish language which has appropriate material among its 100 most frequent words.

Misprints were hardest to detect in words which retained the original visual shape. Short words prevented detection of misprints more than long words. However, there was an interaction between word type and length such that short function words and long content words prevented detection of misprints most. An *ex post facto* analysis showed that the effect of visual shape was confounded with phonological/orthographic legality. The strongest effects were obtained with illegal strings irrespective of the visual shape of the misprint.

**86-553 Norris, Dennis and Cutler, Anne**. Juncture detection. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 5 (1985), 689-705.

The 'units-of-perception' hypothesis has led psycholinguists to concern themselves with units of classification rather than with the more important process of speech segmentation. This paper argues that segmentation rather than classification of the speech signal is the primary prelexical process in speech perception. It is claimed further that universal juncture detection processes alone can account for processing differences between French and English which might be otherwise taken as evidence that different secondary-level perceptual units are involved in the perception of different languages.

**86-554 Segui, Juan and Zubizarreta, Maria-Luisa.** Mental representation of morphologically complex words and lexical access. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 5 (1985), 759-74.

Various linguistic and psycholinguistic arguments are presented supporting the hypothesis whereby derived lexical items are listed in the lexicon as autonomous but related lexical items.

Some experimental data obtained in French concerning the recognition of derivational affixed words reveal a difference in processing between prefixed and suffixed words. This difference in processing is attributed to the linear organisation of these words and to the left-to-right nature of the perceptual parser. It is suggested that only suffixed words are accessed via the lexical entry for the root. In sentence context, accessing the root means that the end part of suffixed words is treated as a unit. It is proposed that such a procedure of affix detection can be very useful by way of facilitating syntactic parsing and lexical-syntactic integration in on-line language processing. This hypothesis provides a plausible explanation for why syntactically relevant affixes tend to appear at the end of words.

**86-555 Templeton, Shane** (U. of Nevada-Reno) and **Scarborough-Franks, Linda** (DeKalb County Schools, Georgia). The spelling's the thing: knowledge of derivational morphology in orthography and phonology among older students. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **6**, 4 (1985), 371-90.

This study examines the ability of good and poor spellers at grades 6 and 10 to generate orthographic and phonetic derivatives for three predominant vowel alternation patterns characteristic of internal derivational morphology. Results support the hypothesis that a productive knowledge of these patterns in orthography precedes a productive knowledge of these patterns in phonology. Further, orthographic (visual) information was found to be superior to phonetic (aural) information in accessing the appropriate derivational morphological rules. An order is identified for the acquisition of a productive knowledge of the three vowel alternation patterns in both orthography and phonology. Based on these results and analyses, instructional implications for both spelling and vocabulary are offered.

**86-556 Walters, Joel and Wolf, Yuval** (Bar Ilan U.) Language proficiency, text content and order effects in narrative recall. *Language Learning* (Ann Arbor, Mich), **36**, 2 (1986), 47-63.

An analysis of the major goals of the story grammar paradigm and some of the controversy surrounding them has led to a challenge of the robustness of this paradigm's findings. The effects of text content and order of presentation on narrative recall were investigated in groups of intermediate and advanced readers of English as a foreign language. Subjects were asked to recall three narratives presented either in a standard, partially mixed or fully mixed order as well as a set of unrelated sentences. Data analysis in terms of story grammar categories revealed replication of category effects in six of the 18 conditions investigated. These effects were stronger than differences between standard and partially mixed orders while they were most

salient in one specific text content. This picture was not similar for the two proficiency groups. It was concluded that different text-based parameters may constrain the robustness of story grammar category effects.

**86-557 Yde, Philip and Spoelders, Marc** (Ghent State U., Belgium). Text cohesion: an exploratory study with beginning writers. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), 6, 4 (1985), 407-16.

Linguistic research on children's acquisition of writing concerns itself largely with the sentence as the highest unit of analysis. However, an adequate account of written language acquisition must deal with the text-productive ability, including devices for cohesion and compactness. The intersentential cohesive devices used by Dutch-speaking children aged 8-9 ( $N = 14$ ) and 10-11 ( $N = 14$ ) in narrative texts are analysed and compared in this report. The coding of the cohesive devices followed Halliday and Hasan (1976). The writing samples were also analysed for degrees of cohesiveness and compactness, using the formulae suggested by Scinto (1983). Our findings indicate a developmental trend in the construction of more cohesive and compact narrative texts.

## PRAGMATICS

**86-558 Agar, Michael**. Institutional discourse. *Text* (The Hague), 5, 3 (1985), 147-68.

Several studies of institutional discourse are reviewed - discourse where one person who represents an institution encounters another person seeking its services. Focusing particularly on studies in the courtroom and the clinic, a framework is developed that divides the discourse into diagnoses, directives and reports. The framework not only organises the different studies, but also provides links to discursively based social theories such as those of Foucault and Habermas.

**86-559 Bain, D. and others** (U. of Geneva). Typologie du texte français contemporain. [Typology of the contemporary French text.] *Bulletin CILA* (Neuchâtel), 41 (1985), 7-43.

In reviewing some recent approaches to text analysis, it is noted that their weakness lies in concentrating on one type of text rather than on comparison across text types. The work reported is one part of an ongoing study of texts and is concerned with the analysis of configurations of linguistic units in three fundamental types of texts: spoken interactive texts, written narratives and written theoretical (academic) texts [50 of each type, one 1,000-word random sample from each text]. Twenty-two linguistic units were studied, in relation to five hypotheses as to their differential occurrence across the three text types. It was found, for example, that second person pronouns and adjectives occur in all the spoken texts but are completely absent in the narrative and theoretical texts, while the simple past and imperfect are frequent in the narratives and rare in the spoken and theoretical texts. [Full findings are presented in tabular form.]

**86–560 Bertrand, Yves.** Le brouillage de la communication. [Jamming communication.] *L/INX* (Paris), **12** (1985), 81–95.

In a broadcast debate, it often happens that speakers overtly address and try to convince each other, whilst the covert addressee is a third party, the listening public. Skilled participants may 'jam' each other's messages with various devices including repeated contradictions, metalinguistic questions, simultaneous speaking and paralinguistic indications of derision; the subtlest jamming devices are those which masquerade as co-operative listener behaviour within the fiction of dyadic interaction. A jammer who exceeds certain limits, e.g. by interrupting too often, may lose listener sympathy, so covert jamming necessitates walking a tight-rope between ineffectiveness and self-exposure. Jamming violates Grice's Co-operative Principle, but in doing so, and especially by the fact that it usually needs to be covert, it paradoxically confirms the reality of this principle.

**86–561 Carton, Francis** (CRAPEL, Nancy II). Discours oral interactif: repères pour des observations à fins didactiques. [How study of interactive social discourse can assist teaching.] *Langue Française* (Paris), **68** (1985), 85–99.

In real life ordinary conversations are not pre-planned or cast in a fixed mould, but are negotiated anew between the partners. One of the objectives of language teaching should be to reactivate the skills and strategies used in mother-tongue conversation so that they can be adapted to the foreign language – not with the aim of turning the learner into a carbon copy of the 'ideal speaker' of the target language but so that he or she is equipped to express their own ideas and personality.

Six conversations are analysed, focusing on the strategies adopted by the speakers and on how they negotiate the meaning between them.

**86–562 Conein, Bernard** (U. of Paris III). Conversation et interaction sociale: analyse de séquences d'offre et d'invitation. [Conversation and social interaction – an analysis of sequences comprising offers and invitations.] *Langages* (Paris), **81** (1986), 111–20.

Sequences from selected dialogues extracted from a corpus of recorded telephone conversations made in four different households for a period of one month, and including an offer or an invitation, are analysed.

An invitation or an offer is both an activity involving the participants in social interaction and also a statement which calls for a response. The activity is governed by the conversational interaction of the parties. The speakers in the conversational extracts studied were operating sets of rules of the highest complexity, the nature and type of the rules deriving from the social context in which they found themselves.

**86–563 Coulmas, Florian.** Diskursive Routine im Fremdsprachenerwerb. [Discourse routine in foreign language learning.] *Sprache und Literatur* [formerly *Linguistik und Didaktik*], **56** (1985), 47–66.

Two major components are involved in language learning: an inventory of items and a set of rules. Although a division into grammar and lexis may appear too simplistic,

memorising and construction are two important processes of language learning and use. However, since grammaticality alone does not determine the acceptability of utterances, the component of idiomaticity needs to be interposed between grammar and lexis. A number of problems concerning idiomatic forms at both word and group level for teaching German as a foreign language are discussed. The class of situation-specific routinised expressions is singled out as a significant learning problem. Language use conventions set limits to the possibilities of the grammar. Their close connection with culture-specific behaviour is elaborated and the importance of learning the language etiquette of the foreign culture is stressed. Examples for the teaching of German as a foreign language are given from the area of polite language use. A final section details three categories of routinised speech and examples of the formulae which can be expected are given for German. The analysis of gambits in Keller (1981) provides the framework. The article concludes by stressing the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic functions of pre-fabricated language units. The former is termed the 'shibboleth function'; using the right routines signals membership of the language community. The psycholinguistic function consists in relieving the load on the construction component of language use; idioms and gambits, for example, need simply to be retrieved from the mental store.

**86-564 Crookes, Graham** (U. of Hawaii). Towards a validated analysis of scientific text structure. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), 7, 1 (1986), 57-70.

This article attempts to describe the text structure of the scientific paper, with reference to existing ESP-oriented analyses, particularly that presented by Swales (1981). The implications of schema theory, i.e. that learner difficulty with EST written texts might be due to inadequate knowledge of relevant rhetorical structures, are also discussed.

Current statements about the actual discourse structure of scientific papers are not based on reliable or extensive experimental findings. Though Swales' breakdown of introductions to papers into four moves (i.e. establishing the field, summarising previous research, preparing and introducing present research) is considered useful, objections are raised about the allegedly self-fulfilling nature of his corpus selection. The author then outlines his own, more detailed study (using a corpus of 96 journal articles), which revealed substantial deviation from the expected four-move scheme.

Any teaching materials which purport to lay bare the salient structures of article introductions will only be as good as the research on which they are based. More investigation is needed into the cognitive processes of EST reading, as more is involved in text processing than the deployment of appropriate schema.

**86-565 Fairclough, Norman L.** (U. of Lancaster). Critical and descriptive goals in discourse analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), 9, 6 (1985), 739-63.

The author sees social institutions as containing diverse 'ideological-discursive formations' (IDFs) associated with different groups within the institution. There is usually one IDF which is clearly dominant. Each IDF is a sort of 'speech community' with its own discourse norms but also, embedded within and symbolised by the latter, its own 'ideological norms'. Institutional subjects are constructed, in accordance with

## 392 *Research in the supporting sciences*

the norms of an IDF, in subject positions whose ideological underpinnings they may be unaware of. A characteristic of a dominant IDF is the capacity to 'naturalise' ideologies, i.e. to win acceptance for them as non-ideological 'common sense'.

It is argued that the orderliness of interactions depends in part upon such naturalised ideologies. To 'denaturalise' them is the objective of a discourse analysis which adopts 'critical' goals. It is suggested that denaturalisation involves showing how social structures determine properties of discourse, and how discourse in turn determines social structures. This requires a 'global' (macro/micro) explanatory framework which contrasts with the non-explanatory or only 'locally' explanatory frameworks of 'descriptive' work in discourse analysis. The author includes a critique of features of such work which follow from its limited explanatory goals (its concept of 'background knowledge', 'speaker-goal' explanatory models, and its neglect of power), and discusses the social conditions under which critical discourse analysis might be an effective practice of intervention, and a significant element in mother-tongue education.

**86-566** Fill, Alwin (U. of Graz, Austria). 'Divided illocution' in conversational and other situations – and some of its implications. *IRAL* (Heidelberg, FRG), **24**, 1 (1986), 27–34.

'Divided illocution' is the term used to describe the complex network of meanings which arise in conversation when more than two participants are involved. It is the product of various factors, such as speaker's intentions, relationship between and extent of shared knowledge of participants.

'Divided illocution' is likely to occur in the following situations – a small private party where, for example, the apology directed to a host may be intended simultaneously as a reproach to a husband; a student/staff meeting; in national and international political contexts; at press conferences; in the classroom. It is equally evident in literary texts and in drama, where a single message is intended for other actors and for the audience on different levels, and in various forms of non-verbal interaction, such as body language or dress.

Awareness and comprehension of the multiple illocutionary force of many messages could lead to a marked improvement in human relations.

**86-567** Fleischman, Suzanne. Discourse functions of tense-aspect oppositions in narrative: toward a theory of grounding. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **23**, 6 (1985), 851–82.

The function of tense forms in narrative is frequently not the basic tense function of temporal reference, which in most narrative forms is established *a priori* as past. Rather, tense contrasts may be pressed into pragmatic service in the organisation of narrative discourse. It is argued here that tense switching, in particular the insertion of present tense into past narration, functions in Old French as a strategy for 'narrative subordination', or 'grounding' – here defined as a continuum phenomenon rather than a binary foreground-background opposition – a strategy motivated by the structure of the language itself at that stage of its development and by the pragmatic

conditions of story performance in a culture whose forms of thought and expression were still fundamentally oral. *En route* the author attempts to situate the discourse functions of tense–aspect within a general theory of grounding in text.

**86–568 Gibbs, Raymond W., Jr.** (U. of California, Santa Cruz). Skating on thin ice: literal meaning and understanding idioms in conversation. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **9**, 1 (1986), 17–30.

The question of whether people always analyse the literal meanings of idiomatic expressions, such as *You can let the cat out of the bag* (meaning ‘You can reveal the secret’) was examined in two experiments. In Experiment 1 subjects read stories that ended with either literal or non-literal uses of idiomatic expressions. After reading each story, subjects made a sentence classification judgement for sentences that could be either a literal, non-literal, or unrelated paraphrase of the last story sentence. Results indicated that subjects were primed on the non-literal targets when they read idiomatic expressions, but were not primed on the literal targets. When subjects read literal uses of these expressions there was no priming on the literal targets. However, subjects’ responses to the non-literal targets were facilitated. Experiment 2 showed that these results were due to the way people actually process idiomatic expressions and cannot be attributed to some idiosyncratic aspect of the procedure. These results suggest that people do not ordinarily process the complete literal or compositional interpretations of idioms. Moreover, the results confirm the idea that people are automatically biased toward interpreting literal uses of idiomatic expressions conventionally, as idioms, before deriving their intended literal meanings.

**86–569 Houtkoop, Hanneke and Mazeland, Harrie.** Turns and discourse units in everyday conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **9**, 5 (1985), 595–619.

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) have described how conversationalists construct turns at speaking and how they allocate them in a systematic way. In this paper, the authors describe how certain larger projects are produced. These larger projects include stories, jokes, extended descriptions, pieces of advice, and so on, and are here called Discourse Units (DUs). A distinction is made between Closed DUs and Open DUs. Closed DUs are activities larger than one turn-constructional unit and are accomplished by a Primary Speaker holding the floor through the course of their production. Some restrictions are formulated which operate on Sacks *et al.*’s turn-taking model when a Closed DU is being produced. Whereas Closed DUs are projected as DUs from the beginning of their production, Open DUs are not. They develop as a DU by virtue of negotiation on the type of conversational unit underway. That is to say, whether or not the turn will be built into a larger project is more dependent upon recipient as is the case for Closed DUs. The recipient design of turn construction not only operates through syntactical projection of a possible completion point, but also action-sensitive devices have to be taken into account.

**86–570 Hymes, Dell H.** (U. of Pennsylvania). Discourse: scope without depth. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Amsterdam), **57** (1986), 49–89.

This article is an extract from the author's 'Final Report to the National Institute of Education', and discusses category frameworks for understanding discourse in relation to 'dimensions', e.g. important descriptive aspects whose status and role have yet to be discovered. Hymes criticises such theoretical positions as Bernstein's 'elaborated' and 'restricted' code distinctions for being largely unsubstantiated by empirical study. He also considers the value of pragmatics and speech act typology, with reference to the work of Austin, Searle, Stiles, Grice and others. Speech acts do not appear to be isolable or easy to fit into any system of rigid classification. Moreover, communicative 'Maxims', or the inferences to be drawn from their 'violation' (called 'conversational implicatures' by Grice), are ethnocentric and do not fit the discourse realities of many cultures.

The force of social structure and cultural orientation are felt to have a powerful influence on speech acts, and can help to explain the organisation of devices and the combination of dimensions in particular settings. The main shortcomings in most attempts at providing viable frameworks are that they see discourse from the viewpoint of a single actor rather than that of participants bound by culture-specific linguistic norms.

**86–571 Khalil, Esam N.** (U. of Nijmegen, The Netherlands). News discourse: a strategy of recasting. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **9**, 5 (1985), 621–43.

Data from short news items are used to explain – from a discourse perspective – a cross-cultural communication problem encountered in translation from English into Arabic. The paper concentrates on *kāna qad* and *qad*, two temporal/aspectual entities, whose meaning and function in news discourse have remained unexplored. Comparing their discourse pragmatic function, it is argued that: (i) these entities perform a primarily non-temporal function which has to do with the structure of information in the news item, and the occurrence of a shift in the sequence; (ii) in distinct and varying ways, these two illocutionary force indicating devices help to structure the sequence/discourse and to disambiguate an otherwise unintelligible and incoherent stretch of language; (iii) their absence – a 'pragmalinguistic failure' that is only apparent when the entire sequence is considered – means that the linguistic act in which one entity or the other should have been present, is insensitive to information structure and to shift constraints in the discourse, and (iv) choosing one entity or the other is crucial for defining the kind/level of incoming information – a choice that reflects the strategy that the translator (namely the sender) pursues in order to overcome sequential constraints and ensuing communicative problems.

**86–572 Koller, Werner.** Die einfachen Wahrheiten der Redensarten. [The simple truths of figures of speech]. *Sprache und Literatur* [formerly *Linguistik und Didaktik*] (Munich, FRG), **56** (1985), 26–36.

Figures of speech occur in a wide variety of registers and text types. Some have 'primary social meaning', e.g. greetings, thanks, but for those with referential

meaning the underlying function may be less transparent. An analysis of political texts, for example, suggests functions including simplification, saving argument, appeal to authority, folksy reassurance and blurring issues.

As they are not complete sentences, figures of speech are usually said to be value-free, but this may be untrue as shown by the example *to wear the trousers*: they can have three components, descriptive ('to be in charge within a marriage'), evaluative ('bad if a woman does it') and prescriptive ('do not allow this'). They can thus be associated with prejudice and sloppy thinking, but can also have positive uses, helping us to orient ourselves in a complex world. Only concrete text analysis can decide whether a particular example merits positive or negative evaluation.

**86-573 Mathiassen, Lars and Andersen, Peter Bøgh** (Aarhus U., Denmark). Semiotics and informatics: the impact of computer based systems upon the professional language of nurses. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **10**, 1 (1986), 1-26.

The aim of this paper is to stress that the use of computers by an organisation may entail very radical changes indeed in the professional languages used in the affected parts of the organisation. A consequence of this is that analyses of professional languages may be applied advantageously in connection with systems development. The paper builds its arguments around a single example: the change in the professional language of nurses in connection with the use of computers in a hospital ward. The first part of the paper gives a description of the situation before and after the computerised system concerned was introduced. Furthermore, some basic concepts of semiotics are presented. The second part of the paper contains a semiotic analysis of the situation within the hospital ward under examination. The last part of the paper draws some general conclusions from the analysis.

**86-574 Mulkay, Michael.** Agreement and disagreement in conversations and letters. *Text* (The Hague), **5**, 3 (1985), 201-27.

This paper investigates how far the organisation of agreement/disagreement which has been observed in ordinary conversations is evident in a collection of letters written by biochemists. Pomerantz' analysis of conversational data leads to the prediction that epistolary agreements will be preferred and thus unmarked; and that epistolary disagreements will be dispreferred and thus marked in various ways. This prediction is clearly confirmed. Agreements occurring in the course of these letters are simple and direct, with no indication that their presentation requires special textual preparation. In contrast, disagreements are more varied in form and more complex in their internal organisation. Almost two thirds of disagreements are prefaced by some kind of agreement, and the other kinds of preface, which prepare the way for disagreement, tend to displace the responsibility for its occurrence and to explain and justify its expression. Thus the variety and relative complexity of disagreements appear to be a response to the dispreferred character of disagreements and the preferred character of agreements. Nevertheless, despite the linguistic preference for agreement in these letters, disagreements are frequent and phrased in forceful terms. There is some indication that strong disagreement is easier to declare in writing than face to face.

**86–575 Murphy, Gregory L.** (Brown U., Providence, RI). Psychological explanations of deep and surface anaphora. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **9**, 6 (1985), 785–813.

A distinction has been made between two classes of anaphora. One class can take as antecedents not only linguistic constituents, but also objects and events in the extra-linguistic context. The other class accepts only certain linguistic elements as antecedents. It is not well understood why there should be two such classes, nor why a given form of anaphora is in one class rather than the other. This article attempts to explain the existence of the two classes by analysing the difficulty a listener would have in recovering the antecedents of various forms of anaphora. This analysis suggests that it is intrinsically more difficult to discover the antecedents of some forms than of others, and that it is just these forms (with one exception) that have restrictions on acceptable antecedents. Therefore, the grammatical distinction between these two classes is not arbitrary, but subserves an important communicative function – that of ensuring that antecedents for anaphors are always recoverable.

**86–576 Schiffrin, Deborah** (Georgetown U., Washington, DC). Functions of 'and' in discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **10**, 1 (1986), 41–66.

Difficulties associated with the semantic and pragmatic description of *and* can be profitably addressed by moving its analysis to a discourse level. The main advantages of this shift are that it offers both a speaker-based view of function, and a systematic view of context. After critically reviewing two different perspectives on the meaning of *and* (perspectives which differently weight the value attributed to semantic meaning *vs.* pragmatic function); it is shown that *and* is used in everyday discourse to build idea structures and to continue speakers actions. Although both findings support a minimalist semantics for *and*, they also suggest that the truth-functional meaning of *and* bears less on its use in discourse than does its grammatical role.

**86–577 Sharrock, W. W. and Watson, D. R.** (Manchester U.). 'Reality construction' in L2 simulations. *System* (Oxford), **13**, 3 (1985), 195–206.

Using ethnomethodological and conversation-analytic perspectives, this paper points out some directions for the sociological and linguistic analysis of simulation-games, based on the close inspection of video-recordings of actual examples of L2 learner game participation. Particular attention is focused on the game participant's own communicative activities and practices in sustaining the simulation game and in manifesting to each other that it is a simulation and 'not to be taken literally', e.g. in language alternation (code switching). In pursuing this case, the authors argue against an analysis based on Goffman's Frame Theory; instead of the simulation 'frame' giving rise to participants' actions and practices, it is argued that the reverse is the case. The simulation is treated as a locus of an array of conversational practices termed a 'formal speech exchange system', with features such as: (1) the 'pre-allocation' of turns at talk and of turn types, and (2) the working through of a 'pre-set' topic. The transaction of a simulation game unrelievedly requires that participants utilise their currently-based 'commonsense' reasoning and communicative procedures (e.g. in describing and displaying their game categorisations) [examples].

**86–578 Smith, Edward L., Jr.** Text type and discourse framework. *Text* (The Hague), 5, 3 (1985), 229–47.

The classification of text types frequently involves linking the purpose or function of a discourse with the linguistic features which realise that purpose in the text – a method typically associated with ‘functional’ theories of linguistics. This paper investigates the ways in which linguistic features realise discourse purpose in the four different types of monologic discourse posited in one functional theory, Longacre’s version of tagmemics. In investigating samples of approximately 1,000 words drawn from eight scientific texts, it is found that while some text types may not be dominated by a single set of linguistic features, nevertheless each text type does seem to be dominated by an overall purpose. This dominance is ascribed to the function of the discourse framework in which each text occurs. Analysis of the various levels at which a discourse framework operates suggests that linguistic features may be helpful in identifying the purpose of a particular text, but are not necessarily the chief indices of the purpose of that text.

**86–579 Steffensen, Margaret** (Illinois State U.). Register, cohesion, and cross-cultural reading comprehension. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), 7, 1 (1986), 71–85.

Three cross-cultural experiments provided the data for a study of the relationship of register and cohesion to text comprehension. Schema theory proposes that comprehension is a constructive process in which previous knowledge is a powerful factor. Given culture-specific texts, it was predicted that the ways in which subjects used the linguistic reflexes that indicate the situation of the speech event and those that create textual cohesion would be affected by their cultural knowledge, assumptions, and beliefs. These predictions were supported.

**86–580 Stubbs, Michael** (U. of London Inst. of Ed.) ‘A matter of prolonged field work’: notes towards a modal grammar of English. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), 7, 1 (1986), 1–25.

There is insufficient recognition of the pervasiveness of modal qualifications in all uses of language, and of the role of modality as a central organising principle of language. There are serious weaknesses in much work in semantics and pragmatics, since they lack any proper study of concepts such as modality, subjectivity, etc. Nor does speech act theory deal adequately with the subject. It does not, for example, take into account how explicit markers of commitment are used.

All utterances express content and the speaker’s attitude to it. There is a continuum of a speaker’s (or writer’s) commitment and detachment towards a statement, evident in the degree of objectivity, precision, etc. which is expressed with a proposition. Lexical detachment is clear, for example, when terms such as *so-called*, *so to speak* are used.

Modality can interact with syntactic form, in distinctions of aspect, and of tense, in uses of private verbs such as *believe*, *suspect*, and in connectives, which may express either logical or pragmatic relations between two propositions. *Because*, for example, may indicate cause and effect – *He was drowned because he fell off the pier*, or assertion

### 398 *Research in the supporting sciences*

and justification – *He was drunk, because he fell off the pier*. Modality and syntax overlap in other areas such as sentence adverbs *obviously*, passivisation, where the deletion of the agent denotes detachment from propositional information, factive verbs, cleft sentences and so on.

Essentially what is needed are a conceptual analysis of commitment and detachment towards a statement, a linguistic study of a substantial corpus of data, and an ethnographic description of contexts of use. Pragmatic studies of modality will make a considerable contribution to such areas as the expression and perception of style variation in different social contexts, in discerning cross-cultural differences in the use of indirectness, and the manipulation of discourse in media propaganda and advertising. Such studies will also be important in the design of computer-based systems for understanding natural language, and in EFL teaching. Grammars of the language should be organised to reflect these communicatively significant uses of language.

**86-581 Thomas, Jenny A.** (U. of Lancaster). The language of power: towards a dynamic pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **9**, 6 (1985), 765–83.

The first aim of this paper is to describe the systematic way in which a range of pragmatic features were employed by the dominant participant in a series of 'unequal encounters' in order to restrict severely the discursual options of the subordinate participant. The features in question are: (i) IFID's (illocutionary force indicating devices); (ii) metapragmatic comments, 'upshots' and 'reformulations', and (iii) appeal to felicity conditions.

The second aim is to argue that we can only satisfactorily explain the effectiveness of these tactics by bringing together insights from both conversational analysis and recent work in interpersonal pragmatics. In so doing, we go some way towards overcoming the limitations of conversational analysis, single-utterance based pragmatic analyses and the problems inherent in 'speech-act' descriptions of discourse, and move towards a model of discourse-organisation with greater predictive and explanatory power.

**86-582 Valentine, Tamara.** Sex, power and linguistic strategies in the Hindi language. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* (Urbana-Champaign), **15**, 1 (1985), 195–211.

This paper explores the complex relationship among power, gender, and linguistic strategies in the non-Western, Indo-Aryan language, Hindi. Examining data from contemporary literary text-based Hindi cross-sex conversations, evidence is provided that a differential use of verbal interactional patterns is held by male and female Hindi speakers, and that these linguistic strategies are verbal expressions of strength or energy which are interpreted and motivated differently by each sex for the purposes of coordinating interaction and achieving effective communication with each other. Specifically, the discursual strategies of conversational topic initiation, maintenance, and shift, gaining an appropriate response and establishing a common theme, and the organisational devices used to regulate and coordinate discussion are examined. It is revealed that the female Hindi speakers are primarily the maintainers and supporters

of cross-sex conversation and the male Hindi speakers are the relators of events, conveyors of messages, and gainers of information.

**86-583 Varonis, Evangeline Marlos and Gass, Susan M.** (U. of Michigan). Miscommunication in native/nonnative conversation. *Language in Society* (Cambridge), 14, 3 (1985), 327-43.

Miscommunication in exchanges between native speakers and non-native speakers of a language is discussed here, focusing on an analysis of a service encounter telephone conversation between a non-native speaker and a native-speaker television repair-shop employee. The authors present a goal-based model of conversation and a coding system for interpreting utterances, both of which are necessary for understanding the type of miscommunication which occurred in the conversation described herein. It is argued that the lack of shared background on the part of the interlocutors interacted with their lack of shared linguistic code. In general, such interactions hinder successful communication and increase the probability that the miscommunication will not be recognised and thus not easily resolved. A complete analysis of native/non-native conversations must minimally invoke notions of correct interpretation, confidence in interpretation, goals of a conversation, shared beliefs, and linguistic as well as cultural systems.

**86-584 Wierzbicka, Anna** (Australian National U., Canberra). A semantic metalanguage for the description and comparison of illocutionary meanings. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), 10, 1, (1986), 67-107.

In this paper, the author argues that the illocutionary force of an utterance constitutes an integral part of its meaning. She proposes a unified descriptive framework which makes it possible to integrate illocutionary analysis with the syntax and semantics in the narrower sense of these terms. A wide range of constructions are examined and their illocutionary force is fully spelled out. The analysis takes the form of decomposition of illocutionary forces into their components, which are formulated in a kind of simplified natural language based on a postulated system of universal semantic primitives. It is argued that decomposition of illocutionary forces offers a safe path between the Scylla of the orthodox performative hypothesis and the Charybdis of the 'autonomous grammar' approaches to speech acts which once again try to divorce the study of language structure from the study of language use.