

Research in the supporting sciences

LINGUISTIC THEORY

84–447 Hutchins, John (U. of East Anglia). Some problems and methods of text condensation. *UEA Papers in Linguistics* (Norwich), **19** (1983), 38–54.

Representations of the contents of published documents take two forms: coherent texts (i.e. abstracts or summaries) and individual words and phrases not constituting continuous sentences or texts (i.e. index terms). Abstracts can be 'informative', including actual results and conclusions from their source document, or 'indicative', simply recording the fact that certain topics are covered. Likewise indexing can take the form of 'topic indexing' where the index terms assigned to a document indicate what it is 'about' as a whole, and 'summary indexing' where the index terms record most of the topics covered in the document.

Van Dijk's work is central in attempting to identify the general processes of summarisation. Within his theory of text linguistics he distinguishes between the microstructure of a text (the underlying propositional content) and the macrostructure (the semantic representation of the text as an entity). Summaries are one way of expressing the macrostructure. Macrostructures are themselves organised formally according to general patterns selected to suit the author's purpose, such as the pattern Situation–Problem–Solution–Evaluation in the scholarly article. 'Discourse signals' provide readers with clues as to what may follow or signal logical relations. In practice, summarisation cannot be divorced from an understanding of the content or 'message' of texts. Sager's work on 'information formatting' is discussed as an illustration of the interdependence of content and structure in text analysis.

Most research on automatic indexing has concentrated on statistical methods of vocabulary analysis, the general assumption being that what should be isolated are the 'important' parts of a text and that words or phrases which occur frequently are likely to be important indicators of content. The methods have proved successful but the use of some linguistic analysis might lead to improvements. Two projects which have attempted such analysis are the SMART system and the SYNTOL system. Abstracting is far more than just summarising. The abstractor must retain the balance and emphasis of the original, pass no comments, state clearly the purpose, methods and conclusions of the work described and produce a self-contained, coherent text. The primary approach to automatic abstracting has been statistical, though more ambitious from the linguistic point of view than research on automatic indexing. Methods have been based on vocabulary frequencies or textual cues, and are more accurately called 'automatic extracting'. The real problem is accounting for the ability to generalise, i.e. to select a general term to cover the content of a number of more specific expressions.

Work within artificial intelligence on story understanding is relevant to the summarising operation called 'construction'. Schank's research using 'scripts'

(outline sequences of events which can be expected in particular situations, i.e. in a restaurant, or a kidnap). An experimental programme FRUMP works from sketchy scripts of typical newspaper stories, and skims through texts looking for words signalling a known script, from which it is able to predict the occurrence of other words and so build up the outline of a story. Some integration of the various research approaches would be difficult but valuable.

84-448 Kikuchi, Atsuko and Lichtenberk, Frantisek (U. of Auckland). Semantic extension in the colour lexicon. *Studies in Language* (Amsterdam), 7, 1 (1983), 25–64.

A cross-linguistic study of the figurative use of colour terms reveals the existence of both language-idiosyncratic developments and general tendencies. It is argued that both types of development are ultimately grounded in the experience of the world by the speakers of the languages. Furthermore, the findings contradict the claim that there exists a universal order in the development of the figurative use of colour terms.

84-449 Kuno, Susumu. Principles of discourse deletion – case studies from English, Russian and Japanese. *Journal of Semantics* (Nijmegen), 1, 1 (1982), 61–93.

A syntactically optional constituent in a sentence can be deleted if it is recoverable from the preceding context. This does not mean, however, that all such constituents are deletable. This paper hypothesises that there is a pecking order of deletion, which dictates that deletion should proceed from less important to more important information. Evidence is drawn from English, Russian and Japanese in support of this hypothesis. Interaction of this constraint with various syntactic rules in each individual language is examined, and it is hypothesised that unacceptability does not result when the above pecking order of deletion principle is violated due to the structural pressure of the language. Further discourse deletion data from Russian and Japanese are introduced, and principles that control them are formulated and justified.

84-450 Lichtenberk, Frantisek (U. of Auckland). Relational classifiers. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), 60, 2/3 (1983), 147–76.

In the classifier systems usually discussed in the literature, the classifying criteria are some properties of entities, such as shape, consistency, size, animacy and function. It is argued in this paper that there exists a different type of classifier, where the classifying criteria are not properties of entities but relations between two entities: the choice of a classifier is determined by the nature of the semantic, real-world relation between the referents of two linguistic elements. It is also suggested that such classifier systems are metaphorical in nature.

84-451 Mühlhäusler, Peter (Linacre Coll., Oxford). Stinkiepoos, cuddles and related matters. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* (St Lucia, Australia), **3** (1983), 75-91.

A brief discussion of the uses of the *s*-affix not usually documented in English grammars, viz. (i) the nursery *-s* as in *din dins*, *beddie-byes*, (ii) the 'ironic' *-s* as in *you gets what you pays for* and (iii) the variable absence or presence of *-s* in fish and food terminology as in *two pike v. two sharks*. It is argued that these data provide evidence against the view that morphological units are discrete entities which can be subjected to unambiguous segmentation and classification. Such data are ignored by linguists because they perceive more easily and attach greater importance to linguistic phenomena which are developmentally late. (There are other contributory factors such as the availability of a writing system and differences in metalinguistic vocabularies.) A radical rethinking in general linguistic theory is required if we are to understand language and grammar as that which underlies actual human communication rather than the product of our perceptual and metalinguistic constraints.

84-452 Rommetveit, Ragnar. In search of a truly interdisciplinary semantics. A sermon on hopes of salvation from hereditary sins. *Journal of Semantics* (Nijmegen), **2**, 1 (1983), 1-28.

Current expansions of linguistic research into pragmatic issues appear to be of a multi-rather than interdisciplinary nature, and novel minitheories represent a mixture of different and partially competing auxiliary presuppositions about social-interactional features of language superimposed upon a shared heritage of Cartesian assumptions about its non-social essence. Hypothetical constructs from prestigious models of language as an idealised, static and semantically closed system are introduced in various disguises as intervening variables into explanatory accounts of actual human discourse. Some hope of salvation from this hereditary sin emerges from an exegesis of Wittgenstein's aspect-theory, William James's notion of our 'trading on one another's truths', and a cryptic remark on natural language and reality by Werner Heisenberg. A constructive alternative to current multi-disciplinary semantics may thus hopefully be developed on the basis of empirically founded constructivist theories of language and thought in conjunction with a systematic analysis of basic social-interactional features of ordinary language. The synthesis yields a truly interdisciplinary and dynamic extension of semantics, and is finally illuminated by case analysis within the field of word semantics. Linguistically mediated meaning, within such an explicitly constructivist and social-interactionist paradigm, is conceptualised in terms of orderly contextual specification of meaning potentials of linguistic expressions under the constraints of the temporarily shared social reality of conversation partners and their intuitive mastery of dialogue roles.

84-453 Shadbolt, Nigel. Processing reference. *Journal of Semantics* (Nijmegen), **2**, 1 (1983), 63-98.

A system of referential description is presented that attempts to represent crucial aspects of the process of performing and understanding referential acts. It is suggested

that traditional logical accounts distract our attention from important properties concerning the use of referential expressions. The model proposed is consonant with a growing body of opinion amongst cognitive scientists that generating and interpreting natural language is best explained as a process of constructing cognitive models and procedures that represent and process the content of our utterances. If this position is taken seriously, there is a requirement that the state of language processors is the most important determinant of the mechanics of the referential act. This leads to a process model of reference. The paper also touches on why language is in a sense 'radically opaque' and why this opacity does not consistently lead to failure in communicative acts. The theory predicts that using language is a 'risky' business and that misinterpretation will occur more often than other formal theories predict.

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

84-454 Allen, George D. (Purdue U.). Linguistic experience modifies lexical stress perception. *Journal of Child Language*, **10**, 3 (1983), 535-49.

Sensitivity to differences in lexical stress pattern was examined in 4- and 5-year-old monolingual French-, German- and Swedish-speaking children. For most stimulus discriminations, the 5-year-olds out-performed their 4-year-old comparison groups. For a discrimination involving a trisyllabic distinction not found in French, however, the French 5-year-olds performed worse than their 4-year-old compatriots, suggesting that the older children had 'learned' not to hear the trisyllabic distinction. In follow-up testing of the French 4-year-olds six months later, half of them showed a similar decrease in performance specific to the trisyllabic stimuli. These data support an 'attunement' theory of language acquisition, in which potentially relevant abilities that are already partially or fully developed at birth may become attenuated or completely lost if they are inappropriate or irrelevant for the child's language.

84-455 Dauer, R. M. (U. of Miami). Stress-timing and syllable-timing reanalysed. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **11**, 1 (1983), 51-62.

Comparisons of data from continuous text in English, Thai, Spanish, Italian and Greek show that interstress intervals in English, a stress-timed language, are no more isochronous than interstress intervals in Spanish, a syllable-timed language, or any of the other languages investigated. A tendency for stresses to recur regularly appears to be a language-universal property. The difference between stress-timed and syllable-timed languages has to do with differences in syllable structure, vowel reduction and the phonetic realisation of stress and its influence on the linguistic system. Languages, language varieties or historical stages of a language can be considered more or less stress-based depending on differences in these characteristics. It seems likely that rhythmic grouping takes place even in languages which have been called syllable-timed.

84-456 Lightner, Theodore M. Introduction to phonology of English prefixes. *Linguisticae Investigationes* (Amsterdam), **7**, 1 (1983), 89–129.

In a synchronic study, English prefixes are labelled as G(ree)k, G(er)m(ani)c or L(atin) according to their morphophonological history in moving from underlying to surface representation. A general rule is proposed that deletes prefix-final vowels before a vowel or *h* followed by a vowel in Gk words only; counter-examples are either explained or listed as exceptions. A parallel is drawn with the case of the ‘gliding’ vowel *o* which is found primarily with Gk elements and rarely before vowels (*hystero-tomy* v. *hyster-ectomy*). It is suggested that prefixes may have originated in earlier compounding.

84-457 Lindblom, Björn (U. of Stockholm). Invited lecture on the teleological nature of speech processes. *Speech Communication* (Amsterdam), **2**, 2/3 (1983), 155–8.

Closer attention to the speech signal resulting in improved acoustic analysis (e.g. of prosodic features), auditory models (based on psychological and physiological factors), direct perception of signal-unit relationships and investigation of biologically specialised mechanisms may enhance our understanding of variability in the realisation of phonetic units and overlapping in their production. These two factors are, however, best seen in the light of a teleological model in which the speaker adjusts his speech more or less closely to articulatory targets according to his assessment of the listener’s understanding, and the listener applies a predictive strategy to understanding the message based on context, cognitive knowledge and linguistic redundancy rules. Such a model is claimed to be compatible with what is known of other biological functions and is presented as a contribution to current speech technology.

84-458 Port, Robert F. (Indiana U.) and **Mitleb, Fares Mousa** (Yarmouk U., Irbid, Jordan). Segmental features and implementation in acquisition of English by Arabic speakers. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **11**, 3 (1983), 219–29.

The details of phonetic timing in Arabic-accented English were examined for monosyllabic words recorded in a carrier sentence. Results of voice-onset time for initial tense (or voiceless) stops and of vowel durations and final consonant closure durations for final tense and lax stops suggest that the difficulty Arabs experience with the novel English segment /p/ stems from the level of implementation rules, not from combining abstract distinctive features. The results also showed that Arabs acquired the American English rule for flapping intervocalic /t, d/ more easily than they acquired those English temporal implementation rules of vowel and consonant closure durations that correlate with the tensity contrast. Altogether the results demonstrate the inadequacy of attempts to account for foreign accent by comparison of segmental phonetic elements. Instead those results are compatible with the hypothesis that abstract phonological elements, such as distinctive features and segments, are relatively plastic and manipulable (even for adults) but that rules of implementation,

whether of co-ordination between different articulators or for timing patterns, exist in the nervous system in a form that is far more difficult to alter in adulthood than are segmental features.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

84-459 Ciolac, Marina (Inst. de Recherches Ethnologiques et Dialectologiques, Bucharest). La conscience communicative des élèves: une tentative d'approche sociolinguistique. [A socio-linguistic approach to the communicative awareness of schoolchildren.] *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* (Bucharest), **27**, 5 (1982), 379-408.

The language of 72 children (24 from each area) was studied both in free-talk situation and by asking them to re-tell orally and in writing a well-known Romanian folk tale. The sample consisted of children aged 9-10 from Bucharest itself, from a country district and from a community close to the capital undergoing urbanisation. The children generally showed awareness of social norms: how to talk to an adult outsider, topics not to be mentioned to an adult outsider, etc. They corrected inconsistencies and ambiguities in their re-telling of the story but were more likely to do so when speaking than when writing. In Bucharest itself this awareness was correlated with the educational and occupational level of the parents.

Schools should make constructive use of children's readiness to reflect on the norms of their mother tongue and their intuitive adaptation of their speech to the communicative situation in order to ensure conscious and efficient acquisition of language by their pupils. [Examples in Romanian.]

84-460 Corson, D. (U. of Wollongong). Social dialect, the semantic barrier, and access to curricular knowledge. *Language in Society* (Cambridge), **12**, 2 (1983), 213-22.

This paper introduces the theory of the lexical bar. It reports research studies conducted in England and Australia. A semantic barrier exists in the English lexicon which hinders the users of some social dialects from access to knowledge categories of the school curriculum in their oral and written language and perhaps in cognition as well. The existence of this barrier is a principal cause of school failure for some social dialect users. The barrier is formed by words of Graeco-Latin (G-L) origin which entered English during the Renaissance. The G-L content in a wide sample of passages drawn from the humanities, sciences and social sciences is between 30 and 40 per cent of the total words used. The barrier emerges from socio-historical factors and is reinforced by the socio-occupational orderings of contemporary society. This barrier separates the lexis of conservative peripheral social dialects from the lexis of dominant central dialects. It serves to produce differential attainment rates in education and to reproduce a social class-based division of labour in English-speaking societies.

84-461 Gertner, Michael H. and others. (Yeshiva U., New York). Language and ethnicity in the periodical publications of four American ethnic groups. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), 2, 2 (1983), 83-99.

Despite the differences that exist between Franco-American, German-American, Hispanic-American and Jewish-American press samples for 1980, the different ethnic presses tended to publish [items] most frequently about very similar topics, particularly when items in their respective non-English languages are considered. Items published in these languages mention ethnic topics more frequently (but not necessarily more positively) than do items published in English. A basic similarity in immigrant interests and experiences across ethnic groups and growing differences between their respective American-born generations (including differences in social mobility and in the indigenisation of pre-immigrational ethnicity) serves to make the four non-English ethnic press samples more similar to each other than are the four ethnic press samples in English with respect to one another. Furthermore, the four English press samples are also more similar to their respective non-English counterparts than they are to each other. However, it is in the English press samples that language advocacy and ethnic advocacy are most marked. The Hispanic ethnic press is the most ambivalent of all. It publishes more frequently than do the others about economic and political accomplishments, language and ethnic advocacy, and transcendental nationalism. On the other hand, it often displays very negative attitudes towards concrete ethnicity and has the highest percentage of non-ethnic items.

84-462 Seltig, Margret. Institutionelle Kommunikation: Stilwechsel als Mittel strategischer Interaktion. [Institutional communication: style switching as a means of strategic interaction.] *Linguistische Berichte* (Wiesbaden, FRG), 86 (1983), 29-48.

Style switching is seen as an organisational strategy in the context of a West German radio series. The broadcaster uses non-standard colloquial forms in her presentation and as an unmarked form in interviews. This is already a departure from the normal practice of the medium, and signals an attempt to identify with the listeners. Additionally, examples are given which show switching to more colloquial styles in encouraging the lay interviewees, and to standard German forms in presenting counter-arguments during discussion with experts. Further, using highly colloquial forms with the experts shows greater sympathy with the views of the non-experts. Switching styles is thus used dynamically for control of interaction and not as the automatic consequence of a particular conversational situation.

84-463 Slembek, Edith. Individuelle Identifikation und soziale Bewertung von Gesprächspartnern durch Sprechausdrucksmerkmale. [Individual identification and social evaluation of interlocutors by means of speech expression features.] *Germanistische Linguistik* (Marburg, FRG) 5/6 (1981), 199-222.

A number of approaches to, and works on, the role of 'speech expression features' in the communication of diagnostic information about the individual speaker and his

social status are reviewed. The basic categories for such features, taken from the work of Geissner, include 'melodic' features (pitch and voice quality), 'dynamic' features (accentuation and loudness), 'temporal' features (speed and pauses), and 'articulatory' features (precision and 'accent'). All these features can be indicative of specific chronological periods, cultures, and social groups (e.g. the nineteenth-century German officer class), as well as of individual speaker identity, size, age, sex and personal mood or disposition.

A number of studies are described which investigate these features and their roles. Some general conclusions are drawn and suggestions made for further research in this area.

84-464 Warkentyne, H. J. (U. of Victoria, BC). Attitudes and language behaviour. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* (Toronto), **28**, 1 (1983), 71-6.

The paper is concerned with the relationship between a speaker's cultural value system and his language behaviour. All information was elicited by means of a printed questionnaire. Audio recordings of the subjects reading a narrative were also made. The subjects were 68 Canadian-born students.

The attitudinal tests used were (1) preference ratings involving Canada, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US); Canadian national and linguistic identity; and personality ratings of Americans, the British and Canadians. The linguistic items used included seven phonological items and a number of lexical items which show morphophonemic variation, in each of which one variant can be regarded as typical of General American English (AE) and the other as characteristic of British English (BE) pronunciation, as in *aunt*, *lever* and *schedule*.

Results showed that the subjects rated Canada lower than both the US and the UK, the UK being rated somewhat higher than the US. For supposed benefits Canada has derived from its association with the US as opposed to the UK, opinion again ran in favour of the UK. Scores on the personality ratings indicated that subjects rated Canadians higher than Americans but lower than the British. In the morphophonemic category, a preference for the use of the so-called BE variants was indicated. The reported use of AE and BE lexical choices was nearly equal, with a slight preference for AE variants.

Correlations of attitudinal variables showed that those who preferred Canada to the US and the UK were likely to have a strong sense of national identity. Correlations of linguistic variables suggest four general patterns of usage: (1) a pattern approximating General American English, (2) a pattern characterised by BE features, (3) general Canadian English, and (4) perceived Standard usage. Correlations between linguistic and attitudinal variables are summarised, also correlations between the attitudinal variables and the four usage patterns discussed above. The results support the hypothesis that a speaker's attitudes have predictable effects on his choice of linguistic variants.

PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

84-465 Bentahila, Abdelâli. Motivations for code-switching among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. *Language and Communication* (Oxford), **3**, 3 (1983), 233-43.

A discussion of some of the reasons why code-switches occur and the contributions they make to a speaker's communicative purpose. Many switches are provoked by external factors guided by the topic under discussion, availability of vocabulary or connotations of particular words. In other cases, switches are deliberately chosen and exploited by the speaker to achieve a particular type of effect, e.g. emphasis through repetition of a phrase first in one language then the other or through replying to a question in the other language to stress indignation, humour, sarcasm, etc. Other uses include interruption to mark an aside, quoting and resolving hesitations.

84-466 Bernstein, Lynne E. (Northwestern U.). Language as a product of dialogue. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **4**, 2 (1981), 117-47.

Studies of adults' speech to language-learning children indicate that children hear a language sample which is probably well suited to their developing linguistic needs. How to characterise the relationship between adult speech and child language development remains, however, an unsettled issue. This study proposes one important function for adult-child dialogues in the developmental process. The dialogue provides the child with opportunities to participate with adults in creating linguistic relationships of which he/she would be incapable alone. This proposal is similar to the 'zone of proximal development' discussed by Vygotsky and reviewed here.

Data for the study come from dialogues between mothers and their children between the ages of 20 and 32 months. As a reflection of another proposal, that dialogue can only be adequately described in terms of discourse level relations, the specific area of investigation was the discourse level relation ellipsis. Dialogues were coded with categories of ellipsis and in terms of the sequential order of speakers. Results indicate that: (1) categories of ellipsis develop in an orderly manner simultaneously with the development of syntax (as measured by mean length of utterance); (2) categories of ellipsis emerge in between-speaker sequences; (3) children participate in elliptical relations before they have developed syntax; (4) mothers use all types of ellipsis in within-speaker speech, regardless of their children's linguistic level, but their between-speaker use of ellipsis is adjusted to child's level of language by virtue of the rules of ellipsis; and (5) the dialogue *per se* changes as the child develops.

84-467 Friederici, Angela D. (U. of Nijmegen). Repräsentation und Verarbeitung von lexikalischer und syntaktischer Information: Psycholinguistische und neurolinguistische Evidenz. [Representation and processing of lexical and syntactic information: psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic evidence.] *Linguistische Berichte* (Wiesbaden, FRG), **85** (1983), 49-63.

There is possible evidence from pathological language behaviour which can be used in the investigation of speech production and comprehension processes. A starting point for the consideration of these data is a language production model (Garrett, 1975,

1980) based on speech error data. Errors of a grammatical and a lexical kind have a differential range: the latter may span more than one sentence whereas the former are almost exclusively intra-sentential. Experiments employing lexical decision tasks with normal speakers and similar work with agrammatic aphasics are reviewed. They provide evidence for the differential processing of open and closed class items. Work on the processing of prepositions is focused upon as prepositions constitute a category in the speech error data which behaves like both open and closed class items.

The study concludes that, first, the evidence supports the assumption of relatively autonomous levels of processing – which can either be selective or disturbed. Secondly, however, the experiments reviewed suggest caution in assuming an identity between word class and process level, since the processing of lexical and non-lexical aspects within one item may be ascribed to different levels. Different prepositional forms are processed according to their functional role in the sentence and not exclusively according to their class membership or their phonological status.

84–468 Garrod, S. C. and Sanford, A. J. The mental representation of discourse in a focused memory system: implications for the interpretation of anaphoric noun phrases. *Journal of Semantics* (Nijmegen), 1, 1 (1982), 21–41.

To a cognitive psychologist discourse comprehension poses a number of interesting problems both in terms of mental representation and mental operations. In this paper it is suggested that certain of these problems can be brought into clear focus by employing a procedural approach to discourse description. A general framework for the mental representation of discourse is discussed in which distinctions between different types of memory partitions are proposed. One needs to distinguish both between focused representations available in immediate working memory and non-focused representations available in long-term memory and also between representations arising from the asserted information in the discourse and those arising from what is presupposed by it. In the second half of the paper a particular problem of anaphoric reference is discussed within the content of this framework. A general memory search procedure is outlined which contains three parameters for determining the search operation. The authors then attempt to describe certain anaphoric expressions such as personal pronouns and full definite noun phrases in terms of the execution of this search procedure, where distinctions arise from the parameter specification derived from the expressions.

The cognitive psychology of discourse is concerned with the nature of the mental processes entailed in understanding what is written or spoken, and the problem of how these processes might be realised in the mind of the understander given the psychological constraints of limited attention and memory which we know to obtain. One very attractive line of attack is to view the many and various aspects of a discourse as having an instructional component, in the sense that the reader or listener is being instructed to assemble representations of the elements of discourse in a particular way. An example of this is to be found in a treatment of topic marking within the topic/comment distinction (Halliday, 1976): topic identification may be thought of as an instruction to implement a procedure in which the topic content is construed as an address in memory to which new (comment) information is to be affixed (e.g. Broadbent, 1973; Haviland & Clark, 1974).

While any attempt at producing a process-model for comprehension inevitably makes use of such a procedural view, it is also sensible to consider a text as having a content, which is more directly interpretable as a set of statements. In this paper, the authors first consider the question of text content. This immediately raises the problem of how to treat anaphoric reference, which is one of the key contributors to text cohesion. Finally, they attempt to illustrate how the instructional or procedural aspect of discourse interacts with the content aspect by reference to a specific problem of anaphoric reference.

84-469 Garvey, Catherine and Berninger, Ginger (Johns Hopkins U.). Timing and turn taking in children's conversations. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **4**, 1 (1981), 27-57.

The relations between pauses and turn taking in the dyadic conversations of three age groups of nursery school children were investigated. In Study 1 the duration of between-speaker pauses in three types of successfully completed exchanges were compared. In Study 2 the duration of within-speaker pauses was examined in sequences in which a speaker re-solicited a response after the partner had failed to respond. Pause durations varied systematically across the exchange types and these durations were consistently briefer than the pauses preceding the re-solicitations. Rare cases of simultaneous speech were also examined. The results suggest that children use their expectations of a context-specific, normal range of pause duration in timing the onset of a turn-at-speaking.

84-470 Horgan, Dianne. Rate of language acquisition and noun emphasis. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), **10**, 6 (1981) [publ. 1983], 629-40.

Fifteen pairs of children were matched on MLU. Members of each pair differed by 6 months or more in age. The younger (precocious) children's language was compared to the older (slower) children's on a number of complexity measures. Precocious children emphasised nouns more and tended to make more errors; slower children scored higher on a comprehension task. This suggests that there may be qualitatively different approaches to language development that relate to speed of language acquisition.

84-471 Kempen, Gerard and Huijbers, Pieter (U. of Nijmegen). The lexicalisation process in sentence production and naming: indirect election of words. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **14**, 2 (1983), 185-209.

A series of experiments is reported in which subjects describe simple visual scenes by means of both sentential and non-sentential responses. The data support the following statements about the lexicalisation (word finding) process. (1) Words used by speakers in over naming or sentence production responses are selected by a sequence of two lexical retrieval processes, the first yielding abstract pre-phonological items (L1-items), the second one adding their phonological shapes (L2-items). (2) The selection of several L1-items for a multi-word utterance can take place simultaneously. (3) A monitoring process is watching the output of L1-lexicalisation to check if it is

in keeping with prevailing constraints upon utterance format. (4) Retrieval of the L2-item which corresponds with a given L1-item waits until the L1-item has been checked by the monitor, and all other L1-items needed for the utterance under construction have become available.

A coherent picture of the lexicalisation process begins to emerge when these characteristics are brought together with other empirical results in the area of naming and sentence production, e.g. picture naming reaction times (Seymour, 1979), speech errors (Garrett, 1980), and word order preferences (Bock, 1982).

84-472 Latham, Martin. (U. College of N. Wales, Bangor). *Bilinguisme et acquisition des langues: leçons pour l'enseignement des langues vivantes.* [Bilingualism and language acquisition: lessons for teaching modern languages.] *Dialogues et Cultures* (Paris), **25** (1983), 81-98.

A bilingual has been defined as one who belongs to two distinct linguistic communities. Linguists distinguish various types of bilingual. However, contrary to popular opinion, all bilinguals have a preferred language. Language acquisition in bilingual children has two stages. During the first, the words used cannot be divorced from the situations in which they are embedded; this is termed the conceptualisation of situations and the child operates two closed language systems. Some bilinguals remain at this stage. With stage two comes linguistic awareness and the first or preferred language is used as a point of reference and as support for the second. Bilinguals devise various strategies to keep their languages apart. 'Errors' may be a consequence of confusion or interference but more often arise from attempts to maximise the differences between the languages.

Bilinguals are not necessarily gifted linguists. That they owe their language skills to circumstances argues for greater democratisation of language teaching. A second language need not be the privilege of an academic élite. An approach based on practical communication and a positive attitude to errors are indicated. Once the initial stage is past, the mother tongue has its place, as a support and to clarify complicated matters.

84-473 Luszcz, Mary A. (Flinders U. of South Australia) and **Bacharach, Verne R.** (Acadia U.). The emergence of communicative competence: detection of conversational topics. *Journal of Child Language* (London), **10**, 3 (1983), 623-37.

The use of linguistic and extralinguistic information in identifying conversational topics was studied in 3- and 5-year-old children. Pictures portraying an actor-action-object relation were used to guide conversations. Both active pictures, emphasising an action relating actor and object via postural cues, and static pictures, which did not, were used. Linguistic topics were implied by prefacing each picture with comments topicalising actor, action or object. In neutral control groups no topic was implied and, in an explicit control group of 3-year-olds, the actor's action on the object was directly topicalised. While implicit topic definition was sufficient for 5-year-olds' production of contingent replies, explicit definition of a topic was necessary to evoke a similar pattern of replies from 3-year-olds. These findings are discussed in terms of different modes of topic definition and their order of acquisition.

84-474 McCartney, Kathleen A. (Yale U.) and **Nelson, Katherine** (City U. of New York). Children's use of scripts in story recall. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **4**, 1 (1981), 59-70.

Children's stories are less egocentric than was once thought. Children's performance may be dependent upon the content of story material; they seem to do better with event as opposed to state knowledge. Because the script model is an event sequence model and because children appeared to use script knowledge to guide story output, as evidenced by their changes, it is proposed that the script model may serve as a valid model of one type of children's knowledge representation. Many questions regarding the development of script knowledge, stereotypic and personal, and the role of script knowledge in imposing structure, remain.

84-475 Papapavlou, Andreas. N. (U. of Rochester). Perception vs. production in second-language learning by adults and its implications for the motor theory. *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics* (New Delhi), **7**, 1/2 (1981), 1-28.

The first part of this study examined the main principles and implications of the motor theory. Theoretical and experimental evidence is presented both in support of and opposing this theory. The second part presents an attempt to question the validity of the motor theory exclusively on experimental data from second-language learning by adults. The author hypothesises that perceptual mastery of certain speech sounds, or sequences of speech sounds, does not guarantee the ability to produce them accurately. Twenty English speaking Ss received training in discriminating and identifying 20 Greek consonant clusters, 20 Ss received a placebo, and 10 Greek-speaking Ss received no training. Analysis of variance was performed on Ss' (1) perceptual identifications, (2) production time and (3) production accuracy. The results obtained support the main hypothesis.

84-476 Salus, Peter H. A realistic view of the mental lexicon. *Semiotica* (Amsterdam), **43**, 3/4 (1983), 337-65.

Responses to word association tests indicate that the mental lexicon is structured as a network or reticulum allowing access to lexical items along a variety of routes. It has been proposed that search processes involve vector paths along binary decision trees, but evidence from neural transmission speeds does not support this view. An alternative is a partial-match retrieval system based on superimposed coding, in which lexical items may be matched in terms of a variety of attributes, semantic, grammatical or phonological. This model is in accord with the results of word association tests, aphasiological material, and research into artificial intelligence.

84-477 Spivak, D. L. Язык в условиях измененных состояний сознания. [Language under altered states of consciousness.] *Вопросы языкознания* (Moscow), **5** (1983), 43-9.

An account of some experimental results relating to the breakdown of language structure during insulin therapy and related therapies. Results included the prevalence

of retained simple declarative sentences containing simple referential noun phrases, the resistance of adverbs of state to breakdown, the interpretation of passives as actives at advanced stages of language breakdown, and the tendency to relate pronouns to the nearest noun phrase. These results are compared with the results of child language studies, and with some linguistic hypotheses.

84-478 Stine, Elizabeth Lotz and Bohannon, John Neil, III (Georgia Inst. of Tech.). Imitations, interactions, and language acquisition. *Journal of Child Language* (London), 10, 3 (1983), 589-603.

The precise function of imitation in children's speech is still debated. Two hypotheses have been offered that focus on either the progressive nature of imitation to aid in the language acquisition process or the social, conversational role played by imitation in discourse. Support for these positions was sought in the imitations within the speech of a single child at ages 2;8 and 3;0. Evidence is presented for both roles of imitation in language acquisition. First, imitation aids in limiting the complexity (MLU) of the language environment. The effects of imitation in this role are compared and contrasted to the effects of the child's production of *what?* Also, forms may appear in imitation prior to their appearance in spontaneous speech. A model is proposed in which imitation and *what?*-responses are overlapping phases of language acquisition which occur prior to spontaneous production of a given form.

PRAGMATICS

84-479 Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. The dynamics of political interviews. *Text* (Amsterdam), 3, 2 (1983), 131-53.

The paper explores the discourse rules that operate in political interviews in the media. The data base for the study is 20 hours of transcribed political interviews that took place on Israeli television between October 1980 and March 1982. The working hypothesis of the study is that political interviews form a highly structured rule-governed speech event, governed by genre-specific discourse rules. Both interviewers and interviewees co-operate in adhering to a set of unwritten interactional norms; interviewers constantly negotiate with politicians on the level of co-operation required in adhering to these norms. The units for analysis in the study are initial exchanges at transaction boundaries. It is shown that opening moves in political interviews invite negotiation about levels of co-operation by concerning – by definition – disputable events and often by implying a different topic from the one stated. The analysis of the ensuing topical cycles reveals that politicians' responses are being rated by interviewers as being either 'supportive' or 'non-supportive' and that the former is indicated by topical shifts or questions for clarification, while the latter is indicated by challenging reformulations of the initial question. Sequential move analysis shows that the value of 'non-supportive' responses is assigned to prior moves which fail to adhere to any of the following criteria of discourse coherence: (1) cohesiveness, (2) topical coherence, (3) presuppositional coherence, (4) coherence on the level of speech

acts. It is also shown that 'non-supportive' ratings are linguistically indicated by a series of discourse markers termed 'meta control acts'. The validity of the norms of play in political interviews is further exemplified by considering an exceptional example, which violates all the rules of the political interview game.

84-480 Brinker, Klaus (U. of Hamburg). Textfunktionen. Ansätze zu ihrer Beschreibung. [Text-functions: prolegomena to their description.] *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* (Berlin, FRG), **11**, 2 (1983), 127-48.

Text linguistics has been concerned primarily with two problems: the definition and the (sub-)classification of texts. The function of a text is a possible criterion to be applied to either problem, but itself requires further theorising, in order that functions themselves might be explained, differentiated, and correctly ascribed to individual texts. Große's analysis of text-functions distinguishes function, intention and effect in a manner similar to speech act theory, but fails to provide a homogeneous classificatory basis for text functions. His criterion of 'dominant function' is, albeit inadequately, based on the relative frequency of propositional types in a text. Because of 'indirect' functions similar to 'indirect speech acts', the latter theory is adopted for the description of text functions and further for assigning texts to typological classes, within which further differentiation follows from contextual and internal (realisational) criteria.

84-481 Dem'yankov, V. Z. 'Событие' в семантике, прагматике и в координатах интерпретации текста. ['Event' in semantics, pragmatics and the coordinates of text interpretation.] *Серия лимерамуры и языка* (Moscow), **42**, 4 (1983), 320-29.

The notion of 'event' has three aspects – as an 'idea', as a referential event as such, and as a property of texts. In this latter context, events are located in terms of their expectedness, their place in the sequence of discourse, and the point of view from which they are described.

The distinguishing features of events include such opposition as static/dynamic, control, holistic or phasal viewpoint, punctual, durative or iterative, perfectivity, probability, participant roles, etc. Such a set of features is seen as providing a basis for the description of the various aspects of 'events'.

82-482 Deutsch, Werner and Pechmann, Thomas (Max-Planck-Inst. für Psycholinguistik, Nijmegen). Social interaction and the development of definite descriptions. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **11**, 2 (1982), 159-84.

This study examines whether a deficit in the production of definite descriptions can be compensated for and successfully resolved in social interaction. The developmental reasons for contextually inadequate descriptions are discussed, and also the mechanisms by which social interaction can reduce processing demands. A cross-sectional study is described, which used 50 Dutch subjects aged 3, 6 and 9, compared to adults, and in which the interaction was analysed between speaker and addressee in a referential communication task. The results reveal that all the referential ambiguities

in the 6- and 9-year-olds, and in the adults, were successfully resolved when the addressee repeated the preceding description in question format, where the initial description (plus the succeeding specification) had not been explicit enough to identify the target referent. In the youngest age group, the 3-year-olds, the analogous percentage of resolutions was 89 per cent. Moreover, it was found that the length of interaction required depends on age-related differences in the explicitness of the initial descriptions and the (induced) repairs.

The main results raise several questions that are discussed under three headings: the role of feedback in speaker–addressee interaction, the possibility of a procedural explanation for production deficits and their compensation, and the possible learning mechanisms underlying developmental changes in referential descriptions.

84-483 Gak, V. G. Прагматика, узус грамматика речи. [Pragmatics, usage and the grammar of speech.] *Иностранные языки в школе (Moscow)*, 5 (1982), 11–16.

The term ‘pragmatics’ is defined in relation to other approaches to the study of languages and how they operate. Its emphasis on the functions of language, and the relationship between linguistic forms and the people who use them, account for its prominent position in modern linguistics. An interest in pragmatics is also seen as a feature of current developments in the study of logic. The latter’s tendency to focus on the derivation of meaning from form is in contrast to the present tendency in linguistics to study form in relation to intended meaning. Three issues are discussed in detail: the structure of the speech act, the typology of speech acts and the divergence between direct and oblique statements.

A distinction having been made between the informational content of an utterance (the ‘dictum’) and the conditions and aims affecting it (the ‘Modus’), six aspects of a speech act are examined: speaker, audience, presuppositions, aim, context and situation, development and internal organisation. With reference to the typology of speech acts, distinctions are drawn between informative and performative functions. The way in which similar semantic structures may convey different meanings within and between different languages is illustrated and explained in terms of usage.

84-484 Giora, Rachel. Segmentation and segment cohesion: on the thematic organization of the text. *Text (Amsterdam)*, 3, 2 (1983), 155–81.

Most linguists concerned with cohesion have focused on the linear relations between sentences. This study is an attempt to extend the notion of cohesion beyond the sentence level, by viewing it as a requirement of the text for connectedness between segments larger than a sentence, such as paragraphs or whole chapters. Of the various concatenation devices listed in Daneš (1974), the most elementary one is the presentation of a given theme in a previous rheme constituent. Only this type of connectedness is considered here, the argument being that a prior presentation has two functions: a cohesive one and an informational one. As for the cohesive role, the author elaborates only on such phenomena as exhibit concatenation of new information in segment-final position (irrespective of the nature of the segment) and further shows

the extent to which concatenation of new topics affects text segmentation. Contrary to the view that allows for a text to be segmented *before* the introduction of a new discourse topic, segmenting the text *after* the introduction of the new/future discourse topic is found to be a widespread phenomenon that prevails at the various levels of the text. Functionally, prior concatenation of future discourse in segment-final position is motivated by considerations of informational structuring. Segmenting a text after the introduction of the future discourse topic endows the latter with foreground status. Apart from discussing cohesion at the various levels of the text, this paper is an attempt to show that segment-final position, of whatever nature, is a parameter determining informationally foreground status.

84–485 House, Juliane and Koller, Werner. Zum Sprachverhalten in fiktiven und realen Alltagsdialogen. [Linguistic behaviour in invented and authentic everyday dialogues.] *Germanistische Linguistik* (Marburg, FRG), 5/6 (1981), 25–38.

Many fictional dialogues appear more authentic than transcriptions of real conversation; this despite the usual omission of (e.g.) hesitations, false starts, simultaneous speaking and the description of paralinguistic features. Some such features are however often conveyed by direct graphic or linguistic means (e.g. ‘...’ or ‘hm’ for pauses), others indirectly in the description of characters and situation. Authenticity is governed by principles of economy (relevance) and function in the selection of these means; they are functional if they express not only the ‘what’ but also the ‘how’ of the communicative act. Success follows from taking the perspective of the listener, expressing what is relevant for him, and acquainting the reader with the participants and situation, especially important when one considers that most dialogues are not of a conventional institutionalised nature. A contrastive discourse analysis is outlined which has implications for the difficult decision, in translating fictional dialogue, of whether the language and culture of the original or of the target language should determine the means used.

84–486 James, Allen R. (U. of Amsterdam). Compromisers in English: a cross-disciplinary approach to their interpersonal significance. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), 7, 2 (1983), 191–206.

The article offers an interdisciplinary view of a group of items found in conversation which constitute a productive means for the expression of interpersonal meaning between interactants. Examined is a subset of ‘discourse particles’ in English, termed ‘compromisers’, tokens of which include *sort of*, *like* and *you know*, which are analysed for their significance in verbal interaction. Their interpersonal significance is viewed as a product of pragmatic, interactional and social-behavioural dimensions of meaning, where the key to their meaning is seen to reside in their expression of ‘like-ness’. This is achieved rhetorically by the figurative properties of the compromiser constructions themselves. It is further shown how the expression of ‘like-ness’ can be related within the social-behavioural sphere of meaning to the interpersonal value dimension of ‘solidarity’ or ‘affiliation’ between interlocutors.

84-487 Kernan, Keith T. and Sabsay, Sharon. Semantic deficiencies in the narratives of mildly retarded speakers. *Semiotica* (Amsterdam), **42**, 2/4 (1982), 169-93.

Mildly retarded adults show deficiencies in their ability to structure discourse, an aspect of their communicative competence. At the sentence level the data, here consisting of narratives, indicate difficulties with syntax, lexis, logic and the handling of false starts. Above the sentence, problems may occur with cohesion and with each of the narrative segments identified by Labov and Waletzky. Story-introducing abstracts, for example, may turn out not to have the expected relation to the story itself, and in later segments crucial details may be left out, making it hard for the listener to discern the intended point of the narrative. Though all these deficiencies also occur in the narratives of non-retarded speakers, they are more frequent in the data examined here.

84-488 Levinson, Stephen C. Some pre-observation on the modelling of dialogue. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **4**, 2 (1981), 93-116.

If conversation has a syntax, then the non-terminal elements of that syntax must be units such as speech acts. It would also have to be possible to identify stretches of conversation as realising single speech acts; however, no procedure exists, or can exist, that will achieve such an assignment, nor can sequencing rules be stated which would place constraints on the ordering of speech act types. Even adjacency pairs are not as tightly constrained as they are often assumed to be, and provide no account of topical coherence. Further evidence against the feasibility, even in principle, of a conversational syntax, comes from the hierarchy of intents identifiable in most utterances, and the contextual variability of act-to-utterance assignment.

84-489 Lindemann, Bernhard (U. of Bochum). Text as process: an integrated view of a science of texts. *Journal of Literary Semantics* (Heidelberg, FRG), **12**, 1 (1983), 5-41.

Texts are organised and processed on several levels. Intrinsic to the text are its microstructure – realised by devices such as anaphora and topic/comment relationships – and its macrostructure, which underlies the production of summaries, abstracts and titles. These levels are both linguistic, as is that of superstructure, which is extrinsic to the text and includes typology and genre. Finally, frames (alternatively scripts or schemas; here there are several overlapping notions), as proposed by workers in artificial intelligence, help to organise the text on the non-linguistic level and account for certain inferences by relating items in the text to relevant real-world knowledge. Frames should perhaps be understood as analogous to formal, rather than to substantive universals. The operation of these levels is illustrated by an analysis of a story by James Thurber.

84-490 Mihailă, Rodica (Inst. de Recherches Ethnologiques et Dialectologiques, Bucharest). *Complicité conversationnelle*. [Conversational complicity.] *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* (Bucharest), **28**, 1 (1983), 31-8.

Conversation is not only an event but an abstract product in which the interlocutors progressively compose their intentions and opinions. The article studies the problem of complicity in a conversation with regard to the common universe presupposed or created by communication. Dialogue consists of alternating contributions by 'agent' and 'antiagent' that compose into a coherent sequence with an implicit goal attained by the interlacing of the participants' conversational intentions.

Conversational complicity is a special variety of 'insidership' deriving from common knowledge, common code and semantic concord between the speakers. Conversational competence consists in one participant's capacity to reconstruct the intentions of the other by semantico-pragmatic calculation. Thanks to this, irony, allusion and insinuation can be interpreted. Conversation is not a means of reaching a conclusion but a mode of being, whereby the interest of one interlocuter legitimises that of the other and each emerges from the isolation and anxiety of his subjective self to establish a rapport with the objective world.

84-491 Oomen, Ursula (U. of Trier). *Ironische Äusserungen: Syntax – Semantik – Pragmatik*. [Ironic utterances: syntax – semantics – pragmatics.] *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* (Berlin, FRG), **11** (1983), 22-38.

Orthodox views on irony, e.g. in traditional rhetoric, in structural poetics, or in speech act theory. describe it as the expression of an idea through its opposite. But not all opposites are ironic, and this view does not explain a number of other characteristics of irony, nor how it is understood. These criticisms suggest that irony is not purely contextual, but also depends on certain syntactic and semantic features of the utterance, which in turn derive from the necessarily evaluative role of irony. The pragmatic conditions for successful irony are identified, and some syntactic and semantic features discussed. Ironic utterances are shown to be restricted to factive-emotive and gradable predicates. Since ironic utterances tend to express extremes, only certain kinds of gradable predicates are capable of ironic use. The interpretation and motivation for ironic utterances is also considered.

84-492 Rehbein, Jochen. *Zur pragmatischen Rolle des 'Stils'*. [On the pragmatic role of 'style'.] *Germanistische Linguistik* (Marburg, FRG), **3/4** (1981), 21-48.

Style is here seen not as a matter of paraphrase in different contexts, nor simply, as in some recent work, as a means of establishing social relations, but as a phenomenon which systematically realises certain linguistic models through specific lexical, syntactic, intonational and idiomatic linguistic means. The means are dependent on the particular linguistic community which is familiar with the models.

This is illustrated by a number of texts: a leading article from a respected newspaper, a group discussion, a dispute, and the imitation of the style of one speaker

by a speaker of another. The first shows that the linguistic features are specific to a particular group of language users who share the model concerned; the second shows that there may be conflicts between different stylistic registers; the third shows that speakers may switch between models for particular purposes; and the fourth shows how different styles may be combined for specific effects.

84-493 Schaffer, Deborah (Ohio State U.). The role of intonation as a cue to turn taking in conversation. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), 11, 3 (1983), 243-57.

The sociolinguistic literature concerning turn taking in conversation is extensive, but also limited in certain respects. Most studies have focused on kinesic behaviours and semantic/pragmatic devices for maintaining the flow of conversations, while few have investigated the role of prosody, especially in non-face-to-face turn taking. Moreover, most researchers describe the production of conversational behaviours rather than their perception by conversationalists. The present study attempts to fill these gaps through a series of listening tests incorporating both face-to-face (FF) and non-face-to-face (NFF) conversational excerpts, in order to discover how intonation is used as a perceptual cue for turn taking. Utterances isolated from these conversations were used to construct two test tapes; each set was also filtered so that the utterances were unintelligible but retained some prosodic information, notably intonation. Subjects then made turn beginning and turn end judgements for each item on the four resulting tapes. The findings show a great amount of variability in listener use of intonation as a cue to both FF and NFF speaker status, with rising fundamental frequency the strongest cue (to turn ends) in both conditions. The results also illustrate the highly interactive nature of prosody and other types of cues (e.g. syntactic and contextual information).

84-494 Vezin, Jean-François. Text structure and note-taking activity. *International Journal of Psycholinguistics* (The Hague), 8, 4 (1981), 23-36.

Note-taking activity was studied as a function of text structure in 13-year-old high school students. Key sentences in the text were accompanied by one of the following types of sentence: unified examples (the same example is presented with each new key sentence and is developed as a function of the information contained in the latter), mixed examples (examples are not all based on the development of the same example), annex sentences (anecdotal expansion of key sentences), or both types of sentence together (unified examples and mixed examples or unified examples and anecdotal sentences). Results chiefly indicate (1) an increase in note-taking activity (total number of words written) when the length of the passage is increased by the introduction of a second type of sentence (anecdotes or examples) accompanying key sentences, even when the subject is requested to limit his note-taking to essential concepts; (2) note-taking activity is greater when key sentences are accompanied by examples than when they are accompanied by annex sentences; (3) number of key words appearing in the subjects' notes is greater when key sentences are accompanied by examples than when they are accompanied by annex sentences; and (4) a comparison of unified

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examples and mixed examples reveals a greater amount of note-taking activity in the case of mixed examples. The interpretation of these results distinguishes note-taking activity as an 'aid to scanning' from note-taking activity as a 'result of scanning'. This interpretation is based on the semantic similarity between key sentences and examples.

84–495 Wolfson, Nessa. Invitations, compliments and the competence of the native speaker. *International Journal of Psycholinguistics* **8**, 4 (1981), 7–22.

This paper presents a descriptive analysis of two speech acts in American English: invitations and compliments. The author, together with others, gathered data by means of participant observation in naturally occurring every day situations and then analysed them to uncover their structure and function. Results show that invitations fall into two categories: ambiguous and unambiguous, and that the majority of social commitments are reached through a process of negotiation. Compliments are found to be formulaic in nature, both syntactically and semantically, and the highly conventionalised form of the speech act is seen as serving to enhance its function. These patterns of speech behaviour are a part of the communicative competence of the native speaker, and must be observed in naturalistic settings in order for any analysis to be valid. The usefulness of the information thus obtained bears on the nature of communicative competence, first- and second-language acquisition, and should add to the body of knowledge needed to help work towards greater ease in intercultural communication.