LINGUISTIC THEORY

85–557 Banyś, W. Sémantique, structure thème-rhème, syntaxe et lexique. [Semantics, theme-rheme structure, syntax and lexicon.] *Cahiers de Lexicologie* (Paris), **45**, 2 (1984), 61–72.

This paper deals with certain types of relations between semantics, lexicon, syntax and theme-rheme structure within a functional model with a semantic basis, the aim of which is to describe and to explain that part of our linguistic competence which is responsible for our capacity to produce and to understand cognitively synonymous expressions. This type of aim and the constructivist epistemology which is the basis of this approach presupposes a holistic or global analysis of the competence, that is, among other things, a unified description of lexico-semantic and syntactic phenomena.

The principal characteristics of the model consist in postulating, on one hand, a distinction between the cognitive content and the linguistic meaning, and, on the other hand, a representation of the cognitive content by means of the predicate-arguments structures presented by a kind of network, the nodes of which are labelled with the natural language expressions, simpler than those analysed, taken as representative of the whole class of cognitively synonymous expressions; the argument positions are labelled with the semantic paradigmatic characteristics. The passage from the cognitive content representation to the linguistic meaning representation is ensured by means of two kinds of devices: the theme-rheme structure and the cumulation rules.

A manner of handling the relations between, e.g., the 'converses', the synthetical and analytical constructions, the 'voices', the syntactic and semantic valence and other phenomena is presented in a homogeneous framework.

85–558 Hagège, Claude. (U. of Poitiers and EPHE, Paris). Du concept à la fonction en linguistique, ou la polarité verbo-nominale. [From concept to function in linguistics, or verbo-nominal polarity. *Linguistique* (Paris), **20**, 2 (1984), 15–28.

Various arguments have been put forward in favour of the priority of the verb or the noun. That the noun is prior is suggested by the fact that quoted word forms of any class are nominalised (French *avec* has given the Japanese *abekku*), that nouns possess 'internal' features (object, animate, male, etc.) relating to their designata while verbs have 'external' features relating to their verbal context, that the verb usually agrees with the noun in languages having concord. Scholars are, however, divided on the historical priority of one or the other. In point of fact, as opposing parts of speech, they are complementary, one defining the other. Traditional notional definitions receive some support from child language acquisition studies which point out that the moment of producing utterances containing a noun and a verb corresponds to the moment of conceptual differentiation of objects and events. Many languages, however, mark the opposition less distinctly than does French [examples]. In fact the basis is

functional; all languages are claimed to base the structure of their utterances on a determined term (=the predicate) and a determining term (=the rest). There is a natural tendency for the 'participants' to gravitate to the non-predicate, while relational terms remain restricted to the predicate.

85–559 Harnish, Robert M. and Farmer, Ann K. (U. of Arizona). Pragmatics and the modularity of the linguistic system. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **63**, 3/4 (1984), 255–77.

A modular theory of language is outlined and fleshed out with reference to two specific issues in English grammar: the subject of imperatives and the relations of pronouns to their antecedents. Three modules are described: (1) syntax, (2) semantics and (3) pragmatics. The syntactic component comprises a phrase structure component, a valuation component and a lexicon. The semantic component contains variable-binding mechanisms and rules and principles of satisfaction (or interpretation). The pragmatic component contains a system of inference rules for the various major and minor moods of English. It treats these moods as having three main parameters: form, expressed attitude and conditions of fit or satisfaction.

It is argued that an account of anaphora (such as that contained in Chomsky's binding theory) which posits a single rule or single set of principles defined over a single level of representation will fail because there are instances of anaphora which involve a network of relations definable at different levels of representation. The theory presented here with its pragmatic component is better able to account for these instances.

85–560 Hawkins, John A. Modifier-head or function-argument relations in phrase structure? *Lingua* (Amsterdam), 63, 2 (1984), 107–38.

Two theories of phrase structure (i) (the X-bar-type) modifier-head theory and (ii) the function-argument theory are compared with reference to standard statistical word order universals (e.g. the tendency for OV languages to have the modifier before the head across all phrasal categories while VO languages place the head before the modifier). The modifier-head theory is preferred because it is able to capture the word order correlations by means of a simple and uniform generalisation, namely modifiers either all precede or all follow their heads, with more than chance frequency. The function-argument theory, however, requires some form of dissimilation principle since some function-argument structures typically serialise in one direction, and some in the other, in the same language type. Furthermore, the principle of Cross-Category Harmony predicts relative language numbers as a function of the representative positions of heads and modifiers across phrasal categories - the more similar the position, the more languages: the more dissimilar, the fewer the languages. Any attempts to explain these facts in terms of function-argument structures lead to the counter-intuitive claim that languages often become progressively less frequent, the more similar their cross-categorial serialisation patterns are.

85-561 Hudson, Dick. Linguistic equality. BAAL Newsletter, 23 (1985), 3-9.

This paper reports a debate on 'linguistic equality' which took place at the autumn meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain in 1983. The purpose of the debate was to review the state of opinion among professional linguists in the light of developments since the doctrine of linguistic equality was first formulated, near the beginning of the century. The participants agreed that they could not accept a simple version of the doctrine, according to which all languages and all speakers were said to be linguistically (though not socially) equal. Instead, they found it essential to distinguish different kinds of equality (structural/communicative/cognitive, actual/ potential), and to ask the question not in relation to languages, but rather in relation to linguistic repertoires of individuals and communities. Having made these distinctions, they concluded that in one sense the doctrine was probably right – no language has a structure, or lack of structure, which prevents its speakers from adapting it to meet any new communicative demands. But in another sense, it is certainly wrong, if it is taken to mean that all speakers are already equally well equipped with linguistic means for coping with all communicative demands.

85–562 Hudson, Dick. The higher-level differences between speech and writing. *BAAL Newsletter*, **23** (1985), 19–28.

The paper reports what was said in a discussion of the differences between speech and writing that took place at a meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britian in 1984. The stand taken traditionally by linguists on the priority of speech over writing was reaffirmed, but it was noted that the relation was a lot more complex than linguists had often acknowledged, and that in general it was highly misleading to present written language simply as a derivative of spoken language. The main problem in identifying differences between speech and writing is that this contrast interacts in complicated ways with other contrasts, so it is hard to find comparable written and spoken texts that do not differ in other respects as well. It is probably misleading to assume that speech is most typically spontaneous, private, etc., and that writing is most typically planned, public, etc., since other permutations of these contrasts are common. A number of structural differences between certain written and spoken genres were noted, but participants were unable to decide clearly which of them were predictable consequences of the differences between speaking/hearing and writing/ reading and which of them were just conventional. The claim that speech is less explicit than writing was disputed, as were a number of other widely held views - including some which are widely held by linguists. It was agreed that the view of language which is espoused by many linguists is unduly influenced by the idea that written language is basic.

85–563 Martin, J. R. (U. of Sydney). Functional components in a grammar: a review of deployable recognition criteria. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular* (Nottingham), **13** (1984), 35–70.

In this paper the status of metafunctional components in systemic grammar is explored and Halliday's suggestion that register categories can be related to these categories is discussed. First, internal linguistic evidence for the concept of metafunction is reviewed. A number of paradigmatic and syntagmatic criteria for grouping systems into functional components are considered. These criteria do not always uniquely determine the functional address of systems, and some method of ranking and weighting the criteria will have to be devised whenever function rank matrices are drawn up. Then consideration is given to the idea that if register categories could be shown to be linked with certain core and well motivated systems, they could be used to test the metafunctional address of systems whose location is unclear or in dispute. This suggestion depends for its implementation on empirically establishing the link between register and central clause rank grammatical systems. And it is suggested that the register categories proposed by systemicists to date probably need to be reworked and more explicitly defined before any register metafunction hook-up can be satisfactorily explored.

85–564 Mortureux, Marie-Françoise (Paris X-Nanterre). La dénomination: approche socio-linguistique. [Denomination: a sociolinguistic approach.] *Langages* (Paris), **76** (1984), 95–110.

Three factors are involved in the act of denomination (= 'naming'): the linguistic system (how far do neologisms conform to the rules of the language and how far are they motivated?), the social act of communication (who 'names' things? for what reasons? with what results?) and extra-linguistic reality. Lexical innovation is examined in a corpus of recent texts (lists of terms 'imposed' by the administration and published in the Journal Officiel; a mail-order catalogue; scientific terms in pedagogic, scientific and vulgarising texts; the daily press; publicity slogans; literary inventions). The names are formed by derivation, compounding (learned or otherwise) and particularly by the formation of complex lexemes, the fact that they are syntactically nouns reinforcing the 'reality' of their reference. This reality the 'namers' try to impose in order to establish a French terminology (Journal Officiel), to recognise scientific discoveries or political actions, to affirm the presence of a producer or seller of goods on the market, to establish the particular style of a writer. Society grants the right of lexical innovation to various agents: the government, researchers, technicians, publicity agents, artists etc; but not all neologisms will be accepted. This depends on the status of the agents and on the social function of their texts. The linguistic system and the social function of neologisms is linked by the principle of motivation. The difference between the more 'institutionalised' and the more 'stylistic' texts lies in the sematic relationship between words and things and in their pragmatic function in society.

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

85–565 Feldman, D. (Centre Médico-psychologique Bellefonds). Audition, écoute et phonosensibilité. [Hearing, listening and perception of sound.] *Revue de Phonétique Appliquée* (Mons, Belgium), **71**, 2 (1984), 227–41.

Recent research has confirmed that the phenomenon of perception of sound (the system whereby the organism receives acoustic stimuli from the environment and integrates these into memory and behaviour) consists of two distinct processes: hearing (the reception, transmission and perception of sound stimuli) and listening (discrimination, identification and the possible ultimate integration of such stimuli). Exactly what occurs is not yet fully understood and a number of hypotheses have been advanced [five are discussed here.] However it is clear that the distinction between hearing and listening is no mere quirk of language but is rooted in the way the mind functions, and furthermore some aspects of the process can be directly observed and measured.

85–566 Ickenroth, Jacques (Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht). De rol van toonhoogtekontoeren bij het segmenteren van spraak door luisteraars. Een contrastieve studie Frans-Nederlands. [The role of pitch contours in the segmentation of speech by listeners; a contrastive study French–Dutch.] *Toegepaste Taalwetenschap in Artikelen* (Amsterdam), **20**, 3 (1984), 39–50.

A comparison was made between French and Dutch pitch contours at the level of the word and the prosodic word. The overlap between the two systems was supposed to cause problems in the segmentation of words in speech communication for French-dominant and Dutch-dominant French-Dutch bilinguals. Two types of experiments were reported. In the first type native speakers of French (French-dominant French-Dutch bilinguals) read Dutch sentences. These sentences are ambiguous without orthographic or intonational specification. The resulting French-coloured realisations were interpreted by native speakers of Dutch in a way which differed from the interpretation suggested by Dutch orthography.

In a second type of experiment pitch contours were manipulated by means of a resynthesis programme. The same kind of sentences as in the first experiment were read by native speakers of French (French-dominant French-Dutch bilinguals). On the sentences produced by these speakers a Dutch pitch contour was superimposed. This contour corresponded to the orthographic form in which the sentence had been presented to the native speakers of French. Other prosodic or segmental parameters were left unmodified. The resulting sentences were presented to native speakers of Dutch. The results showed that these native speakers of Dutch interpreted these manipulated sentences according to the orthography of the original Dutch stimulus.

To control for the influence of other prosodic or segmental features of French in the realisation of the Dutch sentences by the French speakers, a number of Dutch sentences of the same kind as in the previous experiments were read by native speakers of Dutch. Their realisations were provided with a pitch contour corresponding to the contours the French speakers had realised on the same type of sentences. The effect

of the pitch modification on the interpretation of these sentences by native speakers of Dutch was the same as the effect of having French-dominant bilinguals read the original Dutch sentences.

85-567 Khan, Farhat (U. of Reading.) Phonological development of Urduspeaking children. *IRAL* (Heidelberg), 22, 4 (1984), 277-86.

The article presents the results of a study of the phonological characteristics of a group of Urdu-speaking children aged 20–30 months to see whether the successive stages of the children's learning correlated with Jakobson's theory of phonemic development. The children mastered first the consonants /p/,/b/,/m/,/n/ and the open vowels. This fits neatly with Jakobson's model. The phonological processes of fronting, stopping, deletion, assimilation and simplification of syllable structure seem to be a universal feature. The data from the Urdu-speaking children strongly support Jakobson's theory on consonantal development. It does not, however, provide an explanation for the acquisition of nasalised vowels. The examples discussed illustrate that the acquisition of the nasalised vowels is not a late phenomenon as pointed out by Jakobson.

85–568 Kohler, Klaus J. (Inst. für Phonetik, U. of Kiel, FRG). Phonetic explanation in phonology: the feature fortis lenis. *Phonetica* (Basel), **41**, 3 (1984), 150–74.

This paper examines the wide spectrum of phonetic properties associated with the phonological distinctions between consonant classes such as /p,t,k/ and /b, d, g/ in a great variety of languages (including languages with multivalued contrasts) and evaluates their relationship to the features $[\pm voiced]$, $[\pm aspirated]$, $[\pm fortis]$. The discussion separates word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions according to their different production and signalling constraints. A power feature, realised in articulatory timing and/or phonatory power/tension, is set up as the essential differentiator, thus providing a phonetic basis for the fortis/lenis dichotomy. The incorporation of the time dimension into phonology is regarded as a necessary prerequisite to the solution of phonological problems in general and to an adequate treatment of the $[\pm voiced]$ feature in particular, voice onset time being only one temporal aspect.

85–569 Ladefoged, Peter. Redefining the scope of phonology. UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics (Los Angeles, CA), 60 (1985), 101–8.

The functions of speech and language interact in a way that has a considerable effect on our view of phonology. If we are mainly concerned with the way language functions to convey objective information we will pay particular attention to the phonological oppositions that distinguish meaningful units such as words and phrases. But if we are more concerned with the sociolinguistic and attitudinal information conveyed by the sounds, we will have to pay attention to phonetic details that are not used for indicating phonological oppositions. The implications of these differences are discussed, and it is suggested that a viable phonology that is concerned only with strictly linguistic patterning will be somewhat different from the current view of phonology. **85–570 Pilch, Herbert** (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg-in-Brisgau). La tonalité linguistique. [Tonality from a linguistic point of view.] *Linguistique* (Paris), **20**, 2 (1984), 29–48.

'Phonetic facts' from the point of view of substance are continuous and infinitely variable, but from the point of view of function are discontinuous and recurrent. Substance is a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the recognition of functional units but function has priority in determining what are relevant phonetic measurements; 'phonetic features' are in fact based in phonology. In studying intonation [examples from English, Irish, Welsh, German and other languages] the analyst seeks to validate deductively identified configurations by showing their applicability to the exhaustive analysis of subsequent data, remembering that phonetic elements must be perceptible and classifiable into discrete units. In this realm informants cannot be relied upon to produce minimal pairs but can be taught to apply the linguist's tentative system to their own language. Fixed ideas, often received from school learning, can bedevil analysis (e.g. that question intonations rise, that syntactic and prosodic boundaries necessarily coincide, that transcriptional signs have direct substantial correspondence). The attempt to assign 'meanings' as opposed to significance to particular configurations is also misleading. Three aspects contribute to the typology of prosodic systems: the inventory of tonal configurations, their possible modifications and their hierarchy of occurrence; the unrestricted domain of intonational configurations (as opposed to lexical tones); the lack of identifying function of such configurations.

85–571 Schouten, M. E. H. and others (U. of Utrecht). *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **13**, 1, 53–60.

Some people are capable of achieving a near-native command of a foreign language after puberty and thus of becoming near-bilinguals; others are not. The hypothesis was tested that such near-bilinguals have a more ambilateral language organisation, i.e. a smaller right-ear advantage (REA) or left-ear advantage (LEA) for languageoriented tasks than non-bilinguals. A simple dichotic experiment failed to reveal any systematic differences between near-bilinguals and non-bilinguals. A second experiment failed to reveal any differences in EA between successful and less successful learners of English as a second language.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

85–572 Cleghorn, Ailie (McGill U.) and Genesee, Fred (U. of Hawaii at Manoa). Languages in contact: an ethnographic study of interaction in an immersion school. *TESOL Quarterly* (Washington, DC), **18**, 4 (1984) 595–625.

Since bilingual school programmes are part of the fabric of society, they reflect major social patterns and processes that characterise society at large. Thus, an understanding of the social objectives and outcomes of bilingual education programmes requires an understanding of both the broad sociocultural context of which they are a part and

the relationship of the school to its larger context. In this study, ethnographic procedures were used to observe social interactions among the staff of an early French immersion programme in Montreal over a one-year period. Since the staff was made up of French Canadian and English Canadian teachers who were members of ethnolinguistic groups in conflict, it was expected that social interaction in the school would also be conflictual. Strategies of conflict management were thus also observed.

It was found, as expected, that interaction among the staff was conflictual and that the underlying tension could be related to societally based group conflict. It was also found that the teachers used two main interaction strategies to minimise interpersonal conflict and to maintain a semblance of professional harmony: (1) avoidance of social interaction and (2) the predominant use of English in cross-group communication. These strategies in turn can be traced to now outdated sociolinguistic norms that prevailed when English dominated French in the community. These findings suggest that although the long-term social objectives of immersion and other bilingual school programmes may be to promote bilingualism and facilitate intergroup contact, the actual interaction patterns of teachers working in such schools may portray the very conflict and inequities they seek to resolve.

85–573 Coates, Jennifer (Roehampton Inst.) Language and sexism. BAAL Newsletter, 23 (1985), 41–65.

This paper reports what was said in a discussion on language and sexism at a meeting of the 'Education linguistics' section of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain. Sociolinguistic research has revealed clear differences between women and men both in formal aspects of language (phonology, morphology, syntax) and in communicative competence. How far such differences can be said to lead to disadvantage was debated: certainly, there is enough evidence to establish that girls' communicative competence leads to their receiving less attention in class. Sex differences in language also have an important role in the process of linguistic change. Linguistic theory ignores language and sexism findings at its peril. In particular, linguists are urged to give a lead in avoiding sexist terms and in establishing non-sexist usage.

85–574 Coleman, Hywel (British Council, London). Talking shop: an overview of language and work. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Amsterdam), **51** (1985), 105–29.

This article contextualises 12 papers in the same collection, particularly highlighting the need for interdisciplinary feedback on the subject of language and work. Applied linguistics is felt to be particularly prone to isolationism. Four approaches to language and work are characterised: the knowing, the naive, the ignorant, the applied. The first involves conscious analytical effort, the second evinces inadequate awareness of sociolinguistics, the third fails to appreciate the importance of language as communication; the fourth encompasses ESP research.

The topics of the other papers are likewise divided into a consideration of language: (1) for work, (2) about work (communication of work-related matters to outsiders), (3) as work (work activities which are performed by language), (4) in relation to work

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(phatic interaction in the workplace). How language is used to control or ritualise certain situations (eg. the magistrate's court), and how this relates to the phenomenon of unequal opportunity is discussed. Technical language can be viewed as a useful operational tool, a dangerous means of obfuscation, and a series of registers which, according to one's analytical perspective, can either be largely or minimally defined by specialist lexis and restricted repertoires.

85–575 Hogg, Michael A. and others (U. of Bristol). Diglossia in Switzerland? A social identity analysis of speaker evaluations. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* (Clevedon, Avon), **3**, 3 (1984), 185–96.

Ferguson (1959) cites German Switzerland as a defining case of diglossia; however, little or no research has been conducted to substantiate this claim. The present paper discusses diglossia, describes the language situation to be found in German-speaking Switzerland, and reports an experimental study adopting the matched-guise technique in which language variety (Swiss v. High German) and situational formality (formal v. informal) are orthogonally manipulated in a within-subjects design. Speaker evaluations revealed an upgrading with respect to formality of context only on status variables, and an interesting two-way interaction on solidarity dimensions, whereby less solidarity is felt for a speaker of High German in a formal context. The results uphold the experimental hypotheses derived from a social identity perspective (Tajfel, 1982), but disconfirm predictions from Ferguson's diglossia. It is concluded that an adequate taxonomy of language situations must include a consideration of the identity function of language.

85–576 Holden, Nigel (Manchester Business Sch.). The communication gap: how Western engineers experience and react to Japanese language and society. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), **4**, 1 (1985), 19–25.

Technological co-operation between Western and Japanese enterprises is likely to increase in coming years. In furthering such collaborative ventures, Western engineers on assignment in Japan have a major responsibility for developing a good working relationship between their companies and the Japanese partners. To be successful, they need to cope with the formal language barrier between their own Western language and Japanese and to minimise the resulting opportunities for miscommunication which can be both frequent and unexpected. In order to understand some of the complexities involved, the author, whilst on a study trip to Japan in 1983, interviewed five British engineers working inside Japanese manufacturing enterprises. The present article examines how they anticipated, perceived and experienced the obstacles to communication with their Japanese colleagues. One result was that the only one of the five to have had a fairly systematic grounding in Japanese prior to assignment showed himself to be a most perceptive interpreter of his working environment. Another result was that three of the five engineers showed a keen interest in the nature of Japanese writing: it was another symbolic system with which they had to come to grips professionally. A major conclusion from this admittedly modest survey was that their companies had not for the most part provided the engineers with

adequate preassignment training for work in Japan. Therefore, it is probable that until companies have a clearer idea of the nature of miscommunication between their engineers and their Japanese associates, real cooperation may remain frustratingly elusive.

85–577 Holmes, Janet. 'Women's language': a functional approach. *General Linguistics* (Pennsylvania), **24**, 3 (1984), 149–72.

Suggestions are made as to a number of ways in which sex and language research could be developed in order to guard against at least avoidable bias. Over-simplification has often resulted, for example, in too narrow a view of the functions served by forms which have been described as 'women's language' forms, such as hedges. Hedges may express solidarity and politeness as well as uncertainty, and their distribution in the speech of various groups, including females v. males, may pattern quite differently for these distinct functions.

The range of contexts in which data on women's and men's speech has been collected has been relatively restricted. Results from data collected in public, formal settings and in transactional interactions have frequently been over-generalised and treated as typical of all other contexts. More data are needed on women's and men's language in informal, casual contexts, and in personal interactions, and in particular there is a great scarcity of speech data from single-sex, high-solidarity contexts. It is time to reject the undimensional view implicit in Lakoff's misleading label 'women's language' and to consider the possibility that the forms referred to with this label are among those used by the more skilful and supportive conversationalists in a speech community to realise a wide range of functions and communicative strategies.

85–578 Janson, Tore (U. of Stockholm). Articles and plural formation in creoles: change and universals. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **64**, 4 (1984), 291–323.

Contrary to prevalent opinion, creole languages do not all have similar systems for marking definiteness, specificity, and plurality. Rather, creoles based on English exhibit one system, which is clearly different from that in the creoles based on French and the ones based on Portuguese. The traits shared by all creoles are the ones that occur in all the West European languages involved in the creolisation processes.

The development in creoles can profitably be regarded as historical change from the lexifer language, under contact influence from that language from the very beginning of creolisation. Thus, almost all creoles have an article system of the type found in West European languages because of influence from these languages and not because of a 'bioprogram' or because of universal trends.

On the other hand, universal trends do play a role in the formation of creoles. Thus, similarities between plural formation in creoles based on European languages and pidgins based on African languages can be explained by reference to the general communicative need for at least a minimal system of number marking.

85–579 Obilade, Tony (U. of Ibadan, Nigeria). Mother-tongue influence on polite communication in a second language. *Language and Communication* (Oxford), **4**, 4 (1984), 295–99.

A study is reported which investigated the relationship between an ESL learner's first language and his politeness judgement of structures in the target language. It was found that there was a higher level of agreement among speakers of Yoruba (an overly polite language) than a multi-ethnic group of other Nigerians in their politeness judgements of English request sentences. Yoruba speakers also appeared to be more sensitive towards politeness distinctions than a multi-ethnic group of other Nigerians. There was a positive significant correlation between Yoruba speakers of English and a multi-ethnic group of other Nigerians in their politeness judgement.

PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

85–580 Aitchison, Jean (London Sch. of Economics). Pidgins, creoles and child language. *Working Papers of the London Psycholinguistics Research Group* (London), **5** (1983), 5–16.

A preliminary look at child language and pidgins and creoles suggests that they are fairly different in nature. Both show reduction and over-simplification, but in somewhat dissimilar ways. For instance, in pidgins, reduction seems to be more semantically based and simplification more widespread. Naro's suggestion that pidgins are akin to the language of Crenie seems unlikely.

Four distinctions (namely specific-non-specific, state-process, punctual-nonpunctual and causative-non-causative) which Bickerton claims are part of an innate bioprogramme shared by creoles and child language do not find support in recent research work on child language.

85–581 Ariel, Shlomo (Hebrew U. of Jerusalem). Locutions and illocutions in make-believe play. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **8**, 2 (1984), 221–40.

The article considers make-believe expressions, which children utter, such as: *This* not a hat, this is a ship and Now is tomorrow. These expressions are typically ambiguous and yet appropriate in their context of utterance; specific logical properties underlie the propositional attitude of make-believe expressions, which also manifest a loosening of co-occurrence restrictions.

A 'explication' (after Carnap) of the concept of 'make-believe play' is proposed. It includes the 'mental claims' of 'realification', 'identification' and 'playfulness'. These set it off from related phenomena such as delusions, hallucinations, dreams, rituals and stories, etc. The make-believe expressions are classified and analysed using the categories presented. The semantic, logical and syntactic peculiarities of the expressions are explained by means of the mental claims framework provided.

85–582 Barrett, Martyn D. (Roehampton Inst.). Scripts, prototypes, and the early acquisition of word meaning. *Working Papers of the London Psycholinguistics Research Group* (London), **5** (1983), 17–26.

This article highlights the event-bound nature of early word acquisition, by reference to the prototype hypothesis, which is felt to provide a comprehensive explanation of how particular words are modelled in connection with one or a limited set of prototypal referents, and then gradually applied to novel referents [examples taken from observations of author's son]. The semantic feature and functional core hypotheses are considered inadequate to explain such phenomena as underextension.

The model presented demonstrates how some words are first associated with scriptal representations (defined here as mental depictions of events) involving actions, actors, objects, locations, role relationships; the script undergoes a process of generalisation until the object, or another script constituent, becomes the prototypical referent. This process of gradual disembedding does not apply to all lexical items.

Further research could explore the relationship between linguistic input and routines/events in the child's environment, with the purpose of discovering why the child acquires the word/script linkage in the first place.

85–583 Bizzarri, Helen Herbig. Psycholinguistic performance of bilingual children. Alternative questions and short answers. *Rassegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata* (Rome), **16**, 2/3 (1984), 119–26.

Alternative questions and short answers, two hitherto unexamined aspects of child language development, are discussed. The subjects are two children, Italian-English bilinguals. Early response to alternative questions in both languages are the repetition of the two alternatives or no answer at all until the ages of $2\cdot4/3\cdot6$. The comprehension of Yes-No questions and WH questions with where, what, whose and who occurs at an earlier date which would seem to indicate that the concepts underlying the understanding of alternative questions are cognitively more complex.

The short answer, a verbal mechanism non-existent in Italian, appears spontaneously around the ages of $3\cdot8/4\cdot6$. The first example Yes, I do becomes overgeneralised and later substituted by Yes I am. Although each child demonstrates his readiness, neither ever masters the form-context relationship completely. Both children, however, prior to the appearance of the first short answer, show an awareness of the functions and positions of auxiliaries in negative and interrogative sentences. It would be interesting to discover whether or not English monolinguals pass through similar stages in the comprehension of alternative questions and in the production of short answers.

85–584 Cassell, Justine. 'Then... and then... and then': temporal reference in children's narrative. *Work in Progress* (Edinburgh), **17** (1984), 118–26.

The discourse functions of the two temporal connectives are considered in the light of data collected by Michell and Stenning (1983) on the development of explanatory language used by children aged 5–10; Raymond Briggs' pictorial tale *The Snowman* provided the narrative stimulus. In this article, itself part of a larger study, 59 transcripts, taken from story-telling sessions held in two working-/middle-class schools revealed a link between the markers and the cartoon frames [tabularised data]. The youngest children bound their utterances to events inside each frame, *then* or *and then* being used to signal the introduction of new frames. In this case, the discourse structure mirrors the physical structure of the stimulus, which reveals a lack of knowledge in the children of larger logico-temporal units.

By age 10 the connectives are no longer used exclusively for the purpose of frame demarcation. As a child gradually produces larger utterances, they are self-analysed in order to construct goal-oriented narrative systems. Possibilities for further research include analysing the relative distribution of *then... and then*, and looking at the differences in use if, for example, children already know the story.

85–585 Denis, Michel (U. of Paris-Sud, Orsay-Cedex, France). Imagery and prose: a critical review of research on adults and children. *Text* (Amsterdam), **4**, 4 (1984), 381–401.

There is clear evidence of the general facilitating effects of the imagery value of texts on their memorisation. Versions including high-imagery adjectives elicit greater productivity, more specifically, higher recall of nouns. Research on memory for different text passages as a function of their concreteness/abstractness shows that recall is always better for more concrete passages. In the mid-seventies, much research was undertaken on the use of imagery as an aid to children during reading. The positive effects of imagery instructions were more marked in the listening than in the reading conditions (because the visual-processing system is completely available for transforming verbal input into images). Visual images are elaborated and efficiently used from partial pictures at about eight years of age. Illustrations accompanying narratives are shown to facilitate memorisation of the illustrated parts of the text but not of non-illustrated parts. Where pictorial material is shown before rather than during text presentation, its role is that of an 'advance organiser' of the linguistic information presented later. It offers a structure for progressively incorporating information transmitted by the text; the spatial structure of the pictorial aid is an important factor. This leads back to the notion of mental representations, and research on 'mental models' and the role of imagery, then to individual differences in the spontaneous use of imagery in adults and children. Subjects classified as 'high imagers' (HIs) produced faster recognition responses to a narrative than 'low imagers' (LIs). Research suggests differential encoding processes during reading: HIs took more time over their reading because of the time devoted to imagery activity. As early as age seven, cognitive styles may be evidenced in children and may be reflected in the way they process information from prose.

85–586 Hudson, Dick (University Coll., London). Towards a cognitive linguistics. *Working Papers of the London Psycholinguistics Research Group* (London), **5** (1983), 35–47.

With reference to principles of word grammar, it is argued that linguistic knowledge can plausibly be seen as part of a much more general network of knowledge, in which

what we know about words is distinct from the rest of knowledge only by virtue of being knowledge about words. Moreover, linguistic knowledge is tightly integrated with other kinds of knowledge, notably with respect to those bits of non-linguistic knowledge which are used as referents.

85–587 Lederberg, Amy R. and Morales, Cesáreo. Code switching by bilinguals: evidence against a third grammar. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), **14**, 2 (1985), 113–36.

Bilingual code switching within sentences (as in 'The towel roja was dirty') is often observed in bilingual communities. The present study addressed two issues. First, what is the nature of the grammatical rules that underlie code switching? Second, how do bilingual speakers acquire such rules? The authors addressed the first issue by obtaining judgements of the grammaticality of four types of sentences containing code-switched words. Judgements of acceptability seemed to be based on two rules: (1) Code switching can occur only when the code-switched words are positioned in accord with the rules for which they are appropriate lexical items; (2) code switching within word boundaries is considered ungrammatical. They addressed the second issue by exploring the effects of age and code switching experience on the grammatical judgements of bilingual children and adults. Extensive code-switching experience did not seem to be necessary for bilingual speakers to know the grammatical constraints of code switching. This suggests that the constraints of code switching are based on the integration of the grammars of the two code-switched languages rather than on the creation of a third grammar. There were developmental changes in the judgements made to the sentences. All aged subjects found sentences that violated the word-order rule (1 above) unacceptable. However, the youngest children (8-to 10-year-olds) found mixing within a word acceptable. This developmental change could be due to a change in the grammar of code switching, in the ability to make metalinguistic judgements, or in the child's general knowledge about the nature of languages.

85–588 Masny, Diana and d'Anglejan, Alison. Language, cognition, and second language grammaticality judgments. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), **14**, 2 (1985), 175–97.

In first language research, there appear to be two predominant positions relating metalinguistic awareness to language development. One suggests that since metalinguistic awareness is related to primary language acquisition (comprehension and production), general cognitive processes perform a limited role in metalinguistic awareness. The other suggests that since metalinguistic awareness is more closely related to secondary language acquisition (reading and writing), a greater role is assumed by general cognitive processes. There have been some indirect attempts to study the role of language and cognition with respect to second language grammaticality judgements. There is growing evidence that metalinguistic awareness is a reliable indicator of developing second language competence. Furthermore, it has been shown that language aptitude is significantly related to metalinguistic awareness. This study was designed to investigate the statistical relationship between second language

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grammaticality judgements and selected cognitive and linguistic variables. The variables studied were second-language proficiency, second language classroom achievement, first-language reading competence, language aptitude, nonverbal intelligence, field dependence-independence and a written grammaticality judgement test tapping the ability to recognise, and correct, deviance. Subjects were college students in advanced English-as-a-second-language classes. Multivariate statistical techniques were used to determine the relative contribution of linguistic and cognitive variables to the individual variation demonstrated by the learners in their ability to detect deviance in English. The results showed that second language proficiency, second language achievement in the classroom, and language aptitude were significant predictors of the subjects' ability to make grammaticality judgements. First language reading competence was significantly related to subjects' ability to correct deviance. These observations are discussed in the light of (1) the relationship among cognition, language, and metalinguistic awareness, and (2) the role of metalinguistic awareness in second language acquisition and second language learning.

85–589 Paty, J. (U. of Bordeaux II). Développements en psychophysiologie cognitive avec les études électrocorticales. [Developments in cognitive psychophysiology and electrical brain studies.] *Revue de Phonétique Appliquée* (Mons), **71/2** (1984), 281–328.

A revue of recent literature on the contribution of EEG to psychophysiology is followed by a description of experiments carried out in the author's own laboratory. EEGs can be used to study the ageing of the brain, divided attention, hemispherical dominance and language troubles (asphasia). They have a particular contribution to make regarding the quantification of the operation of awareness, attention, memory, perception and language. Pertinent variables must be identified and the method must be selectively applied to areas where the mathematical processing of the resultant data can be effected.

85–590 Pellegrini, A.D. and others (U. of Georgia). Persuasion as a social cognitive activity: the effects of age and channel of communication on children's production of persuasive messages. *Language and Communication* (Oxford), **4**, 4 (1984), 285–93.

Children aged between 6 and 10 years old participated in both oral and written persuasive tasks. The first objective of the study was to test the concurrent validity of Clark and Delia's cognitive complexity model with a psychometrically powerful measure of cognitive role-taking – Chandler's measure. This instrument measures the extent to which elementary school-age children differentiate each others' psychological attributes. The cognitive complexity model is often used to make inferences about the cognitive role-taking status of persuasive messages. The data, as hypothesised, found the model not to be significantly related to a valid and reliable measure of cognitive role-taking. The reason for this result is that the cognitive complexity model may be an indicator of older children's (i.e. high school) cognitive role-taking status. It does not seem to be a valid measure of elementary school children's status.

As a result, Chandler's measure was used to make inferences about the cognitive role-taking status of elementary school children's persuasive messages.

The second objective of the study was to examine relations between children's cognitive role-taking status, as measured by Chandler, and measures of persuasive argument production in two channels. There were a total of 12 correlation coefficients calculated. Of these 12 only four (three in the written channel and one in the oral channel) were significant. These results provide support, albeit weak, for the theoretical link between persuasion and cognitive role-taking suggested in the literature.

The third objective of the study was to determine the main and interactive effects of age and channel of communication on measures of persuasion. The observed age effects were expected: the data support previous research that complexity and differentiation of persuasive messages develop across the elementary-school period.

85–591 Seidenberg, Mark S. (McGill U.). The time course of phonological code activation in two writing systems. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **19**, 1 (1985), 1–30.

Models of visual word recognition differ in assumptions about the extent to which phonological information is used, and the processes by which it becomes available. These issues were examined in two studies of word recognition in two writing systems, English and Chinese, which are structured along different principles (alphabetic and logographic, respectively). The results indicate that in each writing system, a large pool of higher frequency words is recognised on a visual basis, without phonological mediation. Phonology only enters into the processing of lower frequency words. Thus, although there may be other differences among writing systems which influence processing, differences in the manner in which they represent phonology are not relevant to the recognition of common words. The results are consistent with a parallel interactive model of word recognition in which orthographic and phonological information are activated at different latencies.

85–592 Slama-Cazacu, Tatiana (U. of Bucharest). La dénomination chez les enfants et quelques problèmes psychologiques généraux de la dénomination. [Children's naming of objects and some general psychological problems in denomination.] *Langages* (Paris), **76** (1984), 7–18.

The author draws on her 25 years of observation and experimentation with children to illustrate a wide-ranging discussion of the acquisition of meaning. The extreme complexity of the process is a recurring point. For example, it is argued that the simple behaviourist analysis of acquisition as the association of a word with an object only plays a role at the very earliest stage. Experimental evidence shows children failing to acquire animal names from one presentation of word and object, while succeeding in acquiring the words for *compass* and *tailor's wheel* through one experience of using them practically. The act of naming rapidly becomes a cognitive and communicative tool which the child uses to impose order (categorisation) on the complex reality which surrounds him.

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85–593 Altenberg, Bengt (Lund U.). Causal linking in spoken and written English. *Studia Linguistica* (Lund, Sweden), **38**, 1 (1984), 20–69.

There are similarities and differences in the way speakers and writers express causal relations. Similarities include certain general priorities of ordering and linking; the Result preceding the Cause is preferred to the reverse. Causal sequencing is determined primarily by the contextual adjustment of the causal relation to the progression of the discourse topic and inconversation to the interaction and the speech-act sequence. Furthermore, the chief grammatical means of linkage are ranked roughly the same ways by speakers and writers. For example, Result-Cause sequences are mainly realised by final adverbial clauses, Cause-Result sequences by conjuncts.

Among the differences are speakers' strong reliance on finite sequences linked by *because* and *so* compared with greater lexical and structural variation in written texts. This contrast is partly stylistic but also determined by differences in planning and encoding. Written sequences reflect a premediated hierarchic and globally organised type of discourse, while spoken sequences tend to be unpremediated, linear and locally managed.

85–594 Denny, Rita (Planmetrics, Inc., New York City). Marking the interaction order: The social constitution of turn exchange and speaking turns. *Language in Society* (London), **14**, 1 (1985), 41–62.

This paper is about turn exchanges, the structure of speaking turns and the relationship of nonverbal behaviour to both exchanges and turns. Its purpose is to present a conceptual framework for analysing and interpreting turn exchange and speaking turns, and data are cited when possible. First discussed are specific forms of exchange such as 'smooth' and 'simultaneous.' The Praguean concept of functional differentiation is invoked to argue that forms of turn exchange have indexical value. The relationship of nonverbal behaviour to turn exchange is then discussed. An analysis of videotaped, dyadic interactions between strangers, 'getting acquainted' conversation, is reported in order to demonstrate that the nonoverlapping exchange has structurally, hence indexically, distinct forms. These forms, defined by both verbal and nonverbal elements, are ordered in a hierarchy of pragmatic markedness. It is concluded that differentiating pragmatic markedness in conversation and thus of relevance for a semiotic understanding of everyday speech.

85–595 Frawley, William and Lantolf, James P. (U. of Delaware). Second language discourse: a Vygotskyan perspective. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **6**, 1 (1985), 19–44.

This article denigrates current orthodox theories of second language discourse, which are felt to be overly concerned with the examination of pure linguistic forms, in favour of a more valid model, using the emphasis in Soviet psycholinguistics on individual performance in on-line communication tasks. Three main Vygotskyan concepts are

outlined: control, externalisation, and continuous access. It is proposed that individuals use oral language to externalise the processes of cognition which allow them to solve difficult problems. Self, other, and object regulating mechanisms can generate egocentric/private speech not aimed at an addressee. Rather, private speech reveals the operation of the internal order. In continuous access, adults can revert to child-like, knowing strategies to control communicative situations.

Irregularities in second-language discourse are not representative of an imperfect interlanguage; all forms produced are seen to be legitimate functional attempts by the speaker to impose structure on the data/context he or she wishes to articulate. The whole notion of error must be re-evaluated.

An experiment is described in which advanced ESL and native speakers demonstrated little externalisation whereas intermediate ESL speakers and native speaking children deployed similar overt control strategies.

85–596 Grewendorf, Günther. On the delimitation of semantics and pragmatics: the case of assertions. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **8**, 4 (1984), 517–38.

There are only two possible ways to answer the question of the delimitation of semantics and pragmatics. The first one refers to psychological criteria and can only be accomplished against the background of a modular cognitive theory of linguistic knowledge. The second one consists of a stipulation, i.e. a theoretical decision, which has to be based not only on empirical grounds, but also on considerations regarding purposes, simplicity, or fruitfulness of a certain division of labour among the various levels of linguistic theory. As long as we have no idea as to how the modular approach might accommodate the interplay of the various cognitive systems that together constitute pragmatic competence, we are forced to choose the second possibility. Focusing on pragmatics as a theory of linguistic action and semantics as a theory of truth-conditions, the author illustrates in which respect various pragmatic factors determine the semantic evaluation of sentences, thereby showing why we are in fact forced to make a decision of the above mentioned kind, at which point it has to be made, what the respective alternatives consist of, and at what cost.

85–597 Holly, Werner and others. Für einen 'sinvollen' Handlungsbegriff in der linguistischen Pragmatik. [For a 'sensible' concept of action in linguistic pragmatics.] *ZGL Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* (Berlin, FRG), **12**, 3 (1984), 275–312.

The discussion of the theory of action is renewed with a critical review of the conceptual framework and definitions used in the linguistic literature. The main emphasis of the latter is seen to have been an explantion of action in terms of rational behaviour. The literature is full of contradictory uses of terminology, a finding that generalises also to (and perhaps derives from) the dictionary definitions of the major concepts of 'aim', 'intention', 'will' and 'consciousness', which are also reviewed. An approach to the analysis of action is suggested through a typology acknowledging the features 'intention', 'will' and 'consciousness'. This approach is exemplified in

an analysis of an election manifesto text, where it complements analysis of text structure and style.

85–598 Zhuang-Lin, Hu (Peking U.). Differences in mode. Journal of Pragmatics (Amsterdam), 8, 5/6 (1984), 595–606.

This paper is aimed at studying any differences arising from texts that supposedly have the same field and tenor but differ in mode. The texts in question are excerpts from F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel *The Great Gatsby* and from the script of a film adapted from the book. By analysing various aspects of the realisation of semantic components in terms of referential cohesion, theme, lexical cohesion, conjunction and mood, the author suggests that differences in field and personal tenor can be observed as a result of differences in mode, the extent of which depends on the range of the last. Theoretical elucidation is attempted in the light of both Halliday's and Martin's insights. Firstly, all the functional components are interlocked one way or another. Any possible changes due to the textual function will inevitably lead to adjustments in the rest of the functional components. Secondly, field, personal tenor and mode are constrained by a high level of semiotics, i.e. the functional tenor.

85–599 Jacobi, Daniel (INSPA, Dijon). Du discours scientifique, de sa reformulation et de quelques usages sociaux de la science. [Scientific discourse, reformulation and some social conventions of science.] *Langue Française* (Paris), **64** (1984), 38–52.

This paper touches on both metatheoretical questions concerning methods of analysis of scientific discourse and more detailed points of that analysis, drawing examples from the field of molecular biology, in particular the literature on one artificial hormone and its use. It is recognised that the construction of a corpus of data is a non-objective act and that the resulting analysis may thence be more or less a fabrication arising from the construction. Scientific publications are notable for their graphic appearance on the page: the presence of diagrams, photographs, formulae and lists both characterises the discourse type and licenses scan reading. Detailed examples are given of nominals referring to the chemical diethylstilboestrol in a range of scientific literature. The choice of differing formulations may be motivated by explanatory or emotive power. Brief allusion is made to the function within scientific discourse of situating related work relevant to one's own research [example].

85–600 Murray, Stephen O. (Inst. Obregon, San Francisco, CA). Toward a model of members' methods for recognising interruptions. *Language in Society* (London), **14**, 1 (1985), 31–40.

Simultaneous speech is neither necessary nor sufficient for the recognition of 'interruption' by interlocutors. A speaker's 'completion right' is vitiated by how long s/he has been speaking, how often s/he has spoken, the number of 'points' made in a speaking turn, and the special rights of some speakers to speak about some topics. There are no absolute syntactical or acoustical criteria for recognising an occurrence of 'interruption' available either to those involved in a speech event nor to analysts.

85-601 Orletti, Franca. Some methodological problems in data gathering for discourse analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), 8, 4 (1984), 559-67.

What criteria do we need to build up a body of data and how can we identify the relevant phenomena in the analysis of natural communicative events? In this paper two methodological principles are compared: the linguistic principle and the microsociological one. When applied to the data, both principles reveal their limitations. The linguistic approach is too aprioristic, whereas the microsociological approach is overly dependent on the data analysed. By suggesting a combination of the two approaches this paper stresses the function of metacommunicative practices, i.e. contextualisation cues, as well as researchers' intuitions, as heuristic devices.

85-602 Parret, Herman. Regularities, rules and strategies. *Journal of Prag*matics (Amsterdam), 8, 4 (1984), 569-92.

Strategies are regularities externalised by a communicative competence - they are chains of reasons and thus based on processes of reasoning. Discourse, for the pragmatician, is a totality of regularities (recognisable because of their generality) expressing theoretical and practical reasoning. These strategies are inferential (not logical inferences, however, because they are realised in and by means of natural language use). Inferential activity here is, in fact, a procedure of transposition of meaning from one object-level to another paraphrastic level of discourse. Pragmatics manipulates a triangular model: reasoning is not determined by its relation to the real (whereby rationality would be reduced to a faculty of reconstructing the truth), but by the intermediation of the concept of a rational being or a reasoner. A pragmatic notion of rationality stresses the fact that one reasons – and one understands – within the generality of purposes which are common to the speaker and understander. The paper intends not so much to be a criticism of the classical grammatical notion of 'rule' (Chomsky's, for instance), but rather to disentangle within the broad panorama of pragmatic theories the very many alternative notions of 'strategy' which have been proposed. The author intends - in the 'metapragmatic' perspective - a criticism of the preconceptions (some of them are ideological, other ones methodological and/or epistemological) underlying pragmatic efforts.

85–603 Petroff, André Jean (U. of Paris X). Sémiologie de la reformulation dans le discours scientifique et technique. [The semiology of reformulation in scientific and technical discourse.] *Langue Française* (Paris), **64** (1984), 53–67.

To be usable in an applied or research sense, it is necessary for a piece of scientific or technical information to be based on good science, timely, in the right place, and read by the right person. It is also essential that its formulation is appropriate to the user. Hence discourse construction (formulation) is a key act in scientific and technical enterprise. A small data base taken from *La Recherche* consists of articles in three areas: physics, archaeology and medicine. One article from physics is given detailed analysis in terms of structuring and informing 'moves'. Reformulation is a pedagogical act which plays an important part in the spiral structure of acquisition of knowledge in any domain. **85–604 Peytard, Jean** (U. of Franche-Comté). Problématique de l'altération des discours, reformulation et transcodage. [The problem of 'alteration' of texts, reformulation and recoding.] *Langue Française* (Paris), **64** (1984), 17–28.

'Alteration', defined here as a technical term, covers two categories of changes which texts may undergo: (a) reformulation of a text into another text and (b) recoding of a text into a different medium (speaking, diagrams, film, etc.). For example, adaptation of a novel for cinema is recoding. Concentrating on reformulation, the author contrasts literary and scientific discourse (SD) and further narrows his field by looking only at reformulations effected by the original writer. The notion of discursive density is introduced as useful in (a) distinguishing those parts of SD which are never amenable to reformulation (e.g. technical terms whose sense cannot expressed another way) from those which are, and (b) in arguing that reformulation, as the concept has been developed in reference to SD, cannot apply to literary text, since any reformulation of a literary text results in the creation of a new (independent) text.

85–605 Pomerantz, Anita M. (Temple U., Philadelphia). Giving a source or basis: the practice in conversation of telling 'How I know'. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **8**, 5/6 (1984), 607–25.

People routinely attend to their bases of knowledge or sources when there is doubt about what is true. The grounds that they attend include their direct experience and what others have said. When people describe their bases or sources during a dispute, they may be defending viewpoints, backing away from positions, or deciding which versions are credible.

A feature of describing one's basis is that smaller claims are made than in asserting an objective state of affairs. In describing what is directly experienced, speakers are strictly accountable for representing only their experiences while they imply that these experiences are more or less typical. In reporting what others have said, speakers are strictly accountable for citing accurately, not for the views cited. Interactionally, they may be affiliating, disaffiliating or leaving ambiguous their positions on the cited views.

The descriptions which are given in situations of doubt are also used in a different set of circumstances. People describe their bases or sources when they perform sensitive actions. Actions may possibly be offensive, degrading, or compromising and yet conversants may still want to, or feel they should, perform those actions. The ambivalence or caution involved may be exhibited by the speakers' making limited or no claims on their own behalf.

85–606 Roeh, Itzhak and Feldman, Saul. The rhetoric of numbers in frontpage journalism: how numbers contribute to the melodramatic in the popular press. *Text* (Amsterdam), **4**, 4 (1984), 347–68.

Numbers are usually taken to be an unloaded, neutral, transparent sign for objects of reality. Newspapers use them as agents of a rhetoric of objectivity; that is, they contribute to an impression of nothing-but-the-facts journalism. This paper, however, suggests that numbers can be and are used as a stylistic device, as a rhetorical means

that contributes to a melodramatic world picture. It is found that in the popular press numbers are repeatedly linked to patterns of presentation that appeal more to readers' emotions than reflecting true-facts-of-reality.

Two Hebrew dailies provide the corpus in which a significant difference is found in the use of numbers: while the prestigious paper typically employs numbers for their referential value in unmarked stylistic patterns, the popular daily tends to use them in symmetrical patterns where rhetorical force, or, rather, emotional appeal is more important than mere information.

85–607 Schaffer, Deborah (Eastern Montana Coll.). The role of intonation as a cue to topic management in conversation. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **12**, 4 (1984) 327–44.

Only recently have researchers begun to examine how intonation is used to signal topic structure in conversation, and most of the emphasis has been on F_o characteristics in production, rather than perception. The study was designed to test whether certain F_o cues found to signal paragraph boundaries could also signal topic boundaries in conversation. Eight listening tests were constructed using excerpts isolated from one face-to-face (FF) and one non-face-to-face conversation. Half of the tests were also filtered so as to make them unintelligible, but with F_o patterns preserved. Subjects then made decisions about preceding or following topics for each isolated test utterance, based solely on the information present in the utterance. The results show that syntactic and semantic information provides much stronger topic cues in both FF and NFF conversations than does intonation; rising F_o (as a question marker) is the strongest intonation cue, signaling topic continuation. Overall, the results suggest that the total context in which utterances are placed and the inherent optionality of conversational interaction may be the major factors contributing to the way topics are managed in natural conversation.

85–608 Schiffrin, Deborah. How a story says what it means and does. *Text* (Amsterdam), **4**, 4 (1984), 313–46.

Analysts of oral narrative are forced to face the problem of how what is said both conveys a meaning and accomplishes an action. This paper demonstrates by the micro-analysis of a single conversational narrative how several levels of discourse work together to create a story. Four questions are addressed: How is the story opened? How is the point of the story made? How does the story perform an action within a social interaction? How is the story closed? Their answers require attention to informational, sentential, textual, and conversational structure, each of which plays a role in more than one functional domain. Implications of the analysis for the study of other discourse genres is considered.

85–609 Thomas, Jenny (U. of Lancaster). Cross-cultural discourse as 'unequal encounter': towards a pragmatic analysis. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **5**, 3 (1984), 226–34.

In a previous paper the author put forward the notion of 'pragmatic failure' (distinguished from linguistic error) and discussed some of the underlying reasons for

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the fact that non-native speakers often seem inapprorpiately over-assertive or domineering when talking English. In another paper on the language of asymmetrical discourse, she described a range of pragmatic and discoursal features which recurred with great regularity in the speech of the dominant participant in a variety of 'unequal encounters' (i.e. interactions in which one participant is in a position of authority relative to the other, as in police-suspect, teacher-pupil interactions). This paper brings these two strands of research together, in order to demonstrate that one reason for non-native speakers sometimes appearing inappropriately domineering or authoritarian in interactions with English-speaking 'equals' is that they are inadvertently employing as 'communication strategies' certain linguistic features which, for the native-speaker, tend to be inextricably linked with the language of unequal encounters. Two such features are discussed in relation to cross-cultural spoken and written data and it is argued that they may well lead to some form of pragmatic failure. They involve the inappropriate use of: (a) IFIDs (Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices); and (b) Metapragmatic Comments, 'Upshots', and 'Reformulations'

85-610 Tracy, Karen (Temple U., PA). Staying on topic: an explication of conversational relevance. *Discourse Processes* (New York), 7, 4 (1984), 447-64.

This paper identifies the two most likely rules that conversants use to guide their conversational commenting as they attempt to stay on topic and make their remarks relevant. The local rule suggests that conversants should chain to the last part of their partner's utterance; the global rule suggests that conversants should extend the main idea in the partner's talk. Prior research supporting the global version of the relevancy rule is reviewed, critiqued, and generalisability concerns are raised. An experiment is presented which tests whether communicators use the rule to guide their own talking as well as to judge others' behaviour. Results support prior research. Two conditions under which the rule is predicted to apply only weakly are also tested. The first condition, 'message comprehensibility' is found to have an influence; the second, 'perceived message importance,' is not. A qualitative analysis of the data is presented and questions for future study are identified.

85–611 Varonis, Evangeline Marlos and Gass, Susan (U. of Michigan). Non-native/non-native conversations: a model for negotiation of meaning. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **6**, **1** (1985), 71–90.

This paper builds upon the research investigating conversational interactions between native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) by focusing on interactions among non-native speakers. The authors examine NS–NS, NS–NNS, and NNS–NNS conversations, noting that negotiation of meaning is most prevalent among NNS–NNS pairs, probably due to the lack of shared background. Among NS–NNS pairs, there is also a lack of shared background, but the inequality in the status of the participants (with regard to the language medium) actually discourages negotiation, because it amplifies rather than masks the differences between them. As a result, there is a greater tendency for conversation to proceed without negotiation.

A model is set up to describe the negotiation of meaning in terms of four functional primes: a trigger, and a resolution consisting of an indicator, a response and a reaction

to the response. The trigger is that part of the speaker's utterance which results in some indication of non-understanding by the hearer, who can ignore it or comment on it. The indicator is an utterance by the hearer which halts, or 'pushes down', the horizontal progress of the conversation rather than impelling it forward. The speaker's response acknowledges the non-understanding. The reaction to the response is optional. The conversation then resumes.

The discourse resulting from NNS-NNS interactions serves an important function for non-native speakers. It allows them a non-threatening forum within which to practise developing language skills, and provides them with an opportunity to receive input which they have made comprehensible through negotiation. Second language learners of English can therefore certainly learn more from one another than they may think they can.

85–612 Vrugt, Anneke and Kerkstra, Ada. Sex differences in nonverbal communication. *Semiotica* (The Hague), 50, 1/2 (1984), 1–41.

This article overviews research that has found sex-related differences in the following branches of non-verbal communication: spatial behaviour, touching, kinesics, visual behaviour and the non-verbal characteristics of speech. Facial expressions of emotion are excluded, as are rating scales, since these may be affected by preconceptions of sex stereotype on the part of the researchers. The data has been collected by systematic observation.

Within the standard conceptual framework of 'personal space' v. 'invasion', spatial behaviour is reviewed, particularly seating arrangements, crowding, proxemics; it emerges that both men and women keep a greater distance from a man than from a woman and a man is seen as a greater intrusion. Women find it uncomfortable to have a stranger beside them, men are more uncomfortable when the stranger is opposite. Touching research shows that men touch less and shrink from being touched more than women but the degree of acceptability of touching varies with age and company. Non-reciprocation of touch tends to indicate dominance. Kinesics research into gesture, posture, smiling, etc. shows there to be a less consistent and systematic relation between these factors and sex but where there is a relation, it is with the sex of the subject not the interaction partner. In visual behaviour females look more at their interaction partner than males, whatever their age, and males look at each other less than females do, but on first contact try to establish eye gaze dominance. Among the non-verbal aspects of speech it is revealed that men talk louder than women and use more *ah*-filled phrases; but women laugh more, the latter two phenomena increasing with discomfort.

The findings are discussed and the limitations of the research stressed. While there are sex-related similarities and differences, much depends on situation and on the degree of familiarity between the interacting partners regardless of sex.

85–613 Weizman, Elda (Hebrew U., Jerusalem). Identifying implied referents: an interlingual study of linguistic, pragmatic, textual and contextual factors in information processing. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **5**, 3 (1984), 265–73.

The author posits differences in the text processing strategies used in Canadian English and Parisian French. Examples taken from background newspaper articles on political and cultural issues focus upon how the connotative function of quotation marks in attitude utterances is decoded. A four-dimensional analysis is made of the ways in which readers identify the referent person or group at whom the implied journalistic attitude is directed. Readers in the two languages exploit linguistic, textual, pragmatic and contextual clues to achieve this identification.

Empirical observation of the scrutinised texts shows, for example, that whereas Canadian English readers rely on syntax recognition, the French concentrate on semantics and contextual information. It is claimed that French readers use more complex combinations of the strategies. These interlingual differences are assumed to be representative [tabularised data].

Two practical implications for second language teaching which could result from a systematic classification of inference strategies would be (a) the prediction of likely sources of learner difficulty, and (b) the formulation of rigorous criteria for choosing appropriate teaching material.

85–614 Wilson, Thomas P. and others (U. of California, Santa Barbara). Models of turn taking in conversational interaction. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* (Clevedon, Avon), **3**, 3 (1984), 159–83.

The routine exchange of turns is a fundamental structural feature of conversational interaction. This paper reviews current attempts to understand the mechanisms by which turns are exchanged and considers three major approaches: stochastic models, signalling models, and sequential-production models. Conceptual and empirical strengths and limitations of each approach are examined, and it is suggested that a synthesis combining some ideas from the signalling approach with the sequential-production approach offers the greatest promise. Attention is directed to three major concepts: conversational events as resources; the functions of social organisational, relational, and sequential contexts in the management of turn taking; and the interactional construction of turns.