Research in the supporting sciences

LINGUISTIC THEORY

83–471 Bartsch, Renate (U. of Amsterdam). The concepts 'rule' and 'norm' in linguistics. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **58**, 1/2 (1982), 51–81.

The term 'norm' has had some currency in European linguistics, including that of the Prague School. In general, however, the term is not used in theoretical linguistics, where the concept of 'rule' is preferred. Rules may be strategic or methodological: the former have featured only in stylistics and sociolinguistics. The rules of generative grammar are methodological, that is, they define borders for permitted actions or operations in some field (in this case, defining the grammatical sentences of a language). Rules of this type must be distinguished from social norms, which define practices within a community and the social order; ethnocentricity thus consists in perceiving one culture according to the norms of another. Norms can be analysed in terms of, for example, the individuals concerned in observing and enforcing them, and the authorities and sanctions involved when norms are broken. Some linguistic rules, however, can be regarded as norms, and the concept is particularly fruitful in explaining semantic change.

83–472 Botha, Rudolf P. (U. of Stellenbosch, S. Africa). On the 'Galilean style' of linguistic inquiry. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **58**, 1/2 (1982), 1–50.

It has been argued, especially by Chomsky, that linguists should adopt the 'Galilean' style of enquiry, and that this consists of three properties: abstraction, mathematisation, and epistemological tolerance (the refusal to allow whole theories to be jettisoned because of a few apparent counter-examples). It is not clear, however, either that these three criteria do define a unique 'Galilean style', or that Chomskyan grammar has recently adopted such a style. Nevertheless, recent work in this field can fruitfully be viewed from a Galilean perspective. In particular, Chomsky's handling of counter-examples to the Government-Binding framework shows many similarities to Galileo's approach to the Tower Argument. For example, just as Galileo's case ultimately required the development of 'new' sciences, so Chomsky's arguments depend on a fuller understanding of syntactic markedness, a notion which may turn out to be central. A 'lax' Galilean style of (linguistic) enquiry may be a profitable research tool, but can only operate in conjunction with other, more empirically-based work.

83–473 Coppieters, René (Pomona Coll.). Descriptions and attitudes: the problem of reference to individuals. *Studies in Language* (Amsterdam), **6**, 1 (1982), 1–22.

A distinction is made between a speaker's intrinsic attitude towards an individual in which he purports to present the individual from the inside, from the standpoint of the other's consciousness, as in (1) *Nixon is sad and would like to go home*, and a speaker's extrinsic attitude in which he explicitly contributes a personal or external element to his subject matter, as in (2) *Nixon was a pitiful president*. The role this

distinction plays in grammar is exemplified by a description of pronominal reference in French. For instance, in the sentence (3) *Charlie Brown courrait de toutes ses forces.* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Il \\ C' \end{array} \right\}$ *était un pirate désormais et ,il serait son butin dans ses bras, il* expresses the inner thoughts or feelings of its antecedent (i.e. an intrinsic attitude) whereas *ce* implies a moral judgment on the part of the speaker (i.e. an extrinsic attitude). Such examples, in which both *il* and *ce* are possible, demonstrate that a predicate's arguments can and do play a role in the interpretation of a sentence, that they do not merely serve a referential function. Individuals must then be analysed as composite entities having internal structure. Attitude, whether intrinsic or extrinsic, is independent from the determination of the consciousness to whom the attitude should be attributed and therefore is language internal, part of the conceptual semantic form of language.

Theories concerning the interpretation of the complements of verbs of propositional attitude (both Kuno's Direct Discourse Analysis and traditional philosophical theory in terms of the scope of the verb) can only adequately explain the facts involved by recourse to the notion of attitude.

83–474 de Beaugrande, Robert (U. of Florida). The story of grammars and the grammar of stories. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **6**, 5/6 (1982), 383–422.

A detailed discussion of the development of story grammars in recent years with particular reference to their relationship with formal, sentence grammars. A number of possible perspectives for the notion of 'grammatical rules' is presented, viz. rules which are: (i) stipulated solely by the formal construction of the grammar, (ii) analytical techniques to be applied by the investigator, (iii) representative of human operations carried out when producing or comprehending a story, (iv) to stipulate only those human processes dealing with the order of story constituents, (v) to account solely for abstract expectations about stories and (vi) to stipulate the ideal toward which stories evolve in repeated retellings. Drawbacks to each of these six perspectives are discussed.

Structure and content in story grammars cannot be spearated in the way they are in formal grammars. There is a disparity between the power of formal grammars and the limitations upon human processing capacities as evidenced by rewrite rules, transformations, recursion and deletion. The categories of a story grammar will necessarily remain fuzzy and content-based, unlike arbitrary formal symbols. The construction of graphic representations as trees or networks should follow from clear decisions about how the structure of the story is built up in real time, however many ways it might be analysed after the fact.

In evaluating story grammars two criteria are important: (i) scope – the number and range of stories the grammar covers and (ii) ecological value – the grammar's contribution to our knowledge of how stories are told and understood by human beings.

83–475   Edmondson, Willis J. On the determination of meaning in discourse. *Linguistische Berichte* (Wiesbaden, FRG), **78** (1982), 33–42.

Speaker-meaning is not something pre-existing in a speaker's head, waiting to be encapsulated in an utterance. Rather, it may be determined in the course of conversation, subject to interactional negotiation, and some utterances may be intentionally indeterminate as to their illocutionary point. For example, a Supportive move (such as one giving a reason for a request) may be treated as communicating the act it was designated to support, which then need not be expressed overtly. In this way 'indirect' speech acts can be accounted for. In terms of an analysis of speech exchanges, the same utterance can be shown to have more than one possible function, depending on the response made to it. This indeterminacy of speaker-meaning is also psychologically plausible; in many cases it may be pointless to ask what a speaker 'really' meant.

83–476   Filippov, A. V. Некоторые аспекты глаголъной каузативности и ее изучение. [Some aspects of verbal causativity and its study.] *Русский язык в национальной школе* (Moscow), **5** (1982), 17–19.

A study of formal means of expressing causative meaning, and of the different types of meaning which is included as causative. Four formal causative types are delimited, covering the majority of verbs – corresponding causative and non-causative verbs may form a suppletive pair, one of them may be marked with the reflexive suffix, they may have the same stem but in different forms, or, most productively, causative may be expressed analytically with a separate verb.

Semantically, causation may differ in strength, a distinction being made between factitive, desiderative, and permissive variants. It is also claimed that, while the usually studied form of causatives involves a subject influencing someone else, causation may also be exercised on the subject itself. Throughout the article there is an orientation on the teaching of such distinctions, via paraphrases with sentential connectives, etc.

83–477   Frajzyngier, Zygmunt (U. of Colorado). Indefinite agent, passive and impersonal passive: a functional study. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **58**, 3/4 (1982), 267–90.

Impersonal passives (passive forms of verbs in sentences for which no underlying subject can be postulated) and other passives differ both formally and functionally. Data from several languages show that the passive of transitive verbs does not imply any semantic features of the subject, or even that any subject exists. The passive form of intransitive verbs, on the other hand, implies that the sentence has an indefinite human agent. The primary function of the passive construction is to indicate that the only NP occurring with the transitive verb is not the agent, and thus that the agent is unknown. This latter, secondary, function can become the primary function of the passive when used with intransitive verbs, and such a development can be exemplified from Polish, English, and the Romance languages. It may not be universally the function of impersonal passives to indicate an indefinite human agent; in a language

in which some other device serves that purpose, impersonal passives may still occur, but with a different function.

83–478   Lehrer, Adrienne and Lehrer, Keith (U. of Arizona). Antonymy. *Linguistics and Philosophy* (Dordrecht), **5**, 4 (1982), 483–501.

Antonymy plays an important part in the interpretation of utterances and cannot be taken as a primitive. Among several types of opposition, that of gradable antonyms is particularly interesting and complex, and cannot be captured in terms of simple meaning postulates. Such pairs name opposite sections of a single scale with a midinterval, but other items also enter into relationships with antonymic pairs: for example, *excellent* stands further from the midinterval on the *good–bad* scale than does *good* itself. A definition is provided of antonymy, and an analysis of gradable complementaries (e.g. *clean/dirty*, *safe/dangerous*) and relations among colour terms are explored. Finally the issues of oppositions that do not fall clearly into any category (*open/shut*, *identical/different*), multidimensional scales, polysemy, and partial synonymy are discussed.

83–479   Panman, Otto. Homonymy and polysemy. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **58**, 1/2 (1982), 105–36.

In part 1, it is argued that there are several disadvantages to the traditional description of the distinction between polysemy and homonymy. It is preferable to regard the phenomena as relations between word-tokens rather than between lexical items. Advantages of this approach are, firstly, that the notion of formal identity between lexical items, for which no satisfactory definition can be given, becomes superfluous, and, secondly, that it brings out more clearly not only that the criterion of meaning similarity is, in fact, the only valid criterion which distinguishes between homonymy and polsemy, but also that there are many similarities between the two phenomena.

In part 2, the agreement among native speakers of English on the criterion of meaning similarity is examined by means of a questionnaire. It has been found that the degree of agreement is sufficient to justify the distinction between homonymy and polysemy, also that there is a strong correlation between semantic similarity and lexemic identity.

83–480   Perkins, Michael R. (Leeds Poly.). The core meanings of the English modals. *Journal of Linguistics* (London), **18**, 2 (1982), 245–73.

The meanings of English modals can be accounted for in terms of a small set of variables, each modal having a core meaning. Thus, for example, both *can* and *may* indicate that some principle or belief (K), together with empirical circumstances (C), do not preclude that some event occur or state of affairs be true. For *can*, K represents natural laws or principles, whereas for *may*, it typically represents social or rational laws. Again, *will* and *shall* share the representation 'K(C is disposed towards X)', and the differences between them are captured in the different values assigned to each variable. The secondary modals (*could*, *might*, etc.) can be described in terms of the primary group, being distinct on one or more scales; these scales can, however, be

subsumed under the single scale Conditional /Non-Conditional. The analysis supports Bolinger's view that each linguistic form is associated with a single meaning, and vice versa, and also helps to explain the development of modal expressions in children's language.

83–481   Seuren, Pieter A. M. Internal variability in competence. *Linguistische Berichte* (Wiesbaden, FRG), **77** (1982), 1–31.

A sharper focusing of the notion of competence and a less abstract form of idealisation allows for a theory of linguistic variation based on rule alternatives marked for social meaning. This theory does not predict proportional variation the way variable rule theory does, but it shows how proportional variation may occur, in which case it is due to non-linguistic factors, and not to linguistic factors, as VRT has it. Proportional variability is attributed to attitudes and to imperfect mastery of certain style targets. The theory enables us to define notions such as 'standard language', 'dialect', 'sociolect', 'unilingual speech community', 'hypercorrection' and 'diglossia', in a more precise manner than has been possible so far in other descriptive models, including VRT.

In this theory, a grammar of language is a 'socially meaningful alternative rules system' (SMARS). The most immediate implication for grammatical descriptions is that different varieties of the language should be generated by rule alternatives (or rule ordering alternatives) differing in preferably minimal ways. To the extent that a grammatical description succeeds in offering one coherent rule system, with only minimal differences among rule alternatives, accounting for different linguistic varieties, the description in question gains in psychological plausibility. Labov (1969) provides an outstanding example of such a description.

83–482   Taglicht, J. (Hebrew U. of Jerusalem). Intonation and assessment of information. *Journal of Linguistics* (London), **18**, 2 (1982), 213–30.

Two accounts of information focus (on what is 'new' rather than 'given') are examined. The first sees focus as delimited by the tonic (or nuclear) syllable and as extending throughout the syntactic constituent to which that syllable belongs; any syntactic ambiguity is resolved contextually (Halliday). The second sees focus as marked by the tonic and any other preceding 'accents' and as relating to the sequence of accented words rather than to any syntactic unit; no ambiguity is allowed for (O'Connor & Arnold). Both are found inadequate. A new account is proposed: the focus extends over the accented items, which may be lexical items or certain grammatical items marking larger syntactic relations (mood, aspect, etc). 'Assessment of information', however, remains a pragmatic matter, distinct from intonation structure.

What is 'contrastive' (a sub-category of 'new') must be established on an intonational and a contextual (rather than syntactic) basis and relates to what is presented, explicitly or implicitly, as a binary opposition within the context. Further research is needed to determine the rules of contrastive interpretation.

83–483 Tourangeau, Roger (Connecticut Coll.) **and Sternberg, Robert J.** (Yale U.). Understanding and appreciating metaphors. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **11**, 3 (1982), 203–44.

Three theories that have dominated discussions of metaphor are considered here. One view is that metaphors make comparisons, the basis for the comparison being the features (or categories) that the terms of the metaphor share. The second view is that metaphors involve an anomaly. The third view is that metaphors are 'interactive', producing a new way of seeing the terms. A new theory is proposed – the domains-interaction view – that draws on elements of all three earlier views, but borrows especially from the interaction view. The implications of this theory are considered for three questions: What are metaphors? How are they understood? What makes a good metaphor? Metaphors correlate two systems of concepts from different domains. The best metaphors involve two diverse domains (more distance between domains making for better metaphors) and close correspondence between the terms within those domains. The degree of correspondence is called within-domain similarity. Metaphors are interpreted in several stages: the terms of the metaphor are encoded; the domains involved are inferred; the structures to be seen as parallel are found; the correspondences between these structures are 'mapped' or constructed; the terms of the metaphor are compared. If the terms are not seen to match or occupy analogous roles in their different domains, then the metaphor may be reinterpreted. The evidence on all this is tentative but supports the authors' view. Two studies are reviewed (Tourangeau & Sternberg, 1981) which support the hypothesis that distance within domain relates negatively to aptness, whereas distance between domains relates positively. Several studies on comprehension tend to disconfirm the comparison theory's notion that the tenor and vehicle necessarily share features. Tenor and vehicle also appear to have asymmetrical roles in the interpretative process.

83–484 Wexler, P. J. (U. of Essex). Explanation by example. *Language and Communication* (Oxford), **2**, 3 (1982), 303–9.

Argumentation by example is in effect an appeal to shared experience in which examples are intended to remind the reader of a certain fuller experience which in turn reminds him of a whole class of such experiences. Examples are cited to show that such complex objectives often result in fudging. For instance, to understand philosophical examples like (1) *Why is this bird black? Because (a) it is a raven and (b) all ravens are black* requires recourse to an indefinitely large body of not-yet-articulate experience. Moreover, the explainer can never specify just which features of the type-specimen are able to be considered significant, nor what degree of generalisation each is to carry. Such zoological examples tend to result in an untypical plethora of explanations of the required sort, and yet, because the classificatory features it uses characteristically have no known relation to any other feature of the same species, question–answer chains are untypically short. Such simplified examples merely infantalise the questioner. Taxonomy-answers are not explanations because taxonomic enquirers do not use *Why* questions. *Why* questions are used to express a perplexity, i.e. an incompatability between an existing explanation and a case, and where there is no perplexity there is no explanation.

83–485 Wlodarczyzk, André. Théories du langage au Japon. [Theories of language in Japan.] *Langages* (Paris), **68** (1982), 7–16.

This survey articles traces the history of language theory from the point, now lost in myth and legend, but probably in about the seventh century AD, at which the Japanese adopted the Chinese writing system for their language. The constraints of this writing system, plus the particular characteristics of Japanese, have resulted in original attitudes to, and theories of, language, markedly different from anything known in the West. The next major development was closely linked with the development of the rhetoric of poetry. Foreign influences of missionaries and travellers are also described. The eighteenth century saw the beginning of the greatest advances in language research, and the work of several important grammarians is detailed, while the middle of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the truly scientific study of the language, which took account of the work of Western linguists of the period. Today, all schools of linguistic theory are represented in Japan, and a period may be starting when Japanese linguists will seek methodologies more particularly adapted to the special characteristics of the Japanese language.

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

83–486 Declerck, Renaat (Catholic U. of Leuven, Belgium). The triple origin of participial perception verb complements. *Linguistic Analysis* (New York), **10**, 1 (1982), 1–26.

Contrary to what is usually assumed, a distinction should be made between three basic types of PPVC (participial perception verb complements) constructions: (1) Some PPVCs are the progressive counterparts of IPVCs. For this reason they can be conjoined with IPVCs or alternate with them. (2) Some PPVCs function as NP constituents of the type noun head plus pseudo-modifying S. Unlike the other PPVCs, they can trigger singular Number Agreement or be referred to by singular and neuter pronouns. Unlike the PPVCs of the first type, they cannot alternate with IPVCs or be conjoined with them. Moreover, they constitute the only type of PPVC that need not be progressive in meaning. (3) In some PPVCs the participial clause functions as a predictive adjunct (i.e. as an object complement in an active structure or as a subject complement in a passive structure). Unlike PPVCs of the first type, these PPVCs cannot alternate with IPVCs or be conjoined with them. Unlike PPVCs of the second type (and like those of the first), their meaning is normally progressive. This type of PPVC is the only one that allows the 'subject' of the PPVC to be moved to the subject position of the matrix by passivisation.

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

83–487 de Pinto, Olive and Hollien, Harry (U. of Florida). Speaking fundamental frequency characteristics of Australian women: then and now. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **10**, 4 (1982), 367–75.

An investigation of speaking fundamental frequency was carried out on a population of 66 Australian females aged 18–25 years, who were recorded in Adelaide during 1945. The data obtained were compared with those reported for similar groups of women during the past half-century. The mean SFF levels of the 66 Australian speakers were found to be similar to those reported for other women examined during that era but somewhat higher than those for post World War II groups. A second SFF investigation was carried out on 11 of the 66 speakers who were recorded for the second time in 1981 when, as a group, they were approximately 35 years older than at the time of the first recording. The subgroup levels were compared for the two sets of recordings; the second set was also contrasted with similar groups of older women who had been studied during the past decade or two. The SFF levels of the 11 Australians – obtained in 1981 – proved to be quite similar to those of other groups of mature women but substantially lower than for their own voices when recorded 35 years earlier.

83–488 Flege, James Emil (Northwestern U., III.) **and Brown, W. S., Jr.** (Inst. for the Advanced Study of the Communication Processes). The voicing contrast between English /p/ and /b/ as a function of stress and position-in-utterance. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **10**, 4 (1982), 335–45.

Normal adult female speakers of English produced nonsense utterances like 'Papa papa' and 'Baba baba baba' with a tube inserted in the corner of the mouth. Bilabial constriction of /p/ and /b/ was defined by means of variation in supraglottal air pressure; voicing (glottal pulsing) was monitored by means of a throat microphone. The percentage of bilabial closure intervals evidencing signs of glottal activity was calculated from these two signals. In addition, the frequency with which /p/ and /b/ showed a clear break in voicing during the closure interval was tabulated. The stop voicing pair /p-b/ was clearly distinguished by voicing in utterance-medial positions, but less so at the margins of utterances. In utterance-initial position only two of eight speakers produced /b/ with closure voicing (i.e. prevoiced), an in utterance-final words post-stressed /b/ was partially devoiced by half the speakers.

83–489 Gussenhoven, Carlos (U. of Nijmegen). Stresses: are they there when you hear them? *Work in Progress* (Edinburgh), **15** (1982), 58–69.

An experiment was carried out to establish the context retrievability potential provided by differences in stress values in three situations.

The results of the experiment support a view of sentence stress in which the nucleus is seen as the rightmost of a number of assigned accents. Cross-linguistic comparison of related languages would seem to provide a reliable heuristic concerning the accentual structure of utterances. Tacit assumption of this heuristic in fact underlies comments about sentence stress in the work of a number of authors. The results also suggest that a view of the tone groups as a linguistic structure containing a single unit

of information (e.g. Halliday, 1970:3) is incorrect in so far as there may be more elements in a tone group that are assigned accents for, as far as one can see, equivalent reasons, and, moreover, that the domain for accent assignment encompasses a predicate and an argument (cf. Schmerling, 1976: 82 and Bing's discussion of her Noun Phrase Prominence Principle). Importantly, when the nucleus is said to be the rightmost of a number of assigned accents, this does not imply that the nucleus may not be different from pre-nuclear accents for phonological reasons. Nor is there a suggestion that the tone group may not be a significant unit of neurolinguistic encoding, as suggested in Laver.

Most interestingly, the results demonstrate that not every prenuclear prominence peak derives from an assigned accent, but that such prominence may also be due to other factors. Although we can only speculate about what these other factors are, it would seem reasonable to suppose that intonational 'key' and rhythm are among them.

83–490 Maddieson, Ian. UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory: data and index. *UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics* (California, LA), **53** (1981), 1–242.

This volume of *UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics* contains charts showing the phoneme inventory of each of the carefully selected sample of 317 languages which comprise the UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database (UPSID). It also includes an index of each segment type which occurs in the database. This index is arranged according to the phonetic classification of the segments, and includes the frequency of occurrence of each given segment type and a list of the languages in which it occurs. The phoneme charts and segment index make available to other users the basic data of UPSID. With these tools, much of the information in the database can be manipulated without the use of a computer. Following each phonetic definition, a list of those languages in UPSID in which the defined segment occurs is given [phonetic segment inventories for 317 languages].

83–491 Morin, Yves-Charles (U. of Montreal) **and Kaye, Jonathan D.** (U. of Quebec at Montreal). The syntactic bases for French liaison. *Journal of Linguistics* (London), **18** (1982), 291–330.

Selkirk proposes generalised (obligatory) rules within the $\overline{\text{X}}$ convention (Chomsky & Halle) which limit the occurrence of liaison to within the phonological word in French; a further (optional) rule allows for liaison in elevated speech between a major syntactic category and its following complement if the head word is inflected. Observation of spoken French, however, shows such generalisations to be false. Only liaison after determiners follows Selkirk's 'obligatory' rules; liaison after other categories is variable. 'Optional' liaison is more frequent in elevated speech but elevated liaison is sometimes found in casual speech. Liasion can be observed at phonological boundaries (after pause and before word-initial glottal stop); the domain of liaison does not correspond with the phonological word (intonationally defined). Elevated liaison may be heard after uninfected heads and non-heads and is more frequent after verbs than other categories. [An alternative account in terms of consonant epenthesis,

z as an adjectival plural marker, *t* as a verbal marker.] The traditional listing of obligatory and impossible contexts and stylistically optional ones is preferred. The facts of French liaison do not provide evidence for or against the $\overline{\mathrm{X}}$ theory.

83–492   O'Shaughnessy, Douglas (INRS-Telecommunications, Nuns Island, Quebec). A study of French spectral patterns for synthesis. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **10**, 4 (1982), 377–99.

Formant speech synthesis requires a model of how formants vary with time in natural speech. Toward the goal of French synthesis-by-rule with timing and formant transitions based on natural speech, 247 words were read in frame sentences by a French Canadian and analysed by means of digital spectrograms. Examples of all possible consonant clusters were examined, including those not found in English. Formant transitions normally took 4–6 Hz/ms, but when large formant changes were necessary, the rate of change was as large as 15 Hz/ms. Most formant transitions could be well modelled in terms of targets, such as the formants falling for labial consonants, but the glides and liquids (/l, r, w, j, ɥ/) were highly variable in consonant cluster contexts. For example, /r/ was devoiced next to an unvoiced consonant, and the formants for /l/ indicated different articulatory positions depending on phonetic context. The presence of liquid in word-final stop + liquid clusters was noted primarily by extending the aspiration period following stop release. Nasalised vowels behaved as diphthongs in closed syllables, but not in open syllables. The findings are interpreted along articulatory and phonological lines.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

83–493   Apter, Andrew H. (Yale U.). National language planning in plural societies: the search for a framework. *Language Problems and Language Planning* (Berlin, FRG), **6**, 3 (1982), 219–40.

This paper proposes M. G. Smith's model of pluralism as a general framework for analysing problems of national language planning. The advantages of this model over other models critically reviewed lie in its specification of (1) the nonlinguistic bases of incorporation, such as race, religion, ethnicity, or party, which language divisions can reinforce or cross-cut; and (2) the type of state, unitary or consociational, that responds to the problems of language conflict at the policy level. The failure to specify these institutional bases of language planning problems has sustained a simplistic notion of national integration, and the widespread misconception among sociolinguists that a shared national language somehow generates a national identity.

83–494   Deprez, Kas (U. of Antwerp). Belgian Netherlandic and Canadian French: a sociolinguistic comparison. *Language Problems and Language Planning* (Berlin, FRG), **6**, 3 (1982), 241–70.

Flemings and Québécois have often been compared; the Belgian and Canadian language conflicts are among the most troublesome in the Western world. A language

conflict concerns the identity of a language. What is at issue is not the fact that people do not want to speak another language, but what Flemings and Québécois have to offer instead of the other language. As Flemings and Québécois are regional speakers of Netherlandic and French they cannot be expected to speak the variety that is spoken in the centre (Randstad and Paris). There are always differences, both qualitative and quantitative (frequencies), between a centre and a region. Yet Fl and Q are also different from regional standard language speakers of N and F. The variety of N and F spoken by the majority of Fl and Q is not, in N and in F, both in the centre and in the regions, taken to be a regional variant. It is received as 'bad' N or F. It contains too many interferences, hypercorrections, archaisms, elements from the written language, and gallicisms or anglicisms to be called a regional N or F. Belgian N and Canadian Fr would simply manifest incompetence. In order to understand this phenomenon, one has to know the – unhappy – history of the Fl and Q communities. Flanders was isolated from the N at the end of the sixteenth century and Q from F in the eighteenth century. The isolation as such did not imply a disaster, not even a linguistic one; a slow recovery at the political, economic, and cultural level could have given rise to a new standard language. But the new structures never gave Fl and Q a chance for recovery or a place for their language. In Belgium the dominant group spoke F and in Canada this group spoke English. As a result, even the higher Fl and Q classes started to speak F and E, respectively.

The last few decades have brought many changes, especially political and economic ones, most visibly so in Fl. N and F are fully protected now. What is more, successful attempts have been made to improve their quality: never before have Fl and Dutch N and F and Q F been as close. This does not mean that Fl and Q will totally appropriate the N and F of the N or of F, be it of the centre or the regions. They cannot (they live in another country) and they do not want to (they cannot identify themselves with the Dutch or the French and they want to show this in their language).

In all these matters, Fl seems to be ahead of Q. Fl have been preoccupied with linguistic issues for a longer time than Q have. The relation between Fl and the N has never been as unidirectional as that between F and Q.

83–495 Strubell y Trueta, Miguel (Dept. of Culture, Catalonia). Catalan sociolinguistics: a brief review of research. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Amsterdam), **38** (1982), 70–84.

The Catalan and Basque languages underwent severe repression during Franco's regime until the early 1960s, when repression continued in a more subtle form. Most of the Catalan sociolinguistic research concerns the functional relationship between Catalan and the official language, Castilian (Spanish). Early discussions centre on the concept of 'bilingualism', moving on to incorporate the term 'diglossia', which masks a turning point in the treatment of Catalan in two different geographical contexts: Catalonia and Valencia. There were two 'schools', based in Barcelona and Valencia, the north concentrating on the effects of the absence of Catalan from the mass media and the educational system, on the effects of the growing number of Spanish-speaking workers coming into Catalonia, and the widening gulf between oral and written

Catalan because of a shortage of Catalan books. These are still the main areas of research though the latter problem is being overcome. The Valencian school discussed the problem of Catalan in Valencia, oppressed by the official language, Spanish, in all walks of life, and the alarming degree of diglossia in the larger cities. A comparative study of the languages of Spain has also been attempted, making a strong case for the territorial rights of Catalan, Basque and Galician.

Other studies have looked at school language needs, the influence of television (there is no Catalan-language station), and attitudes of teachers to Catalan, which was introduced into all schools as a compulsory subject in 1978. [A few articles in English are reviewed.]

PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

83–496   Bates, Elizabeth (U. of Colorado) **and others**. Functional constraints on sentence processing: a cross-linguistic study. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **11**, 3 (1982), 245–99.

English and Italian provide some interesting contrasts that are relevant to a controversial problem in psycholinguistics: the boundary between grammatical and extragrammatical knowledge in sentence processing. Although both are SVO word order languages without case inflections to indicate basic grammatical relations, Italian permits far more variation in word order for pragmatic purposes. Hence Italians must rely more than English listeners on factors other than word order. In this experiment, Italian and English adults were asked to interpret 81 simple sentences varying word order, animacy contrasts between the two nouns, topicalisation and contrastive stress. Italians relied primarily on semantic strategies while English listeners relied on word order – including a tendency to interpret the second noun as subject in non-canonical word orders (corresponding to word order variations in informal English production). Italians also made greater use of topic and stress information. Finally, Italians were much slower and less consistent in the application of word order strategies even for reversible NVN sentences where there was no conflict between order and semantics. This suggests that Italian is 'less' of an SVO language than English. Semantic strategies apparently stand at the 'core' of Italian to the same extent that word order stands at the 'core' of English. These results pose problems for claims about a 'universal' separation between semantics and syntax, and for theories that postulate a 'universal' priority of one type of information over another. Results are discussed in the light of the competition model, a functionalist approach to grammar that accounts in a principled way for probabilistic outcomes and differential 'weights' among competing and converging sources of information in sentence processing.

83–497   Bellugi, Ursula and Klima, Edward S. (Salk Inst. for Biological Studies). The acquisition of three morphological systems in American Sign Language. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development* (Stanford, Calif), **21** (1982), K1–K35.

The authors examine three of the first morphological systems to emerge and be mastered by deaf children – and how these subsystems are integrated into mechanisms

for organising syntax and discourse. The subsystems are: the transition from gesture to symbol in pronominal signs; the spatial marking for verb agreement; and the formal distinction between nouns and related verbs. In general, it appears that despite the radical differences in modality of language, deaf and hearing children show a dramatically similar course of development, given a natural language input at the critical time. The deaf child, like his hearing counterpart, analyses out discrete components of the system presented to him. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that even when the modality and the language offer possibilities that seem intuitively obvious (pointing for deictic pronominal reference, for example), the deaf child appears to ignore their directness. The comparison of signed and spoken languages will surely become a privileged testing ground for examining iconic, semantic, cognitive, and formal linguistic influences on the course of the acquisition process. The data show powerfully how language, independent of its transmission mechanisms, emerges in the child in a rapid, patterned, and – above all – linguistically-driven manner.

83–498 Benoit, Pamela J. (Bowling Green State U.). Formal coherence production in children's discourse. *First Language* (Chalfont St Giles, Bucks), **3**, 3 (1982), 161–79.

Interactional management, 'the ability to establish and sustain a smooth and easy pattern of interaction', is receiving attention in the literature on communicative competence. A basic management skill is the collaborative production of coherent discourse. This paper describes the acquisition of coherence production skills by pre-school children, reviewing the literature and introducing a cognitive processing model which offers a framework for analysing the acquisition of coherence production skills. The model (based on Shatz, 1978) suggests that variations in children's communicative skills may be a function of the workloads required to accomplish particular tasks (i.e. they are more successful at producing listener-adapted messages when explaining a familiar, rather than an unfamiliar object, because additional cognitive effort is not required to generate vocabulary and search for physical knowledge).

Sustaining conversation is a complex cognitive task, requiring a variety of subskills. Three primary techniques are available: formal, structural and topical, with further strategies delineated within each. The model generates a series of hypotheses related to the acquisition of coherence production skills, five of which (all related to formal coherence production strategies) are investigated here, namely that: (1) formal coherence production devices will occur more frequently than either structural or topical coherence production in preschool children's discourse; (2) structural devices will occur more frequently than topical; (3) there will be a difference between the frequency of types of formal strategies; (4) there will be a difference in the frequency of formal devices by age; and (5) situational variables will influence the workload values assigned to devices.

In addition, transcripts from interactions were analysed to generate types of formal coherence production strategies: direct repetition, partial repetition, expansion, substitution, multiple.

83–499 Campbell, Helen (Sch. for the Study of Disorders of Human Communication, London). Within-word constraints in child phonology. *British Journal of Disorders of Communication* (London), **17**, 3 (1982), 109–20.

This study investigates the nature of the phonological simplifications seen in the speech of pre-school children, by analysing the effect of stress position, phonetic environment and relative recency of sound acquisition, on accuracy of production of the initial consonant cluster within a word. Forty 4-year-old children took part in an imitation task consisting of 44 three-syllable nonsense words, half of which began with an early developing cluster and half with a late developing cluster. Both halves contained word pairs with first and second syllable stress. Half the subjects repeated words with a similar phonetic environment and half, with a dissimilar one.

The results showed that in the main, the errors that occurred could be classified according to developmental phonological processes seen in younger children. Both stress position and developmental status of the cluster were significant in their effect on the number of errors occurring, and the phonetic environment in affecting types of errors occurring, in that the number of assimilation processes applied increased in the dissimilar phonetic environment condition.

83–500 Crain, Stephen (U. of Connecticut). Temporal terms: mastery by age five. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development* (Stanford, Calif), **21** (1982), 33–8.

This research substantially alters the current picture of the acquisition of temporal terms. It provides evidence of early mastery, both in comprehension and production. Acquisition also appears to be sequential, and relatively error-free. These results can be taken as support for learnability theory in general, and the innateness hypothesis in particular. It is to be hoped that further uses of these comprehension and production tasks will continue the progress toward the reliable assessment of the development of human cognitive abilities.

83–501 Cruttenden, Alan (U. of Manchester). How long does intonation acquisition take? *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development* (Stanford, Calif), **21** (1982), 112–18.

The evidence available from the limited evidence concerning the acquisition of intonation suggests the following: (*a*) (i) The use of some of the forms of intonation is present from a very early age (almost certainly during the babbling stage). (ii) A very restricted use of intonation to convey some of the meanings conveyed by intonation in the adult language is also present from an early age (for some children as early as late babbling). (*b*) The understanding (and probably the use) of anything approaching the typical complexity of adult intonation patterns is still developing in children aged ten-plus. Even adults probably develop highly varying levels of intonational competence. Levels of ability at reading aloud vary greatly and many people probably continue to acquire new intonational skills even as adults. There can be no question of the acquisition of intonation being over before the first words are uttered.

83–502 Fabre, Claudine (U. of Perpignan). Dans la poubelle de la classe: subjectivité et jeux de langage. [Out of the classroom wastepaper basket: subjectivity and language games]. *Linguistique* (Paris), **18**, 2 (1982), 99–113.

Secret messages and rough notes consigned to the waste-paper basket form the data for a study of the non-referential (subjective and ludic) functions in the language of 8- to 9-year old French children. Jakobson's language functions and Rey-Debove's metalinguistic terms provide the theoretical framework. Analysis reveals a highly subjective use of language with evidence of well developed textual competence and communicative strategies, little direct use of metalinguistic terms (except by humorous reference to school work) and the widespread use of rhythm and of creative innovation at the lexical and even grammatical levels.

83–503 Foster, Sue (U. of Southern California). Learning to develop a topic. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development* (Stanford, Calif), **21** (1982), 63–70.

The production of a competently structured topic involves two kinds of relationships of relevancy: utterances must be propositionally contingent on previous utterances, but also speak to the global concern of the topic. Very young children (under about 2;0) cannot do the latter, i.e. they can only produce utterances that are contingently relevant. Older children (and adults) also make their utterances relevant to some global proposition, which represents the topic as a whole. The evolution of the ability to maintain a topic is then illustrated, showing how routinised interaction provides lessons in 'culturally expected' interaction, and a frame within which children can exhibit an increasing amount of planning of conversational contributions as they develop, until they reach the point where they no longer need routines as a crutch, as it were (though they may still appear in the data). The evolution of the ability to handle a topic can be seen in terms of three stages, spanning the developmental period, in which the child's discourse is progressively less controlled by adult forces and more by the child's own discourse capabilities.

83–504 Genesee, Fred. Experimental neuropsychological research on second-language processing. *TESOL Quarterly* (Washington, DC), **16**, 3 (1982), 315–22.

Experimental evidence about the neurolinguistic aspects of bilingualism is reviewed. The research examines the influence of specific variables on differential hemispheric involvement during first- and second-language processing, particularly the extent of right hemisphere (RH) involvement in second-language (SL) processing. The variables that have been examined are (1) age, (2) stage, and (3) manner of SL learning [appendix summarises research by type].

Age is expected to have implications because of related changes in cognitive and neurological maturity. Research generally supports the hypothesis that there is greater RH involvement in SL processing the later the SL is acquired relative to the first. (2) The stage hypothesis (that RH involvement will be more evidence in initial rather than advanced stages of SL processes) has received little support. (3) Research on the manner of SL learning suggests that the RH is more involved in language processing

in childhood, when language is usually acquired informally. LH predominance seems to emerge around 5 years or later, and to correspond with an increasingly formal manner of language processing.

The available experimental evidence suggests that there may be greater RH involvement in language processing in bilinguals who acquire their SL late relative to their first language and in bilinguals who learn it in informal contexts. There is little evidence to support the possibility that stage of SL proficiency plays an important role in differential hemispheric processing in bilinguals.

83–505 Gullo, Dominic F. (Kent State U.) A developmental study of low- and middle-class children's responses to 'wh'-questions. *First Language* (Chalfont St Giles, Bucks), **3**, 3 (1982), 211–21.

Qualitative and developmental differences in low- and middle-socioeconomic status (SĒS) preschoolers' responses to *wh*-questions were investigated. Sixty low-SES and 60 middle-SES children between the ages 3;6 and 5;2 participated in the study. Findings indicate that the order of acquisition of *wh*-words was different between low- and middle-SES children relative to the development of *why* constructs. Low-SES children were also shown to employ a different answering strategy to questions where the answer is not known. Results indicate that among incorrect response patterns for *where*, *when*, *how*, or *why* questions, significantly more low-SES children responded with *what* answers. Examination of correct responses revealed that low-SES children gave significantly more responses to *where*, *when*, *how*, and *why* questions at a level indicating a minimal or restricted understanding of what was being asked.

83–506 Kieras, David E. A model of reader strategy for abstracting main ideas from simple technical prose. *Text* (Amsterdam), **2**, 1/3 (1982), 47–81.

This report presents detailed results on performance in a comprehension task in which the reader must devise a brief statement of the main idea of short technical passages. The passage structure consisted of a generalisation followed by several examples, and appeared either with or without an initial 'topic sentence' stating the generalisation. Data on response content, reading time, ratings of importance of passage sentences, and 'think aloud' protocols were collected. The results suggest that most readers use a simple strategy tailored to the generalisation structure of the passages. This strategy reflects both a reliance on the surface structure of the passage, such as what is first mentioned, and use of a moderate, but not complete, understanding of the actual passage content. The strategy was represented in the form of a computer simulation using production systems and propositional memory structures. The simulation was found to be reasonably accurate in several respects. Especially interesting is the fact that relatively little general knowledge is needed by the model.

83–507 McCutchen, Deborah and Perfetti, Charles. Coherence and connectedness in the development of discourse production. *Text* (Amsterdam), **2**, 1/3 (1982), 113–39.

This paper discusses discourse components in writing, especially the relationship between coherence and connectedness, and examines connectedness in children's written essays and narratives. Developmental trends were observed in the number of

local sentence-to-sentence connections children wrote between adjacent sentences and in the type of connective device used. Essays by sixth and eighth graders showed a higher proportion of local connections than did those by second and fourth graders, and the local connections changed from a majority of reference connections in second grade essays to an increasing use of complex syntactic connections in eighth grade essays. Text form also influenced writing. The level of connectedness was higher in narratives than in essays. The narrative form also influenced the type of connective device used, especially in the writing of younger children. Writing from each grade level was modeled, and the developmental differences are described in computer simulations as differences in procedures used to scan and retrieve information from memory.

83–508   Martins, Daniel. Influence of affect on comprehension of a text. *Text* (Amsterdam), **2**, 1/3 (1982), 141–54.

This study demonstrates how comprehension of one particular text was influenced by affect, defined as that intensity of feeling attached to the semantic content of the text. An understanding of the process of text comprehension is approached through propositions and macropropositions recalled after reading the text, in the course of recall and summarisation tasks. It is further observed that the task of rating sentences for their intensity of affect is independent of the task of choosing the sentences which make up the best summary of the text. Interpretation of results is consistent with the idea that high levels of affect induce deeper processing of information with which it is associated. New goals are outlined for research concerning the influence of affect on text comprehension.

83–509   Matthei, Edward H. (U. of California). The acquisition of prenominal modifier sequences. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **11**, 3 (1982), 301–32.

A study of children's interpretations of prenominal modifier sequences like the one in *the second green ball*. In such phrases the modifier *second* has scope over the rest of the phrase. Children misinterpret these phrases in such a way that it appears that they give *second* scope only over the head noun of the phrase. A series of six experiments, all designed to test various hypotheses about the motivating factors behind this misinterpretation, is described. Experiments 1 and 2 constitute a replication and extension of the work in this area originally done by Roeper (1972). Experiment 3 tests a set of hypotheses about the influence of certain syntactic variables in conditioning the children's misinterpretations. Experiment 4 is an attempt to check an hypothesis about the semantic complexity of phrases like *the second green ball*. Experiments 5 and 6 test the children's sensitivity to ordering constraints in different kinds of prenominal modifier sequences. The results are presented and discussed. The children's misinterpretations of the phrases come about because of their tendency to be conservative about the amount of hierarchically organised structure they will postulate in the absence of evidence that such structure is needed.

83–510 Meyer, Bonnie J. F. and Rice, G. Elizabeth. The interaction of reader strategies and the organisation of text. *Text* (Amsterdam), **2**, 1/3 (1982), 155–92.

A model is proposed for the interaction between reader and text in arriving at an identification of the overall logical organisation to be used by the reader in processing and remembering the text. Different emphasis patterns provided by the writer for a text on railways are shown to result in different organisational patterns and types of information recalled by adults. Recall protocols written by adults with different reading strategies are examined for different versions of this text. In addition, other subjects reported their expectations for these versions of the railway text when asked to read and comment on the text in a sentence-by-sentence manner; the reported expectations show similarities with the model and the recall data.

PRAGMATICS

83–511 Cegala, Donald J. and others (Ohio State U.). An elaboration of the meaning of interaction involvement: toward the development of a theoretical concept. *Communication Monographs* (Annandale, Va.), **49**, 4 (1982), 229–48.

A report of three studies designed to elucidate the notion of 'interaction involvement' – the extent to which an individual participates with another in conversation. In study 1, the Interaction Involvement Scale (IIS) is re-interpreted as a three-dimensional construct involving: (i) *attentiveness* – the extent to which an individual is cognisant of stimuli that comprise the immediate environment, (ii) *perceptiveness* – the extent to which one has knowledge of (*a*) the meanings that others assign to one's own behaviour and (*b*) the meanings that one ought to assign to others' behaviour, and (iii) *responsiveness* – the tendency to react mentally to one's social circumstances and adapt by knowing what to say and when to say it. Study 2 focuses on how involvement relates to extraversion, neuroticism, self-consciousness, communication apprehension and communicative competence. Results indicate the following: (1) that attentiveness correlates negatively with neuroticism and impulsiveness (but not so markedly in females); (2) that responsiveness correlates negatively with neuroticism but positively with socialibility; (3) that responsiveness correlates negatively with social anxiety; (4) that perceptiveness correlates positively with private self-consciousness for males but not females, and with public self-consciousness for females but not males; (5) that the responsiveness factor relates negatively to communication apprehension in interpersonal settings but not in public speaking contexts, and (6) that to some extent all three IIS factors correlate positively with the dimensions of communicative competence, with the perceptiveness factor showing the strongest relationship to competence. The third less conclusive study investigates possible non-verbal manifestations of interaction and suggests that responsiveness and perceptiveness are the most significant predicators of males' non-verbal behaviour whereas responsiveness plays the most significant role in predicting females' non-verbal behaviour, perceptiveness and attentiveness contributing about the same.

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83–512   Devlin, L. Patrick (U. of Rhode Island). An analysis of Kennedy's communication in 1980 campaign. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* (Annandale, Va.), **68** (1982), 397–417.

This article is a discussion of the problems Edward Kennedy had in communicating with his audiences during his 1980 presidential campaign. Various background communicative considerations are discussed, such as Kennedy's over-confidence, his unwillingness to listen to advice, his poor communicative start, his inability to make effective use of the media, his rhetorical inconsistency and frequent shifts in his themes. Stylistic characteristics of the Kennedy rhetoric are outlined, viz. mockery of campaign ritual, inarticulateness, inappropriate use of shouting, question-answering techniques, impersonal rhetoric and general distance from his audience. There were, however, highlights in his campaign, notably his Georgetown and Convention speeches which are briefly discussed.

83–513   Lappin, Shalom (U. of Ottawa). On the pragmatics of mood. *Linguistics and Philosophy* (Dordrecht), **4**, 4 (1982), 559–78.

It is argued that both the reductionist approach to the problem of mood (in which all moods are characterised in terms of the declarative) and the mood marker view (which involves representing mood by a distinct marker which appears in the sentence as one of its constituents) treat individual moods in an *ad hoc* manner which fails to capture the general character of its influence on the interpretation of sentences. The author proposes a model of pragmatic mood in which the speaker, having specified the semantic representation of a sentence independently of context, proceeds to interpret the pragmatic mood of the sentence, relative to a context of discourse, by identifying the speech act which it is intended to perform and then assigns fulfilment conditions to that speech act. These fulfilment conditions represent the interpretation of a speech act in terms of a correspondence relation between the speech act and the world, where this relation is characterised in terms of truth.

83–514   Polanyi, Livia (U. of Amsterdam). Linguistic and social constraints on storytelling. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **6**, 5/6 (1982), 509–24.

Remarkably consistent patterns of linguistic structuring are a surface feature of everyday oral stories. This paper concentrates on the types of information found in all story texts (Event, Durative-Descriptive, and Evaluative) and the linguistic encoding and necessary inter-relationships which obtain among these information types. The social constraints imposed by the demands for appropriate behaviour placed on speaker and hearer by the socially constructed situation of a conversational storytelling are also explored. The temporal semantic distinction between State and Event is shown to be basic to narrative *v.* non-narrative discourse. Various narrative genres are described and distinctions are made between past/present/future and hypothetical narratives; specific and generic narratives; and 'stories' and 'reports' both in respect to the encoding each receives in English language discourse and the semantic interpretation accorded the various clauses which make up the text. Finally, the constraints on 'storyworthiness' of narratable incidents are shown to depend on the degree of relevance to the 'business at hand' in the interactions which the speaker can demonstrate through his telling.