

## LINGUISTIC THEORY

**82-74 Anderson, John M.** Anti-unaccusative, or: relational grammar is case grammar. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* (Bucharest), **25**, 3 (1980), 193-225.

Two relational accounts of the syntax and semantics of the actional/non-actional distinction with intransitive predicates are examined: the unaccusative hypothesis of relational grammar, and their description within a case grammar, involving the interaction of semantic relations with subject-formation. Evidence from a number of languages is taken to support the case grammar proposals that this distinction correlates with semantic relations in both intransitive and transitive sentences and that grammatical relations are derivative only and non-universal. Finally it is argued that a relational grammar revised to take account of these findings is most appropriately interpreted as a notational variant of case grammar.

**82-75 Aronoff, Mark** (SUNY, Stony Brook). Contextuals. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **56**, 4 (1980), 744-58.

A critique of the analysis in Clark and Clark (1979) of the class of English verbs formed without affix from nouns, e.g. *to sandwich*, *to star*, *to knife*. Clark and Clark place such verbs in a novel semantic category, since they are neither purely referential, like *horse*, nor indexical, like *he*, but something in between, called 'contextuals'. No such category is necessary to account for the undoubted range of interpretation of these expressions; rather, the variability of meaning is caused by two well known factors, namely, idiom and word formation rules. In addition, a method of treating the semantics of words derived by affixation (e.g. *baker* from *bake*) is exemplified, having a sparse semantics combined with general principles of contextualisation.

**82-76 Banfield, Ann** (U. of California at Berkeley). Stylistic deletion in coordinate structures. *Linguistic Analysis* (New York), **7**, 1 (1981), 1-32.

There is a clear intuitive link between zeugma or ellipsis in traditional rhetorical theory and certain transformational rules of modern generative syntax. In traditional grammar conjoining (*Beaumont and Fletcher wrote comedies*) is distinct from the stylistic operation of zeugma (*When to repress, and when indulge our flights*), but recent accounts collapse this distinction. Certain stylistic phenomena motivate a separate class of transformations to include not just stylistic reordering but also coordinate deletion. In fact, word order inversion, which moves elements to both right and left, cannot be expressed as a single process in standard transformational theory, but only by formally unrelated rules. It emerges that stylistic rules generally fall under a Directionality Principle; in transformational terms they neither introduce nor delete morphemes or nonphrasal terms, are optional, and apply after all other grammatical rules.

**82–77 Katz, Jerrold J.** (City U. of New York). Chomsky on meaning. *Language* (Baltimore), **56**, 1 (1980), 1–41.

Chomsky has been consistently sceptical about the prospects for a purely grammatical theory of meaning. Semantics, in his view, is not on a par with phonology and syntax, since no principled boundary can be drawn between meaning and extra-grammatical knowledge and belief. Accordingly, sentence grammar excludes semantic representation, so that the absolute autonomy of formal grammar is preserved.

Katz criticises Chomsky's position on several grounds: (a) it conflicts with his overall theory of generative grammar; (b) it sacrifices explanation in linguistics; (c) it rests on an arbitrary division of the vocabulary of languages into so-called 'logical' and 'non-logical' words; (d) its concept of logical form is both too broad and too narrow; (e) its criticisms of alternatives are either unavailable or unfounded; (f) it rests on linguistic and philosophical arguments which upon examination fail to hold. Katz defends the place of linguistic semantics in formal grammar alongside syntax and phonology.

**82–78 Kevelson, Roberta.** Semiotics and the art of conversation. *Semiotica* (The Hague), **32**, 1/2 (1980), 53–80.

The paper shows how conversation functions as a dialogical theme; common strands in American and Eastern European semiotics are explored. It begins with Toulmin's view of the close relation between legal argument and everyday discourse. The Stoic conception of *lekton*, i.e. meaningful structure in speech, is compared with Peirce's account of the sign. It is stressed that the terms 'pragmatic', 'discourse', and 'presupposition' have a different function in semiotic analysis from that in linguistics. Various models of the art of conversation are discussed, in particular as developed by Vološinov, Mukařovský, and Bakhtin, which are related to the system elaborated by the Praguean Karcevskij. These modern accounts reflect the ancient Stoic notion of dynamic, emergent sense; on such a view, all understanding is dialogic. Words change their value every time they are repeated in a conversation. The new meaning is a comment on the old; its revaluation is then acted upon by speakers, who make the new meaning a part of themselves, and so in a direct way signs shape social context. Through the art of conversation we change the world. [Bibliography: see *Bibliographies* section.]

**82–79 Lust, B. and others.** The development of anaphora in first language: syntactic and pragmatic constraints. *Linguistic Analysis* (Amsterdam), **6**, 4 (1980), 359–91.

The paper deals with the interpretation of pronominal anaphora in English (e.g. *John* ran a mile after *he* left). Syntactic and pragmatic constraints on the acquisition of this anaphora are defined and differentiated. The results of this study support the characterisation of anaphora in linguistic theory as bipartite, constituted of subcomponents of both anaphoric construal and judgment of coreference. They suggest that this distinction is profound enough in the nature of language to have its roots in early stages of first-language acquisition.

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Pragmatic and syntactic domains are independent (at least partially) at early stages of language development, since distinct constraints have been identified to hold on these domains in first-language acquisition. Results also confirm a distinction between receptive and productive competence in language. Methodologically, they not only show that imitation and comprehension tasks tap a child's language competence differently, but that these differences may be described in a principled manner.

**82–80 Pape, Helmut.** A Peircean theory of indexical signs and individuation. *Semiotica* (The Hague), **31**, 3/4 (1980), 215–43.

An index, for Peirce, is one among three types of signs; the indexical features of language include relational concepts of time and place, and the deictic elements or shifters, e.g. *now*, *here*, *I*, *this*. To understand and use indices involves perceptual judgments about nonlinguistic features of discourse. The paper shows (i) that it is possible to give a logical and semiotic analysis formulating some of the rules governing the use of indexical expressions in natural language, (ii) that Peirce's approach to the problem of indexical reference amounts to the thesis that indices in empirical meaningful sentences have a referential function, because they relate propositional mental processes, representing the individual object referred to by means of the verbal expression, to nonpropositional mental processes. Peirce's logical views forced him to adopt a two-component theory of language, according to which description and individuation are radically divorced. The function of indices is exclusively to individuate objects.

**82–81 Richman, Bruce.** Did human speech originate in coordinated vocal music? *Semiotica* (The Hague), **32**, 3/4 (1980), 233–44.

Jakobson has suggested a classification of normal speech functions in terms of six categories: emotive, vocative, referential, phatic, poetic and metalinguistic. Although the referential function, based on the transfer of information, has often been seen as a likely basis for the development of speech, it is here suggested that a crucial role should be assigned to the phatic function (which is directed at keeping the channel of communication open and functioning) and the poetic function (which has to do with the aesthetic organisation of speech elements). Analysis of vocal interaction among gelada monkeys, which can be seen to manifest these same phatic and poetic functions, demonstrates the existence of long and tightly structured vocalisations, whose hierarchical rhythmic organisation is analogous to the hierarchical syntactic organisation of language [examples]. The many-voiced vocal productions of the gelada monkeys also bear strong similarities to choral singing in humans. The phatic and poetic functions provided the primary conditions for the evolution of language by making available the basis for a complex and abstract syntactic system. This was then combined with the semantic-referential function, which was based on an already existing capability to associate arbitrary signs to concepts (an ability possessed by the great apes as well as humans), in order to give rise to language.

## LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

**82–82 Cole, Peter and others** (U. of Illinois). The acquisition of subjecthood. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **56**, 4 (1980), 719–43.

This paper examines the process by which subject properties are acquired by noun phrases not previously having those properties. The evidence presented indicates that behavioural subject properties (like the ability of an NP to delete under EQUI) are acquired historically prior to subject coding properties (like nominative case-marking and control of verb agreement).

**82–83 Cornilescu, Alexandra** (U. of Bucharest). Non-restrictive relative clauses, an essay in semantic description. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* (Bucharest), **26**, 1 (1981), 41–67.

Non-restrictive modification contains information not essential for identifying the head of the phrase; restrictive modification identifies the head. Compare ‘His wife, *who was among the spectators*, regretted Holweg’s departure’ (non-restrictive) with ‘*Cats that scratch* are nasty’ (restrictive). This paper considers non-restrictive relative clauses in English and Romanian within a framework of Montague grammar. The semantics and syntax of NRRCs are discussed; they pose problems for a pragmatic theory along the lines laid down by Grice’s maxims of conversation. The behaviour of NRRCs under negation, and within complex and compound sentences, is explored. A number of examples are translated into intensional logical notation familiar from model-theoretic semantics.

**82–84 Knowles, John** (Simon Fraser U.). The tag as parenthetical. *Studies in Language* (Amsterdam), **4**, 3 (1980), 379–409.

Tags share a considerable number of syntactic and semantic properties with parentheticals and in particular with that type here termed the ‘truth parenthetical’.

The truth parenthetical is subject to a variety of constraints on form and distribution. If it is assumed that tags are a type of truth parenthetical and the constraints justified for truth parentheticals (and a few general principles concerning pronominals are applied), all the properties of tags can be accounted for that have traditionally been described as a transformational mechanism. Evidence is adduced that appears to favour a ‘base generated’ analysis of tags of a type which is compatible with the present assumptions over an analysis which relies on a copying mechanism.

**82–85 Morel, M.-A.** (U. of Paris III). Remarques sur l’emploi de la négation et de la coordination dans les structures comparatives, consécutives et concessives comportant une spécification du degré ou de l’intensité d’une qualité. [Remarks on the use of negation and coordination in comparative, consecutive and concessive sentences specifying intensity or degree of quality.] *Cahiers de Lexicologie* (Paris), **37**, 2 (1980), 35–48.

A parallel is drawn here between five types of sentences, representing three distinct logical relationships: the concessive, the consecutive and the comparative. These five

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sentences all comprise a predicative adjective with a morpheme specifying the intensity or the degree of quality expressed by the adjective and the clause A organised around this adjective is linked to another clause B which follows it. In this paper, these constructions are differentiated by two testing devices: a test by negation and another by coordination. First test: the insertion of a negation in clause A is impossible in concessive cases but it is possible in consecutive and comparative cases. However the incidence of this negation changes according to the above relationships. Second test: we conjoin a second adjective with the one in clause A and we observe that, according to the position occupied by this second adjective in the sentence and depending on the fact that it is or is not preceded by the morpheme specifying the intensity or the degree, the sentences do not have the same implications. The study shows the specific character of concessive clauses and the analogies which bind consecutive clauses with *assez/trop* either to consecutive clauses with *si* or to comparative clauses.

## PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

**82–86 Coates, Richard** (U. of Sussex). Time in phonological representations. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **8**, 1 (1980), 1–20.

Most phonological theorists set up their constructs with no reference to the time dimension, which for them is simply the medium in which segments are performed. But certain phonological processes cannot be understood except by requiring time to be involved as an integral part of phonological representations. Phonological features may be thought of as having one of a set of three durational characteristics: the unmarked 'fade', or the marked 'hold' or 'off'. The 'fade' has time values which are feature-specific. The interaction of features understood in this way with a (time-based) theory of tempo generates a class of inertial or 'natural' historical change processes [examples]. The relation of these ideas to current (morpho-)phonology and variation theory is discussed.

**82–87 Cruttenden, Alan** (U. of Manchester). Falls and rises: meanings and universals. *Journal of Linguistics* (Cambridge), **17**, 1 (1981), 77–91.

A basic distinction is assumed between intonational tunes with terminal rises and those with terminal falls. This correlates at the most abstract level with a difference between 'open' meanings (rises) and 'closed' meanings (falls). The correctness of this assumption is tested by reference to intonational phenomena in a variety of languages and dialects. Although there are instances where the hypothesis is not directly confirmed, these may nevertheless be accounted for in terms of a set of implicational universals. [Statement of four implicational universals.]

**82-88 Humbley, John** (U. of Paris XIII). L'intégration phonétique des mots d'emprunt français en anglais. [Phonetic integration of French loan words in English.] *Cahiers de l'Institut Linguistique de Louvain* (Louvain), **6**, 1/2 (1980), 193-206.

This article gives an account of the rules that govern phonetic integration of loan words. It is often said that languages assimilate loan words by using their own nearest sounds; but it can happen that several sounds in the borrowing language are equally similar to a sound of the source language and that nevertheless only one of them becomes firmly accepted. What are the reasons for this choice?

The explanation is to be found by performing a distinctive-feature analysis of each phone in the two languages and establishing a correspondence between the features of the borrowing language and those of the source. The features of the source language which have no direct counterpart in the borrowing language are, when integration occurs, either ignored or rendered by one or more features of some auxiliary phoneme. In this second case, the result is that one phoneme of the source is represented by a sequence of two phonemes in the borrowing language.

**82-89 Ladefoged, Peter** (U. of California). Articulatory parameters. *Language and Speech* (Hampton Hill, Middx), **23**, 1 (1980), 25-30.

The production of speech is constrained by the articulatory parameters that people can vary. There are seven parameters affecting tongue shapes, three determining the positions of the lips, one controlling the position of the velum, four varying laryngeal actions, and one controlling respiratory activity. Descriptions of all linguistic utterances can be made in terms of about 16 parameters.

**82-90 Yule, George**. Speakers' topics and major paratones. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **52**, 1/2 (1980), 33-47.

Units of spoken discourse which a speaker organises on a single topic are shown to be marked intonationally at their boundaries. The realisation of such a unit, which has a topic expression, high pitch onset and low pitch close, followed by a long pause, is described as a major paratone.

## SOCIOLINGUISTICS

**82-91 Beebe, Leslie M.** (Columbia U.). Sociolinguistic variation and style shifting in second-language acquisition. *Language Learning* (Ann Arbor, Mich), **30**, 2 (1980), 433-47.

This paper presents empirical data (collected from nine Thai ESL learners) to support the claim that there is sociolinguistic variation and style shifting in interlanguage phonology, just as there is in the phonology of any natural language.

The findings are that interlanguage becomes permeable to a superordinate rule system in formal situations. In these data, the target language (English) acted as the superordinate rule system when the variable examined had no social meaning in the

native language (Thai), but when the variable was in fact strongly marked for social value in Thai, the native language (Thai) was adopted as the superordinate rule system. The latter style shifting involved transfer of a socially appropriate variant. Finally, it was found that monitoring (attention to speech) and conscious monitoring with a learned phonological rule operated on a sliding scale, increasing in formal contexts, and resulting in a style shift.

**82–92 Daltas, P.** (U. of Leeds). The concept of diglossia from a variationist point of view with reference to Greek. *Archivum Linguisticum* (London), **11**, 2 (1980), 65–88.

Ferguson's concept of 'diglossia' has fallen into disrepute among some linguists recently as it has not yielded explicit descriptions of the linguistic phenomena it refers to. Nevertheless, in a typical Fergusonian diglossic community such as that of today's Greece, native speakers still find it necessary to refer to Katharevusa and Demotiki (respectively, the 'high' and 'low' varieties) in their everyday linguistic exchanges. The article shows, with particular reference to the inflectional morphology of the verb in Modern Greek Koine (MGK), exactly why the diglossia explanation fails to satisfy the requirements of a fastidious descriptive linguistics. More importantly, evidence is given to show that within the concept of variationism linguists can avoid the embarrassment of ignoring native speakers' intuitions concerning diglossic contrasts just because the traditional diglossic model does not seem to work.

**82–93 Ferguson, Charles A.** (Stanford U.). 'Foreigner talk' as the name of a simplified register. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (The Hague), **28** (1981), 9–18.

The author coined the term 'foreigner talk' (FT) in 1968 as a parallel to 'baby talk', then fairly widely used, to refer to the particular register used primarily to address foreigners, i.e. people without full native competence. Like 'baby talk', the new term was ambiguous, suggesting also the kind of language used by foreigners learning the language. FT is a simplified register, but the norm from which it is modified has never been properly defined. Register analysis is one of the most promising tools of discourse analysis. Register variation is universal. The concept of 'register' is valid in the same way that the concept of 'dialect' is valid. Register systems change diachronically and differ cross-linguistically. The notions of simplicity and simplification cause confusion but it is probably better to refine than to abandon them.

The most promising research method is the extensive recording of members of selected speech communities as they interact with foreigners in various situations. The controlled interview, in which the investigator plays the role of the foreigner, is a promising technique. The term 'foreigner talk' has tended to direct research towards the identification of a register and comparison with other registers. The disadvantage is a tendency to inhibit research on the individual and interactional aspects of the phenomena and to hinder the study of FT phenomena which are not comparable with other registers. The two most active areas of research at present relate to language acquisition and to the social problems of foreign workers in Europe [references]. [Bibliography: see *Bibliographies* section.]

**82–94 Rintell, Ellen** (Boston U. School of Medicine). Sociolinguistic variation and pragmatic ability: a look at learners. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (The Hague), 27 (1981), 11–34.

The experiment described here aimed to determine the effects of the age and the sex of the addressee on the level of deference with which two types of directives, the request and the suggestion, were made to learners of English and to determine to what extent a comparison of Spanish and English utterances will suggest transfer of native-language pragmatic strategies, or, on the other hand, a separate, second-language set of contextual requirements for deference and rules to code them linguistically. Results indicate that the subject's linguistic behaviour was indeed influenced by contextual factors. When the analyses of the native and target-language data were compared, both similarities and differences were found in the responses to the social variables. Specifically, while in both languages an older listener seemed to elicit a rise in the level of deference of requests, none of the other effects or interactions were the same for both languages. In addition, there appears to be a general reduction of the deference level of both types of directive in the target language (English).

The differences between the native- and target-language behaviour suggest that these learners are at some stage in their second-language development where they are somewhat influenced by prior knowledge of the pragmatic conventions of their native language while at the same time establishing separate estimations of the deference requirements in various contexts when they are speaking the target language. Comparable data from native English speakers is necessary, as is a methodology for examining the variety of linguistic forms which the learner knows how to use to perform a given speech act.

## PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

**82–95 Carroll, John M.** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). Creative analogy and language evolution. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), 9, 6 (1980), 595–617.

The English *good and* intensifier is discussed as an example of a form that is acceptable even though ungrammatical, both synchronically and diachronically. The construction is analysed as a case of creative analogy: the extension of a grammatically generated form to a new function, one for which it has no direct grammatical justification. From the perspective of a 'dynamic' theory of language acquisition and evolution, it is argued that such forms constitute a new sort of evidence regarding the nature of language universals.

**82–96 Carroll, John M.** Naming and describing in social communication. *Language and Speech* (Hampton Hill, Mddx), 23, 4 (1980), 309–22.

Naming and describing provide referential labels for entities. They seem to have much in common, but they also seem to be distinct. The social communication task developed by Krauss *et al.* (1977) provides a functional model of how naming and



describing are related and yet distinct modes of reference. Eighteen of Krauss's original dialogue transcripts were reanalysed in order to characterise both the sequential relation between naming and describing (i.e. how a referential description is shortened into a name through use) and the structural relation between the two reference types (i.e. what parts of antecedent descriptive phrases are abbreviated and composed to form the consequent name).

**82-97 Cocking, Rodney R.** (Educational Testing Service, Princeton) and **McHale, Susan** (U. of North Carolina). A comparative study of the use of pictures and objects in assessing children's receptive and productive language. *Journal of Child Language* (Cambridge), **8**, 1 (1981), 1-13.

A methodological study was designed to investigate two aspects of children's language knowledge and children's uses of pictures and objects when demonstrating their language skills. Sixty-eight 4- and 5-year-olds were randomly assigned to one of six treatment groups, matched for SES, sex, and age. Subjects were individually tested with one of the six measures: language comprehension using object stimuli; comprehension with picture stimuli; comprehension where there were choices among object stimuli; language production using object stimuli; production with picture stimuli; or production with choices among the object stimuli. Main effects for stimulus medium and response mode were both significant, as well as the interaction. The discussion is oriented towards the developmental controversy around receptive and productive language skills and the impact of the representational medium upon performance in assessment tasks.

**82-98 De Bleser, Ria** (Dept. of Neurology, RWTH Aachen). Einblick in die Arbeitsweisen der aachener Aphasiegruppe. [A survey of the research done by the aphasia group at Aachen.] *Deutsche Sprache* (Berlin), **4** (1980), 327-41.

A survey is given of the interdisciplinary research on the relation between brain and language performed at the Department of Neurology, RWTH Aachen. Since aphasia is a disturbance of the language system resulting from localisable neurological lesions, data obtained from psycholinguistic experiments with aphasic patients can provide external evidence for existing linguistic theories, and lead to the development of alternative models about psycholinguistic models and operations. This is documented by a report of the results of experiments on lexical organisation and functioning. The presentation of a German-Dutch project on syntax delineates the methodology.

**82-99 Fodor, Janet Dean** (U. of Connecticut) and **Frazier, Lyn** (U. of Massachusetts). Is the human sentence parsing mechanism an ATN? *Cognition* (Lausanne), **8**, 4 (1980), 417-59.

How people parse incoming speech is a fundamental question in psycholinguistics. The paper is a contribution to the debate over a suitable model; specifically, whether human processing can be adequately modelled, in computational terms, by an Augmented Transition Network. However, ATN theory defines an infinite class of mechanisms, so the interesting question is: which particular ATN? Relevant evidence

would come from the relative parsing times, the resemblance of errors between the model and human subjects, and so on. In replying to Wanner (1980), which defended a simple ATN model, the authors respond to criticisms of their Sausage Machine model, which has a two-stage structure and separates grammatical information from the plans determining its use. The lengthy discussion of parsing principles focuses on Minimal Attachment, Local Association and Right Association.

**82-100 Gekoski, William L.** (Queen's U., Kingston, Ontario). Language acquisition context and language organisation in bilinguals. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), 9, 5 (1980), 429-49.

A distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism has been employed to conceptualise organisation in bilinguals. Compound bilinguals are those who acquired their languages in a joint context and therefore are presumed to store linguistic information interdependently. Coordinates include those who acquired their languages in separate contexts and therefore are presumed to maintain independent linguistic stores. To study the usefulness of this distinction, Spanish-English and English-Spanish compound and coordinate bilinguals were asked to give intra- and interlingual free and restricted word associations to equivalent English and Spanish stimuli for which the responses of monolingual speakers were not equivalent. As predicted, compound bilinguals gave significantly more equivalent responses and responded significantly faster than did coordinates. However, since these differences were only modest in size, they cannot be interpreted as supporting the usefulness of the compound-coordinate distinction. None of the predictions regarding the effect of proficiency on performance were supported. Differences as a function of native language, type of association task, and association conditions were obtained and are discussed.

**82-101 Poplack, Shana** (City U. of New York). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL: toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics* (The Hague), 18, 7/8 (1980), 581-618.

The occurrence of code-switching, or the seemingly random alternation of two languages both between and within sentences, has been shown to be governed not only by extra-linguistic but also linguistic factors. For the balanced bilingual, code-switching appears to be subject to an 'equivalence constraint': i.e. it tends to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a surface syntactic rule of either language.

If correct, the equivalence constraint on code-switching may be used to measure degree of bilingual ability. It was hypothesised that equivalence would either be violated by non-fluent bilinguals, or that switch points which are 'risky' in terms of syntactic well-formedness (i.e. those which occur within a sentence) would tend to be avoided altogether. To test this hypothesis, the speech of 20 Puerto Rican residents of a stable bilingual community, exhibiting varying degrees of bilingual ability, was analysed. Quantitative analysis of their switches revealed that both fluent and non-fluent bilinguals were able to code-switch frequently and still maintain gram-

maticity in both L1 and L2. While fluent bilinguals tended to switch at various syntactic boundaries within the sentence, non-fluent bilinguals favoured switching between sentences, allowing them to participate in the code-switching mode, without fear of violating a grammatical rule of either of the languages involved.

These results suggest that the code-switching mode proceeds from that area of the bilingual's grammar where the surface structures of L1 and L2 overlap, and that code-switching, rather than representing debasement of linguistic skill, is actually a sensitive indicator of bilingual ability.

**82-102 Vuchinich, Samuel** (Rose-Hulman Inst. of Technology, Terre Haute, Indiana). Logical relations and comprehension in conversation. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (New York), **9**, 5 (1980), 473-501.

This study examines how logical relations (e.g. causality and identity) in spoken discourse affect comprehension. Research on cohesion, which shows that specific unit template structures link discourse and text together, is used to build a model of language comprehension that places template structures at the base of a context comparison operation. Subjects were engaged in ordinary conversation with a confederate trained to produce specific types of logical utterances unobtrusively. The comprehension model predicted that systematically different latencies, topical response, and remedial response of subjects would follow the test items produced by the confederate. The data support the predictions. It is shown that comprehension occurs via one processing path if there is a direct tie between the target item and the immediately prior item in discourse, and a separate processing path if the tie is between the target item and the earlier context. Subject response in conversation is shown to display useful evidence on the nature of comprehension achieved. The findings specify and extend the recent research on the integration of new information into a textual structure.

**82-103 Warden, David** (U. of Strathclyde). Children's understanding of 'ask' and 'tell'. *Journal of Child Language* (Cambridge), **8**, 1 (1981), 139-49.

Evidence produced by Chomsky (1969) has suggested that 5-year-old children comprehend the verb *tell* more easily than the verb *ask*. This paper analyses the interpersonal context of appropriate use of the verbs and reports the results of two comprehension experiments with 5-year-olds. The first experiment, in attempting to correct an apparent methodological weakness in Chomsky's study, reverses her results and elicits a significantly higher frequency of correct responses to the verb *ask* than the verb *tell*: the second experiment demonstrates that this age group can consistently identify the speech acts to which the words *ask* and *tell* refer. The results are interpreted as support for the conclusion that 5-year-olds can comprehend the meaning of *ask* and *tell*, but that their linguistic comprehension is easily dominated by contextual and interpersonal expectations.

## PRAGMATICS

**82-104 Corsaro, William A.** (Indiana U.). Communicative processes in studies of social organisation: sociological approaches to discourse analysis. *Text* (The Hague), 1, 1 (1981), 5-63.

Theoretical models of discourse are reviewed as well as recent research on discourse processes in a number of substantive areas within sociology. The aim is to call attention to the theoretical and research potential of discourse analysis for sociology, and also to provide a sociological perspective regarding the strengths and limitations of interdisciplinary models of discourse. The first part contains a detailed discussion and evaluation of three discourse models developed by sociologists (Sacks and Schegloff, Goffman, and Cicourel) as well as two additional sociologically relevant models developed outside sociology (Labov and Fanshel, and Gumperz). The second part reviews recent research on discourse processes in several substantive areas in sociology.

All the models stress the importance of (a) studying actual discourse in natural settings – rich, detailed, and naturally occurring discourse events can be audio- or video-taped with minimal disruption; (b) social context and participants' abilities not only to adapt but to create and transform contextual features of discourse events. Most of the models emphasise the importance of multiple levels of information processing. Cicourel's work is important for his original approach to research methodology.

**82-105 Enkvist, Nils Erik** (Åbo Akademi, Finland). Experiential iconicism in text strategy. *Text* (The Hague), 1, 1 (1981), 97-111.

In today's text and discourse linguistics we are ready for a return to the old rhetorical observation that certain aspects of linear ordering in texts must be viewed as icons of experience. In many instances, the order of constituents and clauses within the sentence and of sentences within the text can be manipulated to reveal isomorphisms with the order of experiences of, or things in, the world. Correspondingly, when decoding texts we actually tend to maximise their information by interpreting linear order as an exponent of temporal, spatial, causal, or socially conditioned order, whenever such interpretations seem plausible in light of the scripts, scenes, and frames of our experience.

**82-106 Ferrara, Alessandro.** An extended theory of speech acts: appropriateness conditions for subordinate acts in sequences. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), 4, 2 (1980), 233-52.

Speech act theory holds that to say is, *inter alia*, to do. The conditions which relate utterances conventionally to certain acts, e.g. orders, promises, apologies, are called appropriateness conditions. So far, the theory has only taken very simple verbal contexts into account; the paper examines the question as to whether the appropriateness conditions are affected by being embedded in sequences of speech acts, as happens in real activities such as conversing, debating, or teaching. For sequences, rather than isolated speech acts, standard conditions are still necessary, but no longer

sufficient to determine appropriateness. The way in which being part of a sequence can affect appropriateness is sketched, as are the principles underlying assessment of speech acts by hearers. The question as to whether there is such a thing as overall appropriateness beyond each component act is discussed. A speech act theory extended to sequences must be based on an empirical theory of verbal interaction.

**82-107 Kristensen, Kjeld and Ohlsson, Stig Örjan** (U. of Copenhagen). Mixed-language homogeneity analysis. *Studia Linguistica* (Lund, Sweden), **34**, 2 (1980), 141–67.

The paper presents the results of analysis of mixed (Danish–Swedish, Danish–English, vernacular–standard Danish) written and spoken texts. The theoretical point of departure is Weinreich’s critique of Saussure for failing to recognise that in synchronic linguistics the demand for homogeneity is primary. The quantitative method described here is designed to measure the relative mixedness of texts. The procedure involves three steps: (1) morph-based ‘total’ analysis, (2) text profiles, (3) measurement of degrees of variation. By this technique comparative figures are reached on a base of very dense observations; moreover, the use of the morpheme as the analytical unit receives support from psycholinguistic and folk-linguistic evidence. The method may be naturally combined with other forms of computer analysis.

**82-108 Pörksen, Uwe.** Populäre Sachprosa und naturwissenschaftliche Sprache. [The prose of popular non-fiction versus scientific language.] *LiLi: Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* (Göttingen, FRG), **10**, 40 (1980), 25–43.

Features of popular non-fiction prose are described; scientific German is used as the basis for comparison. The classification of non-fiction literature (which makes up 80 per cent of the German book market at present) and the commercial conditions of its production are briefly discussed. Authors of this type of literature put more stress on its appeal to the reading public than on concentration on subject matter. A title from a *Reader’s Digest* mail-order catalogue (*Die Naturwunder der Erde*) and other examples are used to illustrate the linguistic and stylistic devices used in the adaptation and translation of scientific literature into popular literature.

The use of the basic functions of language is examined in Hoimar von Ditfurth’s non-fiction book in narrative form, *Im Anfang war der Wasserstoff*. As a result of the orientation towards the reading public, instead of concentration on the subject matter, the four main communicative functions – phatic, emotive, conative, poetic – become more important and the four typical scientific functions – referential and distinctive, organisational, hypothetical and interrogative, metalingual – are handled communicatively.

**82–109 Starke, Günter.** Zur mittelbaren Wiedergabe von Rede- und Reflexionsinhalten im Deutschen. [Concerning the indirect reporting of speech and thought in German.] *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* (Berlin, GDR), **33**, 6 (1980), 664–76.

The indirect reporting of speech and abstract thought is examined. The function of this method of communication is to inform, to clarify and to instigate activity by means of interesting or persuading others. The interdependency of syntactic, lexical and morphological aspects of language and their role in speech reporting are studied.

The reporting procedure is divided into three categories: 'descriptive' (because the initial utterance or thought is expressed in the light of subsequent occurrence); 'reproductive' (in so far as reported speech does correspond in content to the original); 'modifying' (in that the form has changed because the reporter does comment either implicitly or explicitly).