THE NOTTINGHAM LINGUISTIC CIRCULAR

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November 1973

Edited on behalf of the Nottingham Linguistic Circle
by
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and
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* based on meetings of the Nottingham Linguistic Circle

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EDITORIAL

As NLC enters its third year of publication, we are able to present to our readers a journal which represents, in the variety of its reports and articles, a continuing growth of interest in all branches of Linguistics, and a promising expansion of the subject at the University of Nottingham. Our Circular is beginning to enjoy a modest prosperity, and its acceptance into a fraternity of similar publications is reflected in the list of bulletins and broadsheets which we now receive from other institutions.

From the conference reports which we publish in this issue, it will be apparent that Nottingham is beginning to achieve some status as a centre of linguistic studies. In recent times a number of national and international conferences have taken place here, and it is expected that in the course of the next few years Nottingham will be placed even more boldly on the European conference map.

Within the University, we continue with the necessarily patient work of fostering interest in Linguistics, particularly as a subject with interdisciplinary significance, in the hope of securing new staff appointments and perhaps creating the nucleus of a department. Some of this work involves political lobbying and the drafting of astute memoranda. On the other hand, a more congenial aspect of our publicist activities is represented by the fortnightly Staff Seminar on Grammar, which is being held during the current term. One of the team of speakers at the seminar is Christopher Butler, a new and very effective addition to the staff of the English department. We welcome him, and take this opportunity of oongratulating him on his most recent distinction, the Gold Medal of the Institute of Linguists. Readers of NLC will know something of his work from the NLC articles on "The language German chemists use" and "A contrastive study of modality in English, French, German and Italian".

The contents of our present number represent fairly obviously the tension - apparent from our very first issue - between the theoretical and the pragmatic; though perhaps this edition puts more than usual emphasis on the descriptive tasks and sociological involvements of linguistics. It may be that this reflects a temperamental preference on the part of both editors. If so, we would by all means assure prospective contributors that a preference does not constitute a censorship.

R. Hartmann W. Nash

How to obtain your copies of the NLC:

(a) Members of the Nottingham Linguistic Circle (subscription £1.00) receive their copies free of charge.

(b) Single issues are 25p, two issues per volume are 50p, including postage. Send cheque or postal order to "Nottingham Linguistic Circle", c/o Language Centre, University of Nottingham, NG7 2RD.

For an index to past issues, see the back page.

NOTICES AND PROSPECTS

(1) Nottingham Linguistic Circle programme:

On Tuesday 27 November at 7.30 p.m., Mr. E. Carney, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics, University of Manchester, will address the Circle on Dimensions of phonological space.

On Wednesday 5 December at 7.30 p.m., Mr. R.P. Fawcett, Senior Lecturer in Language Studies at the West Midland College of Education Walsall, will speak on Some current issues relating to levels in a systemic model of language. Perhaps members would like to do some preparatory reading in systemic linguistics for this occasion.

Both meetings will take place in the Audio-Visual Room of the University Language Centre.

Plans for 1974:

Monday 28 January	-	Dr. P. Seuren, Magdalen College, Oxford, on Lexical islands and how to get there.
Friday 8 February	-	Prof. J. Britton, University of London, on Language and social class.
Wednesday 13 March	-	Dr. D. Crystal, University of Reading, on Current trends in child language studies.
Monday 6 May	-	Dr. G.N. Leech, University of Lancaster, on Semantics and metalanguage.

Further details of these meetings will be circulated to paid-up members.

(2) Forthcoming meetings:

London Nov. 29-30, 1973	International Conference on the Future of Communication Studies, c/o CNAA Conference Organiser, Heathrow Hotel, London Airport, Hounslow, Middlesex.
London Dec. 14, 1973	International Meeting and AGM of the Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing, King's College London, 10.15 a.m. c/o Joan Smith, 6 Sevenoaks Ave., Heaton Moor, Stockport, Cheshire SK4 4AW.
San Diego, Calif. Dec. 28-30, 1973	Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, c/o LSA Secretariat, 1611 N. Kent St., Arlington, Va. USA-22209.
Coventry Dec. 31, 1973 - Jan. 3, 1974	Annual Course and Conference of the Joint Council of Language Associations, University of Warwick, c/o MLA, 2 Manchester Square, London W1M 5RF.

London Jan. 2-5, 1974	Meeting of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language, c/o IATEFL, 16 Alexandra Gardens, Hounslow, Middlesex.
Honolulu, Hawaii Jan. 2-7, 1974	First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, c/o L. Reid, Pacific and Asian Linguistic Institute, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, USA-96822.
Cambridge Jan. 7-8, 1974	Romance Linguistics Seminar II, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, c/o M. Harris, Department of Modern Languages, University of Salford, M5 4WT.
London Jan. 25, 1974	Philological Society Lecture by Dr. H. Carter "Malcomb Guthrie's approach to syntax", King's College London, 4.15 p.m.
London Feb. 15, 1974	Philological Society Lecture by Prof. C. Dowsett "Magical terms in Armenian", King's College London, 4.15 p.m.
Nottingham Feb. 20, 1974	Fourth Meeting of the Midland Branch of the Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing. Lectures by A.R. Pester (Wolverhampton Polytechnic) on "Automatic sorting of word groups, and its value in language teaching", and by Susan Hockey (Atlas Computer Laboratory Didcot) on "Problems of input and output of non-standard alphabets". University Language Centre A-V Room C72, 2.30 p.m.
Oxford Mar. 9, 1974	Philological Society Lecture by Mr. R. Coleman "Greek influences on the syntax of classical Latin", Somerville College, 4.15 p.m.
Lancaster Mar. 26-29, 1974	First British Conference on Computers in Higher Education. University of Lancaster, c/o Conference Dept., National Computing Centre, Quay House, Quay Street, Manchester M3 3HU.
Cardiff Apr. 1-5, 1974	Third Symposium on the Use of Computers in Literary and Linguistic Research. c/o R. Churchhouse, University College, 39 Park Place, Cardiff, South Wales CF1 3BB.
Hatfield Apr. 8-11, 1974	Annual Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, c/o R. Sussex, Dept. of Linguistic Science, University of Reading, RG6 2AA.
Napoli, Italy Apr. 15-20, 1974	Fourteenth International Congress of Romance Linguistics, c/o Segretariato del 14 Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia Romanza, Via Mezzocannone 16, Napoli, I-80134.

Nice, France May 2-7, 1974	Congress of the International Translators Federation, c/o FIT Secrétariat générale, Heiveldstraat 269, St. Amandsberg, B-9110.
London May 10, 1974	Anniversary Meeting and Philological Society Lecture by Prof. R. Auty "Unstressed vowels in Russian: the problem of akan'je", King's College London, 4.15 p.m.
Milano, Italy June 2-6, 1974	First Congress of the International Association for Semiotic Studies, c/o A. Laneve, Istituto Gemelli, Corso Monforte 33, Milano.
Jyväskylä, Finland Summer 1974	Eighth Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, c/o W. Winter, Universität Kiel, Olshausenstrasse 40-60, D-2300.
Cambridge June 15, 1974	Philological Society Lecture by Dr. R. Posner "Ordering of historical phonological rules in Romance", Downing College, 4.15 p.m.
Amherst, Mass. June 24 - Aug. 16, 1974	Linguistic Institute of the LSA, c/o LSA Secretariat, 1611 N. Kent St., Arlington, Va. USA-22209.
New York City Dec. 28-30, 1974	Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, c/o LSA Secretariat, 1611 N. Kent St., Arlington, Va, USA-22209.
Nottingham Apr. 6-7, 1975	Ninth Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, c/o R. Hartmann, University of Nottingham, NG7 2RD.
Nottingham Apr. 6-8, 1975	Annual Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, c/o C. Butler, University of Nottingham, NG7 2RD.
Leeds Aug. 17-23, 1975	Eighth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, c/o Department of Adult Education, Leeds University, LS2 9JT.
Stuttgart, Germany Aug. 25-30, 1975	Fourth International Congress of Applied Linguistics, c/o D. Riebecke, Hallschlag 150, Stuttgart 50, D-7000.

(3) Reports on conferences:

The Spring Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, held at the University of Hull from 28 to 30 March 1973, ranged over a wide variety of topics. Particularly interesting were the papers by Mr. D. Allerton and Mr. A. Cruttenden on the syntax and intonation of English sentence adverbials, and also the attempt by Prof. R. Ohmann to apply Austin's concept of the illocutionary act to stylistic analysis. Mr. G. Nixon's paper on "Some consequences of sociolinguistic analysis" acted as a salutary reminder of the kinds of data which any study of linguistic performance must take into account. (C.S. Butler)

* * * * *

The Colloquium on the Formal Semantics of Natural Language held in Cambridge from 9 to 12 April 1973 I found a bewildering experience. Participants were allowed 20 minutes of exposition only, but few had taken the trouble to edit their papers accordingly, and there were no preprints to digest at leisure. Add to this that several papers explored the relation to natural language analysis of branches of logic quite unfamiliar to me, and you will see my difficulty. Of the papers I understood, I found Timothy Potts' "Objections to model-theoretic semantics" full of common sense ("...meaning is like the Cheshire cat's grin, inseparable from some expression of which it is the meaning") and Yorick Wilks' "Preference semantics" perhaps the most stimulating - in which he set as a goal an account of the correct understanding of utterances rather than an account of all their possible readings. Some of the papers are now available from the Linguistic Agency, University of Trier: Potts, Partee, Lakoff, Lyons, Seuren, Sgall, Ross and Vennemann.

(C.J. Pountain)

* * * * *

The Inaugural General Meeting of the Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing was held last April at King's College, University of London. It was reported that regional branches of the Association were being set up, including a Midlands group which had already met at the University of Aston. It was proposed that meetings should be held termly in London, in addition to the various branch meetings. The main organ of the Association would be a bulletin, issued three times per year.

Three meetings of the Midlands branch of the ALLC have so far taken place, to discuss papers on available programs, on the sorting of ancient manuscripts, and on German chemical texts.

(C.S. Butler)

* * * * *

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea was held last August at Poznań. With the exception of the Polish hosts, by far the largest contingents of linguists had come from West Germany and Czechoslovakia to read and discuss a dozen papers on a wide range of topics, from phonetics to semantics and from hydronymy to neurolinguistics. New evidence was presented on issues raised by transformational-generative grammar (C. Rohrer on 'tenses' and H. Krenn on 'deletions' in German and Romance languages) and on the status of context in considerations of syntactic 'order' (J. Firbas) and 'focus' (P. Sgall).

(R. Hartmann)

* * * * *

I heard about the First International Conference on Historical Linguistics (Edinburgh, September 1973) almost by accident, but it was a lucky accident; I found the papers consistently stimulating and of a high overall standard. The wheel, it seems, is coming full circle; again and again the gospel was preached that if a generative theory of language change finds embarrassment in dealing with processes like analogy, then the theory as it stands, and not analogy, ought to be ditched. The stars of the gathering were Josef Vachek, present dean of the Prague School, who was always ready and able to cite an arm's length of references to show that some points at least were not exactly new to linguistics, and Raimo Anttila, who took on all

comers in defence of his view that "human minds are governed perhaps more by habit than logic". Also present and lively in discussion were Kiparsky, Andersen and Vennemann. The proceedings will be published by Reidel. (C.J. Pountain)

* * * * *

The British Association for Applied Linguistics met at Nottingham in September for a Seminar on Recent Descriptions of English and its Sixth Annual Meeting. Two of the four authors of the new Grammar of Contemporary English (R. Quirk and G.N. Leech) talked about their experience of compiling a comprehensive reference grammar, J. Sinclair and colleagues reported on progress in 'discourse analysis', and several speakers dealt with the relationships between theoretical and descriptive linguistics as a discipline and the need for adequate teaching material for the training of English teachers. The most outstanding feature of the meetings was the call for 'notional' and 'situational' language teaching syllabuses (D. Wilkins) and more detailed linguistic descriptions, e.g. of children's language acquisition and of contrastive language structures. The practice of holding seminars on specific subjects was praised and several proposals were made for such meetings in the future. (R. Hartmann)

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(4) Journals and bulletins received in exchange for NLC:

AILA Bulletin. Stockholm
Bielefelder Beiträge zur Sprachlehrforschung. Univ. Bielefeld
Bulletin, Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing. Manchester
Bulletin, Sprachenzentrum. Univ. Augsburg
Bulletin, Internationale Vereinigung Sprache und Wirtschaft. Univ. Erlangen
Cahiers Linguistique d'Ottawa. Linguistics Department, Univ. Ottawa
Der Sprachmittler. Informationshefte des Sprachendienstes der Bundeswehr. Hürth
English. Eine Zeitschrift für den Englischlehrer. Cornelsen, Berlin
Fremdsprachenunterricht. Zeitschrift für den Fremdsprachenunterricht in der DDR. Volk und Wissen, Berlin
The Informant. Newsletter of the Department of Linguistics. Western Michigan Univ., Kalamazoo
IRAL. International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching. Groos, Heidelberg
Language and Lore. Univ. Sheffield
Mededelingen, Instituut voor Toegepaste Taalkunde, Univ. Nijmegen
Mitteilungsblatt für Dolmetscher und Übersetzer. Germersheim
PAKS-Arbeitsberichte. Univ. Stuttgart
Rapport, Institut de Phonétique, Univ. Bruxelles
Reports, Phonetics Department, Univ. Leeds
Stuttgarter Papiere. Univ. Stuttgart
Wiener Linguistische Gazette. Univ. Vienna
Work in Progress. Linguistics Department, Univ. Edinburgh
Yazigí. New Ideas in Language Teaching. São Paolo

(5) New publications:

J.P.B. ALLEN, S.P. CORDER Eds. The Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics. 4 vols. Oxford U.P., London
J.M. ANDERSON Structural Aspects of Language Change, Longman, London
J.D. APRESJAN Principles and Methods of Contemporary Structural Linguistics. Mouton, The Hague
E. ASHWORTH Language in the Junior School. Arnold, London
C.&J.N. BAILEY Variation and Linguistic Theory. CAL, Washington D.C.
R.W. BAILEY, J.L. ROBINSON Eds. Varieties of Present-Day English. Macmillan, New York
C.L. BARNHART et al. Dictionary of New English. Langenscheidt/Longman, München/London
K. BAUMGÄRTNER et al. Funk-Kolleg Sprache. Eine Einführung in die moderne Linguistik. 2 vols. Fischer, Frankfurt
P. CHRISTOPHERSEN Second-Language Learning. Myth and Reality. Penguin Books
CILT Language and Language Teaching. Current Research in Britain 1971-72. Longman, London
S.P.CORDER Introducing Applied Linguistics. Penguin Books
P. DOUGHERTY, G. THORNTON Language Study, the Teacher and the Learner. Arnold, London
L. DROZD, W. SEIBICKE Deutsche Fach- und Wissenschaftssprache. Brandstetter, Wiesbaden
R. CHAPMAN Linguistics and Literature. Arnold, London
J. DUBOIS et al. Dictionnaire de Linguistique. Larousse, Paris
T. EBNETER Strukturalismus und Transformationalismus. List, München
T. von ELEK, M. OSKARSSON Teaching Foreign Language Grammar to Adults. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm
S.H. ELGIN What is Linguistics? Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
N.E. ENKVIST Linguistic Stylistics. Mouton, The Hague
J.T. GRINDER, S.H. ELGIN Guide to Transformational Grammar. History, Theory, Practice. Holt, New York
R. GURNEY Language, Brain and Interactive Processes. Arnold, London
M.A.K. HALLIDAY Explorations in the Functions of Language. Arnold, London
B. HARRISON English as a Second and Foreign Language. Arnold, London
R.R.K. HARTMANN Ed. German Linguistics. Papers from the BAAL Seminar at Nottingham March 1972. TBL, Tübingen
R.R.K. HARTMANN The Language of Linguistics. Reflections on Linguistic Terminology, with Particular Reference to 'Level' and 'Rank'. TBL, Tübingen
R.S. JACKENDOFF Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
W.E. JONES, J. LAVER Eds. Phonetics in Linguistics. A Book of Readings. Longman, London
J.F. KAVANAGH, I.G. MATTINGLY Language by Ear and by Eye. The Relationships between Speech and Reading. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
F. KIEFER, N. RUWET Generative Grammar in Europe. Reidel, Dordrecht
J.P. KIMBALL Ed. Syntax and Semantics. Seminar Press, New York
E.F.K. KOERNER Ferdinand de Saussure. Origin and Development of His Linguistic Theory in Western Studies of Language. Vieweg, Braunschweig

J. PIAGET Main Trends in Interdisciplinary Research. Allen & Unwin, London
R. QUIRK, S. GREENBAUM A University Grammar of English. Longman, London
J. REY-DEBOVE Ed. Recherches sur les systèmes signifiants. Mouton, The Hague
D. ROBEY Ed. Structuralism. An Introduction. Oxford U.P., London
C.&H. ROSEN The Language of Primary School Children. Penguin Books
D. SHARP Language in Bilingual Communities. Arnold, London
F. SMITH Psycholinguistics and Reading. Holt, New York
N.V. SMITH The Acquisition of Phonology. A Case Study. Cambridge U.P.
B. SOWINSKI Deutsche Stilistik. Fischer, Frankfurt
R.P. STOCKWELL et al. The Major Syntactic Structures of English. Holt, New York
G.W. TURNER Stylistics. Penguin Books
S. ULLMANN Language and Style. Blackwell, Oxford
I. WIESE Zur Semantik nominaler Wortgruppen in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Niemeyer, Halle/Leipzig

GENERATIVE SEMANTICS AND SEMANTICS

As was evident from questions asked after my talk to the Circle, Generative Semantics is a name which can well be misleading to those not acquainted with the history of generative grammar. In particular, it does not, to my mind, tell us much about semantics that we did not know before. Yet research within the lights of generative grammar has been concerning itself with the classic problem of the relations between form and meaning and has generally tended to the conclusion that in many important ways they are not to be thought of as separable levels of description. It is difficult to give a satisfactory account of Generative Semantics in a paragraph or two, but perhaps our readers will find useful a statement of some of its principal tenets, and of how in particular semantic considerations may find their place in a generative theory of language.

The overall model of linguistic description proposed by Chomsky (Aspects 1965) has a level known as 'deep structure'. Deep structure acts as input to both a 'semantic component' (which assigns semantic readings) and a 'transformational component' (which converts deep structures into surface forms); it is the output of the 'base', which contains 'phrase structure rules' (developing strings of basic syntactic categories) and 'lexical insertion rules' (converting these syntactic categories into lexical items drawn from the lexicon on the basis of syntactic and semantic compatibility, constraints regarding which are also formulated in the base). Thus (a) deep structure carries all information relevant to semantic interpretation - the transformational component may not change meaning materially, (b) all lexical insertion takes place prior to the application of transformations.

Generative Semantics claims that it is not appropriate to have a deep structure level in the grammar, since there are lexical items which should be introduced 'after' deep

structure in the transformational component and there are transformations which will be needed 'before' deep structure in the course of lexical insertion.

Arguments for the former claim appear in Lakoff (1971); they hinge on the fact that the verb dissuade means 'persuade (someone) not' rather than 'not persuade (someone)'; thus (1) is roughly equivalent to (2), but not to (3):

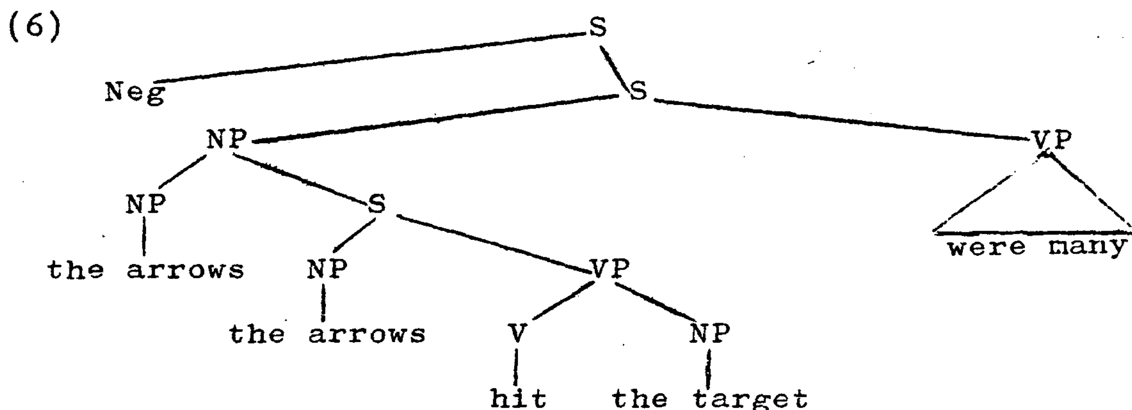
(1) I dissuaded Bill from dating many girls
(2) I persuaded Bill not to date many girls
(3) I didn't persuade Bill to date many girls.

This does not fit in very well with a very powerful constraint which Lakoff has proposed to solve an old problem: why

(4) Many arrows didn't hit the target
(5) The target wasn't hit by many arrows

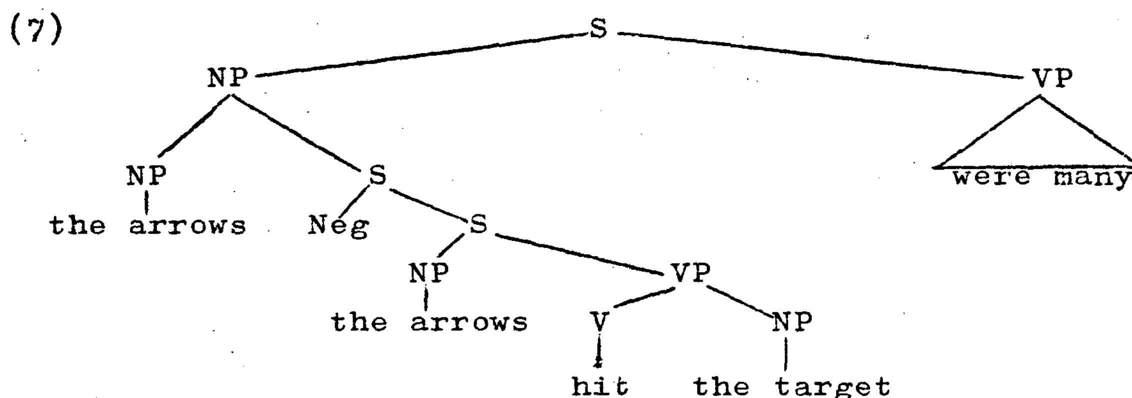
are not synonymous. (They are formally relatable by the passive rule, but this, being a transformational rule, must not alter meaning, as indeed passivisation normally does not - there is something different in the case of the pair (4) and (5), therefore.) Lakoff suggests that transformations have the following constraint on their application where they involve negatives (like n't) and quantifiers (like many). Consider the following two underlying tree-structures:

(6)



"The arrows which hit the target were not many"

(7)



"The arrows which didn't hit the target were many"

In (6) Neg 'commands' many; i.e. Neg is immediately dominated by an S node which also dominates many (via S_2 and VP). In (7) the situation is reversed: many commands Neg. The constraint can now be stated as follows: if there is a level of underlying structure where a negative commands a quantifier (as in (6)), then in the surface structures corresponding to this underlying structure the negative must precede the quantifier. The same constraint in reverse holds for (7). So the following surface structures are possible:
for (6):

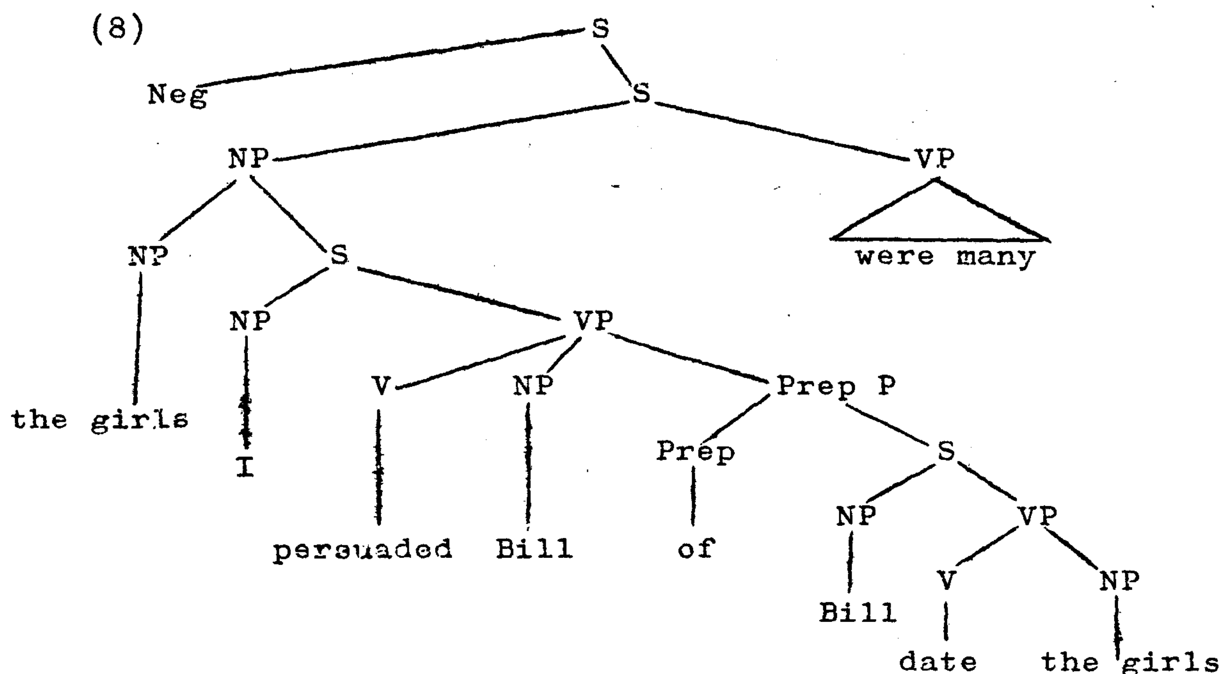
(6a) The target wasn't hit by many arrows
(6b) Not many arrows hit the target

and for (7):

(7a) Many arrows didn't hit the target.

These respond, it will be noted, to the paraphrases given for (6) and (7). Now (4) and (5) will not come from the same underlying structure and any rule relating them would be naturally blocked by the constraint outlined. Now we return to the case of dissuade. In (1) the negative element (dis-) precedes the quantifier (many); it therefore should command it in the underlying structure. But when we draw a tree satisfying these conditions:

(8)



"The girls were not many that I persuaded Bill to date"

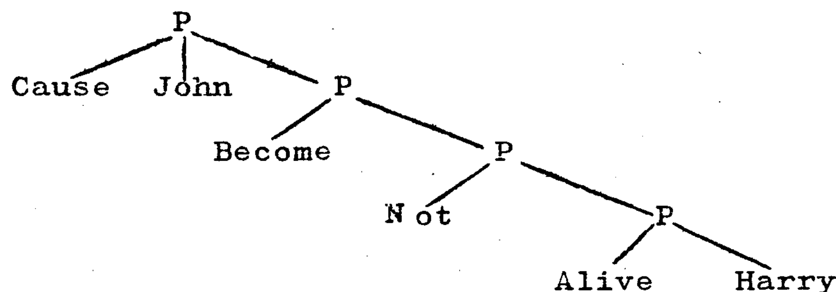
we are left only with the meaning of (3) (which of course itself satisfies the constraint, the negative still preceding the quantifier). The simplest solution to the dissuade problem seems to be to introduce dissuade as a substitute for persuade - NP - not after the constraint has ceased to operate (e.g. after the application of transformational rules like the passive). But this means the Aspects notion of lexical insertion before the transformational component has to be sacrificed.

The second claim above is outlined in McCawley (1968) and Postal (1971). Briefly, the Generative Semantic position seems to be (a) that there should be only one system of rules relating semantic representation to surface structure; (b) that the Aspects model suffers from the assumption that the lexicon is 'given'; it may be better to consider lexical items as surface units, with underlying structures containing only primitive semantic elements. Thus, surface lexical items are to be synthesised from a 'decomposed' underlying form. The sentence

(9) John killed Harry

will look something like

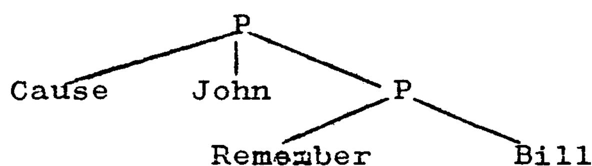
(10)



"John caused Harry to become not alive"

where P stands for 'predicate'; the possible surface realisations of this structure are reached by a transformation known as predicate-raising, whereby elements dominated by a P-node are 'raised' under the next higher P to prepare for lexicalisation. Thus, to take a simpler example:

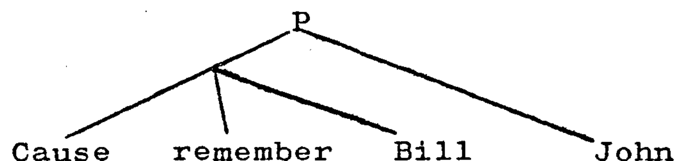
(11)



"John causes Bill to remember"

becomes

(12)



"John reminds Bill"

But such a transformational process would have to occur prior to lexical insertion in an Aspects model.

Lakoff's objection to the Aspects model was an empirical one, in the sense that in his view there was not a convenient way within the Aspects framework of introducing dissuade into surface structure. The Postal-McCawley objection is based rather on the notion of advantage to the grammar; by incorporating such processes of lexical insertion the grammar becomes more revealing. For example, it is now possible to explain more naturally the ambiguity of a sentence like

(13) John almost killed Harry

as either

(13a) "John almost caused Harry to become not alive"

or

(13b) "John caused Harry to become almost not alive".

Compare the contexts

(13c) John almost killed Harry, but then thought better of it
(13d) John almost killed Harry when he knocked him down.

Lexical decomposition also provides a more universal framework for linguistic description: in English, while there is a single lexical item possible for the predicate structure

(14) Cause - become - red 'redden'

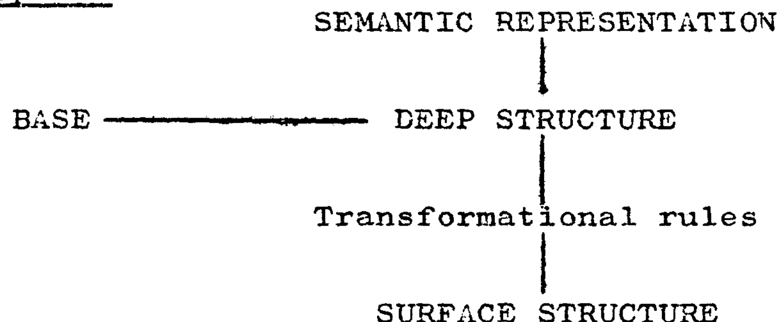
this is not the case with

(15) Cause - become - blue '*blueen'

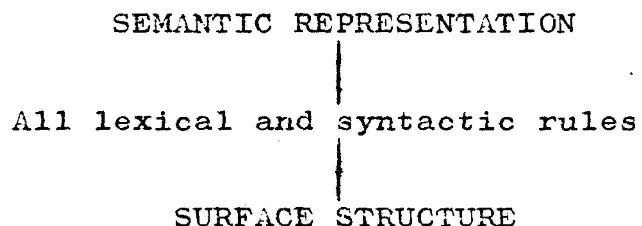
In Spanish, however, there are single lexical items for both the predicate structures (14) and (15): <u>enrojecer</u> ('to turn red'), <u>azulear</u> (' to turn blue'). Thus a notion of 'possible lexical item' is incorporated into our model; individual languages will have different possibilities for the collection of primitives.

The 'Generative Semantic hypothesis' should therefore be seen primarily as an alternative model of linguistic description to that of *Aspects*; the two views may be depicted as follows:

(16) *Aspects* model:



(17) Generative Semantics model:



Within the history of semantics, Generative Semantics represents a shift of attention away from units considered in isolation or in paradigmatic sets (e.g. problems of reference of individual words, componential analysis of parts of speech) towards a consideration of the semantic properties of larger word units, particularly whole sentences. Insofar as the notion of transformations as meaning-preserving rules has persisted as a central feature of generative grammar, the crucial question the linguist asks is always of a semantic type: which sentences are semantically equivalent or non-equivalent? If two sentences are semantically non-equivalent, they will have different underlying structures; if they are semantically equivalent, there is a good chance that similar underlying structures can be proposed for them. This is of course the natural corollary for semantics of Chomsky's viewing the sentence as a unit to be studied in its own right - the semantic structure of 'families of words' is abandoned in favour of that of 'families of sentences'.

Concern to relate sentences which were semantically equivalent led in the post-Aspects days to the postulation of increasingly abstract deep structures. Bach (1968), for example, suggests for the surface NP's in

(18) The professors signed a petition

a deep structure

(19) The (ones) who were professors signed (something) which was a petition.

The justification of such an analysis is that the grammar is made more revealing: the three surface negations of (18):

(18a) The professors DIDN'T sign a petition
(18b) The PROFESSORS didn't sign a petition
(18c) The professors didn't sign a PETITION

are naturally accounted for since they are negations respectively of the constituent sentences of (19):

(19a) The ones signed something
(19b) The ones were professors
(19c) Something was a petition.

Some attributive adjectives too have a possible origin in an underlying structure of the form

(20) The one (the one be Adj)

e.g.

(21) The one (the one was formerly president)

becomes

(21a) The former president

but this could not be developed from

(22) The president (*the president is former)

in the same way as

(23) The book (the book is red)

gives

(23a) The red book.

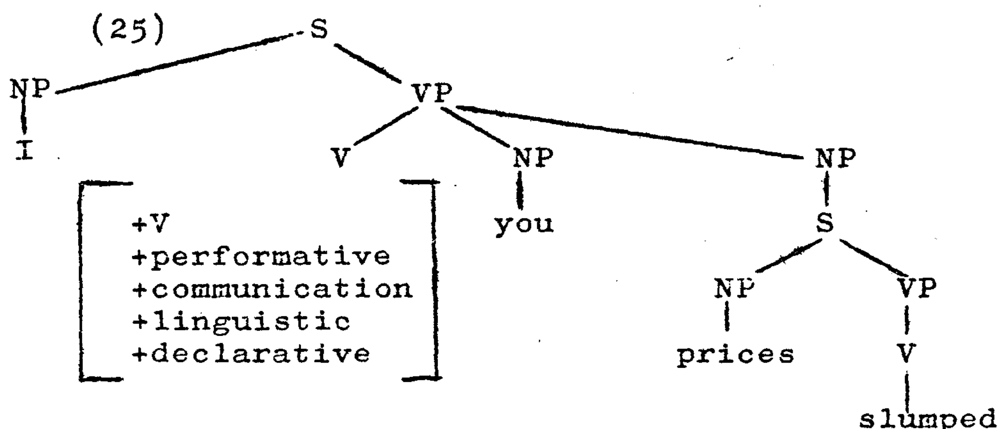
Bach (1968) goes on to propose that all lexical categories should be represented as logical predicates in this way. This could provide for a universal base structure with specific choices of actual lexical categories varying from language to language.

There are many other movements towards more abstract underlying structures. Lakoff (1970a) proposes that verbs, adjectives, prepositions and adverbs all belong to the same deep structure category - the only principal categories left are S, NP and VP which of course resemble the logical categories of proposition, argument and predicate. Ross (1970) claims that every declarative (assertive) sentence should be seen in deep structure as a sentence embedded in a higher performative sentence (like I declare to you); thus

(24) Prices slumped

has the underlying structure

(25)



Bach and Lakoff's work suggested that a marriage between logical analysis and linguistic analysis might be near at hand. Lakoff (1970b) goes so far as to say that the rules of grammar relate surface forms to their corresponding logical forms. He elaborates the properties of a 'natural logic' as, in particular, making possible an understanding of the relation between grammar and reasoning; allowing the unambiguous expression of concepts expressible in natural language; and being capable of accounting for all correct inferences made in natural language. Lakoff claims that there is interaction between grammatical and logical phenomena, and in particular that natural logic will require certain meaning-postulates which are crucial for explaining some ungrammaticalities of natural language: e.g. in Kartunnen's examples:

(26) It's certain that Sam will find a girl and possible that he will kiss her.

Here her refers to a girl; but this cannot be so in the ungrammatical

(27) *It's possible that Sam will find a girl and certain that he will kiss her.

The meaning-postulates we need to have stated are:

(28) CERTAIN (S) ⊃ POSSIBLE (S)
*POSSIBLE (S) ⊃ CERTAIN (S)

i.e., the certainty of a proposition implies its possibility, but not vice versa. It is only fair to point out that Lakoff is aware of the almost unlimited scope of 'natural logic'; his justification is that interesting results may be achieved if its investigation is set as a goal.

Ross's work suggests very much broader perspectives for semantics. In the higher performative sentence we have for the first time a representation of speaker and hearer (I and you) and the notion of speech act (V [+V, +performative, etc.]). There are many more 'felicity conditions' which will contribute to the acceptability or non-acceptability of a sentence of natural language; e.g. in

(29) Open the door

for the sentence to be appropriate there must be a door to refer to, the door must be closed, and there must be someone to address who can open the door. 'Politeness conditions' and other conditions concerning the attitude of the speaker might also be imagined. Notions of felicity conditions for speech acts are sometimes separated from semantics into 'pragmatics'; however, Lakoff (1973) claims that semantics and pragmatics are inseparable, principally because of the central position held by the performative hypothesis, which was syntactically and semantically motivated, but which obviously has important pragmatic status too.

The Generative Semanticists can therefore be seen to range very widely in their interest in the incorporation of semantic considerations into grammar. Their importance to semantics is that they have placed it, like syntax, on a sentential basis; they have claimed that it is inseparable from syntax and from pragmatics; and they have shown a way towards the relating of two formalisms of fundamental human abilities - logical and linguistic structures. We are still unclear about the actual representation of meaning; we are still groping for an adequate semantic metalanguage. But meaning-relations are at the centre of current linguistic investigations, and are liable to remain there for a long time, until we find that it is desirable or possible to lower our sights again.

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PERFORMANCE AND THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

(On 14 February 1973, Dr. D.J. Bruce, Lecturer in Psychology at the Dept. of Education, University of Cambridge, addressed the Nottingham Linguistic Circle on the subject of "Linguistic Performance". Dr. Bruce's talk, a summary of which is given below, was devoted in part to a general discussion of the value of descriptive studies of performance in providing material for a theory of cognitive development, and in part to an account of one of his own attempts to gauge, by controlled experiment, the syntactic competence of six-year-old children. W.N.)

Language acquisition, Dr. Bruce began, is a developmental study, and as such requires descriptions of performance at various stages. The need for descriptive work has perhaps been underestimated since the advent of transformational-generative theory. In this connection, Dr. Bruce recalled a pronouncement by David McNeill (1966): "It is possible to describe performance without explaining it, but if we wish to explain performance, we must show how it derives from competence; that is, how the regularities in a child's grammatical

knowledge produce regularities in his overt linguistic behaviour. Nothing short of this will suffice." This acceptable viewpoint, Dr. Bruce claimed, has hardened into an attitude of hostility towards the description of performance.

Descriptive studies, he asserted, are of value in their own right, and by no means threaten the work of the theoretician. For example, they are of value to the teacher, for they tell him what lies within the pupil's reach; they inform him, not solely as to the pupil's knowledge of language, but also as to the use to which the pupil is able to put language. They are of use in other fields, too. From them the speech therapist may gather data relevant to his study of the failure of language-skills; and from them also the psychologist and the sociologist may gather information on what is now often called 'communicative competence'.

If further justification for descriptive studies of performance were needed, it could be claimed that existing descriptions are in many respects far from comprehensive - for instance, the information yielded by vocabulary counts is patchy and incomplete. It should be remembered, furthermore, that "developmental norms change location with the passage of years" (Dr. Bruce's own words), so that some descriptions become out of date. Certain parameters of performance, moreover, are hardly mapped at all; e.g. versatility (fluency, adaptability, diversity); the ability to analyse and synthesise the component sounds of words - an ability intimately linked with the acquisition of reading; and the recognition of novel verbal structure, the ability to determine, for example, whether an unfamiliar form constitutes a 'real word'.

In descriptions of performance, more attention might be paid to those aspects of the situation which the psychologist classes under the heading of 'set'. "'Set' refers to the fact that individuals generally embark on perception, learning and thinking in a state of specific expectation. The specificity varies, of course, but we rarely respond without some anticipation of, some preparedness for, what is to come". (This corresponds to what Dr. Bruce said in his talk, but the actual formulation is taken from his BAAL paper, 1972, see references). Dr. Bruce gave an example of the operation of 'set', describing how a group of adults had been asked, at a number of experimental sessions, to listen to sentences spoken against a background of noise. On each occasion, the experimenter's instructions (heard 'in the clear') had included some key-word, such as sport, food, travel, weather; "Today the sentences we are going to hear will have to do with sport", etc. The interpretation of the sentences as filtered through the noise could be seen to be influenced by the key instructional word. Thus, when the key was food, "We went round the first tee...." might be interpreted as "We had some bread and cheese"; when the key was sport, "You said it would rain" would turn up as "the heat of the race". These distortions were not guesses; the listeners were prepared to affirm that they had actually heard them.

'Set', Dr. Bruce claimed, tends to be discussed mainly in terms of adult response, but it can be just as well applied to children, especially to their linguistic responses. Areas of language development where the effects of 'set' are likely to play a critical role are discussed without any reference to pre-

determining features; for example, 'expansions' (the attempt of the adult to correct the child's grammar). "We have had expansions discussed as attempts by adults to check their understanding of what children say...; arguments about the effectiveness of expansions as instructional devices for children's grammatical progress...; contrasts between what may strictly be called expansions and other forms of verbal stimulation..., but in all this there has been no consideration of whether the situation is necessarily taken by the child as one of tuitional significance, or, equally important, offering the possibility of increased efficacy in communication." (Quoted from Bruce, 1972).

One application of set theory might be to the study of the child's acquisition of knowledge about the correct ordering of linguistic events in the utterance. How is 'order' discovered? Is it discovered from parental speech? Do children learn from observation of the surface structure of utterances, and if so how? Dr. Bruce here alluded briefly to studies showing that passive constructions offer difficulty because they tend to be interpreted as 'agent-goal' structures; and to work (Slobin, 1964) suggesting that children are most at ease with sentences in which order of mention matches referential order of occurrence.

From this, Dr. Bruce went on to describe some experiments of his own, designed to investigate the problem of what children will do if invited to re-order verbal sequences. The children in this case were six-year-olds, who were invited to re-order scrambled five-word sentences (e.g. He way lost has his). The instruction given was "Tell me what the words are, and say them in a different order."

In the event, no correlation emerged between skill in this test and linguistic ability established on other grounds; furthermore, there was evidence in only one case out of 31 of a spontaneous tendency to make the 'correct' sentence-forming conversion. Accordingly, the investigator reduced his demand on the subjects, and accepted any evidence of syntactic improvement, in the form of four-, three- or even two-word sequences. There was still a diversity of response, with no obvious indication of a common pattern. Furthermore, the diversity was by no means confined to what was syntactically permissible. Of the two-word sequences, 20% were grammatically impermissible, and the proportion of impermissibility rose sharply with the length of the sequences.

Against these methods and findings, certain objections could be raised. It could be objected, for example, that too great a burden of memory was placed on young subjects asked to listen to the sequences. The experiment was therefore re-run under conditions allowing the children to have the texts of the sentences before them while they attempted the task of "saying the words in a different order." The effect of this was that more of the text was repeated, but that the degree of grammaticality was no greater. Another objection was to the nature of the material; one simply could not expect six-year-olds to cope with the task. Yet it seemed that six-year-olds in another group could cope with the task when, in instructions, they were "referred to a learned grammatical standard", e.g. when they were told to "make the words into a good sentence", or to "put the words in the right order".

By such instructions, the children were explicitly set to look for the syntactically correct order. Given the phrasing of the original instruction - "a different order" - the children simply failed to interpret their task as a linguistic one. The instructional set, in short, can initiate a language-processing strategy.

Dr. Bruce then went on to describe how, after long and careful comparison of the 'given order' of the scrambled sentences with the order presented by the children, certain general performance features emerged, despite the absence of a sufficiently explicit instructional set. Some of these performance features were non-linguistic. Dependence on memory, for example, brought out features familiar to psychologists under such headings as 'recall', 'recency', and 'primacy'. Words given as first or last in the sequence would tend to retain their position; the second and the penultimate words - i.e. numbers 2 and 4 in a five-word sequence - frequently exchanged position, as did the last word and the penultimate word. 'Importations' - words not in the original sentences - tended to be concentrated in the middle of the sequences. These strategies disappeared when the subjects were allowed to read the text. Then the dominant non-linguistic tactic was a complete reversal of word-order, presenting the items in the sequence 5-4-3-2-1.

When these non-linguistic features were eliminated, it was evident that some language-processing strategies still appeared in many cases to underlie the child's response. The verb, for example, tended to be shifted towards the middle of the utterance, if it did not already occupy that position; the favoured position for words of this form-class was number 3 in the sequence. A central placement was also preferred for the adjective, which, in four cases out of six, was moved to position 4. If the pronoun occurred in a late position, the tendency was to move it to 2 or 1, or to keep it at 1 if it was already there. There was no clear tendency to move the noun to any favoured serial position. It shifted freely - BUT in all cases except one the effect was to place it after the adjective (in the exceptional case the sentence contained no adjective!). Definite articles tended to be moved to an earlier position in the sequence. From a frequency-of-occurrence plot matching form-class against serial position, the following maxima emerged: articles - shifted to position 1; pronouns - to position 1; auxiliary verbs - to position 2; verbs - to position 3; adjectives - to position 4; adverbs - to position 5. Possessive adjectives were shifted to 1 or 3, and nouns, as noted above, were distributed in relationship to adjectives. From all of which it might be concluded that, despite their inadequacy of 'set', the original instructions did in fact produce an alteration in the children's language-processing strategies.

Such experiments, Dr. Bruce concluded, have theoretical implications. They suggest that learned concepts such as 'sentence' and 'correct order' have profound effects on the operations of linguistic performance.

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LINGUISTICS AND SPEECH THERAPY

(This is an abbreviated version of a talk given to the Nottingham Linguistic Circle on 10 May 1973.)

Language is essential to life in human society. There is no doubt that the failure to acquire and use language normally or the subsequent loss of the ability, whatever the causes, is one of the most devastating and isolating events that can happen to a human being. Linguistics has long been established as having a role to play in second language learning, but until recently has had relatively little application in remedial work concerned with first language learning or rehabilitation. Compared with the native language, a second language is a luxury. This is not to cast doubt on the importance of the acquisition of skills in a second language, but simply to point out a discrepancy in the application of linguistics.

In this paper I am particularly concerned with the application of linguistics to remedial work with young children acquiring their native language, but much of what I have to say is also relevant to language rehabilitation in adults, whose language has been impared as a result of accident or disease.

Perhaps I should start by indicating where I stand with regard to the terminology. Under the heading linguistics I include both the theory of language structure and the theory of language use. In this way I am using it in its widest sense to include not only general or theoretical linguistics but also those areas of behavioural science concerned with language: e.g. psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. In the area we are discussing a distinction between these various sub-disciplines is hardly valid. A human being interacts linguistically and socially with other human beings as a whole person: this still applies even if his linguistic development is delayed or abnormal. Language structure and language use are closely interrelated. A structural abnormality in language may well affect an individual's use of verbal communication with repercussions at levels other than the purely structural, in just the same way as a structural abnormality at one level may affect the structure at another level. (Inadequate phonology will affect the grammatical level, the grammatical level will affect the semantic level etc.)

Language is communication and a language disorder is a communication disorder first and foremost and for this reason I am not very fond of the term speech therapy, although I have used it in the title since it is the traditional term for what we are discussing. The term speech therapy suggests some kind of physical manipulation or exercise, as it is used for example

in the terms occupational therapy, or physiotherapy. Working with language is rather different from therapy in its generally accepted sense. A further point is that the term speech therapy is often associated in people's minds with elocution or the teaching of 'correct' pronunciation. Speech therapy proper has never been like this, but it has been guilty in its traditional terminology of separating what are still often called speech or articulation disorders from language disorders, as if the former were solely concerned with the development of motor skills and not with organisational or systemic skills. Yet all linguists know that phonology is just as much a rule governed system as any other level of language. Sounds used meaningfully in a language operate as information carriers not just as a series of individual features of articulation but as members or units in a closely knit system. Observations in the clinic show that even the most deviant or deficient sound systems are in fact systemic, and plenty of recorded evidence in the literature shows that children whose speech is virtually unintelligible do not substitute one sound for another haphazardly: there is a consistency even in the simplest system (cf. Beresford-Grady 1968, Connor-Stork 1972).

Distortions, substitutions or omissions on the phonological level are language disorders just as much as similar problems at other linguistic levels. It is widely known that in the normal development of speech there is a significant difference between the large number of different sounds used by a child in the later stages of babbling and the restricted number of sounds in the system which the child uses to form his first real words. Jakobson was one of the first to point out this discontinuity in the process of language acquisition (1948/1968). In the case of a normal child the extremely simple system, consisting at first perhaps of only two or three consonants and two vowels, is a reflection of the child's restricted needs in terms of discriminatory powers. It rapidly develops, however, and becomes more complex as it assimilates to the adult system around it. Rapid development of the phonological level is a prerequisite for language development of other levels. The English child who cannot produce an [s], for example, cannot inflect verbs or nouns, and the child who does not develop a full system of consonants is forced with increasing cognitive development to rely on a widening range of substitutions, producing as a result an increasing number of homophones leading to confusion and unintelligibility. Normal language development, therefore, depends on simultaneous development on several different but interrelated levels and the child whose phonological development falls behind his other discriminatory powers may become frustrated and develop behaviour problems or even lead to a complete refusal to communicate. It is an increasing awareness of the need for distinctions coupled with a continuing inability to make them in the appropriate places which leads to this confusion.

When the child comes to the clinic a linguistic assessment must be made, an assessment of the effect of the discrepancies on the child's communication, and treatment should first be directed to those areas considered to be the most inhibiting to language development as a whole. In a great deal of work in speech therapy emphasis is placed on looking back and speculating on the causes of disorders rather than on looking forward towards effective communication. The common practice is to relate language disorders to the etiology following the medical model

of defining diseases by their causes and their consequences. The application of this type of model to language has lead to a great deal of confusion in terminology: autism, aphasia, not to mention dyslalia, have become almost meaningless in terms of specifying characteristics of language behaviour where remedial intervention is necessary. The medical model alone does not, therefore, reflect an understanding of the difficulties faced in analysing human language behaviour, and in any case the search for an etiology of a language disorder is often highly speculative.

There are cases where the etiological factors themselves can be subject to corrective treatment (e.g. as in hearing impairment, or cleft palate) which can eliminate a possible maintaining cause of the language disability. In most cases, however, the diagnostic process is not so simple. Knowledge of the etiology, even hypothesis about causation may assist in preparing the child for treatment by eliminating certain disabilitating factors, but this information alone is not sufficient. In addition it is necessary to have information about the child's linguistic and communicative competence according to linguistic milestones, for typical children in his speech community - the developmental level of speech sounds, vocabulary, concept formation, sentence formation. It is here that linguistics becomes relevant.

The major problem is that at the moment linguistic science does not have the answer to many of the questions raised by this approach. Not enough is known about language acquisition to be definitive about milestones, not enough sociological data is available about language varieties for us to be clear about communicative competence. Whereas most linguists would agree that language acquisition is the result of interaction between an innate potential and a stimulating environment, there is little agreement as to how much of each plays the decisive role. Theories of stimulus-response learning are unable to explain adequately universal features of language or how language systems can be used creatively, or why comprehension precedes expression. Theories emphasising innate factors alone fail to explain overt linguistic phenomena such as imitation. In a sense they neglect performance, which is the only way we can gain access to real language.

Another factor, of course, is that the goals of linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics are not necessarily orientated towards language pathology. This is in many ways a similar situation to that in which second language teaching found itself a few years ago: teachers had to be eclectic and develop their own branch of Applied Linguistics based on teaching experience and classroom knowledge. Speech pathologists and therapists have to be the same: they must determine the implications of various linguistic theories for their purpose and in doing so will make their own contribution to the understanding of human language just as has happened in the case of the application of linguistics to second language teaching.

We are now in a position to summarise the ways in which linguistics is relevant in speech pathology and therapy, with the qualification that a great deal more work must be done before linguistics is in a position to fulfil all the requirements.

1. A language description of the right kind can establish norms of development for a particular stage in the acquisition of language in a particular speech community.

2. Linguistics can provide an understanding of different levels of language structure and the fact that they are closely interrelated.

3. Linguistics can provide a proper understanding of sociological and geographical factors which influence language varieties. This can also emphasise that 'language use' is just as important as 'language structure'.

4. Linguistics can play a part in the development of tests for establishing linguistic as well as communicative competence,

5. Linguistics can help in the determination of disorders based on the above factors as well as on etiological factors.

6. Linguistics in view of all the preceding points may help to determine the nature of the intervention which should be applied to alleviate the disability bearing in mind particularly the process of communication.

As I have already said, linguistic science is not yet developed enough to give definitive advice in all these areas, but this is the direction which research must take with collaboration between speech pathologists, therapists and linguists and many other specialists if we are to make the best use of linguistic knowledge to alleviate a particularly debilitating human suffering.

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A SPEECH THERAPIST'S COMMENTS ON THE QUIRK REPORT

The Quirk Report (The Speech Therapy Services, 1972) has focused a growing dissatisfaction amongst those concerned with speech therapy services in this country. On the most basic level, it points out the grave shortage of therapists: it estimates a required minimum of 3,500 therapists against an active equivalent of some 830. In the absence of general survey figures the committee estimated on a 2% level of young

people aged 2-18 years requiring treatment, whereas in Nottingham the level is 4·6% and in Leicester 4% (neither City has been suggested as being a special case).

The situation is indeed grave, especially when one is aware that the children are only part of the picture, for it is estimated that about 40,000 adults in Great Britain are now in need of speech therapy. Nor are the training facilities adequate to meet the shortfall; approximately 160 students qualify each year, and of these about 60% are lost to the profession within three to five years. The growth of the profession has in no way kept pace with the overt demand from employers and this seems likely to continue unless there is a major expansion of training facilities and enhanced status and conditions for the profession. Quirk recommends appropriate action.

Speech therapy started on a vocational basis - a few dedicated people with little training doing what good they could. It has never quite lost that image, and still suffers from it. There is a striking contrast between the value attached to the service and the ignorance, in many quarters, of the complexity, range, and difficulty of that work. It is quite possible in the week's work for a therapist to meet, for example, a cleft palate child with hearing loss and language delay; a child in school with articulatory defects and associated learning difficulties; a pre-school child, grossly linguistically retarded in both comprehension and expression; a child with cerebral palsy; a child or adult with fluency difficulties; a mentally retarded child; a child severely emotionally disturbed; an adult who has had a stroke or suffered some other form of brain damage and an adult with a neurological disease, unable to comprehend language spoken or written, unable to say what he wants to say, unable perhaps to articulate speech; an adult with laryngectomy, who has to be taught oesophageal speech; an adult who has lost tongue, lips, or jaws, an adult with a voice disorder due to stress or because of misuse, abuse or disease or damage to the vocal cords; a geriatric patient with a degenerative condition requiring both therapy and support. She will work with paediatricians, school doctors, G.P.s, audiologists, educational and clinical psychologists, teachers and remedial teachers, health visitors and social workers, plastic surgeons, orthodontists, neurologists, E.N.T. specialists, specialists in physical medicine, psychiatrists, physiotherapists and occupational therapists, to name but a few as examples. For every patient referred to her she must diagnose, presribe treatment and carry it out - there is no one else qualified to do it: she has independent professional status.

If the importance of her work had been recognised over the years her working conditions might well have been better. As it is, "...where speech therapists are consistently expected to treat more than 50 patients per week, and must also fit in travelling, record keeping and clerical duties, treatment is constrained in a virtual strait-jacket of weekly half-hour sessions...". The Report makes a strong case for the provision of ancillary and auxiliary services, and for a more efficient distribution of the therapist's energy. It deplores the accommodation in which many therapists are

expected to work - purpose built accommodation is still a rarity, and the rule is all too often a room that happens to be vacant. "...when constant frustration and difficulty attend the simplest routines of their daily work it is not surprising if speech therapists feel grossly undervalued..." Then, too, the pressure of work leads to some sense of inadequacy both in terms of quantity and quality of therapy applied. It is very difficult for the therapist to keep abreast of the literature in her own and related fields; only a very few can examine their work so objectively as to contribute papers on it. The great majority of therapists work in isolation, occasioned by the sheer area they have to cover, and this too imposes strains.

These difficulties do account for some of the large number who leave the profession. Here in Nottingham our staff has been comparatively stable over the last few years and this is due in part to a programme designed to reduce the difficulties to an acceptable level.

We have a Service covering the whole age range and range of types of disorder. This means that therapists are able to follow in some measure their particular interests while also gaining wide and varied experience. Our Service is centrally organised, so overcoming the problems of isolation. Therapists every week meet both the senior and some of the other therapists. This means that not only can they discuss patients and treatment, but frustrations and difficulties are met with as and when they occur and dealt with on the spot. Staff welfare is put as a priority so that energies can be concentrated on the job rather than on its frustrations. Therapists are encouraged to concentrate on quality before quantity and not to take on too heavy case loads, thus dissipating their skills. This is extremely difficult because priorities are hard to decide on and waiting lists are always long. Time is incorporated in the week's plan for essential record keeping, clerical work and planning. A regular discussion group is held. In a lively service ideas are always forthcoming, they are discussed and incorporated into the system for a trial period and if productive, permanently. The Education Authority (whose auspices we shall soon be leaving to join the newly formed Area Health Authority) is sympathetic to our needs for study and therapists attend courses and conferences, bringing back valuable information to share with the rest of the staff. Interdisciplinary work is encouraged and some joint clinics are held with members of other related professions; interdisciplinary relationships are excellent. For these reasons we have never had difficulty in filling available posts despite the national shortage of speech therapists.

However the main loss of therapists is due in great part to two other factors: marriage and poor career prospects. The provision of adequate refresher courses and a sympathetic timetabling to fit in with school terms and domestic exigencies would do much to bring married women back into the profession. Attracting more men into the profession, as a stabilising factor, must be linked with career and pay prospects. Pay was not within the scope of the Report, but the Committee felt bound to report on "...the formidable amount of evidence we received, from within the profession and from those outside, indicating that pay and career structure were glaringly out of proportion to the responsibilities carried by a speech therapist, and were a disincentive to recruitment, particularly the recruitment of men...".

The Committee's recommendations for improving the situation are listed under six headings:

1. Speech Therapists' Work
2. Organisation and Conditions
3. Supply
4. Education and Training
5. Future of existing institutions
6. Research.

Of these the most far-reaching are 4 and 6. It is recommended that the future training of speech therapists should be at degree level; that a number of universities - especially those with medical schools - should develop the necessary structures for the training of speech therapists or should create degrees which, with appropriate supplementary courses, would provide students with a sound academic and clinical basis for careers in speech therapy; that a range of post-graduate courses should be developed, in aspects of human communication and its disorders, open to speech therapists and to members of other professions; that there should be a greatly expanded programme of research in all the relevant disciplines with speech therapists actively involved.

At the moment one university (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) offers a degree course, and some four others are actively engaged in preliminary work. The only second degree course at present open to speech therapists is the M.Sc. in Human Communication at London University. Manchester offers a post-graduate course in Audiology, and Reading a post-graduate course in the Teaching of Speech Therapy.

The number of applicants for basic training runs far in excess of training places available; this year there have been so far 833 applications from people with suitable academic qualifications for 30 places at one Midlands training school. Even allowing for multiple applications this suggests a healthy position for recruitment: there are eleven training schools, with a yearly output of approximately 160 therapists. The applicants must have at least two 'A' levels, and a proportion have three or four 'A' levels. No figures are available for a likely intake on higher degree courses, but it seems likely, from personal conversation, that there would be a big demand from adequate candidates.

In the degree course at Newcastle, first year students follow courses in Child Development (including individual case study), Phonetics, Anatomy and Physiology. In the second year they study Speech and Speech Pathology, Applied Linguistics, Audiology and Psychology: all these subjects are continued in the third year with the addition of Neurology. Clinical work is included throughout the course, and continuous assessment adds to the final practical examination result.

While degree status for the profession will not act as an immediate panacea for its ills, solid benefits seem likely to accrue. Provided that the courses offered are adequately cross-disciplinary, we can expect that there will be a stimulating improvement in the insight afforded to students and in the challenges that the work offers them. Certainly there should be developments in course content and methodology to

the ultimate advantage of patients. There are so many areas in which research is needed that it seems irrelevant to name a few, but there is, for example, a deplorable paucity of work on adequate assessment techniques, of abnormal development of linguistic abilities in children, of work on abnormal patterns in brain damaged patients - but the list is endless. There ought also to be a healthy improvement in the status and conditions of the profession, with resultant improvement in its stability and attractiveness to male therapists.

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EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS 1973. ESTABLISHMENT OR REVOLUTION?

"Linguistics is dead." This ominous statement, made to me a couple of years ago by Robert Austerlitz in New York, struck me as rather curious and paradoxical in the face of vigorous developments in linguistic research and teaching in North America (cf. NLC 1, 6-10), yet it still haunts me as I meditate on my British-Academy sponsored visits last spring to various linguistic centres in Western and Central Europe.

The last few years have seen an unprecedented boom in the establishment of academic linguistics all over Europe, which has not been fully assessed to date. Among the factors contributing to this growth have been the post-war expansion of higher education and the more recent reforms in the university sector, which have enabled linguistic studies to assert themselves and influence the study of individual languages, teacher training facilities, and relations with neighbouring disciplines (cf. Mohrmann *et al*. 1961, 1963, and the UNESCO report by CRLLB 1969).

Most of these causes and effects of linguistic advances are world-wide, however. A more distinctly European flavour can be detected in the patterns of organisation, which I summarised for Vol. 9 of *Current Trends in Linguistics* as follows: "...typically, the European linguist is university-based. The post-Saussurean generation (L. Hjelmslev, A.W. de Groot, J.R. Firth) has been succeeded by men like H.J. Seiler, J. Lyons, B. Pottier and R. Titone, who in turn are training a new brand of 'general' and 'applied' linguists. These scholars are usually attached to a department of Indo-European Philology and/or General Linguistics, are interested in the historical, theoretical and descriptive study of language, and financed through government funds." (R.R.K. Hartmann 1972, p.1796).

This is still true, for both Western and Eastern Europe, and has been confirmed by detailed state-of-the-art reports on the linguistic scene in individual countries (Germany: P. Hartmann 1972; the Netherlands: Dik 1972; Hungary: Szepe 1972; etc.) or on branches of linguistics (cf. Sebeok _et al_. 1963, 1972).

It would appear, then, that linguistic studies are very much alive in the countries of Europe today. The universities of practically all capital cities teach linguistics, and there are over 30 established departments in Britain and West Germany alone. But is this impression of healthy expansion justified? Do new appointments and courses always represent substantial progress? Is the information explosion in linguistics indicative of genuine innovation? Is research directed at solving real language problems? Are contemporary ideas and techniques superior to more traditional approaches?

Again, there don't seem to be specifically European answers to these questions, apart from external administrative, financial, and political motives. Although institutions of higher learning are centrally controlled in most countries, no uniform patterns have evolved, and we witness a wide range of institutions, from fully developed departments of general and applied linguistics/phonetics - in addition to the customary language departments (Edinburgh, Nijmegen) - to the bare minimum provided at many smaller centres (e.g. in the Mediterranean countries). It is not surprising that starting and expanding linguistic studies as independent units is less difficult in new foundations (Essex, Trier, Umeå, Neuchâtel) than at older universities, where in any case traditional studies such as dialectology and comparative philology linger on. Often considerations of 'relevance' (such as higher student numbers for English rather than classical or rare languages, or interest in technical equipment such as language laboratories or computers) may be decisive, e.g. Nancy, Leuven, Stockholm, Bucharest.

One wonders whether there is ever a conscious attempt at making the chain from 'theoretical' to 'descriptive' and 'practical' linguistics explicit, for example in terms of S.P. Corder's distinction (1973) between _pure linguistics_ as 'science' and _applied linguistics_ as 'engineering'. Interesting exceptions are the newly created chairs of General _and_ Applied Linguistics at Austrian universities, the division of labour between two professors of linguistics at Amsterdam, and a number of departments of individual languages, usually English or the respective mother tongue, which encourage theoretical, descriptive and applied work, e.g. Stuttgart, Poznań, Beograd.

Slightly outside the tertiary sector are the less well-off research bodies of the Academies (especially in Southern and Eastern Europe), renowned for lexicographical and dialectological compilations, and agencies specialising in teaching languages to foreigners (CREDIF, Goethe-Institut, Herder-Institut, etc.).

In such circumstances it is very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory assessment of the direction that linguistics as a field is taking. The most general remark that one can make

is that international trends are currently overlaying whatever indigenous contribution European linguists may have to offer. This fact influences any attempt to define scientific linguistics, either as a systematic discipline in its own right or as part of some other academic endeavour, be it philosophy or one of the social sciences. Here Europe can but repeat the American example.

The 'ruling dogma' of Transformational-Generative Grammar is more openly criticised in Europe for its abstraction from the social realities of language, for its anti-empirical speculation about universals, and for its formalist apparatus. In this sense it can be regarded as the last phase in a continuous struggle to reduce the complexities of human speech to manageable units and relations, a struggle in which Europeans have been pioneers from the Neogrammarians and De Saussure to the 'schools' of Prague, Copenhagen and London, and their various off-shoots from Dependency to Systemic Grammar.

There is certainly no shortage of introductory textbooks, terminological guides, translations, bibliographies and other popularisations of the basic principles of linguistics and its self-observed history. Many linguists are involved in such derivative work, a few see an impasse, and even fewer are trying out new conceptualisations. One can only hope that the seeds are not germinating into yet another ideology. Examples of promising developments characteristically come from outside linguistics, but fashionable labels may soon help them gain recognition within: typology of texts ('discourse analysis'), language variety ('sociolinguistics'), the 'pragmatic' analysis of speech acts, the 'notional' approach to language teaching syllabuses, the 'logical' approach to semantics, etc.

Austerlitz's cynicism is not without foundation, especially when viewed against the background of European structuralism in linguistics which he himself helped to shape and document (cf. Hamp *et al*. 1966). It may befit us to look at the roots of real language events and their objective description (however difficult that may be) before trusting the all-embracing new Phoenix.

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"I THINK THAT I SHALL NEVER SEE...."

I drew a tree upon the board,
An unassuming little tree,
And thereupon I hung an N,
And therebeside I set a P.

And out of NP branching blithe
Three yellow twiglets did I set,
And gave each one a name, and chalked
The first one in, and called it Det.

Next, with a pious hand I drew
The second branch, and there for badge
Affixed in mystic letters three
The bold abbreviation Adj.

So, finally, in holy joy,
I let the third one burgeon down
To where in glitt'ring characters
I'd set the finished legend, Noun.

Yet while upon these mysteries
Brooding I stood, in reverent gloom,
Some of my pupils fell asleep,
And others asked to leave the room;

And some were writing billets-doux,
Or playing chess, or drinking tea,
While on the blackboard still I drew
My unassuming little tree.

W.N.

LAMES AND SAMES: TWO SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

Language in Society is published biannually, under the editorship of Dell Hymes, and is now in the sturdy second year of what will surely be a distinguished and authoritative life as an international journal of sociolinguistics. Its editorial statement of policy claims a concern "with all branches of the study of speech and language as aspects of social life", and in amplification of this declares that "contributions may vary from predominantly linguistic to predominantly social in content, but are expected to involve the poles of the journal's field of concern in some explicit way." How humanely and with what heuristic effect the journal's contributors succeed in fulfilling this expectation is evident from two long articles published in Vol.2, Nr.1, the issue for April 1973. One is by Robin Lakoff, and is entitled "Language and woman's place" (pp.45-79); the other, by William Labov, invites the curious reader to consider "The linguistic consequences of being a lame" (pp.81-115). The articles differ considerably as to the procedures of investigation they adopt, yet are alike in their evident wish to make linguistics do public service in matters of social enquiry.

Of the two contributions, Labov's is ostensibly the more 'academic' and 'objective', with its array of diagrams and tables and its methodical descriptions of procedure. In fact, it is based on the Final Report on Cooperative Research Project 3288, an officially subsidised undertaking, prepared by W. Labov, P. Cohen, C. Robins and J. Lewis, and entitled A Study of the Non-Standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City. Their data, the collection of which, one must reflect, can hardly have been a task for the timid academic recluse, is derived from "group sessions with pre-adolescent and adolescent peer-groups - the Thunderbirds, Aces, Jets and Cobras" (p.82). From these inhabitants of Bernsteinland (Leonard Bernstein) the investigators collected a great deal of information about Black English and the associated vernacular culture which passes current among these teenage groups. (Labov uses the abbreviation BE for "Black English" and BEV for "Black English Vernacular").

The organization of a BEV group is typified by the constitution of the Jets, a 'named club' (naming is of importance, as a symptom of group-identity) having officers, called 'president', 'vice-president', 'war-lord', and 'prime minister', having an ordinary membership, a history and a mythology, a song, an initiation ceremony, and an associated junior club. The function of such a group is to preserve through its various activities (including, prominently, fighting) a code of attitudes and values which is expressed in a complex and cryptic oral tradition; without expatiating, Labov alludes to "toasts, jokes, sounds, the dozens, riffing and capping." (p.111). The 'toasts' appear to be celebrations, in rhyme, of BEV myth and custom; the great 'toasts', e.g. "The Fall", "Shine", "Signifying Monkey", "Mexicali Rose", have the status of folk-ballads, a comparison which brings appropriately to mind Herder's formulation Das Volk dichtet. For the 'toasts' and other manifestations of BEV culture are not the property of individuals; they are the property of the group. The group exercises over the vernacular a rigorous control that permits of no deviations; Labov records, in a footnote (p.83), how the members of one unfortunate group came to be known as the Cream Puffs, because one of their number had been heard using in a shop the phrase "Aw, shucks!" as an expression of disappointment.

Vernacular culture - a detailed behavioural and verbal protocol - can only be acquired by the process known as 'hanging out', i.e. by maintaining constant daily contact with the associations of the street, by "being available", as Labov puts it. He and his associates were able to determine which of their informants were central or marginal to BEV culture by asking the question "Who do you hang out with?", and by plotting the resultant information in tables and in sociometric diagrams which show clearly that the strongest representatives of BEV, and thus the most reliable informants on its language and mores, are those involved in the greatest number of 'hanging out' relationships. The diagrams also point to the existence of certain figures who are evidently marginal to customary BEV activity, and who apparently 'hang out' with no one, or at best with some fairly unimportant member of the central group. These outsiders are the 'lames'.

Though the term has a pejorative ring, the definition of 'lame' is, as Labov points out, merely negative. A lame is a person who, for one reason or another does not or cannot or will not 'hang out'; because his parents forbid it, or because he dislikes fighting, or because he is sickly or crippled, or even because he is courageous and strong-willed enough to walk his independent way. Whatever the reason, the important fact is that he is not in daily personal attendance upon the elaboration of BEV culture, and therefore cannot express himself convincingly in its codes and rituals. "What all lames have in common", remarks Labov, "is that they lack the knowledge which is necessary to run any kind of game in the vernacular culture." (p.84). This essential characteristic of lameness is mentioned in the opening lines of the 'toast' called "The Fall":

> "Who is the lame who says he knows the game,
> And where did he learn to play?"

As soon as the lame attempts to 'play', he betrays himself to the genuine BE speaker, whose tightly-ruled dialect enables him to detect the outsider or the pretender, much as the poolroom gamblers described by Ned Polsky in Hustlers, Beats and Others can identify the 'non-hustler', the poolroom dupe who thinks he can play the game. (Polsky, however, characterises the pool-hustler's argot not as a defensive code against outsiders - a notion which he scouts - but as "an elaborately inventive, ritualistic, often rather playful way of reinforcing group identity or 'we-feeling'"; see Polsky (1967) p.107. This would certainly apply to BE).

In Black English, there are certain rules which are categorical and unvarying for all speakers, whether they be strong hangers-out, lames, or mere adults (who have become lame simply by growing older). Where the lame betrays himself is in his neglect or variable observance of rules which are obligatory for the speaker of standard BE. All speakers, for example, will observe the negative concord in an utterance such as Nobody never saw nothin' like that. On the other hand, not all speakers will use it rather than there as 'dummy subject' (e.g. It's a man outside); and not all speakers will simplify the consonant clusters that occur at certain junctures, reducing, for instance, the /ʃtp/ and /stm/ of pushed past and just me to the /ʃp/ and /sm/ of push'past and jus'me. For standard BE speakers, the rule of subject-it and the consonant deletion rules are specific, but for lames they are variable,

and in such tiny details a lame will betray his condition to his fellow black teenagers, though an outside observer might have difficulty in distinguishing between his habits of speech and those of the BE norm-givers.

In its social consequences, 'lameness' may be bad, because the lame is an isolated individual, cut off from the solidarity and support of the group. He may, indeed, be a lame in the first instance as a result of the social inadequacy of his family. "Many descriptions of the poor and disadvantaged", Labov writes, "are explicitly about lame areas and lame children." (p.109). On the other hand, the individual may be lame out of sheer resistance to the social and educational retardation which assent to BE mores can involve. The lame does not necessarily want to speak standard BE; he wants to pass his school grades and make good, and often does so. As Labov puts it, "...it is to the personal advantage of any individual to be lame. Even if he does not go to college, he has a better chance of making money, staying out of jail and off of drugs, and raising children in an intact family. Given hindsight or a little foresight, who would not rather be a lame?" (p.109).

We may thus contrast the social mobility and long perspectives of many lames with the stasis and determined introspection of the teenage BE group. The clubs and street-gangs defiantly assert an identity and a set of preferred values in the face of a hostile social environment: "The linguistic forms which differentiate the Jets from the surrounding adults and lames are symbolic representations of the value system which distinguishes the group and draws new members." (105). The recruitment of new members is of natural importance, since the BEV culture loses its grasp on its practitioners as adolescence merges into adulthood. "The lower class culture," Labov comments, "differs from the upper class culture in that its base in the population becomes progressively narrowed with age." (p.83). "The Fall", one might say, gives place to a more profitable text, the Essay on Man.

However, Labov's avowed aim in this article is not so much to consider social implications as to define the linguistic consequences of lameness, and it is here, perhaps, that he begins to interpret his material with a certain tendentiousness. He points out that although lames are ignorant of the rituals and linguistic details of BEV, some of them nevertheless "look back on vernacular culture" - i.e. from college, or from some other state of social advancement - "and claim it as their own; the result can be a very confusing report for the outsider who relies on such data." (p.111). From this cautionary note on the necessity of selecting one's informant with care, Labov proceeds to a rather more provocative extrapolation: "The position of the Black graduate student in linguistics is no different from that of any linguist in his removal from the vernacular. If a Black student should take seriously Chomsky's claim that the primary data of linguistics are the intuitions of the theorist, and begin to write an introspective BEV grammar, the results would be bad - but no worse than other grammars now being written on the same basis. The problem we are dealing with here is one of the greatest generality, for it must be realized that most linguists are lames." (p.112).

Most linguists are lames because "a linguist's idiolect is often an accumulation of superposed varieties" (p.113), and therefore (according to Labov) he cannot be relied upon to give accurate information, through introspection or through discussion with his fellows, about the 'rules' of the vernacular. There is injustice and justice in Labov's argument. The injustice of his criticism lies in the implication that the linguist's intuitions about general rules are somehow invalidated as a result of the dialectal mobility which his personal history has entailed. I am doubtless a rather unreliable informant on the dialect of Furness, the speech of the lower deck, and the conversational mannerisms of Cambridge undergraduates, these being phases, now long outmoded, of my linguistic experience; but surely my inadequate and contaminated recollections do not disqualify me from making hypotheses about rules common to all the varieties I have known? It depends, after all, on what one means by 'vernacular'; and in any case, given the work of Quirk and his collaborators (1972), a British reader might take exception to the assertion that 'most grammars' now being written are composed on the basis of introspection. On the other hand, there is some justification for Labov's evident irritation with theory makers, It is possible that he has his sights on some followers of Bernstein (<u>Basil</u> Bernstein), or he may simply be taking a generally jaundiced view of academic philosophers of language who make assertions and form theories without bothering to find out what people actually say under differing conditions of usage. As he puts it in his concluding paragraph: "To refine the intricate structure of one's own thoughts, to ask oneself what one would say in an imaginary world where one's own dialect is the only reality, to dispute only with those few colleagues who share the greatest part of this private world - these academic pleasures will not easily be abandoned by those who were early detached from the secular life. The student of his own intuitions, producing both data and theory in a language abstracted from every social context, is the ultimate lame." (p.115).

Curiously, as it happens, Robin Lakoff's article on "Language and woman's place" is constructed in deliberate lameness, for though one would hardly say that its cited material is "abstracted from every social context", it is, by the author's own confession, the product of introspection, and as such is occasionally tendentious. Lakoff is a shrewd and at times almost bitter polemicist who has the power to ruffle the complacency and trouble the conscience of a SAME (my own coinage, for the nonce, meaning Standard Average Male Egotist, or Same as Men Everywhere). Her argument is best put in the words of her excellent abstract: "'Woman's Language' has as foundation the attitude that women are marginal to the serious concerns of life, which are pre-empted by men. The marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways women are expected to speak, and the ways women are spoken of. In appropriate women's speech strong expression of feeling is avoided, expression of uncertainty is favored, and means of expression in regard to subject-matter deemed 'trivial' to the 'real' world are elaborated. Speech about women implies an object, whose sexual nature requires euphemism, and whose social roles are derivative and dependent in relation to men. The personal identity of women thus is linguistically submerged; the language works against the treatment of women as serious persons with individual views". (p.45).

The speech-habits which characterise - or stigmatise - woman are inculcated in girlhood, and she is bound to them by a species of sociolinguistic Morton's Fork or Catch 22. If she departs from them, she is no lady; if she adheres to them, with all their ostensible fripperies and inconsequences, well, isn't that just like a woman? "If you don't do it", writes Lakoff, "you are ostracized; when you do, it proves you are irrational." (p.48). And later, with reference to habits of intonation: "... we see that people form judgements about other people on the basis of superficial linguistic behaviour that may have nothing to do with inner character, but has been imposed upon the speaker, on pain of worse punishment than not being taken too seriously." (p.56). This is one of the essay's cardinal points, and the argument is too clear for SAMEfaced moral shiftiness to avoid.

The characteristics of 'talking like a lady' appear in the use of precise lexical distinctions in certain supposedly 'trivial' areas, e.g. colour words, in the use of an accepted range of evaluative and intensifying expressions (and the corresponding avoidance of SAMEish intensifiers such as swear-words), in distinctive intonation-patterns, in syntactic features such as the use of tag-questions, in the strategy of making requests and giving orders. All this is engagingly set out by Lakoff, though one is constantly aware that the presentation of a general thesis has precluded much reference to language varieties outside her own social convention. I do not feel, for example, that it is a point of masculine conceit to betray no knowledge of distinctive colour-terms, though I have an intuition that for the British SAME (whose dialectal distinctiveness in this connection is admitted by Lakoff) names such as _lilac_, _mauve_, _turquoise_, and other blue-end-of-the-spectrum terms are more 'feminine' than names for gradations of red (_scarlet_, _crimson_, _maroon_, etc.), while French colour-words such as _cerise_, _beige_, _ecru_, are more obviously marked for femininity than terms like _cherry_ or _buff_ or _cream_. I imagine that a British SAME might fairly and manfully describe the body-colour of his car or the hull-colour of his boat as _a lovely deep cherry_; but hardly as _a gorgeous deep cerise_.

Lovely and _charming_ are words which a British speaker might venture to use in a pub without fear of being set upon for an arrant pervert; in Lakoff's account of American social usage, they appear in a list of specifically feminine words, along with _adorable_, _sweet_, and _divine_, and by contrast with _great_, _terrific_, _cool_ and _neat_, which are characterised as 'neutral'. If I attempt a similar exercise, I find myself thinking of popular adjectives such as _smashing_ or _fantastic_, which appear to belong to the neutral or 'unisex' category, others such as _gorgeous_ and _dreamy_, which seem to be exclusively feminine, and some, like _enchanting_ and _exquisite_, which are apparently complex social markers in that they are linked to stereotypes of class-usage as well as of male or female speech. The extent to which such items are 'feminine' rather than merely epicene and Peter Wimseycal would often seem to depend on syntagmatic determinants such as conventional adverbial modifiers and sub-modifiers, e.g. _frightfully_, _awfully_, _terribly_, _utterly_, _absolutely_, _most_, _quite_. Phrases such as _really the most utterly exquisite_ or _quite breathtakingly enchanting_ strike me as feminine because of what might be called their 'intensifying in depth'. Possibly the word _quite_ is a subtle marker of the feminine. ("What wonderfully blue eyes you have, Ernest!", says Oscar Wilde's heroine,

"They are quite, quite, blue."). At the same time, I am fully aware that syntagms of the type most frightfully sorry and quite utterly shattered occur in the speech of middle and upper-class SAMEs in Great Britain, so that to some extent the feminine typology and the class typology coincide. For this reason I cannot share Lakoff's certainty about the attributed femininity of certain intonation patterns, syntactic tags (e.g. the appeal-tags isn't it?, don't you think?), and modes of request or command.

Her discussion of the significant features of language used about women is at times provocative enough to set a man brooding on his SAMEness. Inevitably there is some discourse on the address-form Mr, Miss and Mrs, and the desirability of replacing the last two by the non-commital Ms. She has some shrewd things to say about word-pairs such as master and mistress which have come out of semantic balance, as it were, with the development of a pejorative or demeaning significance in the feminine term. She points out, furthermore, that "certain lexical items mean one thing applied to man, another to woman" (p.46), and makes great play with the example She is a professional. Perhaps the most interesting pages in this section of her essay, however, are those in which she discusses the term lady, which she presents as a demeaning euphemism, woefully symptomatic of man's ultimate contempt for woman, whether it functions as a pick-her-up, as in cleaning lady, or a put-her-down, as in lady doctor or lady sculptor. On occasion, SAMEness is oppressed by the feeling that the lady doth protest too much (translate: the woman goes on a bit), and by the suspicion that she sometimes prefers not to consider what resources language has to offer and to what extent they may be accepted as free from the contaminations she so rightly deplores. In actor and actress, for example, we have a two-term paradigm, in which the item with the feminine suffix is surely not felt to be degrading or degraded. In other instances, e.g. doctor, architect, surveyor, women obviously have a right to insist on the undifferentiated term, and may well resent the attempt to create a two-term paradigm by using the word lady as a species of prefix. In other cases still, e.g. sculptor, poet, author, where a one-term or a two-term paradigm is possible, there is room for doubt and a good deal of idiolectic variety; I would accept sculptress, but agree with Robert Graves that poetess is insulting, and have much the same feeling about authoress. I do not always feel, however, that the imperfect social fit of our vocabulary - a fascinating subject - entails an attitude of covert insult to women. It is just possible that lady doctor is an innocent attempt to balance out terms.

However, these marginal criticisms hardly blunt the edge of an attack which is at its most trenchant when the author exploits her talent for shrewd examples: "Perhaps the way in which lady functions as a euphemism for woman is that it does not contain the sexual implications present in woman; it is not 'embarrassing' in that way. If this is so, we may expect that, in the future, lady will replace woman as the primary word for the human female, since woman will have become too blatantly sexual. That this distinction is already made in some contexts at least is shown in the following examples:
(a) She's only twelve, but she's already a woman/lady,
(b) After ten years in jail, Harry wanted to find a woman/lady, (c) She's my woman/lady, so don't mess around with

her." (pp.61-62). Lakoff's argument is that "to banish 'lady' in its euphemistic sense from the vocabulary of English, we need only first get rid of 'broad' and its relations." (p.56). The point is a striking one, and it occurs to me that it is rather effectively made in the title of the well-known song That's why the lady is a tramp.

Inevitably, and a little helplessly in the face of so powerful an advocate, one feels the wish to cavil, to interpose, to qualify. For instance, I cannot help but feel that there are historical and cultural deposits in our common vocabulary, and that in availing ourselves of these we do not necessarily commit ourselves to an attitude in contemporary politics. When I read some accounts of language as the symptom of social ills, I am reminded of a former pupil, in Sweden, who had such a zealous resistance to the word nigger that she persisted in referring to Conrad's novel as The Negro of the 'Narcissus'. One might be similarly wrongheaded, I feel, about words like lady and mistress. True, mistress is a contaminated word (my mother considered it so outrageous that she always used the expression fancy woman!), but I would not like to be cut off from what it has to say about our history and our culture. It would be a sad state of affairs if, for example, one had to quote Marvell's To His Coy Mistress as To his reluctantly concupiscent quasi-marital partner, or Shakespeare's "Oh mistress mine, where are you roaming?" as "Oh my socio-economically underprivileged sex-object, where are you roaming?". It would be equally deplorable, for that matter, if considerations of modern egalitarianism forced us to refer to the ladies/women of history and fiction as Ms Quickly, Ms Siddons, Little Ms Muffet, etc. I have chosen absurd examples to make a serious point, to wit that tampering with language is ultimately not the way to correct social injustice, and that there is always something self-conscious and even ridiculous about proposals to delete and rewrite in Libspeak or some other dialect; the potential ridiculousness appears in proposed coinages such as herstory and himicane (for history and hurricane), which Lakoff quite properly dismisses, or in the recent offering, in the columns of The Sunday Times, of misterogynist as a parallel to misogynist.

It must be said in justice, however, that what Lakoff proposes is not language-change as a form of social therapy, but the fuller study of language as the symptom of conditions of society that might be susceptible to change. "Linguistic disparities", she writes, "reflect real and serious social inequities" (p.76); we have to decide, from a therapeutic point of view, which disparities are changeable, and which are likely to resist change. The linguist engaged in such decisions is thereby making some contribution to social reform. Over and above this, Lakoff would claim, the kind of socio-semantic investigation outlined by her essay has something to offer to general and applied linguistics, by adding a dimension to the descriptive process. "We must think", she writes, "in terms of hierarchies of grammaticality, in which the acceptability of a sentence is determined through the combination of many factors; not only the phonology, the syntax, the semantics, but also the social context in which the utterance is expressed, and the assumption about the world made by all the participants in the discourse." (p.77). Three cheers, a British SAME might add, for J.R. Firth in all his old-fashioned glory.

Indeed, the general 'message' of Language in Society is succinctly formulated in two neo-Firthian pronouncements. Labov writes that "patterns of social interaction may influence grammar in subtle and unsuspected ways" (p.81); Lakoff asserts that "Relevant generalizations in linguistics require study of social mores as well as of purely linguistic data" (p.45). In pronouncements of this kind we recognise a programme for socio-linguistics, and articles such as those by William Labov and Robin Lakoff show how successfully the programme may be realised. It is clear from these contributions that the editor's demand for articles that "involve both the poles of the journal's field of concern" is not, after all, an invitation to Count Smorltork (the Dickens character who proposed to write an essay on Chinese Metaphysics by consulting an encyclopaedia, first on China, then on Metaphysics, and by combining the resultant information). In one respect, however, the very effectiveness of such articles, the value of which can hardly be overstated, makes a potentially critical point about current trends in sociolinguistics. I am struck by the frequency with which sociolinguistic investigations depend on the definition of a suitably contrastive social group, some class, or profession, or deprived community constituting a stark outcrop among the shifting contours of language and social relationship. It is no doubt natural and desirable that investigation should be concentrated upon sociologically-definable communities, and not on some amorphous entity such as 'the native speaker'. Yet when all is said and done, it is the native speaker, that man of many faces and tongues, with all his marvellous capacity for role-changing and code-switching, who should interest us most, and whose social mobility not only challenges the descriptive powers of the linguist, but also represents the path of experience that the linguist himself must take. One of the reasons why William Labov is at the forefront of his profession is that he is, by his own definition, 'lame'; and Robin Lakoff is a fine linguist - a professional, no less - and a brilliantly provocative writer because, after all, she is no lady.

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PERSONAL VIEW

ON SAYING NO

(M.C. Grayshon is a Lecturer in the Nottingham University School of Education, and is a member of the editorial advisory panel of NLC. His considerable experience of teaching abroad, notably in West Africa, has led him to take a somewhat critical view of the orthodox methods and assumptions of linguistics. Current grammars, he feels, pay too little attention to the whole process of speech as a social act, and their consequent lack of 'global' descriptions impairs their value to the student of language in society and across cultures. He is engaged in the development of a theory of 'social grammar', to which he alludes in this short article; it treats language pragmatically, assigns great importance to the prosodic and kinesic aspects of speech, stresses the priority of 'communicative competence', and in general reflects some major tendencies of current sociolinguistics. His position is in virtually all respects opposed to the strictly 'linguistic' doctrine expounded by Ruth Kempson in her talk "What is semantics?", an extract from which we published in NLC 2, pp.10-12, under the title "Conditions for a semantic theory".)

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"The centrality of talk in the various everyday organization of human activity has been stressed in various analytic arguments throughout this volume ... it is perhaps the major contribution by the so-called ethnomethodologists to the history of modern sociology, a discipline that has remained oddly sluggish in recognizing the central role of speech in the organizing of group life."

M. Speir (1971)

"Any use of meaning is unscientific whenever the fact or our knowing the meaning leads us to stop short of finding the precise formal signals that operate to convey that meaning."

C.C. Fries (1952)

Some of the most complex speech acts to analyse are those expressing refusal - 'refusal' in the present context meaning any social process that decisively inhibits the individual's possibility of expressing emotions and desires, or of behaving freely in personal relationships. A refusal in such a sense is, to a greater or lesser degree, a rejection of one person by another, and so may be a deeply wounding and traumatic act, setting many consequences in train. In the community at large, refusals may have their place in the hierarchies of power; those in authority may exercise their right to refuse 'from above', but may arrange the structure and institutions of society so as to limit and even prohibit the potentially subversive counter-process of refusal 'from below'. What is prohibited may be a form of action; it may equally well be a form of speech. In short, we assume that in all societies there are situations in which 'saying no' is possible (or not possible); that there are certain ways in which it may be said; and that there are certain meanings, implicit as well as explicit, which no-saying will convey.

'Refusal' versus 'negation'

It will be evident that in this article I am concerned with the social process of refusal - of 'turning down' - rather than with the linguistic process of negation. The latter has been treated exhaustively in manuals of grammar; negation in English, for example, is dealt with in some detail, and under various heads, in the large grammar by Quirk et al. (1972). The positional and oppositional importance of negatives in the language-system is discussed in terms of 'yes/no questions', 'assertion/non-assertion', 'negative position', 'focus of negation', etc., while the social weight of the simple word no is occasionally hinted at, for example in the discussion (7.77, p.406) of 'persuasive imperatives', and in other places in the text (e.g. 7.88, p. 413, 8.86 p.518n., and 10.76, p.710).

In all these instances, however, a feature of language is considered in all-but-isolation from a determinant social context; or the social reference which may be necessary to complete a discussion of meaning is of the most generalised kind. It may be possible to discuss the mechanics of negation in this way; but such discussion can have little relevance to the understanding of the social act of refusal. To understand the speech act in its context of culture and personality, we require a different kind of grammar, which I would call, simply and appropriately, 'social grammar'. Social grammar will give pride of place to two topics which are marginally located in 'linguistic' grammars. Firstly, it will pay a lot of attention to the significance of stress, intonation, and other prosodic or paralinguistic features (hereinafter referred to as I.S. features - cf. Crystal, 1969). Secondly, it will seek to define just those parameters of any situation which collectively determine its social meaning.

The importance of I.S. features

The importance of I.S. features, for my purposes, is that they are often correlated with all-important attitudinal elements that permeate any situation and that can modify or even override the purport of the actual form of words used. For example, in response to importunate courtship a young Englishwoman may say no with the fall-rise tone, the plaintive timbre, the gesture, etc., that in effect proclaim "Yes; pray go on". If we consider the same sort of situation in another culture, we may find that a similar stratagem is used, but that different communicative features are required. The girl's encouraging "no" would be differently said, for instance, in Mernkwen, a tone language spoken in the Cameroons. In the Mernkwen context, the courtship customs would largely (but not utterly) preclude the likelihood of direct girl-to-boy response at this stage of the affair; what is more likely is that girl and mother would be involved in discussion of the young man's merits.

Assuming that she and her husband approved of the suitor, and seeing that the girl appeared to be pleased by him, the mother might suggest in private that the young man seemed to be a pleasant and acceptable fellow, and might ask whether the daughter would like to marry him? To which a conventional reply on the daughter's part would be ngang wa, - ngang

meaning 'no', and wa being an expression of respect. If, however, the routine ngang were accompanied by a deep sigh, this would be interpreted as meaning 'yes'. Looking across cultures, then, we see how similar objects may be attained via the use of different I.S. features - though indeed far-reaching differences of institution and custom make it apparent that 'similar' is never 'same'. I shall have more to say presently about comparisons on the I.S. level between English and Mernkwen. The point for the present, however, is that I.S. features may dominate the 'meaning' of a situation. English girl and Mernkwen girl both say no; but the 'social grammar' of their respective situations points to the interpretation yes.

The social parameters of meaning

I have argued elsewhere (and am still developing the argument) that a social grammar must take into primary account the relationships of status (i.e. relative position in a hierarchy), and solidarity (an identifying allegiance to a peer-group or circle of friends), together with the expressive features through which attitudes, emotions, and intentions are conveyed. The classifications of the social grammar would be 'pragmatic', and would deal with categories such as question, request, order, refusal, in terms of their social objectives and results, rather than in terms of their linguistic make-up. The actual syntax of an utterance may remain unchanged while the overriding I.S. pattern relates it, as far as the native speaker is concerned, to a different social objective; so that, for instance, the utterance "Why did you do this?", which has the formal marks of a question, may be spoken with an I.S. pattern which converts it into the equivalent of a reproachful assertion - "You're a fool for doing this."

Of the terms mentioned above, those of status and solidarity are particularly relevant to our study of the social act of refusal. Let us consider a situation bounded by the requirements of a stringently organised institution, for example the Army. In the Army, status is of such crucial importance that while it is always open to a superior to say no to a subordinate, an inferior may never express refusal to his superior. Indeed, in the most strictly ritualised situations he must ask permission to express himself at all. If, however, the parties involved are not very widely separated on the scale of status (e.g. if they are colonel and major) and if, in addition, they share the solidarity of training, background, and even personal friendship, then some kind of qualified dissent from below is possible; but outright refusal is still inconceivable.

If we look at status-solidarity relationships between 'other ranks', rather than between officers, the situation is perhaps a little more complex. The gap between lance-corporal and private is so small that the lance-corporal has little authority, and even if he gives orders the requirements of barrack-room solidarity are such that the assertion of authority must be weighed against the forfeiture of friendship. The corporal is in a happier position; he can risk the loss of solidarity with the platoon, in the hope of eventually growing into a new solidarity, with the sergeants' mess. This is not only a transfer of solidarity, but also a transfer to a new

status. Thus, the private/lance-corporal status-relationships are modified by considerations of solidarity which are emphasised by the sharing of quarters and mess; whereas the status-relationship of sergeant/corporal and lower ranks is scarcely touched by requirements of solidarity, since the difference of status is emphasised by physical separation. The more authoritarian the society, the more obvious these divisions may be, and they will be reflected in language.

Analysis of the simple conditions of Army life suggests that while solidarity may modify the decrees of status - while friendship may allow a sergeant to demur, in 'off-parade' fashion, at the decisions of a captain - ultimately the responsibility for deciding and enforcing rests with the superior. No matter how profoundly the subordinate may feel himself to be in a state of emotional rebellion, the expression of such emotion is prohibited to him. He is required, first and foremost, to obey orders. Having obeyed them, he may avail himself of such machinery of complaint as the institution makes available to him.

This is admittedly a special case. But history suggests (and not such distant history as might be thought) that the special case corresponds to the general condition of the society which forged the institution. The authoritarian pattern is clear in Army life; it may be almost as clear, perhaps with some blurring, in office or factory; less clear in a street gang; and perhaps hidden from the casual observer of situations in which person A can 'do a favcur' for person B. Utterances often reveal the pattern; some things are said, others are not said. Among my pupils are overseas teachers, many of whom still have contact with tribal societies. They will often observe that such- and- such a response, as formulated in English, would not be possible in their society. On examination, it usually appears that there is a situational superior who has ways of dealing with refusal from below. This would also apply to English; but we know, from inside our own culture, that coercion from above _can_ be resisted, that refusal _is_ possible, provided that the inferior is skilled in the sociolinguistic stratagems of our society. The rarity of such skills is an aspect of the general theme of linguistic deprivation.

Refusal in English

Under what conditions, then, can we 'say no' in English? I would suggest that, institutionalised situations apart, there are only three conditions under which a simple and unmodified _no_ is possible. These are:

(1) In childhood, when the adult strictly supervises the child's experience of the 'socialising process' - in other words, when the child is learning to mind its p's and q's.

(2) In states of friendship or any intimacy so close that a straight and simple _no_ does not have to be softened.

(3) In situations where the power of emotion transcends the constraints of status and solidarity.

This is not the place to discuss these in any detail, but we might comment briefly that in (1) the family provides the background of a potentially authoritarian institution; in (2) all institutional prescriptions are lacking, and therefore all stratagems of defence and evasion are also absent; while in (3) deference to social norms breaks before the desperate power of emotional revolt. The authoritarian social structure is either effective, or is ignored, or is desperately subverted.

Speaker and listener: a comparison of English with Mernkwen

Now, in order to be able to interpret these social phenomena correctly, speaker and listener must share a common code of I.S. features; furthermore, any observer of their exchanges must be acquainted with the details of the code. In English, the authoritative I.S. pattern includes a falling intonation, a harsh vocal timbre, and the prominence of increased emphasis. Such features would not be found in the no-saying of friend to friend; but the kind of refusal which is a desperate revolt against authority would certainly be marked by special features - loudness of utterance, unusual curtailment or protraction of sounds, or possibly a constricted, tight-lips-and-clenched-teeth vocal timbre. (These are rough and ready indications, but will serve for the present purpose.)

We may compare this with the corresponding I.S. habit of Mernkwen. In Mernkwen, when a man in a senior position wishes to express refusal to someone of inferior status, the word ngang is still used, but the volar nasal consonant represented by the initial ng is drawn out, while the face assumes a look of concentration. At first sight, this may appear to resemble what we sometimes do in English when we wish to express reluctant refusal to someone of roughly equal status. We may draw out the no ("no-o-o"), and give the impression of devoting some thought to the matter. But unlike the Mernkwen, we usually add some qualifying expression of apology or explanation. In Mernkwen this is not necessary.

What happens, then, when a Mernkwen subordinate wishes to express refusal to a superior? There are situations in Mernkwen (as in English) where this simply cannot happen. But (again as in English) there are less tightly-governed situations in which some degree of no-saying is possible. The English subordinate in such cases has to proceed circumspectly, and perhaps with some complexity of expression; the complexity need not be syntactic or lexical, but may be paralinguistic - i.e. his no-saying may be accompanied by carefully-timed pauses, interpolated murmur-syllables, special effects of timbre, etc. No such circumlocutory discretion is required of the subordinate in Mernkwen. He simply uses the word ngang, and it is apparently optional whether the respectful wa or some equivalent is added. The only obligatory feature is the assumption of a respectful posture, which becomes increasingly respectful with the increase of social distance between the two parties. In short, it is fairly easy to establish the 'social grammar' of Mernkwen in this case; laying down all the verbal-prosodic-kinesic-paralinguistic rules for the corresponding situation in English is a rather more complex matter.

Implications

The example just discussed may help to bring into focus the kind of problem that can arise in inter-cultural situations. How does the Mernkwen, whose code in this instance is rather simple, learn to express refusal in English society, where the rules are a little more complicated? At best, his social relationships will lack refinement; at worst he may inflict many unintended insults. And this is a single case. My preliminary researches suggest that it may represent the situation in a whole group of West African languages; this being so, there is a large field open for investigation.

Further implications concern language-contact and change in language. The interaction of West African languages and English is, among other things, an interaction of the type of expression-system in which politeness in social relationships very frequently involves body-posture with a system in which this physical element is marginal or irrelevant. Will a West African speaker, struggling to cope with the I.S. resources of English, eventually produce significant modifications in the way English is spoken?; will he, for that matter, significantly modify the habit of his mother-tongue?

As for change in language, it may be asked in just what way the speech-habits of English have changed over the years. Those who have had any sort of power to enforce the rules of status have had to give up, over the centuries, many tokens of their authority as exhibited by subordinates - e.g. respectful posture, livery, etc. In consequence of this, have they changed the language in any compensatory way? I suspect that the traditional 'flat' frontier-drawl of the Western American represents a social intent to confess inferiority to none; the flatted intonation patterns are a way of eliminating from speech any acknowledgement of status. I also suspect that the difference I notice between Canadian English and the English of the USA in general may be traced to the possibility that Canadians, in using I.S. features to express social status, use them in a manner more closely resembling that of British English or French.

These are speculations, however. What remains for the present is my conviction that the development of a 'social grammar' is an urgent need, and that investigators in this area will shed new light on language development as well as on large areas of social activity.

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