

GRAMMAR OF THE IN-GROUP CODE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Overview

Chapter 3 explained that the model of K areas was devised so that the language used in each K area could be compared, and the effect of increasing common knowledge over time on language could be examined. This chapter begins the study of the language. It examines the connection between speakers and context, between language and the surrounding reality. This study is principally one of reference, the "relation that holds between speakers /.../ and what they are talking about on particular occasions" (Lyons, 1981a: 220), the "function whereby speakers indicate via the use of linguistic expression, the entities they are talking about" (Brown and Yule, 1983: 205). The study, thus concerned with the contextual sensitivity of language use, takes into account the fact that utterances are both context-shaped, speakers' contributions to an ongoing sequence of actions being understood only by reference to the context in which they participate, and context-renewing, each utterance forming the immediate context for the next action in a sequence and contributing to the contextual framework for the next action (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 16-18). Extralinguistic knowledge of the world is interactively and socially constructed (Duranti and Goodwin, 1992: 230).

Analysing the Language of Discourse Communities

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Speakers use verbal and non-verbal signs to relate what is said to knowledge gained through experience, in order to retrieve the presuppositions that they rely on to maintain conversational involvement and assess what is intended (Gumperz in Duranti and Goodwin, 1992: 230). This study focuses on contextualisation cues (Gumperz, 1982), or features of linguistic behaviour that indicate those aspects of the context that are relevant to what the speaker means and enable interactants to make inferences about one another's intentions and goals. Contextualisation cues operate on the levels of prosody, paralinguistic signs, code choice, choice of lexical forms or formulaic expressions and choice of grammar. Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz define them as "the use of code or style-switching strategies, of formulaic utterances and other lexical options, which affect the inferential process by recalling interpretative schemata or suggesting how message parts can be linked to create a thematic whole" (in Grimshaw, 1994: 381). This study is limited to the grammatical and lexical cues.

In normal communication, "much of what is intended to be communicated can be implicit and taken-for-granted" (Grimshaw, 1994: 319). Gumperz (1982: 131) suggests that the meaning of contextualisation cues can be especially implicit when used by members of social groups: "exclusive interaction with individuals of similar background leads to reliance on unverballed and context-bound presuppositions in communication". Firth (1957) and Bernstein (1971) observe that the restricted code of social groups contains context-dependent language based on unspoken assumptions not available to the outsider. Restricted code typically contains a great deal of exophoric reference depending on both a context of common experience and a context of culture (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 34-36).

This chapter begins the exploration of the rule of implicitness that the students seem to follow when they refer to aspects of their shared reality. As Drew and Heritage (1992: 22) note, in institutional talk, there are "inferential frameworks and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts". They observe that in non-formal institutional settings, patterns have less uniformity than formal; this chapter aims to show that even in the non-formal setting of the common-room, there are rules. It examines the way that implicitness develops over time and analyses its distinct features. The students' language (see Figure 1) includes an 'in-group code' of implicit grammatical and lexical cues, as well as 'other implicit features' at the clause, utterance and exchange level. The 'implicit contextualisation cues' are discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 5; the other features are examined in Chapter 6.

Figure 1: The implicit language of the in-group

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|---|---|
| In-group code of implicit contextualisation cues: | |
| - grammatical | - explicit non-anaphoric definite reference |
| | - implicit reference |
| - lexical | - special course nouns and general words |
| Other implicit features: | |
| - clausal ellipsis | |
| - implicitness at exchange level | |
| - conversational implicature | |

Grammatical Reference Categories

The grammar of the noun phrase is central to the code because it amounts to a mode of social interaction (Ochs *et al.* 1996); for the turn-taking system to function, interactants must share an understanding of the grammatical resources of their particular form of the language (Ford, 1993: 11). The central focus is on the *explicitness* of noun-phrase reference. Interest is concentrated on *non-anaphoric* rather than anaphoric reference, and on *definite* rather than indefinite reference, because the anaphoric indefinite reference contributes less to the exclusivity of the in-group conversation. Non-anaphoric definite reference is examined in terms of explicitness, to discover whether a new referent is referred to very explicitly with a post-head modifier, explicitly with no post-head modifier, or implicitly with just a general noun or pronoun. A detailed study of the grammar of verb forms might have been relevant to an analysis of in-group language but it is beyond the scope of this study. The implicitness of verbs is analysed from a lexical point of view in Chapter 5, which defines verbs such as "to write" as explicit, being contentful, and general verbs such as "to do" as implicit, being a non-contentful. Clausal ellipsis is examined in Chapter 6.

The analysis of anaphoric and non-anaphoric reference used in the study is based primarily on Halliday and Hasan's (1976) definition of exophora and endophora. They explain that endophora is textual and cohesive, the referent being retrievable either in the preceding text (anaphora) or in the text that follows (cataphora). The interpretation of the endophoric referring expression lies therefore within the text, and that of the exophoric referring expression lies outside the text. Exophoric reference can be either situational or homophoric. Situational reference "links the language with the context of situation" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 37) and includes deixis (Levinson, 1983) in which the referring expression points out to the immediate context of the utterance. Homophoric reference is in the context of culture in which "the referent is identifiable on extralinguistic grounds no matter what the situation" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 71). Blakemore (1992) calls this reference the retrieval of a mental representation from memory. Exophoric referring expressions can therefore be understood in the wider context of intertextuality and common knowledge. Hawkins (1978) says that "the larger situation" use can be based on specific knowledge (eg: A: "I'm going to the store" when A knows which store B goes to) or on general knowledge (eg: A: "I wonder where the city hall is", when both A and B know every town has a city hall). It would be simplistic to suggest that endophoric and exophoric reference can be easily distinguished, however. As Halliday and Hasan admit, "The line between exophoric and anaphoric is not always very sharp." (1976: 18). There is an overlap between the two.

The first cause of overlap comes from a characteristic of endophora: endophoric reference also needs the hearer to have some background knowledge. An endophoric reference item almost always points to both a presupposed item within the text and the referent itself that lies in the world outside the text. As Lyons (1977: 660) says, an anaphoric pronoun "refers to the referent of the antecedent expression with which it is correlated". There is a "bridging" between anaphoric reference and the antecedent by assumptions which are not actually present in the preceding utterance, but which are constructed by inferences based on what the listener or reader knows, and guided by the principles of relevance (Clark and Clark, 1977). Anaphora that relies partially on inference is known as associative anaphora (Hawkins, 1978). Venneman explains that the listener or reader understands the full meaning of a proposition by referring to a "presuppositional pool", that contains information "constituted from general knowledge, from the situative context

of the discourse, and from the completed part of the discourse itself" (1975: 314). In the present analysis, associative anaphora is included in the category of anaphora.

The second cause of overlap between endophoric and exophoric reference comes from a characteristic of exophora. Exophoric reference also needs the hearer to have some knowledge of the preceding text and texts, and the likely presuppositional pool. The hearer needs knowledge of the preceding text because speakers following the principle of relevance rarely introduce a noun phrase that has no connection at all with the preceding discourse. The hearer also needs knowledge gained in previous conversations. This is intertextual (de Beaugrande, 1981) knowledge, in which the presupposed item is in previous texts, taken for granted as shared and in the minds of speakers. Since the previous texts are part of the context of culture, the borderline between text and context becomes blurred. However, to say that all conversations between the same speakers constitute one text, and that exophoric reference can be seen as cohesive and anaphoric, would seem somewhat extreme. As Lyons says, "not all of the intersubjective knowledge that is exploited in the interpretation of texts derives from what has been previously mentioned" (1977: 673). In this study, intertextual exophora is included in the category of exophora. Each dialogue is considered a separate text, since it cannot usually be established whether an exophoric referent is intertextual or not.

The term "cataphoric" is dropped altogether in the study, because in the data there are no cases of the presupposed item coming further ahead in the text than the post-head dependent immediately following the referring expression. Some forms of reference can never refer forward cohesively past the noun phrase of the referring item. As Halliday and Hasan point out, the definite article "can only refer to a modifying element within the same nominal group as itself." (1976: 71). The post-modifying element can be a prepositional phrase, a relative clause, another noun phrase, etc., as in "The ascent of Mount Everest" and "The people who predicted a dry the summer" (*ibid.*), or "the fact that he was married", "the opera 'Carmen'", and "the man to do it" (Huddleston, 1988: 93). The idea of dropping the category "cataphora" and using just "anaphora" is not new. Lyons favours using the term "anaphoric" to cover "both normal backward-looking anaphoric reference and the less normal forward-looking or anticipatory, anaphoric reference" (1977: 659). Since the term "cataphoric" is dropped and only "anaphora" remains from endophoric reference, exophora can be known as "non-anaphora". Levinson (1983), considering deixis, refers simply to anaphoric and non-anaphoric usages, as does Blakemore (1992).

Figure 2: Analysis model for all grammatical reference

Anaphoric referring to the textually known and usually the cognitively known - inc. associative anaphora	Non-Anaphoric referring to the textually unknown - situational / homophoric / intertextual				
	<hr/> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tbody> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">Known</td> <td style="width: 50%;">Introductory</td> </tr> <tr> <td>pointing to the cognitively known</td> <td>introducing the cognitively unknown</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Known	Introductory	pointing to the cognitively known	introducing the cognitively unknown
Known	Introductory				
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The definition of the non-anaphoric referring expression used in this study (see Figure 2), is that which points outside the text to a referent not referred to in the preceding text. The referent is either present in the immediate situation (situational reference), in the background knowledge

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(generalised, homophoric and contextual reference) or in previous texts (intertextual). When speakers use non-anaphoric reference, the referent is textually unknown, and they assume that either the referent is cognitively known (in the listener's mind) or that the referent is cognitively unknown (not in the listener's mind therefore, and needing introductory reference). The traditional definition that states that non-anaphoric reference is only that which is totally new, in the sense of being completely unrelated to anything at all in the preceding text, is stretched. Referring expressions are classified as non-anaphoric if their meaning is *not immediately interpretable from something concrete in the text*. Example (1) is one of non-anaphoric reference. BF has been explaining how the tutorial task had been divided up:

- (1) 04124 BF Has anybody done their syntax? ((1))
04125 DM // I did it yesterday.
04126 DM Oh that's what I was doing yeah.
04127 BM // No I haven't looked at it yet.
→ 04128 BM Oh you were doing it in **the library** weren't you?
04129 BM You're well ahead aren't you?

The library is mentioned for the first time and has not been implied in the preceding text, except perhaps in the sense that a student may sit somewhere in the university to "do their syntax".

Definite reference is of interest in this study because it depends critically upon mutual knowledge, beliefs and suppositions (Clark and Murphy, 1982). Definite reference is made with definite noun phrases (proper nouns, definite articles, demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, personal and possessive pronouns) which show that speakers assume that hearers can identify the referent using their textual knowledge or their contextual knowledge. Definite referring expressions are subjectively involved in pragmatic use, varying according to where and when they are uttered and by whom (Lyons, 1981b: 168). Speakers base their audience design on the adequate background of the hearers: "When speakers use definite references, they assume their addressees can immediately identify the individuals referred to" (Clark, 1997: 575-7). In (2), the interlocutors, talking about experiences with bus drivers, are expected to know "the green buses" from their specific knowledge of larger situation of Edinburgh:

- (2) 04057 DM Demented bus driver.
04058 BF // (heh heh heh)
04059 AF // (heh heh heh)
04060 AF You get the occasional one. (2.5)
→ 04061 AF The wild ones are on the on **the green buses** actually.
04062 AF They go at a hell of a rate.

Schiffirin (1994: 199) notes that the maxims of quantity and relevance may work together to constrain referring items, in terms of definiteness and explicitness. She says that "Definiteness is concerned with S's intentions and assumptions about what H can be expected to know. Explicitness is partially motivated by S's cooperative intentions, i.e. information presented to enable H to identify the intended referent." She affirms that the quantity of information conveyed in a particular referring term is as important as the relevance of that information. She explains that whereas definite forms "indicate S's intentions to refer to a single entity that can be specifically identified by S, and that S expects H to be able to identify from whatever clues (textual, contextual) are available", explicitness "has to do with the presentation of information that actually enables H to correctly identify a referent, i.e. the lexical cues that allow H to single out whom (or what) S intends to differentiate from other potential referents." (ibid.). As Coulthard (1977) says, the speaker must make a contribution sufficiently explicit to be clear, and

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"membership" his listener each time the topic changes. This view of definiteness and explicitness being interwoven is central to the analysis in this book.

Some linguists have considered degrees of explicitness at the mode and register level, but they risk over-simplifying and over-generalising the case. Chafe (1982) describes the written mode as explicit and context-free, and the spoken mode as implicit and context-dependent. Leckie-Tarry (1995: 133) says that "the lowest degree of explicitness [is] to be found in the registers of casual conversational and the highest degree of explicitness to be found in the registers of formal written discourse." Tannen (1982) finds that implicitness depends on register and genre. Biber (1988) finds that explicit references, defined as those that can be decoded without recourse to situation, occur more in academic prose than in popular lore texts such as informative texts found in popular magazines. This book examines the explicitness of a spoken mode that is heavily influenced by the written mode: the students talk about the concepts that they have read about in articles, the theories that they are going to write about in the exam. Their language contains a mixture of the formal academic register and the informal common-room chat register. The distinction between the two is not easy nor indeed useful to make.

Those linguists who look at degrees of explicitness at the utterance level remain in abstractions and cooperation principles. Blakemore (1992) analyses explicitness in terms of information conveyed either explicitly or implicitly, noting that the right amount of information is given to make the relevance between two utterances clear enough for the hearer to interpret the meaning using his contextual resources. Grice (1975) covers the issue of explicitness with his maxim of quantity: the speaker should provide the hearer with enough information to be able to understand. According to Grice, the speaker can imply more than his words say by flouting these maxims and using conversational implicature, what Brown and Levinson (1978) call going "off record". This does come closer to the approach taken in this book: Chapter 6 contains an examination of implicitness over utterances and behind utterances, based on cooperative maxims.

The degrees of explicitness of referring expressions have been given scant attention by linguists, and this is at the centre of the present study. Warren (1993) mentions only pro-forms and general nouns as exponents of inexplicit language. Most of those who do examine explicitness at the level of the noun phrase treat it as a gradable quality on a cline from explicit to implicit, yet the analysis remains superficial. McCarthy and Carter (1994: 10) simply say, "terms such as *implicit* and *explicit* are not absolutes". Hasan (1984: 125) establishes a cline from the explicit cataphoric, to the less explicit anaphoric, to the more implicit exophoric, in which the referent is a concrete element in the context of situation, to the most implicit exophoric in which the referent is in the common past experience of the participants. Halliday and Hasan (1985) refer to all personal pronouns, demonstratives, possessive pronouns and substitution as "implicit encoding devices", yet this study shows that some are more implicit than others. Schiffrin (1994) outlines the exponents of degrees explicitness of referring expressions in greater depth but still only mentions them in passing. She equates "explicit noun phrases" with "'lexically informative' full noun phrases", and lists general nouns, personal pronouns and zero personal pronouns as "less explicit" referring items. She is mostly interested in the difference between the two being the difference between the first mention of a referent (often indefinite) and the second mention of it (often definite). Her description of how these crosscut on a scale of degrees of explicitness is quite useful:

"I can use all of the following (and more) definite descriptions to refer to the same person: *my husband, Louis, Dr.Scavo, the man I live with*. These are all more explicit than the indefinites *an adult I live with, someone I met in college*. The definite *he*, however, is *less* explicit than the indefinites just given, /.../ but more explicit than zero anaphora." (p.199)

Her scale combining definite and indefinite reference and adding detailed distinctions within each of these categories is unfortunately impractical for building a model to analyse data. It is also incomplete in that she does not examine the explicitness of noun phrases in terms of cohesion; a pronoun can surely be either implicit or explicit (see below). She does not examine the effect of different determiners in the noun phrase (e.g.: "the pen", "that pen") and she does not explore degrees of explicitness in verbs (e.g.: "to work", "to do"). Finally, Halliday and Hasan do link implicitness of referring expressions with impenetrability, as this study does: "Exophorically interpreted implicit devices create an opaque link between the text and its context so far as speakers outside the context are concerned" (1985: 76-7). The model used in this study contains different degrees of explicitness (super-explicit, explicit and implicit) for both anaphoric and non-anaphoric reference. See Figure 3 for examples of how the degrees of explicitness fit in with definite reference.

Figure 3: Degrees of explicitness

Super-Explicit	the/that pen that I bought the pen with a nib
Explicit	<i>the/that pen</i> <i>John</i>
Implicit	<i>the/that thing that I bought</i> <i>the/that thing/person</i> <i>that/there</i> <i>it/him</i>

The term 'super-explicit' reference is used to mean that in which the referent referred to in the noun head is further identified by means of a post-modifier to add extra information. The post-modifier, such as a prepositional phrase, infinitival clause, relative clause, participial clause, adjectival phrase or noun phrase in apposition, is defining and restrictive but it is not obligatory (Huddleston, 1988). This would have been classified as cataphoric in Halliday and Hasan's framework but in the present model both anaphoric and non-anaphoric reference can be explicit or otherwise. The term 'super-explicit' is preferred to another such as 'modified explicit', 'modified noun phrase' or 'noun plus post-head' because it makes it clear that this type of noun phrase is further along the scale of explicitness (at the other end from the implicit) than the explicit, or bald noun head. Thus "the pen that I bought" has more content, gives more information about the referent than the explicit "the pen", just as the "explicit" form carries more content than the "implicit" "it" or "the thing". In super-explicit reference, the speaker further identifies the referent for the hearer, as in (3), in which AF makes her identification of "the street" more explicit with "we go down":

- (3) 21038 AF The City Cafe on Blair Street. (2.5)
21039 AF Just above Cowgate.
21040 AF You know when we go down to Wilkie House.
21041 DM Aha.
→ 21042 AF Well **the street we go down** the City Cafe is in that.
21043 AF It's a nice place. (3)

This is Hawkins' (1978) definite reference category of unavailable use, which introduces new information unknown to the listener, using a relative clause or a pre-head modifier.

The term 'explicit' reference is used to mean that in which the referent referred to in the noun head is *not* further identified with a post-head modifier. This "bald" noun phrase can be understood by those knowing the text and/or context without the additional help of an explanatory or identifying expression indicating exactly which of all the possible referents with that name is being referred to. In (4), the students are about to go over a tutorial task together and "that list" is introduced with no further identification:

(4) 03032 NM (heh) We're already ten minutes late so. ((5))

03033 BM Um.

→ 03034 BM What we decided was we-we got did you get **that em list em** (2) the em **the sh-topic sheet** from **XX** on- on Monday?

03035 FF No I had it I had it read out on the phone to me last night.

Here, even the modifying expression "the topic sheet" would make it more explicit only to an in-group member, because it is another example of bald "explicit" reference. FF obviously knows what is being referred to: she refers to it too, with "it". Explicit reference includes both common nouns and proper nouns. The proper noun has as much denotation as a personal pronoun or a general noun, but it *is* in the explicit category in that it identifies the referent as explicitly as 'explicit' referring expressions do, and because it identifies the referent more explicitly than 'implicit' referring expressions do. "Louis" is as explicit as "my husband", and less generalisable than "that man" or "he". Excerpt (5) is from a discussion about a lecture handout and the answers that students wrote in their exams:

(5) → 12146 CM Cos I'm sure it said Structuralism Saussure and then the next week it said Structuralism Bloomfield.

12147 AM Ah that's it yeah. ((1))

→ 12148 CM And I did qualify it with that Lyons **what Lyons said** about (0.5) being an American who was trying // to

12149 AM // Mm. Mm.

It would have been more generalisable if CM's words had been "what he said" instead of "what Lyons said", which might denote as much as "what the linguist said" to an outsider. MM seems to remember who Lyons is and what he said. Anaphoric pronouns that cohere with a contentful noun with explicit reference (e.g.: "a blue pen") are also considered explicit; pronouns are seen as implicit only if they are used non-anaphorically or if they are cohesive with a non-anaphoric implicit referring expression such as a general noun (e.g.: "a thing") or another non-anaphoric pronoun.

The explicit reference category includes the noun head followed by a post-head *complement* such as a prepositional phrase, a content clause, or an infinitival clause, as in "his refusal to go" or "the need for us to help her" (Huddleston, 1988: 93). In this study, the noun with a post-head complement is considered to be in the same category as explicit "bald" reference because the obligatory complement depends on and is selected by the noun head. Whereas in super-explicit reference, the post-head *modifier* adds extra non-obligatory information to further identify the referring expression, the post-head complement is intrinsically connected to the noun head. In example (6) of an explicit referring expression containing a complement, a student suggests how to modify a project if the discussion of a particular point is longer than the introduction stated it would be:

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- (6) 17041 CM // And then you do and then you do a search for "briefly" and change to (0.5) change to "extensively" or something if you actually do discuss it in depth.

Here, "a search" selects "for", because of the verb "to search for"; the sentence would have lost its meaning if "for 'briefly'" had been omitted. One major type of complement in the explicit category is the post-head partitive genitive phrase: that which completes the noun phrase by identifying the whole, the mass or the class of which the preceding noun is a part or a member, such as "on the back of American comics" and "95% of the people". Example (7) contains an explicit referring expression with a partitive genitive phrase. AF is talking about her cold:

- (7) 21029 AF Yes the worst was actually in the middle of the week when I was planning to work very hard.

Here, "the week" is the whole and "the middle" is the part. The noun in the post-head partitive genitive phrase functions semantically as the head noun; "the middle of the week" is more "week" than "middle".

The term 'implicit' reference is used to mean that reference, usually 'bald' (i.e. with no post-head modifier), in which the referent is not named by the referring expression, but is rather referred to with a vague expression. The implicit referring expression is a general noun or a personal, demonstrative or indefinite pronoun. "That thing", "a thing", "the person" or "people" have as much contentfulness as "that", "something", "he" or "they". Implicit reference also includes colloquial forms of general noun and vague noun clauses such as "the what's-a-name" and "what you said you'd do". These are Wilkes-Gibbs' (in Clark, 1993) dummy noun phrases "whatsit" and "thingamabob". General nouns are classified as implicit whether they have a post-head modifier or not. The post-head modifier after a general noun does not add enough to make it as explicit as a contentful noun. In (8) from K4, if AM had not limited the reference of "stuff" to something that had to be read, presumably an article or a hand-out, he might not have communicated his idea at all:

- (8) →14059 AM That's the stuff we- we read last week which we should've read this week.
(0.5)
14060 AM So read it again.
14061 AM I found it.
14062 AM It's in there.
14063 NF Chapter Six.

NF seems to know what the "stuff" is. A further discussion of the general noun will follow in Chapter 5. It is included in this grammatical chapter as well as in the lexical chapter because the general noun bridges the lexical and the grammatical boundary. As Halliday and Hasan say, the general noun is a "borderline case between a lexical item (member of an open set) and a grammatical item (member of a closed system)" (1976:274).

Implicit reference can be non-anaphoric or anaphoric. In the case of implicit non-anaphoric reference, the referent can only be guessed at if the listener has the requisite background knowledge of the world outside the text. In (9), DM and CM had been talking about handing work in on time; in unit 15045, DM suddenly shifts topic using implicit reference to something that has not been mentioned before:

- (9) 15041 CM Can't remember the last time I handed in anything late.
15042 DM (heh heh // heh heh)
15043 CM // Usually it's three months early.

- 15044 DM (heh heh) Right. (8)
 → 15045 DM So I typed **that thing** up again after you'd gone.
 15046 CM Oh yeah.

Here, the general noun "thing" carries very little more semantic information than the pronoun "it" would have done, yet CM appears to be able to identify the referent. In the case of implicit anaphoric reference, the referring expression is cohesive with a presupposed item in the text; the presupposed item itself is sometimes implicit and so does not point out clearly to a referent or bring the hearer any closer to the referent's identification than the referring expression itself. In (10), CM is describing Japanese beaches:

- (10) 19109 CM But- they they're paranoid about their their islands er dissolving into the ocean so they've done all these cement they're called er (1.5) like the // er
 19110 BM // What like
 19111 CM No- no.
 19112 CM **They're** huge like the size of this room.
 19113 CM One is the size of this room.
 → 19114 CM And they've got thousands of **these things** stuck out there with the islands.
 → 19115 CM So you might get a stretch of about half a mile of nice sandy beaches and then there's this huge **what-you-call-it** breaking the surf.

Here there is cohesion but CM has not named the presupposed item for the "things", the "what-you-call-it"s to be cohesive with or the "they" to refer back to.

Analysis Of Grammatical Reference

Warren (1993: 38-41) makes the point that in conversations, utterances are produced at a lower level of explicitness than in other discourse types. He claims that fluctuation in the level of explicitness is a product of changes in the immediate context, and shows that participants who can both see what is being referred to and have knowledge about entities in their shared physical setting are less explicit than those who cannot. The researcher in the present study felt that fluctuation in explicitness is a product of changes in shared cultural context, in assumed background knowledge. Casually observing the students interacting in the common room, she sensed that over the duration of the course, the form of reference became less explicit, the referring expressions containing less information as precise identification of referents becomes less necessary. She felt that the explicitness varied according to the topic, and that implicitness was greatest in K4 topics.

The first stage of the analysis was to tag every noun head and verb to indicate both grammatical and lexical information. The grammatical reference coding tag usually consisted of three letters and one number. The first letter indicated phora type (anaphora, non-anaphora). The second letter indicated the reference type: definite reference tags included demonstrative reference (definite article and demonstratives, adverbs), personal reference (personal pronouns and possessive adjectives), and comparative reference (comparative adjectives and adverbs); all indefinite noun phrases were tagged the same, whether the determiners were "a", zero articles, "some", "no", "every", "much" or "a lot of". The third letter indicated the grammatical form of the reference or the part of speech (pronoun, adjective, adverb, ellipsis). The number at the end of the letter combination indicated the degree of explicitness (super-explicit, explicit and implicit). Ellipsis and

substitution of parts of the noun phrase was not examined because non-anaphoric ellipsis proved exceedingly rare. Ellipsis at the clause or utterance level (unfinished sentences) was tagged but analysed along with the "other implicit features".

In the tagging of definite reference types, not every noun phrase was analysed. Nouns with demonstrative determiners and definite articles were not tagged when they occurred in adverbial phrases. Phrases of contrast, such as "on the other hand", and addition, such as "in the sense that", were not analysed as they are fixed expressions whose meaning varies little with context. The exception to the rule about adverbial phrases was time expressions such as "this week" or "at the end of this week" in which demonstratives and definite articles were tagged, because they were not fixed general expressions of chronological sequencing, but pointed out to specific moments, with a pragmatic meaning. In (11), speakers have been talking about how unsatisfactory it is to do temporary teaching work:

- (11) 05094 BM But on the other hand it's it's (0.5) it's- it would be useful to do that work (0.5) for **the future** like for example for **the the summer**.
 05095 BM Get yourself known around places.
 05096 BF Mmm.

Here, "for the the summer" only has meaning for them in the light of the course timetable. The personal pronoun "it" in generalised empty reference was not tagged, as in (12) in which AF enters the common room and declares:

- (12) 15097 AF God **it's** hot in here.

because "it" is simply providing a subject for the verb. Nor was "it" tagged in empty reference in fixed expressions with a meaning such as "already", "I agree". In (13), AM explains why he left his group of friends after the pub:

- (13) 11113 AM I thought I'd had too much to drink **as it is**.

The generalised pronoun "they" was tagged, on the other hand, because it has a more personal meaning. In (14) from a conversation about importing a computer:

- (14) 06007 CM You're buying a computer?
 06008 NF Yeah.
 → 06009 NF **They** sent me this.
 06010 AM And they persuaded=

"they" could be identified as the computer firm personnel/sales manager; AM picks up the same "they" to begin another question. Personal pronouns in tag questions were not tagged because the pronoun does not carry any meaning. In all the data, there were no third person possessive pronouns or non-anaphoric third person possessive adjectives. The possessives category was maintained in the study, however, in order to study the instances of implicit anaphoric expressions.

Working with spontaneous recordings meant devising a system to accommodate the "messiness" of spoken discourse: stutters, repetition, false starts and errors of speech. In the case of stutters, as in:

- (15) 06091 NF Yeah but **this (this)** is just for er for January 1992.

the repeated demonstratives, definite articles, personal pronouns, etc. were counted as one instance. Repetition that happened over more than one discourse unit, was tagged as two separate instances, even when they constituted a repetition of exactly the same words with exactly the same meaning. The second mention of the demonstrative, definite article, personal

pronoun, etc. was labelled the same as the first; it was not treated as an item of cohesion with the first. In false starts, as in:

(16) 16079 AM (They) the third consonant is the least remembered or something when you when you're when you only get it orally.

none of the incomplete constituents were tagged, partly because the false start loses its meaning and significance being an incomplete expression, and partly because this clearly makes it impossible to tag it anaphoric/non-anaphoric or explicit/implicit. Errors in reference type, as in:

(17) 17037 AF Can't you sort of say later on em these subjects will be revised briefly?

17038 BM (heh heh)

→ 17039 NF Oh I do (those).

were treated as if they referred as intended, and are tagged as if they were the right word. In (17), "those" was tagged as if it had been "that".

Before the data was analysed, this part of the code was given to three subjects for intercoder reliability testing, and they scored 68%, 38% and 63%. The reason why it is possible for a coder to get such a low score as 38% may be that this part of the code is so complicated that coders either failed to understand all the intricacies, or they were quite simply discouraged by the complexity and did not give it the attention that it requires. The analysis of the tagged data was straightforward. Once the tokens of each feature within each of the four K areas were counted, the density of each tag in each day was calculated, by finding the percentage of each one out of the total number of words in each day in each K area file. Then, the average of these percentages for each of the tags in each dialogue was calculated for each of the three terms, to discover the overall changes over time and the difference between non-course dialogues and K4 dialogues. The average proportion of anaphoric and non-anaphoric reference was calculated, as well as the average density of super-explicit, explicit and implicit referring items in each term. Finally, a qualitative study of the function of each reference type was made, to bring out differences in terms of context and specificity of reference.

4.2 CHANGES IN GRAMMATICAL REFERENCE

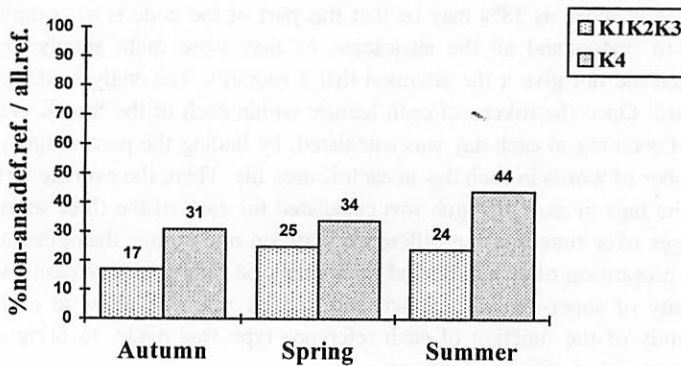
Non-Anaphoric Definite Reference

Three general observations should be made before a discussion of non-anaphoric definite reference. Firstly, the overall density of all pronouns and adverbs out of all words does not change over time, remaining at 8% throughout the year. Any increase in certain types of pronoun cannot therefore be said to be a reflection of a general increase in all pronouns and adverbs. Secondly, the analysis of all non-anaphoric reference, regardless of whether it is definite or indefinite reference, shows that it is consistently denser in K4 than in non-course K area dialogues. The percentage out of all reference is 33% in non-course K areas and 43% in K4 in the autumn term, 36% in non-course K areas and 51% for K4 in the spring term, and 37% in non-course K areas and 51% in K4 51% in the summer term. This suggests that students talking on course topics are more likely to introduce new referents with little connection with the preceding discourse than when they are talking on non-course topics. The third general observation to be made is that an analysis of all definite reference, regardless of whether it is anaphoric or non-anaphoric reference, does not show a consistent increase in the density over

time. The percentage out of all noun phrases is 74% in the autumn term, 80% in the spring term and 74% in the summer term. This peak in the spring term occurs when K4 topics occupy 57% of dialogues.

The analysis of non-anaphoric definite reference, taking all degrees of explicitness together, shows that the density out of all reference has a similar peak in the spring term although it does not return quite to the autumn level in the summer term (25%, 29%, 27%). It would seem that the longer the students interact as a group, the more they can refer to referents that are not in the preceding text, using definite referring expressions that assume that the referents can be identified. Figure 4 shows clearly that K4 has much more non-anaphoric definite reference than non-course K area dialogues. The peak in non-anaphoric definite reference in all K areas in the spring term is caused therefore by the characteristics of K4 which predominates then.

Figure 4: Non-anaphoric definite reference out of all reference



Degrees Of Explicitness

An examination of the degrees of explicitness, taking all reference together (anaphoric and non-anaphoric, definite and indefinite) and all the data together, reveals that explicit reference is the unmarked form of referring and that there is a slight increase in implicit reference in the spring term, which then keeps at the same level in the summer (see Figure 5). A χ^2 test of significance was carried out on the proportions of tokens of noun phrases with implicit reference in each of the three terms. The value of χ^2 was 2.065, significant at the 0.005 level, and showed that the difference between the proportions of implicit reference and non-implicit reference in each of the three terms is significant. The more experiences the students share, and the more they know of each other, the more they use implicit reference. Figure 6 shows the changes over time in degrees of explicitness in the different K areas. Not only does K4 have a higher density of implicit reference than non-course K areas but this increases dramatically in the summer term, at the expense of super-explicit and explicit reference. Nearly half of K4's reference in the summer term is implicit. A χ^2 test of significance was carried out on the proportions of tokens of implicit reference in course and non-course K area topics. The value of χ^2 was 102.32, significant at the 0.005 level. It showed that, taking all terms together, the difference between the proportions of implicit reference and non-implicit reference in course topics and non-course topics is significant.

Figure 5: Degrees of explicitness out of all reference in all K areas

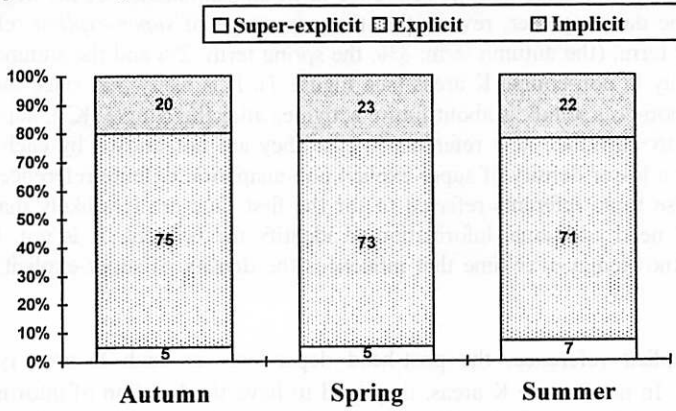
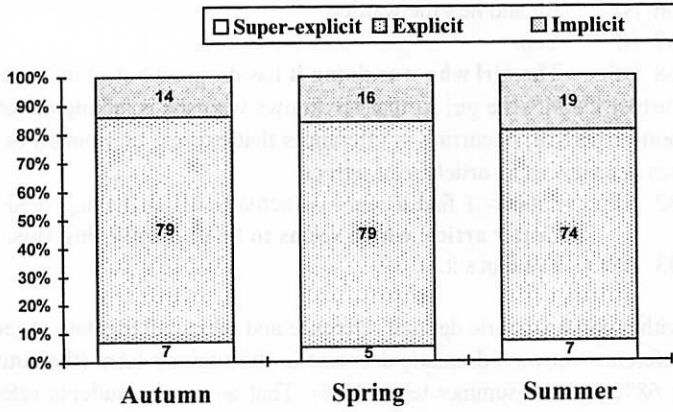
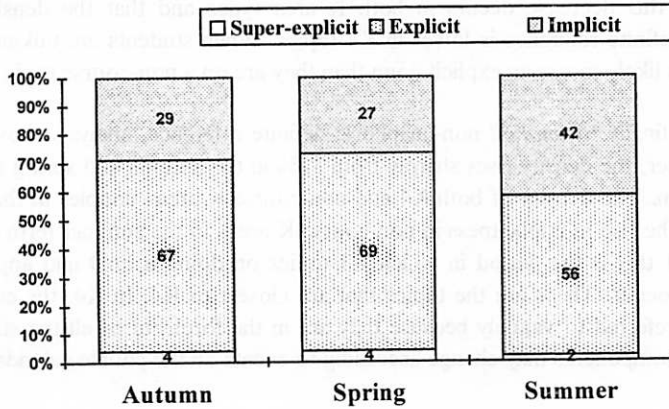


Figure 6: Density of degrees of explicitness out of all reference in Non-course K areas



In K4



Just within *non-anaphoric definite reference* now, an examination of the degrees of explicitness, taking all the data together, reveals that the percentage of *super-explicit* reference increases in the summer term, (the autumn term: 3%, the spring term: 2% and the summer term: 11%). This occurs mainly in non-course K areas (see Figure 7). It is likely that since the summer term is a time when non-course talk is about future activities after the course (K3), super-explicit language is required to introduce new referents in case they are not known by each individual. K4 has consistently a lower density of super-explicit non-anaphoric definite reference than non-course K areas. Course topic referents referred to for the first time are less likely than non-course topic referents to need additional information to identify the referent. It is not, therefore, so much increasing knowledge over time that influences the density of super-explicit reference as the K area.

In super-explicit reference, the post-head dependents in each K area type seem to differ functionally. In non-course K areas, they tend to have the function of informing, explaining and instructing. In (18), the post-head has a restrictive function. BF is explaining that her partner has been made warden of a university hall of residence:

- (18) 25064 BF He's been made into the warden of our house.
 25065 BF We've got a brilliant university house.
 25066 NF Ah and he's the warden.
 25067 BF Yep.
 → 25068 BF **The girl who was doing it** has dropped out of university.

She has to further identify the girl so that NF knows who she is talking about. In K4, post-heads tend to be non-restrictive, occurring in utterances that express an opinion or add a comment. In (19), AF gives her view of an article; AM agrees.

- (19) 16032 AF I think- I find a real loss actually of not having read **the (0.5) Fay and Cutler article which seems to be underpinning this.**
 16033 AM Yes that's it.

Again just within non-anaphoric definite reference and taking all the data together, the percentage of *explicit* reference shows a dramatic decrease in the summer term (the autumn term: 67%, the spring term: 68% and the summer term: 46%). That is to say, students refer less in an explicit way to contextually new referents assuming listener knowledge of them only once the course has been well established for a time. The analysis of non-course K areas separately from K4 dialogues shows that this decrease occurs in both K area types and that the density of explicit non-anaphoric definite reference is lower in K4 topics. When students are talking on a course topic they are less likely to use an explicit noun than they are on a non-course topic (see Figure 8).

Moving on finally to *implicit* non-anaphoric definite reference, analysis shows that taking all K areas together, the density rises sharply from 31% in the autumn and spring terms to 50% in the summer term. The density of both K4 and non-course K areas doubles in the summer term (see Figure 9). The rise in implicitness in non-course K areas in the summer term can be explained by the fact that this is the period in which K3 topics on doing a PhD and applying for the IALS scholarship occur. These are the topics that are closest to K4. In K4, the course elements only need to be referred to vaguely because they are in the forefront of all the students' minds, even though the components may change according to events on the course calendar.

Figure 7: Percentage of super-explicit reference out of all non-anaphoric definite reference

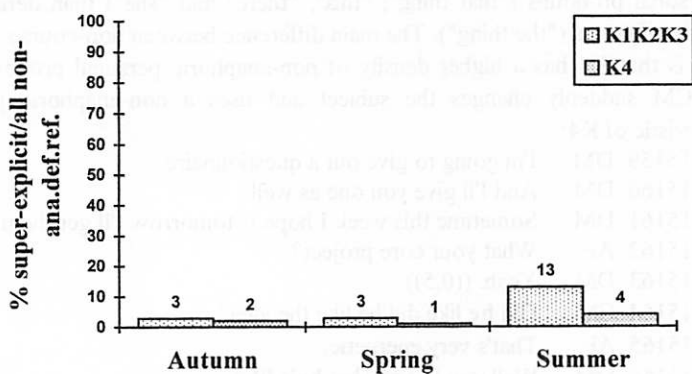


Figure 8: Percentage of explicit reference out of all non-anaphoric definite reference

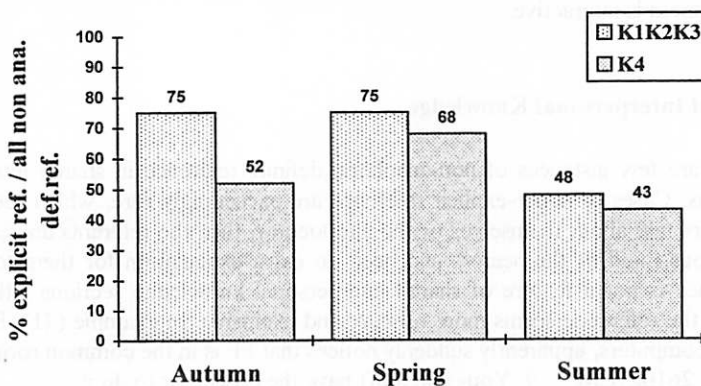
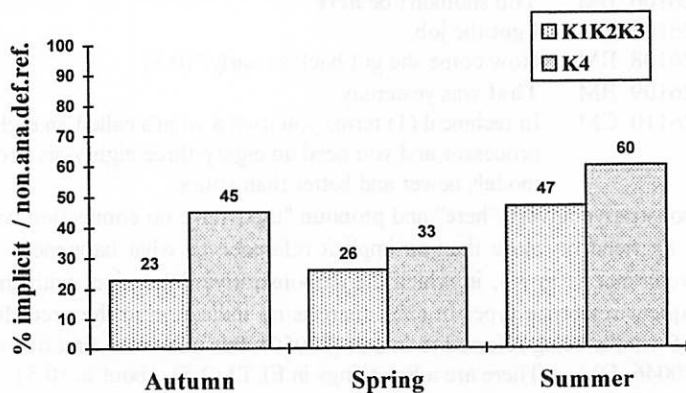


Figure 9: Percentage of implicit reference out of all non-anaphoric definite reference



te reference

The reference types in implicit non-anaphoric definite reference were more often demonstratives and personal pronouns ("that thing", "this", "there" and "she") than definite articles occurring with general nouns ("the thing"). The main difference between non-course K areas and K4 in this respect is that K4 has a higher density of non-anaphoric personal pronouns. Example (20), in which CM suddenly changes the subject and uses a non-anaphoric pronoun, is therefore characteristic of K4:

- (20) 15159 DM I'm going to give out a questionnaire.
 15160 DM And I'll give you one as well.
 15161 DM Sometime this week I hope t- tomorrow I'll get them all done.
 15162 AF What your core project?
 15163 DM Yeah. ((0.5))
 → 15164 CM Did **he** like did he like the idea?
 15165 AF That's very energetic.
 → 15166 DM Well you know what **he's like**.
 15167 DM It's difficult to tell isn't it?

:rence

CM knows that he can ask about the tutor's opinion on the progress of the project without giving him a name. DM knows who he is talking about, and refers to the tutor as "he", too. The implicitness is interactive.

Shared Interpersonal Knowledge

There are few instances of non-anaphoric definite reference in shared interpersonal knowledge sections. Cases of super-explicit reference are exceedingly rare, which seems to suggest that if speakers talk about themselves or the interlocutor, then the referents are guaranteed to be in the conscious mind of the hearers and need no extra explanation for them to be recalled. Implicit reference is not a feature of shared interpersonal knowledge sections either but, when it does occur, the reference seems more obscure and exclusive. In example (21), BM, mid-conversation about computers, apparently suddenly notices that FF is in the common room:

- (21) 26102 CM // You- you don't have the processor to do it.
 26103 BM Bu- but why don't I?
 26104 CM Cos (0.5) in technical terms you own an // Eighty-Eight.
 26105 BM // Say.
 → 26106 BM You shouldn't be **here**.
 26107 FF I got the job.
 26108 BM How come she got back so early? (0.5)
 → 26109 BM **That** was yesterday.
 26110 CM In technical (1) terms you own a what's called an eighty-eight six processor and you need an eighty-three eighty-six processor which is two models newer and better than yours.

:rence

The demonstrative adverb "here" and pronoun "that" have no connection with the preceding text; BM and FF need no more than an implicit reference to what happened. The biggest group of implicit reference is in K4, in which the demonstrative determiner with the general noun is the most frequent reference type. In (22), there is no indication in the preceding text about journal articles of what is being referred to in unit (20050); this unit is the first of a topic shift:

- (22) 20046 DM There are a few things in ELTJ (2.5) about it. (0.5)
 20047 DM ((sniffs)) which are you know.
 20048 DM There's not a lot though. (0.5)

- 20049 DM It's quite nice.
 → 20050 BM Did you see em X about **that MSc thing**?
 20051 DM That's right.
 20052 DM I'll go up and see if I can see it.

DM can identify it, as it is, referring to it with an implicit "it".

Non-anaphoric personal pronouns are dense in K4 shared interpersonal sections, especially in the spring term. They show knowledge of interlocutors' attitudes towards the members of staff, referred to covertly, as in (20). It may be that the cassette-recorder had an effect in the students' choice of reference, when they were expressing attitudes towards members of staff, using a non-anaphoric personal pronoun or a general noun rather than using a proper name. In (23), "she" is the only referring expression that DM uses to refer to the member of staff responsible for the psycholinguistics lecture that they are waiting to go to:

- (23) 15109 DM What's that?
 15110 DM Psycholinguistics?
 15111 AF Mhm.
 15112 AF I have difficulty getting my brain going first thing in the morning.
 → 15113 DM **She** certainly fills- fills it up doesn't she?
 → 15114 DM **She's** got lots of things to tell you I'm sure.
 15115 AF Yeah. (6) ((yawns)) (3)

AF knows who "she" is; they may mention no names because on the cassette recorder or because it is quite simply unnecessary. What is certain is that the non-anaphoric personal pronoun and the general noun also occur in contexts in which negative evaluations are not being made about members of staff and when identities do not need to be hidden. They are not, therefore, solely a product of the presence of the recorder.

4.3 REFERENTS

The discussion in this section centres round the context issue of whether the referents in the non-anaphoric definite reference are introduced as new or as assumed-to-be-known, and whether they are in the immediate situation or in the background knowledge. It also centres round the specificity issue of whether the referents are specific or non-specific/generic. Analysis suggests the both context and specificity are influenced more by K area than by increasing knowledge over time. Explicit and implicit reference in non-course K area dialogues are compared with that of K4 ones, in order to discover whether the context and the specificity of K4 dialogues add to their exclusivity.

Context

In *non-course* K areas, explicit non-anaphoric definite reference tends to occur in *introductory* reference in *narratives*. (24) is from a tale about a hypnotist show:

- (24) 02005 FF Did the guy volunteer or did he?=
 02006 MM Yeah the guy volunteered.
 02007 MM I'm not saying he wasn't hypnotised.

- 02008 MM It's just that I met someone afterwards and they said that what was happening was things like em (1) like at one-one point they got **these glasses**.
- 02009 MM OK.
- 02010 MM And they put these glasses on **these blokes**.
- 02011 MM And the blokes acted as if the audience was naked.
- 02012 BM (heh heh)
- /.../ 02018 MM I mean you just had to see their faces.
- 02019 MM I mean just such little horrid smug expressions.
- 02020 MM Like this ((1))
- 02021 BM (heh heh // heh)

This use of the explicit proximal demonstrative "these glasses" (unit 02008) and "these blokes" (unit 02010) is very close to the indefinite: they mean "a pair of glasses", "some blokes". The demonstrative heightens the dramatic tone and increases the interest. Another explicit reference example is (25), which comes from a story about weekend activities; the drama is brought closer to the audience by an introductory narrative demonstratives in "this enormous eight hour stretch" (22163) and "this big bloody mountain" (22165):

- (25) 22158 DM Yeah we did a lot of hill walking. (0.5)
- 22159 DM We got back (1) er (2)
- 22160 DM Michelle and I got home she looked at her knees. (0.5)
- 22161 DM They were like this.
- 22162 DM Swollen up like this.
- 22163 DM Cos we did **this enormous eight hour stretch**.
- 22164 AF Uhm.
- 22165 DM Up **this big bloody mountain**.
- 22166 DM // And back down the other side.
- 22167 AF // Yes.

Hearers know that they are not expected to know these referents. Examples (24) and (25) contain instances of implicit reference, non-anaphoric demonstrative determiners and pronouns used, this time, in introductory *situational* reference in narratives. In the hypnotist narrative, MM says that the people wearing glasses had smug expressions:

02020 MM Like **this** ((1))

and presumably imitates their faces. In the hill-walking narrative, DM describes his wife's knees and seems to be gesticulating:

22161 DM They were like **this**.

22162 DM Swollen up like **this**.

Non-anaphoric demonstrative adverbs also seem to be mainly situational. K2 has several instances in a dialogue in which BM asks CM to explain what can be done with a certain computing package and the students are presumably pointing to a sketch on a piece of paper in front of them, or it may be a lap-top:

- (26) 26019 BM Cos when it's you know have you ever seen a those sort of a lesson plan?
- 26020 CM Aha =
- 26021 BM **Here** you have most of the body of the information **here** (0.5) in the middle of the page or towards // the right
- 26022 CM // Yeah.

Any person present in the conversation could identify these introductory narrative and situational referents; they are clearly more explicit than the demonstrative that depends on background

knowledge. Non-course K area demonstrative adverbs *can* of course also require hearers to have background contextual knowledge. The background knowledge is often current news issues and events, as in (27), spoken at the beginning of a period of press invasion of the royal family's privacy: hearers need to be familiar with an incident between the Princess Ferguson and an official:

- (27) 24019 DM Fergey?
 24020 BF (heh heh) (1)
 24021 BF A royal. ((2))
 → 24022 MM Not a royal **now**. ((2))
 24023 BF Um?
 24024 MM Not a royal any more. ((2))
 24025 BF Was she ever?

"Now" means "now that she has been caught on camera having her toes sucked".

In K4 dialogues, on the other hand, the majority of demonstrative determiners in explicit non-anaphoric reference depend heavily on the *background knowledge*, assuming the exact circumstances or conditions of a referent *to be known*. In (28), speakers are comparing notes on an article that they had to read for a tutorial:

- (28) → 16012 AM I knew it was em the er em then again when when we went away after **that tutorial** we we took the paper we took er em we just sat and went through it together and basically line by line.
 /.../ 16020 AF I couldn't actually follow (0.5) an argument as such in it.
 → 16021 AF I thought she was bit of a bore and hedging and surveying and so on and I couldn't see the point of **this semantic field boundary**.

The reference here is interactive and *intertextual*: "That tutorial" seems to mean "That semantics tutorial that we went to this week"; "this semantic field boundary" seems to mean "this semantic field boundary that we read about", but this modification is not necessary. K4's implicit demonstrative determiners and pronouns are the most obviously intertextual of reference types. When the demonstrative determiner modifies non-anaphoric general nouns, they emphasise the implicitness of these spontaneous dialogues. Example (9) above:

- 15045 DM So I typed **that thing** up again after you'd gone.

is a case in point. The great majority of K4 demonstrative determiners with general nouns could not be understood without the background knowledge. The K4 non-anaphoric demonstrative pronouns also depend frequently on background knowledge of the course. In (29), the pronoun occurs in the first discourse unit of a new topic about core course material revised for the exam, after NF's story about almost missing a lecture:

- (29) 10047 NF Then I realised I had lectures!
 10048 CM Aha.
 10049 DM And you had to run back.
 10050 NF (heh heh heh) Yeah. (3)
 10051 NF Ah. ((3))
 → 10052 CM When I first started studying I thought I'm going to learn seven or eight of **these** really well.
 10053 CM Then I started with one.
 10054 CM I went for the Language and Linguistics.
 10055 DM Aha.

DM has no problem following CM switching topic with no explicit reference. The meaning of K4's non-anaphoric demonstrative adverbs are also mostly dependent on background knowledge. Most of them are concerned with time: what distance there is between the present moment and a project deadline, the end of a term, the date of the portfolio. In (30), speakers discuss a colleague's project progress:

- (30) 15016 CM He's nearly finished writing.
 → 15017 DM Well so he's nearly there.
 15018 CM Yeah.
 15019 CM Almost finished. (1.5)

The "there" seems to imply "the point at which he can hand in his project". The deadline or the date in question is assumed to be in the minds of the speakers; it is not mentioned. An outsider would be excluded.

Specificity

In *non-course* K area dialogues, reference tends to be *generic*, non-specific. As far as explicit reference is concerned, K1 has most non-specific; it contains generic reference to things that many of us have, use or go to, such as "the radio", "the bank" and "the pub". In (31), DM explains what happened when there was no 9 a.m. class:

- (31) 04006 AF You mean you didn't get up earlier and make the most of the extra time? ((0.5))
 → 04007 DM No I-I thought no I actually woke up at about er quarter to eight and I could've got on the bus I could have made it and I thought oh bloody hell I'll stay in the house.
 04008 AF Mmm. ((1.5))

Here, the speaker *may* have in mind one specific "the 8.30 a.m. number 87 bus going south, that I always get", but he does not seem to expect that to be of importance to AF. In implicit reference, when non-anaphoric general nouns occur with definite articles it is usually again with non-specific referents. In (32), the speaker most likely does not have in mind specific "things", when talking about what Melvyn Bragg, the television interviewer, said about world history on the chat show:

- (32) 11082 NM Doom gloom. (1)
 11083 NM No-one really challenged him.
 11084 NM On this you know.
 → 11085 NM Cos I mean since the Romans basically the same things are getting worse and worse.
 11086 AM (heh heh)

AM either knows the sort of "things" that he means or does not care. Non-anaphoric demonstrative adverbs are often with a non-specific meaning of "wherever"; that is to say, the speaker has no particular location in mind and nor is it important, it would seem. In (33), speakers are discussing holidays in the Mediterranean and saying how polluted the sea is:

- (33) 19038 CM I'll stick to the pool.
 19039 NF But Malaga is not so bad.
 19040 NF Actually (0.5) // maybe
 19041 BM // Ah that's right.
 19042 CM Do you- go and take a picture there and then go back to the pool.
 19043 NF Yeah. (heh)

19044 BM That's smart.

Presumably "there" could mean "anywhere on the coast" or "somewhere outside the hotel". Non-anaphoric personal pronouns are also mainly generalised or empty; any outsider would understand them. In (34), BF entertains listeners by dramatising her Hogmanay experiences:

- (34) 08080 BF Cos we all met up er in the town centre at ten o'clock. (0.5)
 → 08081 BF And when we got there (0.5) **they'd** stopped serving. ((1))
 08082 AM Ten o'clock?

"They" can be assumed to mean "pub bar staff"; most British adults would understand that.

As far as *K4* reference is concerned, explicit reference with a definite article tends to be *specific*, as in (35). DM shifts topic away from tutorial tasks and weekend commitments, to a problem with a lecture:

- (35) 04131 DM I'm going away this weekend.
 04132 DM So had to do it.
 04133 BF Yah.
 04134 BF I've got to do it as // well.
 04135 DM // He made a mistake.
 04136 DM And I wanted to show one of you somebody actually.
 → 04137 DM I think he made a mistake yesterday when he was putting them up when **the diagram** was up I think he got one wrong. ((0.5))
 04138 BF Oh I didn't copy them all down.

Only in-group members would know which diagram this was specifically. In (36), speakers would know which "project" specifically is being referred to:

- (36) 22035 MM I've come for Silvia to give me my book. (1)
 22036 MM And you?
 → 22037 MM How's **the er project**?
 22038 DM Just reading each others' now at the moment.

In implicit reference, *K4* definite articles also tend to accompany general nouns referring to specific referents. In (37), the tutorial task sheet that BM is looking for is not named as such:

- (37) 07031 BM // (heh heh heh) So who've I been divided up with?
 07032 MM With X.
 07033 MM And she's not here.
 07034 MM So you've got the whole damn thing to do. // (heh heh)
 07035 BF // (heh heh)
 → 07036 BM But I haven't got **the thingymajog** in my em=
 07037 BF Are you sh-sure about that?

K4 is radically different from non-course *K* areas in that it has a much higher density of non-anaphoric non-modified general course nouns with definite reference and specific referents. In (38), BM starts a new topic with a vague expression referring to something specific:

- (38) 20024 CM // Just a week // to go.
 20025 BM // Oh God right yeah.
 20026 CM So that's the end of that. (0.5)
 20027 CM Definitely staying resident in Edinburgh till then. ((3.5))
 20028 BM How's it how's your going?
 → 20029 BM I haven't given you **your thing** back.
 20030 BM Do you still want it back?
 20031 DM Yeah.

K4 demonstrative adverbs tend to have specific reference too, as in (37) above:

07033 MM And she's not here.

in which only in-group members would know whether "here" meant "here in this pre-tutorial", "here in the department today" or "here in Edinburgh." On the occasions that K4 non-anaphoric personal pronouns do have non-specific referents, they refer to "people in general" or "members of staff" in the Institute or the Department, or the linguists that wrote the papers or books that they are reading; they can be generalised. Speakers in (39) discuss what questions "they", the authorities that set exams, could ask in the exam:

- (39) 08022 AM But things like this linguistics as well.
 08023 AM You know I don't mi-mind.
 08024 CM You still got enough time for that? ((0.5))
 → 08025 AM There's not a lot of things they can ask.
 08026 AM Cos we haven't actually done it that deeply have we?

In (40), speakers discuss what sort of answers "they", those that mark the exams and give the grades, expect in the portfolio and give each other advice:

- (40) 13162 AM Don't do any reading for it though. (2)
 → 13163 AM So they expect quite long answers.
 13164 AM I mean not like like the exam.
 13165 AM Three hours.

In (41), speakers discuss when "they", those that control the programme, will publish their decision about moving a deadline:

- (41) 23019 DM Oh we've got three weeks now (2).
 → 23020 DM When are they going to tell us whether it is or not? =
 23021 BF After the (1) portfolio yeah.

More often, K4 non-anaphoric personal pronouns are specific and refer to elements of the course such as projects and dissertations or to members of staff, as in (42), in which students discuss how they used diagrams that a member of staff provided, in an exam answer:

- (42) 12178 NF How many diagrams did you draw?
 12179 AM S:: I did drew one for each um phonetic sound so it was seven.
 12180 NF I did too.
 12181 NF Somebody said six because they think the two 'i' are the same and the four others were only consonants.
 /.../ 12185 NF I did seven too.
 /.../ 12190 CM Each your own creation seven times?
 → 12191 AM No because we had the er ones she gave // us.
 12192 AM I just traced that.
 12193 CM // Yeah.

It can be assumed that "she" is the phonetics lecturer. The specific use of singular inanimate non-anaphoric personal pronoun in K4 refers to elements of the course: handouts, tutorials, projects, deadlines. Hence:

- (43) 15053 CM I forgot to answer your questionnaire.
 15054 DM Oh that's all right.
 15055 DM // That's OK.
 15056 DM That's fine.
 → 15057 DM It's still the end of this week.
 15058 CM // I'm afraid I er. (0.5)
 15059 CM OK.

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The "it" could be a handing-in deadline, or it could be a tutorial. DM and CM know.

4.4 FURTHER DIMENSIONS

It has been suggested in this chapter that implicitness could lead to exclusivity, to making the dialogues impenetrable to outsiders. A test was devised to determine whether this was so and also to arrive at a clearer definition of "the outsider". The test examined all aspects of implicit language (the in-group code and the other features). This chapter describes how the whole test was set up but concentrates only on the results as far as the grammatical cues are concerned. Chapter 5 describes the lexical cues in the test, and Chapter 6 the other implicit features. This section ends with a comment about how the recordees themselves, during triangulation, showed that they understood their own grammatical reference, in retrospection.

Subjects listened to four dialogue fragments, taken from the beginning of each of the three terms. The fragments lasted for 20-25 discourse units and each had only one K area. The number of dialogues from each K area represents the proportion of total time in that K area throughout the course: there are two non-course K area ones (dialogues 1 and 4), and two course K area ones (dialogues 2 and 3). Subjects wrote answers to one global question aimed to test topic knowledge ("What is the main topic of this dialogue; what are the people talking about?") and thus show whether the dialogue is impenetrable. Then they wrote answers to five specific questions aimed to test reference knowledge: each focused on a non-anaphoric definite noun phrase with a proper or common noun (including general), a demonstrative or personal pronoun, or a demonstrative adverb, as well as lexical features and other features of implicitness. Appendix III contains one of the four dialogues fragments and its questions to serve as an example.

There were three groups of subjects. Group A consisted of twelve people living in the South of England. Although the majority did not have knowledge of Edinburgh, they were considered to have non-course K area 1, knowledge of the world. They were not English teachers. Group B consisted of seventeen English teachers, who worked in IALS but knew nothing of any DAL MSc course. They had non-course K areas 1, 2, knowledge of language teaching and study, and 3, knowledge of EU, DAL and IALS. Group C consisted of twelve people with experience of an MSc course; they were ex-MSc students who had done different Edinburgh University DAL courses in years prior to or since the 1991-2 course. They had all K areas but lacked the shared interpersonal knowledge and knowledge of the particular 1991-92 group.

Quantitative analysis showed that the topic knowledge and reference knowledge increase as in-group knowledge increases (see Appendix II), and this was statistically significant. A t-test shows that this difference is significant ($t = 2.68$, $df = 19$, $p = 0.015$). Analysis also showed a point-by-serial correlation between topic knowledge scores and reference knowledge scores for each dialogue, not taking Group C into account since they got all topic questions right. The value of the correlation coefficient for the four dialogues together is 0.590, which is significant at $df = 28$, $\alpha = 0.05$ (one-tailed test). The closer the hearers are to the 1991-2 MSc course, the more they will understand both topic and referring expressions. In the course K area dialogues there is a strong association between topic knowledge and reference knowledge: understanding the cues is more vital to the understanding of the topic than it is in non-course topics. Course topics are

more impenetrable, therefore, than non-course topics for an outsider to the DAL MSc discourse community. Implicitness and impenetrability are associated.

A qualitative analysis of the answers to the reference questions showed differences between the groups. Subjects in Groups A and B misinterpreted a wide range of referring items: non-anaphoric personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, and general nouns. The most frequent wrongly answered questions were ones asking about non-anaphoric demonstrative adverbs. In one dialogue, for example, when AM says "It is probably a bit late now" to study Chomsky, all subjects could say that "now" meant "at this moment", but they could not guess that "now" implied that the exam was too close to start preparing such a large new topic. Personal pronouns "it" and "they" caused many more wrong answers for Group A subjects than they did for Group B. Group C wrong answers were limited to the questions that required shared interpersonal knowledge: proper nouns referring to people. They could appreciate the full implications of pronouns and added details showing their insights. In answer to a question about the referent in the line "Imagine doing another two years of this", one subject did not simply answer "studying Applied Linguistics" but put feelingly "Toiling away studying on a post-grad. course, mounds of reading, essays, lectures, seminars, limited social life, etc. etc."

In the triangulation questionnaire given to the six recordees themselves, the questions focusing on the recordees' ability to de-code the implicit contextualisation cues showed that the recordees got on average 97% of the questions about reference right. Interestingly, the only question that all recordees got wrong was the one that referred to the words in one dialogue (see (38) above):

20029 BM I haven't given you *your thing* back.

and asked what suggestions the recordees had about what the 'thing' might be. Even BM himself could not remember what he was talking about. This confirms that when the general noun is non-anaphoric, the referent needs to be in the mind of the interlocutors at the time of hearing.

In order to confirm that the use of grammatical contextualisation cues was not part of the idiolect of one or two particular recordees, a calculation was made of the percentage of the units containing implicit non-anaphoric definite reference out of each one's total number of units. It was found that AM's conversations had 13%, BM's 12%, CM's 15%, DM's 12%, AF's 15% and BF's 14%. This shows that the grammatical features of the in-group code are typical of all six recordees and generalisable to all NS members of the year.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the grammatical contextualisation cues of the in-group code: explicit non-anaphoric definite noun phrases such as "the student", "that book" and "John", and implicit non-anaphoric definite noun phrases with the general noun as in "the person" and "that thing", the demonstrative pronoun and adverb as in "that" and "there", and the personal noun as in "he". Increasing knowledge over time is associated with the changes in reference. Taking all K areas together, the density of all non-anaphoric reference increases slightly in the spring term and drops slightly in the summer term. The main change in language over time is the increase in implicit reference, especially in non-anaphoric definite reference and above all in K4. There is an overall increase in general nouns with demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, and personal pronouns.

K area seems to be a stronger influence on the form of grammatical reference than increasing knowledge with interaction over time. K4 dialogues contain a much higher density of non-anaphoric definite reference than non-course K area dialogues do. This chapter has shown that the grammatical implicit contextualisation cues are typical of K4. When the MSc students are talking on course topics and they mention something unrelated to the preceding dialogue, they are likely to assume that their interlocutors have enough background knowledge to be able to identify the referent without needing a post-head dependent. There are marked differences between the K areas in terms of the context and the specificity of non-anaphoric definite reference. In non-course K areas, reference tends to be situational and non-specific. K4 referents tend to be specific and in the background knowledge. This increases the implicitness of K4 dialogues. Outsiders could understand non-course dialogues better either because they can see the referent or because it has generic reference and therefore does not have to be identified precisely. Not so with K4 dialogues: speakers have one specific referent in mind and assume that hearers can find it in the background knowledge of the course. In the autumn term, students can take for granted that the subject of tutorial tasks and background reading will be in most people's minds most of the time. At the beginning of the spring term, students know that their colleagues must be thinking about the examination and the first project. By the summer term, the students can assume that they are all thinking about the subjects that they choose to concentrate on for the portfolio and the subject to do the summer dissertation on. As common knowledge of the course and shared interpersonal knowledge grow over time, so referents are referred to increasingly in an implicit and vague way.

As far as the *function* of implicit contextualisation cues are concerned, they are a reflection of common knowledge and an indicator of in-group membership. Students use terms with highly contextualised meaning and implicit reference because nothing more is needed in order for colleagues sharing the same knowledge to identify the referents. Using implicit contextualisation cues is convenient for them because they obey the co-operative maxim of quantity: give no more information than is needed (Grice, 1975). Students obey the law of least effort: "man only makes as much effort as is needed to reach the goals that he has set himself" (Martinet, 1970: 177). It may be, however, that the students make a conscious choice to refer to referents in their shared context in an implicit way in order to *claim* intimacy, as a strategy for claiming in-group membership. To speak the language of the group is to be accepted as a member of the group. Brown and Levinson (1978: 110) say that in-group language is an "in-group identity marker" that a speaker uses to claim in-group membership with the hearer. They say that the use of pronouns where the referent has not been made explicit is typical of positive politeness. Tannen (1989: 23) says that "the more work ... hearers do to supply meaning, the deeper their understanding and the greater their sense of involvement with both text and author". Labov (1972) and Gumperz (1982) say that the function of social group codes is to bring about group cohesion by members showing their superiority over another group and actively excluding outsiders, using their context-dependent language. MSc students do not intend to exclude any outsiders, and yet the impenetrability test has shown that outsiders can be excluded because of the implicit language.