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أ.د. سلوى محمد فرج
قسم اللغة الإنجليزية - جامعة حلوان
جمهورية مصر العربية

Linguistic Characteristics of Conversational Speech: The State of the Art

Prof. Salwa M. Farag
Department of English - University of Helwan
Egypt

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Monograph 302

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Prof. Salwa M. Farag

Department of English - University of Helwan
Egypt

Author:**Prof. Salwa Mohamed Farag**

- Ph.D.Aston University in Birmingham UK, 1986.
- Prof. of Linguistics, Department of English and Literature, Faculty of Arts, Helwan University, Cairo, Egypt.

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- 11 - 1990: *The Teachability of Spoken Discourse. Occasional papers*, Vol. 12, September 1990.

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Linguistic Characteristics of Conversational Speech: The State of the Art

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to review the latest trends of Conversation Analysis (CA): how it started, who started it and why? This exploratory study first starts with an overview of the studies carried out by a group of sociologists led by Garfinkel, who in the late 1940's examined the behavior of jurors. It was him and his fellow graduates who coined the term 'ethnomethodology'. However, CA as we know it at present, was pioneered by Sacks, Jefferson and Schegloff in 1974. Through their empirical research they introduced us to 'turn-taking' mechanisms, 'adjacency pairs', 'overlap' etc. Studies by Dell Hymes 1972 and Gumperz 1982 have also tremendously contributed to our understanding of CA. In another vein, the exploration moves to investigating studies carried out within Pragmatics: Austin's 1962 and Searle's 1969 notion of 'speech act' as well as Grice's 1975 'Cooperative Principle'. The study then leaps to Structural-Functional approaches comparing CA to Discourse Analysis; studies by the Birmingham school pioneered by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), by Ochs 1979, and Chafe 1982 on the differences between speech and writing, in addition to examining studies by McCarthy, 1991, 2001, Hughes 1996 and Biber 1999 on the features of spoken Discourse.

Institutional talk, talk among colleagues in the work place, is considered the latest contribution to CA: news interviews, court proceedings and doctor-patient interaction are discussed from the perspective of power and asymmetry. Studies of CA and Feminism are also explored. Finally, the review ends with some suggestions for future research: CA of the elderly, of the impaired and of chat-rooms.

It is possible that detailed study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things and the kinds of objects they use to construct and order their affairs. It may well be that things are very finely ordered; that there are collections of social objects... that persons assemble to do their activities; that the way they assemble them is describable with respect to any one of the activities they happen to do, and has to be seen by attempting to analyze particular objects.

Harvey Sacks, “Notes on Methodology”

It is in talk alone that we can learn our period and ourselves. In short, the first duty of a man is to speak; that is his chief business in this world; and talk, which is the harmonious speech of two or more, is by far the most accessible of pleasures. It costs nothing in money; it completes our education, founds and fosters our friendships, and can be enjoyed at any age and in almost any state of health.

Robert Louis Stevenson, “Talk and the Talkers”

Introduction

Perhaps the greatest single event in the history of linguistics was the invention of the tape recorder, which for the first time has captured natural conversation and made it accessible to systematic study (Halliday 1994: xxiii).

This is an exploration into the analysis of conversation, how it started why it started, who started it, and what its main tenets are. In so doing, one has to delve into theories of Conversation Analysis, theories of Spoken Discourse and of Interactive Speech. One has to read in linguistics, sociology, psychology and ethnomethodology, as Eggins and Slade point out,

The pervasiveness of spoken interaction in daily life has made it an interesting domain of study for researchers with backgrounds in ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, philosophy, structural-functional linguistics and social semiotics. (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 23).

However, it was Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 'the original claimants' to Conversation Analysis (CA) who opened up this wealth of research into everyday casual conversation. They have studied how people make sense of everyday social life, believing that, as Sacks points out,

The detailed study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things. (Sacks, 1984).

Thus, it is felt that it is important, even necessary to first give an overview of CA- as being the origin of the studies of interaction. This is followed by the studies that have had some affinity with CA: studies from sociology, from psychology and from sociolinguistics. The strengths and weaknesses of CA are also outlined.

1. A Historical Overview

According to Levinson (1983) CA was pioneered by a breakaway group of sociologists, often known as ethnomethodologists. The movement led by Harvey Sacks and his collaborators arose - according to Levinson - “in reaction to the quantitative techniques, and the arbitrary imposition on the data of supposedly objective categories,... that were typical of mainstream American sociology” (p. 295). The aim of the breakaway group was the study of ‘ethnic’ methods of production and interpretation of social interaction. Their data consisted of tape recordings and transcripts of naturally occurring conversation.

In his earliest lectures Sacks sounded his criticism of the prevailing notions in sociology: the sociologists’ work relied on survey questionnaires and the data was unobservable. However, as Sacks notes “social activities are observable, you can see them all around you, and you can unite them down... If you think you can see it, that means we can build an observational study, and we can build a natural study” (1995, Vol. 1: 28).

CA, then, is the study of recorded, naturally occurring talk. The aim is “to discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with a central focus being on how **sequences** of actions are generated” (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 14) (emphasis as in original).

In its discussion of the “Origin of Conversation Analysis”, the **Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics** attributes the most immediate origin of CA to Harvey Sacks. Sacks began analysing telephone calls made to the Suicide Prevention Center. He “investigated how callers’ accounts of their troubles were produced in the course of... their interactions with the SPC staff member...” (p. 749). Through collecting a large corpus of telephone calls, he managed - with the collaboration of Jefferson and Schegloff - to have quite a “comprehensive picture of the conversational organization of turn exchange; overlapping talk; repair; topic initiation and closing; sequences initiated by such activities as greetings, questions, invitations and requests; agreement/ disagreement; story telling; discourse markers....” (p. 749).

In the section that follows, the school that originated CA is discussed.

2. Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis

The term 'ethnomethodology' was coined by Garfinkel (1967). It refers to "the study of the ways in which everyday common-sense activities are analysed by participants, and of the ways in which these analyses are incorporated into courses of action. The most prominent development within ethnomethodology is undoubtedly that which has become known as conversation analysis, which examines the procedures used in the production of ordinary conversations" (Bull & Roger 1989: 3).

Earlier in 1971, Gumperz stressed that Garfinkel's basic assumption about communication and social science methodology... underlies the work of Sacks and Schegloff (p. 301).

It is thus the belief that Garfinkel and his graduate students are considered the founders of CA. This is acknowledged by a number of researchers. Taylor and Cameron (1987) assert "the theoretical principles which today remain the essential pillars of the CA approach" (p. 99) have been worked out by Garfinkel. In another instance they stress that the "many strengths of CA, as well as its weaknesses, are to be attributed to the original Garfinkelian principles on which CA is founded" (p. 100). They also report a study carried out by Garfinkel in the late 1940s (reported in Garfinkel, 1974) in which he examined the behaviour of jurors. He found that the jurors' deliberations are carried out from the standpoint of common sense rather than from expert legal knowledge. Hence, the label 'ethnomethodology', i.e. a community's own laid methodology. As Garfinkel puts it, ethnomethodology:

... is an organizational study of a member's own knowledge of his ordinary affairs, of his own organized enterprises, where this knowledge is treated... as part of the same setting that it also makes orderable. (Garfinkel, 1974: 18).

Thus, as Taylor and Cameron (1987) show, "the ethnomethodologist does not view rules as governing the actor's behaviour in such a deterministic fashion". Ethnomethodologists believe that the rules of

conversation are conformed to, “not because they determine behaviour, but because actors are generally aware of the consequences of non-conformity” (102-5). The ethnomethodological model can thus be summarised in the following points:

- Actors follow interactional rules (such as 'return a greeting') because they are aware of the interactional consequences of not doing so.
- The rules do not guide, or determine, their behaviour.
- Actors may not have explicit knowledge of the rule which analysts would formulate as 'return greeting', but they are aware of the expectation that greetings will be returned.

It is thus the belief that the ethnomethodological study of CA is based on the principles of 'reflexive accountability' and of the 'sequential architecture of understanding'.

We first discuss the main tenets of CA as have been discussed by (Sacks et al., 1974).

3. Conversational Mechanism

CA, as we know it at present, has come from a series of lectures given by Sacks in the years 1964 to 1967 and was pieced together in 2 volumes by Gail Jefferson in 1995 (almost 20 years after Sacks' death in a car crash in 1975). These series of lectures, as Schegloff has stated in the introduction,

[P]resent a most remarkable, inventive and productive account of a strikingly new vision of how to study human sociality.... the students who sat in the rooms in which the lectures were delivered can hardly have known what they were hearing. The lectures were addressed to non-present students, to those who might come to know what to make of them. (1995:xii).

Our first glimpse of the studies carried out by this “break-away” group, came in an article published in the year 1974. In this paper - or report as they call it - Sacks et al., (1974) discuss the turn-taking system for conversation. They list fourteen “grossly apparent” facts about conversation which must be accounted for in any model of how conversation works (pp. 700-1).

- 1) Speaker-change recurs, or at least occurs.
- 2) Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.
- 3) Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief.
- 4) Transitions (from one turn to a next) with no gap and no overlap are common. Together with transitions characterized by slight gap or slight overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions.
- 5) Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
- 6) Turn size is not fixed, but varies.
- 7) Length of conversation is not specified in advance.
- 8) What parties say is not specified in advance.
- 9) Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance.

- 10) Number of parties can vary.
- 11) Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.
- 12) Turn-allocation techniques are obviously used. A current speaker may select a next speaker (as when he addresses a question to another party); or parties may self-select in starting to talk.
- 13) Various 'turn-constructural units' are employed; e.g., turns can be projectively 'one word long', or they can be sentential in length.
- 14) Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations; e.g., if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble.

This model has drawn 'virulent criticism' from other studies of conversation and spoken discourse, most notably from Discourse Analysts (The Birmingham School led by Sinclair and Coulthard). However, CA has also attracted great interest because of "its wealth of empirical discoveries". One of the strongest supporters of CA is Levinson (1983). He justifies his views by drawing a comparison between CA on the one hand and DA on the other.

4. Conversation Analysis vs. Discourse Analysis

DA is seen by Levinson (1983: 286-92) as being oriented more towards linguistics; it “employs both the methodology and... theoretical principles and primitive concepts (e.g. rule, well-formed formula) typical of linguistics”. That discourse analysts insist on isolating well-formed coherent sequences - often constructed by the analyst - in order to find out “what is really going on, is criticised by Levinson.

CA, on the other hand - as practiced by Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson - according to Levinson (1983), is a “rigorously empirical approach which avoids premature theory construction”. Their methods are essentially inductive, making use of a large number of recorded naturally occurring conversations. This is contrasted to the restricted data typical of DA work. CA does not rely on intuition, but the emphasis is on ‘what can actually be found to occur’. Conversation analysts avoid analysis based on single texts as in the cases of Labov and Fanshel’s (1977) *Therapeutic Discourse*, or Sinclair and Coulthard’s (1975) *Classroom Discourse*. CA practices are accused of being inexplicit or even muddled about the theories and conceptual categories, and Discourse Analysts are condemned for their “premature formalization that they pay scant attention to the nature of the data” (Levinson, 1983:287). However, there is no doubt that each approach has its strengths and weaknesses as Levinson (1983) asserts: “DA... promises to integrate linguistic findings about intra-sentential organization with discourse structure; while the strength of the CA position is that the procedures employed have already proved themselves capable of yielding by far the most substantial insights that have yet been gained into the organization of conversation” (p. 287).

Recently, these strengths and weaknesses are still under debate. Eggs and Slade (1997: 31) first list some of the contributions of CA; this is followed by some of its drawbacks.

- CA has made everyday interaction a worthy subject of academic research.

- It is always based on actual recorded data of naturally occurring interactions, transcribed in meticulous detail.
- CA has always rejected experimental methods of collecting conversation data such as stimulating dialogues or setting up artificial interactive contexts.

However, they believe that CA has three major drawbacks in the analysis of casual conversational data: “lack of systematic analytical categories, its “fragmentary” focus, and its mechanistic interpretation of conversation” (p. 31).

Having discussed the origins of CA, its main founders, and some of its strengths and its weaknesses, the study proceeds to discuss the unique interdisciplinary nature of CA. CA has drawn affinities with studies of the ethnography of communication (Gumperz, 1982; Hymes, 1972) and with social psychology (Taylor and Cameron, 1987; Hopper, 1989; Bull and Roger, 1989; Zimmerman and West, 1975).

5. Sociolinguistics and CA

One of the most important methodological contributions made by CA is its reliance on examples of actual talk recorded in naturally occurring settings. This has had a major influence on research made in the field of interactional sociolinguistics.

Gumperz (1982) has admitted the contributions made by Conversational Analysts in the field of interaction viz: strategies of speaker change, openings and closings of conversation, establishing semantic relations between utterances, signalling asides and sequences (p.159). Yet, he has criticised their disregard of some crucial issues like speakers' differences in background knowledge, or their use of verbal skills to create contextual conditions. How do speakers employ their grammatical and phonological abilities to reflect culturally specific information is also ignored by CA (p. 160). Other limitations have also been stressed by Gumperz (1982), notably, the function of rhetorical pauses and relinquished pauses - those which are not distinguished by speakers (or at least no mention of them is made by CA). To this end, Gumperz examines examples of actual conversations to illustrate the limitations and "to build a more comprehensive theory" (p. 161). In his study, he stresses the importance of suprasegmentals and other surface features of speech as being crucial to identifying what an interaction is about.

Another tradition within sociolinguistics interested in studies of 'interaction' is discussed under 'ethnography of speaking/ communication'. This approach has been led by Dell Hymes (1972, 1974) and is concerned with understanding the social context of linguistic interactions. In seeking to account for "who says what to whom, when, where, why and how" (Hymes, 1972), he has developed a schema for the analysis of verbal interaction in speech communities: the speech event.

The speech event is to the analysis of verbal interaction what the sentence is to grammar.... [It] focuses on the exchange between speakers, i.e., how a speaker by his choice of topic and his choice of linguistic variables adapts to other participants or to his environment and how others in turn reach to him. (p. 17).

The term “speech event” refers to “activities... that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech” (Hymes, 1972: 56). Speech events include interactions such as conversations at a party, or at a memorial service etc. Any speech event comprises several components and these have become known as Hymes’ SPEAKING grid (pp. 59-65). The ‘components of speech’ have been grouped together in relation to the eight letters of the word ‘speaking’: settings, participants, ends, act sequences, key, instrumentalities, norms, genres, as well as the ‘ethnographic framework’. The importance of these components to conversation, has been spelt out by Eggins & Slade, (1997:34): “The SPEAKING grid provides a necessary reminder of the contextual dimensions operating in any casual conversation”. They summarise the grid in the following Table:

S	setting Scene	temporal and physical circumstances subjective definition of an occasion
P	Participants	speaker/ sender/ addressor/ hearer/ receiver/ audience/ addressee
E	Ends	purpose and goals Outcomes
A	act sequences	message form and content
K	Key	tone, manner
I	Instrumentalities	channel (verbal, non-verbal, physical forms of speech drawn from community repertoire)
N	norms of interaction and interpretation	specific properties attached to speaking interpretation of norms within cultural belief system
G	Genre	textual categories

Hymes’s Speaking Grid (Hymes 1972)

In addition, “the values of the factors identified in the SPEAKING grid... determine our use of language and our interpretation of what people say”. This has become known as the “ethnography of speaking”, and the aim is “to discover rules of appropriateness in speech events” (Eggins & Slade, 1997:34).

6. Social Psychology and CA

It is apparent that there has been a historical affinity between Social Psychology (SP) and Conversation Analysis (CA). This is obvious from the number of studies on interaction carried out by social psychologists. As Taylor and Cameron (1987: 15-16) eloquently put it, “Conversation organization is a perfect topic of study for social psychology. For where else but in conversational interaction does one find such an exemplary integration of the psychology of the individual and the sociology of the group?”.

They report studies carried out in the field of social psychology with the aim of showing their methodological framework. This can be summarised as follows:

- 1) The social psychologist typically isolates - by induction from empirical observation - a set of conversational acts.
- 2) Then, he discovers the rules that regulate the deployment of these acts in conversational interaction.
- 3) The data is typically obtained through videotaping in a controlled setting in the visible presence of the recording equipment.
- 4) ‘Some’ acts are then chosen for studying mostly relying on the “basis of intuitive ‘hunches’, guessing that the act chosen would prove to be significant” (p. 17). (In a study by Duncan and Fiske 1977: 42-45, for example, the acts chosen are primarily physical acts: laughing, smiling, pausing, gazing, foot movement, nodding, etc.)
- 5) These ‘variables’ are then statistically analysed for significant correlations. That is, the aim is to find whether there is a “relationship between the amount of time the speaker held the floor and the frequency with which their hearer brought their gaze to the speaker” (Taylor and Cameron, 1987: 19).

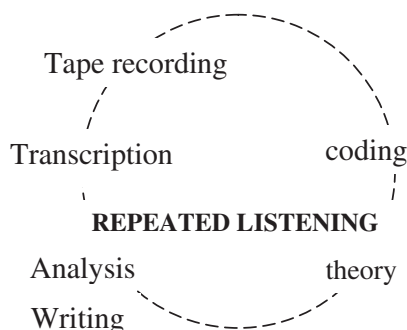
In spite of the affinity between CA and SP, the quantitative experimental approaches adopted by social psychologists stand in contrast to CA which relies on naturally occurring situations. This difference between CA and SP is demonstrated by Hopper (1989),

who has attempted to promote the usefulness of CA-SP collaboration (p. 49).

Social psychology

1. Theory
2. Tape recording
3. Transcription
4. Coding
5. Analysis
6. Writing

Conversation analysis



- CA's descriptions and activities rarely begin with theory - practitioners attempt to begin with data. The conversation analyst resists premature theory.
- Social psychologists display orientation to being experimental and theoretical.
- SP's methods are extremely orderly and discrete.
- In CA studies, there is no particular sequential position.
- Tape recording for SP is experimentally controlled, whereas for CA recordings are not carried out in controlled circumstances. It has included phone-calls, dinner table conversations, medical interviews, sales calls, courtroom cross-examination, radio talk shows etc.. (p.54).

Hopper (1989:62) cites a number of studies that make use of CA terminology (repair; adjacency pair, pre-sequence) and SP methodology. These studies consider some "psychological variables, for instance, sex of subject, length of acquaintance, speaker dominance, or age" (Zimmerman and West, 1975).

In their discussion of **Interpersonal communication**, Bull and Roger (1989) -very much rooted in psychology- employ traditional psychological techniques. They typically conduct their research in a laboratory

setting “where the control and manipulation of variables can be systematically implemented” (p.2). Associated with this, is a belief in the value of statistics for the analysis of the data. They believe that the main advantage of laboratory research is “the technical sophistication”, which enables “the researcher to make more precise and accurate observations of interpersonal communication” (p.18).

Roger (1989) has studied the role of simultaneous speech in conversation using the traditional experimental approach of psychologists. He classifies all simultaneous speech as either interruptive or non-interruptive (p.82) It is his belief that the use of experimental techniques made it possible to test “hypotheses about the role of personality in determining turn-taking behaviour that could be carried out only with great difficulty in more naturalistic settings” (p.93).

Thus we see that social psychologists, typically proceed from a belief in the value of controlled experimentation, quantification and categorisation. By contrast, researchers who do not follow these methodological procedures have come to be known as conversational analysts merely for using qualitative methods of analysis. In addition, they insist on tape-recording ‘naturally occurring conversations’.

Having discussed the studies that brought the study of ‘speech’ to light, the studies that have been affected by and have affected CA, the review carries on to discuss ‘other’ approaches to the analysis of spoken discourse and in particular to casual conversation, notably speech act theory and pragmatics, as well as structural-functional approaches that have attempted to accommodate the structure of spoken discourse into premeditated models.

7. Speech Act theory and Pragmatics

There is no doubt that “all linguistic descriptions of conversational structure owe much to Austin’s (1962) and Searle’s (1969, 1976) notion of the illocutionary force of speech acts” (Eggins and Slade, 1997:40). Their central concern has been to analyse how speakers’ utterances realise or achieve a particular purpose. The orthodox speech act theory suggests that all speech acts perform, for example, apologies (I’m terribly sorry), requests (would you mind...), promises (I promise to visit you), as well as refusals, threats, offers, acceptances and so on.

The major unit of analysis in speech act theory is the ‘illocutionary act’, “this means that every utterance can be analysed as the realization of speaker’s intent to achieve a particular purpose” (Eggins and Slade, 1997:40). The illocutionary force, for example, of the statement (I have an exam tomorrow) is to inform. However Austin and Searle also noted that speech acts may be indirect, and that there is no essential one-to-one correlation between the function (illocutionary force) of an utterance and its form (grammatical structure); in uttering the statement ‘it’s cold here’, the speaker could be insinuating to the hearer to take action and ‘close the window’; hence, the utterance has the illocutionary force of a command. The identification of this unit - as Eggins and Slade assert, has aided studies like Labov and Fanshel’s (1977) therapeutic discourse as well as the studies carried out by the Birmingham school of Discourse Analysis (Discussed below).

The importance of the speech act theory to ‘conversation’ is spelt out by (Eggins and Slade, 1997:42). “From Speech Act Theory we take the insight that the basic unit of conversational analysis must be functionally motivated, rather than a formally defined one. The speech act, under its systemic name of **speech function**, is central to our account of discourse structure in casual conversation” (emphasis as in original).

The other perspective relevant to the analysis of conversation, is that of Gricean Pragmatics (Grice, 1975; Levinson, 1983). Grice has proposed that there are distinctions between different types of meaning

and that conversation maxims are based on what he calls the 'Cooperative Principle'.

The assumption is that in any interaction the speaker is potentially obeying four conversational maxims: Quantity (be brief); Quality (be truthful); Relation (be relevant); Manner (be clear).

As Grice (1975:45) stresses:

We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected (*ceteris paribus*) to observe, namely: Make your conversational contributions such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

These principles make it possible for conversational partners not only to relate to overt meanings but also to trace possible hidden or indirect meanings.

8. Structural-Functional Approaches to Conversation

One influential approach to the study of spoken discourse in general and to conversation in particular is that developed at the University of Birmingham. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have developed a model that accommodates the discourse structure of classroom discourse. They found in the language of traditional school classrooms a rigid pattern, where teachers and pupils spoke according to very fixed perceptions of their roles and where the talk could be seen to conform to highly structured sequences. They suggested that classroom discourse comprises three moves: Initiation-Response-Feedback.

An extract from their data illustrates this:

T : Can you tell me why do you eat all that food?

P : Yes.

To keep you strong.

T : To keep you strong. Yes. To keep you strong.

(Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975:21)

The major contribution of the Birmingham School for the analysis of casual conversation, is that their apparatus is meant to handle “all the data”; it is not fragmentary as that suggested by Sacks et al. (Coulthard, 1977:98). While CA “did not propose a general theory of discourse structure”, the Birmingham analysts “have tried to develop a general description, in functional-structural terms, of the exchange as the basic unit of conversational structure.” The system they have produced is hierarchical and “is closely modelled on Halliday’s **Categories of a theory of Grammar**. All terms used - structure, system, rank, level, delicacy, realization, marked, unmarked - are Halliday’s” (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975:24).

Attempts to extend the model to accommodate other types of data has been carried out - notably by Coulthard and Ashby 1975 using

doctor-patient interviews and Pearce 1973, who used broadcast interviews insisting that “the system is in fact both flexible and generalisable” (Coulthard, 1977:105). However, the rigid categories of the model have been criticised, in particular by Eggins and Slade’s (1997:44), who listed a number of problems notably:

- The criteria for exchange boundaries are unclear.
- Allocations of moves to each slot are also unclear.
- The model is rigidly sequenced.

Hence, applicability to casual conversation or to conversation outside the classroom has been rather questionable.

One researcher who has seriously attempted to analyse casual conversation using the Birmingham model - being from the Birmingham group herself- is Deirdre Burton (1980). She admits though, that in trying to employ Sinclair & Coulthard’s model to the analysis of data other than that of classroom interaction, problems do occur. Feedback or follow-up moves hardly ever occur. Zhang (1998), however, in her analysis of instances of casual conversation (taken from the CANCODE corpus -see section 15 below), shows that ‘verbatim echoing’ - which is similar to S & C’s follow-up moves - does occur. “Echoing...refers to the repetition of others’ words, not self repetition...across turns, not inside turns” (p.3).

e.g. S1 : Where have we gone wrong?

S2 : Where have we gone wrong Mike?

S1 : No pun intended.

S2 : No pun intended Mike no pun intended.

Another model that is of relevance to speech is that developed by Labov and Waletzky (1967). They have provided a framework for the analysis of narratives of personal experience. Their main concern has been with “relating the formal linguistic properties of narrative to their function” (1967: 32-41). They argue that the overall structure of a fully formed narrative involves six stages: (1) Abstract, (2) Orientation, (3) Complication (4) Evaluation, (5) Resolution and (6) Coda.

L & W’s (1967) analysis has been the first attempt to offer a functional description of oral narratives of personal experience. Its strength lies in its clarity and applicability to both spoken and written data.

9. Features of Spoken Discourse

Having outlined the different schools that have approached speech, the study focuses on the linguistic characteristics of spontaneity. While it is quite impossible to attempt a description of 'all' instances of speech, the current review focuses on "typical speech". For, as Ochs (1979:55) stresses, speech ranges from "a string of non-sensical, haphazard sounds" to speech in which "every idea and every lexical item and every structure... is considered and designed in advance". In his study of informal spoken language from dinner table conversations and formal spoken language from lectures, Chafe (1982) discusses some major linguistic features that typify planned vs. unplanned speech. Chafe (1982:38) has identified four dimensions along which speech and writing are differentiated. Writing has an **integrated** quality due to the fact that it is a "slow, deliberate, editable process"; in contrast speech is characterised by **fragmentation** as it lacks forethought. Chafe, also speaks of **detachment** as being a feature characterising the relation that holds between writers and readers. Much speech is also characterised by the **involvement** between interactants.

Features of 'spontaneity' have also been the subject of studies by a number of researchers interested in the linguistic characteristics of speech (Leech et al., 1984; Chafe, 1982, 1985; Tannen, 1985; Farag, 1986; McCarthy, 1991, 1998, 2001; Hughes, 1996). Some of their findings can be summarised as follows:

- 1 - High frequency of linkage by coordination, most notably *and*, *but*, *so*.
- 2 - A large number of *and*'s occurring in speech are found to have functions other than that of coordination
 - When elongated (a:nd) it has a planning function similar to that of filled pauses (e:/e:m): planning the utterances that follow.
 - It has a sequential function similar to **then** or an additive function (also)
 - The **and** positioned at episode boundaries links larger chunks together.

- 3 - There is a large frequency of discourse markers, **well, you know, you see, anyway**. They serve a variety of functions: self-editing signals initiating speech, or a signal of a turning point usually coinciding with an episode boundary.
- 4 - There are large numbers of 'fuzzy expressions' (thing, something) that replace lexical items.
- 5 - Left dislocation is very common in speech. "It is very common for a speaker to say the more important thing in his mind first, adding the rest of the clause as an afterthought" (Farag, 1986:93) e.g. *the youngest kid he spends most of his time sort of daydreaming in a way*.
- 6 - Speakers frequently insert parenthetical remarks, as Farag (1986) points out: 'It is almost inevitable that a speaker who has not planned the discourse beforehand, will interject remarks elaborating, reformulating, hedging, digressing etc'" (p.97).
- 7 - Inexplicitness: Speech can be much less explicit than writing because extra information is conveyed by body language and by assumed shared knowledge.
- 8 - Lack of clear sentence boundaries: In spontaneous speech, it is sometimes difficult to delimit sentences: sentence fragments & incomplete sentences are very common.
- 9 - Simple structure: In general, typical speech is grammatically simpler than writing (less subordination: less pre- and post-modification) (Leech et al 1984: 136).
- 10 - Non-fluency: This results from the unprepared nature of speech (a lot of hesitations, false starts, repetitions, pauses, incomplete sentences...). Also, monitoring features such as (I mean, sort of, you know...) (Leech et al 1984: 139).

Hughes (1996) in her study of English in speech and writing compares a private casual conversation and a printed academic textbook. These two samples are chosen as they are at the extreme end of discourses of speech and writing. She (p. 33) lists some of the grammatical, lexical and discoursal features of spoken discourse; these can be summarised as follows:

Grammar

- The tendency to ellipsis (don't mind)

- The abbreviation of verbs (he's)
- Simple, short clauses
- High incidence of coordinated clauses
- Problematic clause analyses, e.g. 'topic and comment' structures: 'my mum she's great'
- Active verb forms

Lexis

- Low lexical density
- Tendency for less abstract vocabulary
- Tendency for more generalised, simpler vocabulary and semantically 'empty prefabricated fillers such as 'you know'
- Use of terms that depend on the context for their understanding.

Discourse

- High incidence of interpersonal features (tag questions, discourse markers, interruption, overlap...)
- Repetition and echoing between speakers
- Reformulation and refinement of utterances

10. The Grammar of Spoken Discourse

The most comprehensive study of the Grammar of speech to date is the **Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (LGSWE)** that appeared in 1999. It is a corpus-based approach, that is, “the grammatical descriptions are based on the patterns of structure and use found in a large collection of spoken and written texts, stored electronically, and searchable by computer” (Biber et al., 1999:6). The corpus contains over 40 million words of text representing four major registers: conversation, fiction, newspaper language and academic prose. The corpus has been in reaction to the grammars that traditionally prevailed which have focused on structural considerations and on “cataloguing and describing the form and meaning of grammatical constructions rather than how they are actually used in spoken and written discourse” (Biber et al., 1999:6). The focus of this section is on the ‘grammar of conversation’ as has been discussed by Biber et al. (1999).

They start the chapter by asking the following set of questions: is there a distinctive-grammar of spoken language, operating by laws different from those of the written language? If so, what are these laws, and what are the functions or other principles underlying them? (p.1038). Although, the answer is given right away, viz. that the same ‘grammar of English’ can be applied to both the spoken and written language, the explanations are presented in a chapter-long discussion.

In what follows, the major features of the grammar of conversation or ‘selected topics in conversation grammar’, to use the description employed by Biber et al., are outlined.

Two points are stressed by them.:

- The **sentence** does not exist in conversational language.
- The grammar of conversation cannot be described exhaustively.

To exhibit the difficult task of attempting a ‘grammar of conversation’, they start by the assertion that

Unlike most of the registers, conversation cannot be easily characterised in terms of communicative goals or social function. The most that can be claimed is that

it is a pervasive activity among human beings, and that its primary function appears to be to establish and maintain social cohesion through the sharing of experience,... promote other goals such as entertainment (jokes and narratives), exchange of information and control of others' behaviour. (p.1041).

Then, in order to identify and explain many of the striking grammatical characteristics of conversation, Biber et al. (1999) "identify a spectrum of external (social, psychological, and physical) determinants of conversation" (p. 1041):

Conversation takes place in a shared context

Conversation is marked grammatically by a high frequency of:

- Pronouns (especially I and you)
- Grammatical reduction (ellipsis and substitute forms)
e.g. *I mean, I would rather do it*
Oh wait, we still have quite a few
I don't see any others
- Reduction means the simplification of grammatical structures:
- Deictic items which rely on situational reference
(*this, that, these, those, there, then, now etc.*)
e.g. *Here's mom's*
Now this isn't according to grandpa
- Non-clausal or fragmentary components.
e.g. *Yeah*
Okay
Sorry
- Unembedded dependent clauses
e.g. *When you're ready*
If you don't mind

Conversation avoids elaboration or specification of meaning:

- Low lexical density.
- Low degree of grammatical elaboration.
- Rare occurrences of attributive adjectives, noun modifiers and relative clauses. (Rare occurrence of polysyllabic adjectives with suffixes such as *-ful, -ous, -ent, -less*).
- Frequent use of hedges: *kind of, sort of, like*.

- Quantifying hedges are also very frequent: *-ish* (eightish).
- Vague nouns like *things*.
- Vague coordination tags such as *something, something like that, and stuff, things like that*.

Conversation is interactive

Conversation is co-constructed by two or more interlocutors. Hence, this to-and-fro movement is typically characterised by:

- Adjacency pairs with a high frequency of questions and imperatives.
- Responses are typically monosyllabic as *yeah, no, and mm, uh huh, bye, okay* etc.
- Non-clausal or tags: *Really? What for?*
- Discourse markers: typically used to signal the pragmatic or discursual role of the speaker's utterances:
e.g. *yeah, well, I can understand, you know, I mean*
- Stance adverbials and linking adverbials: They mark the speaker's attitude.
- Negation and adversative conjunction 'but' is frequently used by conversationalists in order to deny or counteract.

Conversation is expressive of politeness, emotion, and attitude:

- Politeness in conversation is typically marked by: *thanks, thank you, please, sorry*.
- Vocatives such as *sir* and *madam*.
- Polite opening: *would you, could you*.
- The collective first person imperative *let's* is used as a somewhat less face-threatening alternative to the second person imperative e.g. *Okay, let's serve the chilli*.
- *Familiarisers* are far more characteristic of conversations than honorific forms, (*man* as opposed to *sir* and *madam*) as well as *endearment* (honey).
- Predicative adjectives are mostly evaluative (*good, lovely, nice* etc.)

Conversation takes place in real time:

- Conversation is typically spontaneous and hence is characterised by 'normal dysfluency': (pauses and hesitations *er, um* and repetitions such as *I - I - I*).

- A common effort-saving device is the use of contractions: reduced enclitic forms of verb (it's, we'll, isn't, can't)
- Situational ellipsis: the omission of words of low information value, (e.g. *Doesn't matter*). The information is retrievable through situation knowledge, rather than through anaphoric reference (e.g. *got a pen? Didn't know it was yours*).
- False starts or more precisely retrace-and-repair sequences or reformulations: when the speaker retraces (or notionally 'erases') what has just been said and starts again this time with a different word or sequence of words.
- Incompletion where the speaker abandons and 'repairs' by starting anew
e.g. *That's such a neat, it's so nice to know the history behind it.*
- Syntactic blends: This is another type of performance error which appears to be caused by working memory limitations.
e.g. *So if you were - in receipt of income support then you don't have to pay very much.*

This would be regarded as unacceptable in writing.

Conversation has a restricted and repetitive repertoire:

- Speakers often repeat partially or exactly what has just been said in the conversations.
- Reliance on lexical bundles e.g. *you know what*.
- High frequency of modal auxiliaries: *will, can, would, and could*.
- Simple verbs, modals and linking adverbs tend to be used over and over again (*give, think, be, serve, get, put* etc).

Conversation employs a vernacular range of expression:

- The style is overwhelmingly informal employing a range of slang expressions (e.g. *damn*)
- Negative contractions (repetition of *don't*)
- Morphological forms which tend to be regarded outside the citadel of Standard English such as *ain't*, or *aren't*.

Constructional Principles of Spoken Grammar

The following sub-section is a survey of several syntactic phenomena associated with planning considerations in conversation discussed by Biber et al. (1999). (Their discussion is very detailed; in what

follows, I will just focus on phenomena that have not been mentioned above):

- Parenthetical structures: due to limited planning time ahead.
- Non-clausal units: inserts, interjections, greetings, discourse-markers, attention signals (*Yo, Hey, Hey you*), response elicitors (*right, eh, okay*).
- Utterance launchers: fronting, noun phrase prefaces, discourse markers and overtures (longer expressions from a stock of ready-made utterances available in the language - *tell you what, the trouble is*).
- Expletives: taboo expressions (swearwords) or semi-taboo expressions.

11. An Integrated Approach

Drawing on insights from sociology, linguistics and critical semiotics, Eggins and Slade (1997) explore the major grammatical, semantic and discoursal resources which interactants draw on to make interpersonal meanings in casual talk. They first demonstrate how we can often deduce many social or contextual factors about interactants from their grammatical choices. They also explore ways in which semantic patterns such as humour, involvement and appraisal can be mobilised in the negotiation of solidarity and difference.

Eggins and Slade's (1997) analysis of casual conversation is very much influenced by the 'systemic functional model' advocated by Halliday (1973, 1978, 1994). They spell out the benefits of the 'systemic approach' to the analysis of casual conversation in two points: 1. It offers an integrated, comprehensive and systematic model of language at different levels and in different degrees of detail. 2. Casual conversation can be analysed as involving different linguistic patterns which both enact and construct dimensions of social identity and interpersonal relations.

The grammatical patterns discussed by Eggins and Slade (1997:67-115) include Mood types (declarative, imperative....). They differentiate between what they call 'full' and 'elliptical' mood type, e.g. *He plays the double-bass; This year; Look at that man walking up there; Look.* They also discuss adjuncts, modalization and modulation, in casual conversation.

In their discussions of the grammar of casual conversation they point out that these "grammatical resources, interactants can draw on to make interpersonal meanings in casual talk". They also stress that the "detailed grammatical analysis can begin to lay bare the linguistic behaviours which are associated with certain social roles and the strategic choices which enable interactants, consciously or unconsciously, to

position themselves and their fellow interactants as sociocultural subjects” (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 114-115).

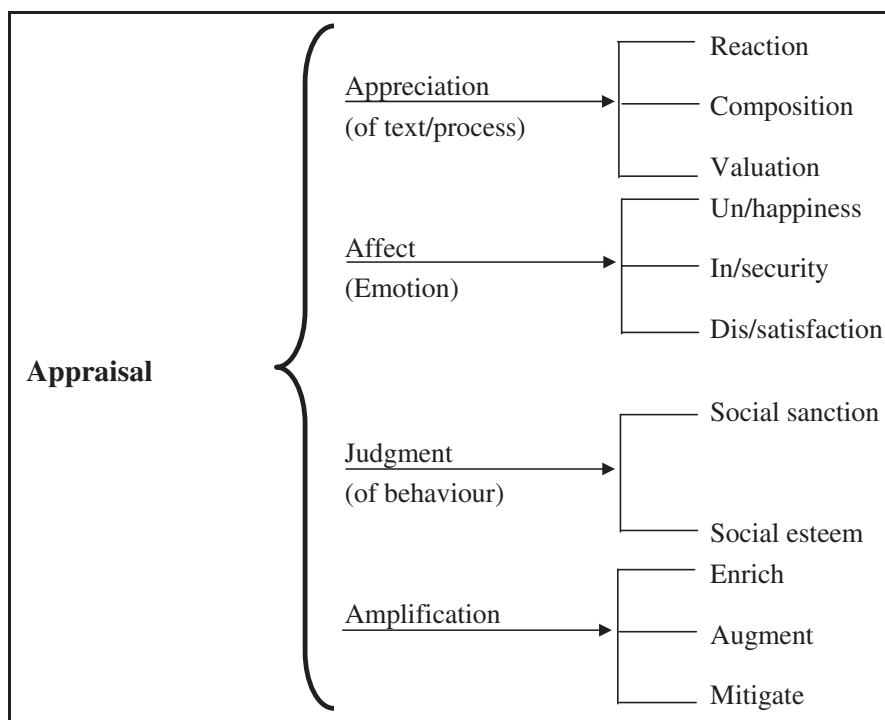
Through analysing the grammatical patterns in casual conversation (involving three participants: Fran, Brad and Dave), Eggins and Slade (1997) have managed “to argue more confidently about the linguistic construction of status and identities” (p.111). For example, Brad’s dominance is obvious from the number of clauses he produced as opposed to Dave and Fran.

Brad initiates exchanges and keeps the floor longer than any of his interactants. He doesn’t use mood choice at all, nor any polar interrogatives while Fran uses elliptical polar interrogatives, which indicates her orientation towards responding (querying and checking) rather than initiating (See discussions of female speech below). She also does not produce any imperatives, while Dave does. This is one way Dave enacts some authority.

Eggins and Slade (1997: 116-167) also discuss how interactants negotiate attitudinal meanings in talk, as well as negotiating degrees of ‘solidarity and intimacy’ in relationships.

One of the richest contributions to our understanding of the lexical choices in casual interactions is that provided by Eggins and Slade (1997: 116-167). Their focus is on “the attitudes which interactants express towards each other and towards the world”.

In their analysis of a casual conversation that takes place in a work place (a four-minute excerpt from a lunchroom conversation among five men), they review the resources available to speakers through the semantic systems of Appraisal and Involvement. Building on Martin’s (1994) work, they recognise four main categories of appraisal which are illustrated in the following figure:



They clarify the systems of Appraisal and Involvement as follows:

i. Appraisal

Appraisal refers to the attitudinal colouring of talk along a range of dimensions including: certainty, emotional response, social evaluation, and intensity. Appraisal analysis enables us to describe what is different between saying that the woman John met in the office *was beautiful/competent/ disappointed*, or saying she *was really really beautiful*, or *seemed a bit disappointed, sort of*, or *kind of competent*. Appraisal is mainly realized lexically although it can be realized by whole clauses.

ii. Involvement

Involvement refers to how interpersonal words are shared by interactants. It includes the use of vocatives, slang, anti-language and taboo words. For example: the use of words such as: *bloody/ shitty/*, or targeting another interactant through the use of vocatives such as: *Brad/ Bradley/ Darling/ Dorkhead or mate*.

Martin (2000:145-6) working within the Systemic Functional linguistic model further delineates the three systems of Appraisal as follows:

Affect is the resource deployed for constructing emotional responses (*happiness, sadness, fear, loathing etc.*)

Judgment is deployed for constructing moral evaluations of behavior (*ethical, deceptive, brave etc.*)

Appreciation construes the aesthetic quality of semiotic text/ processes and natural phenomena (*remarkable, desirable, harmonious, elegant, innovative etc.*)

12. Conversation Analysis and Beyond

For the last three decades the analysis of conversation has developed into a strong cumulative body of research. Whether the point of departure has been sociology, psychology or linguistics, the research into speech in general and conversation in particular has gained clear methodological, conceptual and theoretical structure.

The most extensive and theoretically coherent studies carried out on speech have been within the Conversation Analysis tradition (CA). Advocated by Sacks et al., (1974) the study of CA has concerned itself with the mechanism of sequential organisation of interaction. These mechanisms include procedures for turn-taking, repairs, adjacency-pair organisation and so on (see section 3 above).

Although Conversation Analysts have focused primarily on the 'mundane type', their methodological construct has been extended to different types of speech exchange, such as court hearings, news interviews and classrooms (Atkinson, 1982, Atkinson and Drew 1979; Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). Ten Have (2001:5) refers to the first type i.e. mundane type, as 'pure CA', while the latter represents (court proceedings, news interviews....) 'applied CA'. Heritage (1997: 162) has also emphasised that

There are, therefore, at least two kinds of conversation analytic research going on today, and though they overlap in various ways, they are distinct in focus. The first examines interaction as an entity in its own right; the second studies the management of social institution in interaction.

12.1 Institutional Talk

There is now a growing body of research which focuses on talk in institutional settings, from the workplace to the TV studio, from more formal types like court sessions (Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Drew, 1992) to more improvised ones like news interviews (Greatbatch, 1988; Heritage, 1985; Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). Below is an exposition of some of the most cited studies carried out under the rubric 'institutional talk' (IT). First, though, a discussion of what it is that constitutes IT.

12.2 What is Institutional Talk?

Following Levinson's (1992) discussion of participants' orientation to institutional context, Drew and Heritage (1992:22) identify three general features which they believe are characteristic of IT. Firstly, it is goal or task oriented; secondly, it involves constraints on what counts as legitimate contributions to the goal or task; and, thirdly, it produces particular kinds of inferences in the way speakers interpret, or orient to, utterances. Another concept which is central to the notion of restriction and constraint on talk- in- interaction, is that of 'asymmetry'. Drew and Heritage (1992:47) describe institutional talk as "characteristically asymmetrical" in contrast to ordinary conversational interaction between participants of equal status. For example, in a diagnostic medical interview, the doctor usually asks questions and the patient usually gives the answers; similarly, in a courtroom setting, the examining magistrate asks the questions and the witness gives answers. Recently, Thornborrow (2002:4) describes institution discourse as "talk which sets up positions for people to talk from and restricts some speakers' access to certain kinds of discursive actions." She gives examples from media settings, where the role of a TV or radio news interviewer "involves doing the questions, while the role of interviewee involves doing the answers." Some of the primary characteristics of institutional talk outlined by Thornborrow (2002:4) are as follows:

- 1 - Talk that has differentiated, pre-inscribed and conventional participant roles, or identities, whether it takes place in a school classroom, in a TV or radio studio or in a police interview room. These conventional institutional identities include categories such as phone-in host, caller, interviewer, school pupil, policeman.
- 2 - Talk in which there is a structurally asymmetrical distribution of turn types between the participants such that speakers with different institutional identities typically occupy different discursive identities; that is, they get different types of turns in which they do different kinds of things (for example, interviewers conventionally ask questions, interviewees answer them; teachers nominate which pupil will talk next, pupils respond).
- 3 - Talk in which there is also an asymmetrical relationship between participants in terms of speaker rights and obligations. This means

that certain types of utterances are seen as legitimate for some speakers but not for others (for example, an examining magistrate is expected to ask questions, a defendant is not).

- 4 - Talk in which the discursive resources and identities available to participants to accomplish specific actions are either weakened or strengthened in relation to their current institutional identities.

12.3 Identifying the Formal Structures of (IT)

Drew and Heritage (1992:26) contend that institutional talk consists of distinctive, definitive and identifiable formal structures as has been expressed in the following passage:

To the extent that the participants' talk is conducted within the constraints of a specialized turn-taking system, other systematic differences from ordinary conversation tend to emerge. These differences commonly involve specific reductions of the range of options and opportunities for action that are characteristic in conversation and they often involve *specializations* and *respecifications* of the interactional functions of the activities that remain. The ensemble of these variations from conversational practice may contribute to a unique 'fingerprint' for each institutional form of interaction - the 'fingerprint' being comprised of a set of interactional practices differentiating each from both from other institutional forms and from the base-line of mundane conversational interaction itself (p.26).

12.3.1 News Interviews

Greatbatch (1992) explores the relationship between the turn-taking provisions of the news interview and the management of disagreement between interviewees. He has noted that the pattern of disagreement differs markedly from that of disagreements in ordinary conversation. Interviewees (IEs) resort to employing mitigations or try to limit their disputes: "...if the disputes breakout of the confines of the normative interview format, IEs know that IRs will normally step in before they escalate to an extent that might seriously damage their public reputations" (p. 300).

Working within the CA tradition, Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) examine some of the basic characteristics of turn-taking in broadcast news interviews. In their analysis they show (1991:97).

- 1 - that news interview interaction is organized through turn-taking procedures that are normatively oriented to but distinctive from ordinary conversation;
- 2 - that adherence to these procedures establishes and maintains the relevance of the local “news interview identities” of the participants;
- 3 - that these distinctive procedures embody systematic and institutionalized solutions to the management of core tasks and constraints that are central to the practice of broadcast journalism; and
- 4 - that where the participants depart from the formal provisions of news interview turn-taking, they continue to manage the tasks and constraints that the turn-taking system would otherwise automatically handle through the use of identifiable ancillary procedures.

Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) conclude by stressing that the news interview conventions are “culturally variable”; they are subject to legal constraints, social change and the object of debate and discursive justification (p. 131).

12.3.2 Court Proceedings

Atkinson (1992) in his study of court proceedings assesses the degree of formality involved at different points in the processing of cases. He also shows how witnesses evade answering questions put forward by lawyers. In addition, arbitrators avoid giving any indication about their assessment of what they have heard (p. 210).

Drew’s (1992:517) study of courtroom cross-examination has focused on the interactional management of activities in the turns rather than the organisation of turn per se. He identifies a sequentially managed device designed by the lawyer to undermine the witness’ hostility and in turn to discredit the evidence given by her.

12.3.3 Doctor-Patient Interaction and More

Ten Have (1991) explores asymmetry in doctor-patient interaction stressing that the “choices participants have to act more or less

'asymmetrical' or 'formal', can be exploited to create specific kinds of episodes and to achieve analyzable interactional effect" (139). Physicians in their dealing with patients, often "monopolize initiatives" or "withhold information", and they accomplish asymmetry by taking over the patient's initiative. Ten Have, finally asserts that

Consultations are sometimes almost like conversations. At other times they resemble interrogation. But mostly they are somewhat in between, zigzagging between the two poles in a way that is negotiated on a turn-by-turn basis by the participants themselves... (p. 162).

Work on 'medical sites' has shifted its orientation at the turn of the century from mainstream doctor-patient interactions to 'elsewhere'. Sarangi and Roberts (1999) refer to this as the 'new work order'.

The new work order is conceptualized as a discourse which constitutes emergent work-related positions and identities. It is based on the idea of new capitalism and the need to constantly change products and customize them. (p. 9).

Atkinson (1999) explores some characteristic features of collegial talk between physicians. He analyses how medical work is accomplished, how knowledge is shared, legitimated or disputed (p. 80). In the illustrative case discussions, Atkinson has found instances of three-party encounters as well as three-generational interactions. In these 'rounds', the delineation of credibility, authority and responsibility are clearly visible. Fellow students characteristically 'hedge' their reportage: *I don't know, probably, I think so*, whereas surgeons are referred to by fellows as 'saying', 'said', or 'saw'. Atkinson, asserts that "The institutional order and the professional order coincide in the distribution of expert knowledge" (p. 104).

12.4 Institution Talk and Power

A great deal of the work on talk in institutional settings has been undertaken within the field of conversation analysis (CA). Substantial as it is, the theoretical and methodological construct of CA has had very little to say about the question of power in social interaction. This has been the view prevalent among conversation analysts: Schegloff (1991,

1997) has argued that the more one focuses on what might be called social variables such as gender, ethnicity, social rank, and power, the less one focuses on the actual practices of talk-in-interaction and the greater towards a reification of power. "Conversation analytic studies of (IT) have tended to employ the term 'asymmetries' in discourse (for example, legal discourse, Atkinson and Drew 1979; and medical interaction Ten Have, 1991) (see above), rather than assume that there are pre-inscribed, structurally defined participant roles, rights or 'positions' which people typically get to speak from, or that there are specific kinds of things they typically get to say in those positions" (Thornborrow 2002:22).

Recently, however, questions of power and social status have been integrated into the analytic framework of conversation analysis studies (Hutchby's (1996) analysis of a talk show, Silverman's (1997) study of the discourse and practice of HIV counseling, and Thornborrow's (2002) analysis of police interview).

Hutchby (1996) has shown that power can be analysed as a discursive phenomenon by examining the opening structures, or 'design', of calls to the show. On talk radio, the opening of the call is designed to set up an environment in which callers introduce the topic. It "also places the participants on significantly asymmetrical footing with respect to those topics" (p.494).

"The host - by going second - is able to critique or attack the caller's line simply by exhibiting skepticism about its claim, challenging the agenda-relevance of assertions or taking the argument apart by identifying minor inaccuracies in its details" (Hutchby, 1996:494-95). Going second, Hutchby (1996) argues, represents a more powerful position in argumentative discourse than first position.

Thornborrow (2002) combining the framework of (CA) together with the analytic tools of critical discourse analysis (CDA), analyses a series of police interviews with a woman making a rape complaint. She also adopts Foucault's conceptualisation of the relationship between power and discourse. She (2002: 10) contends that

[P]ower is observable in interaction through the shifting web of discursive positions and actions that speakers take up in talk and through the range of discursive resources available to them.

In her discussion of power in talk from the perspective of 'orderliness in institutional discourse', Thornborrow (2002:37) puts forward two important theoretical claims: that orderliness in interactive sequences of talk is dependent on common sense structures of background knowledge and secondly, that institutionally determined social rules produce dominant and subordinate positions which affect the rights and obligations of speakers.

Thornborrow (2002) first explores how power relations are manifested in asymmetrical speech encounters: (three male interviewers and one interviewee woman took part in the encounter). She found power to be the inevitable product of a dominant/subordinate social relationship (p. 46).

Closer analysis of the interview sequences shows that the police interviewers employ kinds of - what has been termed - "pre-blame question/answer sequences and blame-implicative questions." This in the end turned the victim into a guilty troublemaker.

Pre-implicative question:

D: (xxx) why didn't you say anything to somebody in
the job centre (.) surely rape is -

A: [I just (did)

D: rape is the next th- as far as a woman is concerned
rape is the next thing to death isn't it?

Tag questions are also regarded a powerful source to exercise control in talk.

'Well' has also been employed by the interviewers which according to Thornborrow (2002:59) is "an appositional tying technique, which signals that what is coming next will be a disagreement".

C: *well* you left the pub with them

In studies of feminism however, tag-questions have been regarded as a marker of insecurity and hesitancy. In the section that follows, studies of conversational speech, carried out within the framework of 'Feminism', are discussed.

13. Conversation and Feminism*

It was Lakoff (1975) who was among the first researchers to discuss women's conversational style. In her analysis of prefabricated data, she has contended that women resort to asking questions and using tags more than men, and this she believes, is due to a feeling of insecurity and hesitancy on the part of women.

[W]omen are more apt than men to use a question when there is a choice for this reason: a woman has traditionally gained reassurance in this culture from presenting herself as concerned about her acceptance as well as unsure of the correctness of what she's saying... a woman, believing that a hesitant style will win her acceptance, will adopt it and phrase her opinions... deferentially.... The single greatest problem women are going to have in achieving parity is surely this pervasive tendency toward hesitancy, linguistic and otherwise. (p.143)

Fishman's (1998) analysis of 52 hours of taped natural conversation between 3 male-female couples have supported Lakoff's claim: that women use *tags* and *declarative questions* much more often than men. But she concludes that "women ask questions so often because of the conversational power of questions, not because of personality weakness... [T]heir greater use of questions is an attempt to solve the *conversational* problem of gaining a response to their utterance" (p. 255).

Lakoff (1975) also believes that 'hedging' is another aspect of women's insecurity (by hedges she refers to phrases such as 'sorta', 'like', and 'you know').

Fishman (1998) however, believes that 'you know' is an attention getting device "a way to check with one's interactional partner to see if they are listening, following and attending to one's remarks" (p. 256).

* The literature on Feminism is vast. In the current section I will just focus on some of the issues that are of relevance to conversational speech. This is considered 'a drop in the ocean'.

It is also apparent that women work harder than men “to keep the conversation going” (Fishman 1998:256).

F Many of the men I've met have been incredibly uhh provincial [2] in a sense [1] Umm and it also you know you've got a-, mind you, I know that Richard has had a very good education [2] but he's a very taciturn man and very bitter about the way he's been treated. He's ve-, you know old family in regards

M Umphh

F Well you know some people got caught up in it I mean

M oh of course [1.1]

F You know I mean [0.6] yes I'm sure I mean he's very conservative, right? I mean I'm [1] he hates everything [0.7] and I am I am sure he didn't before but [1] whenever you talk to his father about it [0.6] he [1.5] he is very confused. I mean apparently he, he was [0.7] very active [0.6] hated Germany [2] and yet turned around afterwards [1] you know which is sort of

M Oh the trouble is that he turned against everything, even the war.

13.1 Interruption

The following joke has been quoted by Tannen (1990:188):

A woman sues her husband for divorce. When the judge asks her why she wants a divorce, she explains that her husband has not spoken to her in two years. The judge asks the husband, “Why haven’t you spoken to your wife in two years?” He replies, “I didn’t want to interrupt her.”

This joke according to Tannen reflects the commonly held stereotype that women talk too much and interrupt men. On the other hand, one of the most widely cited findings to emerge from research on

gender and language is that men dominate women by interrupting them in conversation (West and Zimmerman 1983). Eakins and Eakins (1976:58) have examined turn-taking patterns at seven faculty meetings and found that “men generally averaged a greater number of active interruptions per meeting than women...”.

West and Zimmerman (1983:103) typically call interruptions “a device for exercising power and control in conversation”, and “violations of speakers turns at talk”. These findings have been strongly refuted by Tannen (1990, 1996, 1998) (Tannen has analysed a two-and-a-half-hour thanksgiving dinner conversation), who has asserted that “some speakers consider talking along with another to be a show of enthusiastic participation in the conversation, of solidarity, creating connections” (1998:270), but she adds that overlap can become an “interruption in the negative or power-laden sense. If one speaker repeatedly overlaps and another gives way, the resulting communication is unbalanced, or asymmetrical and the effect is domination”. (1998:270-1). She asserts that context is necessary in order to determine whether an overlap is an interruption. Cooperative overlapping is more likely to occur in casual conversation among friends than in a job interview; speakers’ habitual styles (high involvement) and also speakers whose styles differ with regard to pausing and overlap.

13.2 Gender and Talk at Work

Tannen (1996) analyses conversations recorded at work (one between two men, the other among three women). Her aim is to show how speakers’ relative status affects the ways linguistic strategies are used and interpreted and also to show how the particular strategies used by the speakers are gender linked*.

The conversation between men is characterised by what Tannen(1990) describes as ‘report talk’:

For most men, talk is primarily a means to preserve independence and negotiate and maintain status in a

* Tannen (1996) discusses gender/class linkage but for the purpose of the current review I focus on gender only.

hierarchical social order. This is done by exhibiting knowledge and skill and by holding center stage through verbal performance such as story-telling, joking, or importing information. (Tannen 1990:77).

This is in contrast to women's talk which is characterised by "rapport-talk":

For most women, the language of conversation is primarily a language of rapport: a way of establishing connections and negotiating relationships. Emphasis is placed on displaying similarities and matching experience. (p. 77).

Men talking to men is full of vulgarity, play challenge, and bonding against women. Women's conversation, on the other hand, focuses on clothing and shopping, balancing of display and gaze, and expressive intonation (Tannen 1996:212).

Coates (1995) has also studied the linguistic features that characterise professional talk. She asserts that "the distinguishing feature of such encounters is that they are *asymmetrical*: the professional uses language not only to carry out particular professional tasks, such as giving clients medical or legal advice or instructing pupils, but also to construct and maintain power relations" (p. 16) (emphasis as in original).

Coates (1995) examines interactions drawn from the domains of law, medicine and education. Her aim is to demonstrate that the language employed by men and women are different particularly in the "professions". She asserts that women and men talk differently and make differential use of the linguistic resources available to them. Those are some of her findings. (pp. 21-24)

- The language of the professions, like all-male discourse, tends to be information-focused and adversarial in style.
- Male style favours linguistic strategies which foreground status differences between participants.
- Women's talk, by contrast, is interaction-focused, favouring linguistic strategies which emphasise solidarity rather than status.
- Information-seeking questions are rare in all-female discourse (since this would disturb the symmetry of the group). Instead, in-

terrogrative forms are used to invite others to participate which would ensure the continuity of the conversation.

- Coates, reports of a study carried on boys and girls in Philadelphia streets: the boys used 'aggravated' directives, for example 'Get outa here sucker' or 'you shut up big lips'. By contrast, the girls typically used directives which minimised status differences, such as '*let's* ask her'. Their directives are phrased as suggestions for joint action: 'We gonna point 'em and stuff'.
- Turn-taking strategies in all-female discourse do not always correspond to those assumed by turn-taking models. Simultaneous speech is common in all-female discourse: seen positively this contributes to the production of a joint text and permits a more multi-layered development of topics.

Coates (1995) reports a study by Nelson (1988) where Nelson has observed that women teachers successfully use the interactive patterns that are characteristically rooted in "emotional openers and reciprocity", and are rather cooperative rather than competitive. One of the 'rare' male teaching assistants (TAs) commented:

I just love being in here with all you women. You make it such a nice place to work. You're so warm and supportive that I never feel stupid when I make a mistake. It's different in here from how I've seen people do things before. Most graduate students are so competitive (Nelson 1988:202).

Fifty years on, and (CA) is still very much in use. Ohara and Saft (2003) employ CA techniques together with the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach for the analyses of a Japanese phone-in consultation TV program. They show that CA makes it possible not only to point out places in the interaction where participants orient to gender, but also to track how the sequential structure of the interaction is used to involve and reinforce ideological beliefs about women (Ohara & Saft 2003:153).

Another interesting study of the interactional habits of males and females, has been carried out by El-Arousy (2003). She has compared the story-telling patterns of males and females and has

noted that in recounting a story in the course of a conversation males employ humorous remarks, whereas boosters and the effective use of paralinguistic elements, such as pauses and prominence are female specialties. She also found that females more than males employ metaphoric idiomatic and fixed expressions in their conversations (pp. 107-108).

That joking is an integral part of conversation has also been stressed in various studies of '*humour*'. This is discussed next.

14. Conversational Joking

Norrick (1993:1) is of the belief that

Everyday conversation thrives on wordplay, sarcasm, anecdotes, and jokes. Certainly these forms of humor enliven conversation, but they also help us break the ice, fill uncomfortable pauses, negotiate requests for favors, and build group solidarity.

It was Sacks (1974) who provided the first careful examination of the course of telling a joke in conversation. He has shown that it follows the pattern of story-telling generally. The telling according to Sacks, “is composed, as for stories, of three serially ordered and adjacently placed types of sequences which we call the preface, the telling and the response sequences” (p. 337). As for the joke-telling sequence, Sacks points out that laughter is expected immediately upon completion of the punch line. A failure to laugh at the correct ‘intersection’ suggests a lack of understanding or amusement (pp. 347-348).

Working within CA tradition, Norrick (1993) discusses how humour influences the organisation of conversation. Beginning at the micro-level of analysis, he first discusses adjacency pairs (p. 21). In a two-party conversation, the recipient may choose to ‘joke first’ before producing the relevant second part. The recipient often pretends misunderstanding and plays on an ambiguity or vagueness in a particular word or phrase.

Do you believe in clubs for young people?

Only when kindness fails

(W.C. Fields, quoted in Norrick 1993)

This is an example of spontaneous punning. The interactants sometimes joke in order “to change a topic and to influence the direction of conversation” (Norrick 1993:23).

When it comes to organising larger chunks of conversation humour is employed to greet, to take leave, to bridge uncomfortable pauses or to close down one topic and move to another:

A: See you

B: Not if I see you later.

A: Take it easy

B: Yeah, but take it.

A: See you later alligator

B: After a while, crocodile.

Besides these formulas for greetings, welcomings and closings, interactants employ humorous phrases to fill uncomfortable pauses or 'to wrap up an old topic' (pp. 26-27).

Norricks (1993:35) also discusses the internal organisation of the joke. Joke-telling typically starts by any of the following phrases: "That reminds me of a joke"; "I've got a joke for you"; "Stop me if you've heard this one". "Have you heard this one"; also "there was an Englishman, a Scotsman and an Irishman..." series of jokes (Ross, 1998:56). These phrases introduce the *preface* to a joke-telling according to Sacks (1974).

15. Conversation Analysis and Language Teaching

Almost three decades ago, Sacks and his collaborators, drew attention to the importance of studying naturally occurring conversation. Introducing “naturalistic conversation” to learners of English as a second/foreign language has taken a much longer period.

McCarthy (1991, 1998, 2001) very much “an applied man”^{*} has pioneered in providing language teachers with guidelines for the teaching of spoken data. He starts by admitting that “Spoken language is a vast subject and little is known of the different types of speech in people’s everyday lives” (McCarthy, 1991:118). He lists some different types of speech (118-119): Telephone calls (business and private); Service encounters (shops, ticket offices, etc.); Interviews (jobs, journalistic, in official settings); Monologues (speech stories, jokes); Language-in-action (talk accompanying doing: fixing, cooking, assembling, demonstrating, etc); Casual conversation (strangers, friends, intimates); Organizing and directing people (work, home, in the street).

Among the issues he addresses, is the grammar of speech, this is discussed next.

McCarthy (1991) criticises language teachers’ reliance on the set of norms based only on written language, “where clause and sentence structure are clearly defined” (p.143). Spoken data on the other hand, “present a different picture and frequently contain forms that would be considered ungrammatical in writing” (p.143). He gives examples considered mistakes ‘by armchair grammarians’, found in natural talk: wh-clause structure (There’s another secretary too who I don’t know what she’s responsible for); “ellipses that would be frowned upon in ‘good’ writing”; and “things native speakers are fond of saying” (*the thing is is that I don’t know her number*).

* I borrowed this expression from McCarthy (2001) himself who used it to describe a very pragmatic and practical person.

Carter and McCarthy (1997) is considered the most extensive and up-to-date study of naturalistic conversational data directed to “teachers and teacher trainers, undergraduate and postgraduate students of language and linguistics, advanced learners of English as a second or foreign language, materials developers...” (p. 12).

Their data has been drawn from a research project carried out in the Universities of Cambridge and Nottingham, (CANCODE) corpus. It consists of five million words constructed mainly from spontaneous, everyday English speech in a variety of social contexts and interaction environments. Some of the linguistic issues addressed by Carter and McCarthy (1997) include: back-channeling *Mm, yeah, Ok, right*, etc; binomials (paved expression) e.g. *hit and miss; ups and downs*; delexical verbs (they give examples of the verbs *take* or *have* that do not have an independent meaning, e.g. *have a swim, have a good look*). They also discuss issues like ellipses, discourse markers, tags, hedges, fronting and so on, providing a line-by-line commentary together with suggestions for ‘activities’ to be carried out by learners.

A number of other interesting issues of relevance to language teachers have also been discussed by McCarthy (1998, 2001). He translates his discussions into a set of principles that can be used for teaching casual conversation (1998: 172):

- 1 - Teaching speech reporting should not be over-obsessed with backshift and sequence of tenses with indirect speech at the expense of the rich variety of tense and aspect forms that real data throw up.
- 2 - Word-order (e.g. in reports of questions) should be seen as more flexible than traditional prescriptive grammar might suggest, and some word-orders frequently marked as errors (e.g. ‘she asked me what *was I* doing’) should not be considered erroneous since they regularly appear in native-speaker speech.
- 3 - Once again, the principle of language awareness seems important here: *exposure* to real data (without the necessary implication that it has to be reproduced by the learner), will enable the learner to become aware of forms such as *go* and the historical present which they are likely to hear in the speech of native speakers, both in real-

life encounters and on the increasingly global media of films and television in English.

- 4 - Frequent but tricky forms such as passive-voice reports (e.g. *I was asked to take part in a survey*) may need a good deal of practice, and contrastive exercises bringing out the different contexts of past simple and past continuous reports may need to be designed to supplement what is found in textbooks.
- 5 - Although conversational speech reporting differs from literary speech reporting, literary texts and conversational transcripts could be used together, both in the teaching of literature and in teaching the spoken language, their potential for contrast being a useful means of promoting language - and literary - awareness.

To conclude....

One should admit, that attempting to bring to an end a topic of such magnitude, is almost impossible. For, there is still out there numerous studies of conversational speech awaiting exploration. There is the conversational speech of children (Sealey, 2000), of the elderly (Peccei, 1999), of the impaired (aphasic communication) (Anderson et al., 1997) and finally of chat-rooms (Aitchison and Lewis (eds.), 2003).

As Kessler and Bergs (2003: 79) show “An SMS dialogue like the following appears to be quite ‘normal’ today, at least for the younger generation”. This awaits analysis:

Hi How r u?	Hi! How are you?
Hi Gr8 thkz	Hi. Great. Thanks.
I Luv u Wu b m v?	I love you. Would you be my Valentine?
ROFL	Rolling on the floor laughing.
:’-(	Crying
OXOXOLUWAM<37>->-	Hugs and kisses, I love you with all my heart. Roses.

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ملخص

يتناول هذا البحث المرجعي دراسة لنظريات "تحليل المحادثة" Conversation Analysis بدأ من جاركفينكل ١٩٤٠ Garfinkel الذي يعد من مؤسسي نظريات (CA) وكذلك ساكس، شيجلوف وجفرسون ١٩٧٤ Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson الذين قدموا من خلال الدراسات التي قاموا بها مفاهيم في CA مثل أخذ الدور/ تبادل الأدوار Turn-Taking، الاعتراض، Adjacency Paris، Overlap. كما تناول البحث الدراسات التي أجريت في مجال البرجماتية Pragmatics وعلاقتها بتحليل المحادثة وعلى وجه الخصوص الأفعال اللغوية Speech Acts ومبدأ التعاون Cooperative Principle.

ثم تناول البحث الدراسات الحديثة التي أجريت في مجال الـ Institutional Talk أو الحديث في مجال العمل مثل حديث الأطباء مع المرضى والمقابلات التلفزيونية ولغة المحاكمات، وقد تم ربط هذه الدراسات بمبدأ Power "السلطة" وكذلك مبدأ "التماثل" Symmetry. كما تمت مراجعة الأبحاث التي تمت في مجال تحليل الحديث والنسوية Feminism والحديث والفكاهة Humour studies.

ويقترح البحث في النهاية مجالات شتى يمكن القيام بأبحاث فيها، منها على وجه الخصوص لغة كبار السن The elderly ولغة غرف الدردشة Chat Rooms المستخدمة في الرسائل الإلكترونية وكذلك لغة الذين لديهم مشاكل عضوية مثل aphasia "الحبسة".

المؤلفة:

أ. د. سلوى محمد فرج

- دكتوراه فى اللغويات - جامعة أستون ببرمنجهام - المملكة المتحدة ١٩٨٦.
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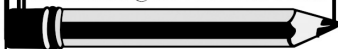
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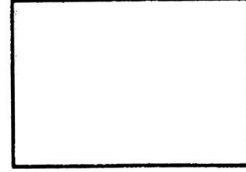
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البريد الجوي
BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

عزيزي القارئ:

يسر أسرة تحرير حويات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية أن ترحب بكم وتتقدم لكم بأطيب التحيات، شاكرين لكم سلفاً تعاونكم من أجل تطوير الحويات؛ وذلك من خلال إجاباتكم عن هذه الأسئلة:

- ١ - العمر: سنة
- ٢ - الجنس: ☐ ذكر ☐ أنثى
- ٣ - بلد الإقامة: ☐ الكويت ☐ خارج الكويت (انكر)
- ٤ - التعليم: ☐ ثانوي ☐ جامعي ☐ ماجستير ☐ دكتوراه
- ٥ - طبيعة المهنة: ☐ أكاديمي ☐ إداري ☐ مهني ☐ أخرى (وانكرها) ...
- ٦ - مواضيعك المفضلة: ☐ أدبية ولغوية ☐ سياسية ☐ اجتماعية ونفسية ☐ تاريخية ☐ ثقافية ☐ أخرى (وانكرها) ...
- ٧ - كيف تحصل على الحويات؟ ☐ شراء ☐ اشتراكاً ☐ استعارة ☐ لا
- ٨ - هل تصك الحويات في الوقت المناسب؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ٩ - رأيك في حجم الحويات؟ ☐ كبير ☐ متوسط ☐ صغير
- ١٠ - كيف ترى موضوعات الحويات؟ ☐ متنوعة ☐ غير متنوعة
- ١١ - ما الطابع العام للحويات من وجهة نظرك؟ ☐ لغوي ☐ اجتماعي ☐ تاريخي ☐ جغرافي ☐ متنوع
- ١٢ - هل تقرأ الحويات بانتظام؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ١٣ - هل تقرأ الحويات فقط إذا كان موضوعها له علاقة بتخصصك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ١٤ - هل تقرأ الحويات فقط إذا كنت ستستعين بمادتها كمرجع لبحث؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ١٥ - هل تحتفظ بالحويات بعد قراءتها؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ١٦ - اقترحاتك لتطوير الحويات وتطوير خدماتها للقارئ:

.....

.....

.....



مثال:

- أحمد محمد عبد الخالق، معجم الألفاظ الشخصية، الطبعة الأولى - دولة الكويت، مجلس النشر العلمي - جامعة الكويت، ٢٠٠٠م / ص ١٥.
* المرجع السابق، ص ٢٦.

- وفي حالة وجود فاصل هامش مختلف يذكر على النحو التالي:
* أحمد عبد الخالق، معجم الألفاظ الشخصية - ص ٣٥.

ثانياً - المصادر والمراجع:

يرتب ثبت المصادر والمراجع ترتيباً ألفبائياً، بحسب الأسماء المشهورة للمؤلفين. ويتبع في إثباتها ما يلي:
اسم المؤلف، عنوان الكتاب (بالبنط الأسود)، اسم المحقق أو الشارح أو المترجم، رقم الطبعة، اسم الناشر، مكان النشر، السنة.

مثال:

الجاحظ، أبو عثمان عمرو بن بحر، كتاب «الحيوان»، تحقيق: عبد السلام محمد هارون، ط ٢، مطبعة مصطفى البابي الحلبي وأولاده - مصر، ١٩٦٥م.

٥ - شروط قبول الأبحاث في الحوليات:

- أ - لا تقبل الحوليات البحوث التي سبق نشرها في أي مجلة علمية أو غيرها.
- ب - أصول البحوث المقدمة للنشر لا ترد ولا تسترجع، سواء أنشئت أم لم تنشر.
- ج - لا يجوز نشر البحوث في جهات أخرى بعد موافقة الحوليات على نشرها، وإذا ثبت ذلك، فستتخذ إدارة الحوليات الإجراءات القانونية المتبعة بهذا الشأن.
- د - يمكن للباحث نشر بحثه في جهات أخرى، بعد الحصول على إذن كتابي مسبق من رئيس التحرير، وبعد انقضاء ثلاث سنوات - على الأقل - على نشره في الحوليات.

هـ - تمنح المجلة للباحث خمسين نسخة من بحثه المنشور إهداء.

٦ - ترسل البحوث وجميع المراسلات الخاصة بالحوليات إلى:

رئيسة تحرير حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

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قواعد النشر في

حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

- ١ - حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية، مجلة فصلية علمية محكمة، تصدر عن مجلس النشر العلمي بجامعة الكويت، تنشر البحوث من الجامعات والمؤسسات العلمية العربية والأجنبية في الموضوعات الأدبية والاجتماعية والإنسانية.
- ٢ - تنشر الحوليات البحوث والدراسات الأصلية، باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية، على ألا تتجاوز صفحات متن أي بحث ٢٠٠ صفحة، ولا تقل عن ٥٠ صفحة (في المتن أيضاً).
- ٣ - قواعد تسليم البحوث:
 - أ - يقدم البحث مطبوعاً من ثلاث نسخ، على ورق (A4)، وعلى مسافتين، وبنت (١٤)، مع القرص المرن الخاص به.
 - ب - يرفق الباحث ملخصاً للبحث مطبوعاً باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية؛ في حدود ١٥٠ كلمة للغة العربية، و ٢٠٠ كلمة للغة الإنجليزية.
 - ج - يرفق الباحث مع البحث سيرة علمية مختصرة، مطبوعة باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية، تشمل أهم مؤلفاته وأبحاثه.
 - د - يقدم الباحث إقراراً كتابياً بأن البحث المقدم لم يسبق نشره في أي مجلة علمية أو غيرها.
 - هـ - تقدم الخرائط، والأشكال، والرسوم بأصولها الصالحة للطباعة، أما الصور الفوتوغرافية فتطبع على ورق لماع، مع ضرورة تقديم الشريحة الأصلية للصور الملونة.
 - و - في حال رغبة الباحث نشر الصور، أو الخرائط، أو الأشكال البيانية ملونة، يلتزم دفع تكاليفها.
- ٤ - يراعي الباحث عند كتابة هوامش البحث ومصادره ومراجعته ما يلي:
 - أولاً - الهوامش:
 - أ - توضع الهوامش في نهاية كل فصل، أو في نهاية البحث في حالة عدم وجود فصول.
 - ب - ترتب أرقام التوثيق بطريقة متسلسلة حتى نهاية كل فصل، أو حتى نهاية البحث في حالة عدم وجود فصول.
 - ج - تثبت الهوامش عند ذكرها لأول مرة كاملة على النحو التالي:
اسم المؤلف، عنوان الكتاب (بالبنط الأسود)، رقم الطبعة / رقم الجزء، مكان النشر، اسم الناشر، سنة النشر / رقم الصفحة.

الهيئة الاستشارية

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د. فاطمة إبراهيم آل خليفة

رئيسة هيئة التحرير

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قسم التاريخ

أ. د. حسن سيد أحمد أبو العينين

قسم الجغرافيا

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قسم اللغة العربية وآدابها

مها إبراهيم المسعد

مديرة التحرير

حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

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اهتمام الأقسام العلمية لكليتي الآداب والعلوم
الاجتماعية:

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