Research in the supporting sciences

Phonetics and phonology

93–492 **Holden, Kyril T. and Hogan, John T.** (U. of Alberta). The emotive impact of foreign intonation: an experiment in switching English and Russian intonation. *Language and Speech* (Hampton Hill, Mddx), **36**, 1 (1993), 67–88.

This study explores subjects' responses in terms of emotion and attitude to native and foreign intonation patterns across four major sentence types. The goal of the experiment was to ascertain whether there would be a significant change in the judgment of a selection of ten emotions and attitudes with a change of intonation, while keeping other phonetic factors constant. Two languages and two groups of native speakers, English and Russian, were chosen for the experiments. The pattern of interactions from the analyses of variance for each of the ten measures indicates that English and Russian speaking subjects show a similar tripartite grouping of nine of the emotions/attitudes into Positive, Negative, and Passive types. One variable, namely SURPRISED, exhibits a different pattern of means between the two language groups. Within each emotion/ attitude, sentence types are differentially rated for each level of intonation condition (native or foreign) in both Russian and English experiments. In general, English speakers are found to be more sensitive to foreign intonation. The most significant difference between intonations is recorded by English speakers' judgments of the Negative emotions/attitudes, with Russian intonation consistently rated as more Negative.

Sociolinguistics

93–493 **Blanche, Parick** (AMVIC Inst. of Foreign Language, Okayama, Japan). Bilingual crosscultural education in Western Europe: an overview. *RELC Journal* (Singapore), **23**, 2 (1992), 81–104.

The author sets out the international, political, and sociolinguistic contexts in which the 21 Council of Europe nations are pursuing the goals of bilingual crosscultural education. The Council of Europe's Intercultural Hypothesis to some extent parallels the cultural pluralist ideology that has been evolving in America, but the Europeans have displayed greater political will and set clearer goals. The 'intercultural' model advocated by the Council of Europe intends that immigrant children when they become adults must have the free choice to decide to what extent they wish to integrate into the host country's culture and/or to conserve that of their home country, to which they may wish to go back. Interculturalism asserts the need for interaction between the various components that make up European societies. It is a comprehensive sociological option, a series of dynamic exchanges at once international and local, and bridging the generations. The European path has been that of positive discrimination and sociocultural 'insertion', in the sense of a balanced entry into new structures. Bilingual crosscultural education in the United States is to a considerable extent an obligation deriving from a legal mandate that came in response to extraordinary local pressures. By contrast, bilingual education guidelines for Western Europe are the product of a world vision, set by the highest representatives of the executive branches of government in a spontaneous and orderly fashion. Official collaboration between European nations leads to decisions with international force. There is, however, always some discrepancy' between the ideals expressed in the Intercultural Hypothesis and the school day reality of minority children. Some countries, notably the Netherlands and Sweden, have established large-scale projects, but some others have been slow in implementing the policies needed to respond to the special needs of immigrant children.

93–494 **Bresnahan, Mary I.** Gender differences in initiating requests for help. *Text* (Amsterdam), **13**, 1 (1993), 7–27.

This study examines the help-requestive behaviour of 104 female subjects and 97 male subjects. These 201 audiotaped interviews were randomly selected from a larger corpus of actual help-seeking interviews. The 201 interviews were coded for the following features: gender; request force; level of imposition of the request; level of emotion of the request; presence of conflict; persistence of the help-seeker; types of linguistic strategy selected by the help-seeker to ask for help; content of the request;

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whether the request was granted; whether there was an anticipatory account; and content of the account.

Findings are generally consistent with sex-role hypotheses derived from the gender literature on differences in language interaction between women and men. At a level of significance, men selected aggressive control strategies. However, several findings in this study were not expected and suggest interesting modifications for claims that have been made elsewhere about sex differences in language. The implications of these findings on gender both for help-providers and help-seekers is explored.

93–495 Hall, Joan Kelly (U. of Georgia). The role of oral practices in the accomplishment of our everyday lives: the sociocultural dimension of interaction with implications for the learning of another language. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **14**, 2 (1993), 145–66.

People are in continual engagement in socio-culturally framed face-to-face activities as they participate in and live their everyday lives. Participation in these oral practices is bounded to some extent by one's knowledge of the interactive resources needed for participation and of the conventional ways of using the resources. Active and frequent participation in the oral practices of one's group leads to the development of socio-cultural competence and the ability to use the resources to display and/or modify this competence. The formal study of such practices leads to the development of an understanding of the resources available to and used by the participants in a practice, and of those people whose practices they are.

The author argues for the incorporation of this sociocultural perspective of interaction and the concomitant study of oral practices into the disciplinary schema which currently defines second and foreign language learning. This study includes the identification of practices important to those groups whose language is being learned, and the description and analysis of the situated use of the interactive resources of such practices. To develop the argument he first situates the notion of oral practice in its larger interdisciplinary context and then presents an etic framework to facilitate such study. The current treatment of oral language in the literature on second and foreign language learning is discussed in order to demonstrate how the incorporation of the notion and study of oral practice can contribute to the development of a more complete model of language learning. A discussion of the pedagogic implications concludes the paper.

93–496 Kraemer, Roberta (Tel Aviv U., Israel). Ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions in Israel in the wake of the Intifada. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Clevedon, Avon), **13**, 6 (1992), 487–503.

This study investigated the dynamic nature of the social cognitions measured by the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire and their susceptibility to change as a result of social and historical events. Specifically, it examined changes in the vitality perceptions of Israeli Jewish and Arab youth accompanying the Intifada – the nationalist uprising of the Palestinians living in the territories (the West bank and the Gaza Strip) which Israel has been occupying since the Six-Day War in 1967. Subjects were 575 tenth-grade students from two high schools (one Arab and one Jewish) in the central region of the country. The sample was gathered over three consecutive years (1987–89) in each school. The 1987 sample represents the period of time six–seven months before the Intifada; 1988, the period six–seven months after the onset; and 1989, about a year and a half after the initial outbreak. Results indicated that: (1) the vitality dimensions most sensitive to sociopolitical change are the demographic and status dimensions and the overall vitality measures; (2) the Intifada was more salient for the Arab group. There were more changes in relative vitality perceptions over the three years for the Arab group than for the Jewish group and more of these changes took place earlier. The results are discussed with special reference to the issue of Israeli Arab identity.

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93–497 Mareschal, Geneviève (U. of Ottawa). L'influence comparée de l'anglais sur le français dans différentes aires géographiques francophones. [A comparative study of the influence of English on French in different geographical francophone areas.] *Bulletin of the CAAL* (Montreal), **14,** 2 (1992), 107–20.

The influence that English exerts on French varies from one francophone area to another. A well-balanced corpus of anglicisms representative of four francophone areas is used to describe and then compare, from both a typological and lexical point of view, the way each area reacts to the influence – and pressure – of English. This comparative study reveals how anglicisms are integrated into French in each area, how they are distributed geographically over and in the areas examined, how different forms compete with each other and how meanings may differ from one area to another. In conclusion, some factors that may account for the geographical variations are presented.

93–498 Swilla, Imani N. (U. of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania). The relation of local and foreign languages to national needs in Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Clevedon, Avon), **13,** 6 (1992), 505–14.

African countries need both local and foreign languages and the roles of these languages are complementary. Several African countries have designated African languages as national, official languages and as media of instruction, especially at primary-school level. The languages of the former coloniser have often been maintained as media of instruction in secondary and post-secondary education, as official languages, and, in several countries, as national languages as well. An African language, like any other, can become official and national, and a medium of instruction; the choice is determined by political and socio-economic factors.

Psycholinguistics

93–499 Andersen, Elaine S. (U. of Southern California) **and others.** The impact of input: language acquisition in the visually impaired. *First Language* (Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks), **13,** 1 (1993), 23–49.

Variation in language development between blind and sighted children may result from a diminution of experience or differences in linguistic input, or it may be a product of other factors. Researchers argue about the relative weighting of these. The authors examine this argument by reviewing data and findings from their studies of blind children's language and they evaluate the possible impact of input, both environmental and linguistic. It is shown that variation cannot be uniquely attributed to either of these, but evidence is found that experiential input may influence some areas while linguistic input more strongly affects others. Moreover, there is a complex interaction between these. They also find independent adaptive strategies by the children, pointing to a plasticity in the acquisition process itself.

93–500 Chaney, Carolyn (San Francisco State U.). Language development, metalinguistic skills, and print awareness in three-year-old children. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **13,** 4 (1992), 485–514.

This is an investigation of the relationships among selected aspects of normal language development, emerging metalinguistic skills, and concepts about print in three-year-old children. Forty-three normally developing children were given four tests of language development; 12 metalinguistic tasks measuring phonological awareness, word awareness, and structural awareness; and two measures of literacy knowledge. The results clearly demonstrated that most three-year-olds can make meta-linguistic judgments and productions in structured tasks, with overall metalinguistic performance improving with age in months. Specific metalinguistic tasks varied in difficulty and probably in developmental order. The major domains of metalinguistic awareness (phonological, word, and structural) were significantly intercorrelated and also correlated with overall linguistic skill. Literacy knowledge was positively correlated with overall metalinguistic skill and, specifically, with phono-

logical awareness. It is concluded that, as young as age three, children are already rapidly developing a mental framework for analysing language structure separately from language meaning.

93–501 De Villiers, Peter A. (Smith College, MA) and Pomerantz, Sarah B. (U. of Texas). Hearing-impaired students learning new words from written context. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **13,** 4 (1992), 409–31.

Normally hearing students acquire most of their reading vocabulary from printed context, but little is known about this process in hearing-impaired students. Two studies, therefore, investigated hearing-impaired students' ability to derive lexical and syntactic information about unknown words embedded in short passages of text. The passages varied in their informativeness about the meaning of the unknown words. Ability to derive at least a partial meaning for a word in context was determined both by the type of context and the reading comprehension level of the students. However, there was no relationship between reading comprehension scores and ability to determine the form class of the words in context. The results are related to the importance of integrating semantic information into a meaning schema for the passage in order to acquire new meanings for unknown words and to the local strategies adopted by poorer readers when attempting to answer comprehension questions. Implications for explaining, and trying to ameliorate, the well-documented vocabulary limitations of hearing-impaired students are discussed.

93–502 Döpke, Susanne (U. of Melbourne, Australia). A bilingual child's struggle to comply with the 'one parent–one language' rule. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Clevedon, Avon), **13,** 6 (1992), 467–85.

The onset of language differentiation in simultaneous bilinguals is currently debated heatedly. This paper attempts a contribution to the debate. The study is based on monthly recordings of one bilingual child, exposed to German and English via the principle of 'one parent–one language', between the ages of 2;0 and 2;5. In contrast to some of the earlier studies, the acquisition of sociolinguistic rules appears to precede the acquisition of structural rules. The difference in results is seen as an outcome of teaching strategies employed to enhance early differentiation between the languages. The author questions the assumption that children need to have developed a certain level of linguistic sophistication in order to 'work out' that they are exposed to two different languages.

93–503 Hua Liu and others (U. of California, San Diego). Sentence interpretation in bilingual speakers of English and Chinese. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **13,** 4 (1992), 451–84.

This study examines patterns of transfer in the sentence processing strategies displayed by Chinese–English and English–Chinese bilinguals. The results indicate that late bilinguals display strong evidence for forward transfer: late Chinese–English bilinguals transfer animacy-based strategies to English sentences; late English–Chinese bilinguals transfer English-like word order strategies to Chinese. Early bilinguals display a variety of transfer patterns, including differentiation (use of animacy strategies in Chinese and word order strategies in English) and backward transfer (use of L2 processing strategies in L1, a possible symptom of language loss). These unusual transfer patterns reflect a complex interaction of variables, including age of exposure to L2 and patterns of daily language use. Implications of these findings for the critical period hypothesis are discussed, together with some new hypotheses concerning the interaction between acquisition of L2 and maintenance of L1.

93–504 Hurd, Molly. Minority language children and French immersion: additive multilingualism or subtractive semi-lingualism? *Canadian Modern Language Review* (Fredericton, New Brunswick), **49,** 3 (1993), 514–25.

In this paper, research on the effects of multilingualism on the learning of additional languages is reviewed. Particular attention is paid to research involving children in immersion and double-immersion programmes with a view to isolating the factors which would seem to contribute to the

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success of minority language children in these programmes. Theoretical models such as Cummins' model of bilingualism are also examined and their relevance is discussed. It is concluded that L1 literacy support, while important for minority language children in middle immersion pro-grammes, is vital in early immersion. Early partial immersion programmes would seem to be a more viable choice than early full immersion for minority language children; both may result in problems. Middle immersion programmes appear to be the best option yet researched.

93–505 Poeppel, David and Wexler, Kenneth (Massachusetts Inst. of Tech.). The full competence hypothesis of clause structure in early German. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **69,** 1 (1993), 1–33.

It is argued that young German children have the major functional sentential heads, in particular the inflectional and complementiser systems. The major empirical basis is natural production data from a 25-month-old child. The authors perform quantitative analyses which show that the full complement of functional categories is available to the child, and that what crucially distinguishes the child's grammar from the adult's is the use of infinitives in matrix clauses. The evidence considered here includes the child's knowledge of finiteness and verb placement, agreement, head movement, and permissible word-order variations. Several accounts are examined which presuppose a degenerate grammar or which deviate from the standard analysis of German and it is concluded that they provide a less adequate explanation of the acquisition facts.

93–506 Watkins, Ruth V. (U. of Texas at Dallas) **and others.** Verb use by language-impaired and normally developing children. *First Language* (Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks), **13,** 1 (1993), 133–43.

This study examined verb use in a group of preschool-age children with language impairments and two control groups of normally developing children. The specific questions of the study involved the diversity of the language-impaired children's verb lexicons relative to their age- and language-matched counterparts, and the presence of similar frequently used, multipurpose verb forms in both samples. Analysis of transcript data revealed that while language-impaired youngsters relied on a less diverse main verb lexicon than both their age- and language-matched peers, they used a similar set of high frequency verbs.

93–507 Wimmer, Heinz (U. of Salzburg). Characteristics of developmental dyslexia in a regular writing system. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **14,** 1 (1993), 1–33.

This study assessed reading difficulties and cognitive impairments of German-speaking dyslexic children at grade levels 2, 3 and 4. It was found that German dyslexic children suffered from a pervasive speed deficit for all types of reading tasks, including text, high frequency words, and pseudowords, but at the same time showed generally rather high reading accuracy. For pseudowords, reading refusals or word responses were absent, and the majority of errors was close to the target pronunciation. Reading speed seemed to be most impaired for pseudowords and function words that did not allow the children to take a short-cut from phonemically mediated word processing. The discussion offers a developmental framework for the interpretation of these reading difficulties. For the cognitive tasks, dyslexic children did not differ from age-matched control children on the pseudoword repetition task or the digit span task, indicating that auditory perception and memory were not impaired. On phonological awareness tasks (rhyme oddity detection, vowel substitution, and pseudoword spelling), dyslexic children scored lower than age-matched control children, but not lower than younger reading-level control children. The performance of the dyslexic children on the phonemic segmentation tasks (pseudoword spelling and vowel substitution) was high in absolute terms. In contrast, marked differences between dyslexic and age-matched controls were found on rapid naming tasks: dyslexic grade 4 children showed lower numeral-naming speed than reading-level grade 2 children. Numeral-naming speed turned out to be the most important predictor of reading speed differences. These findings are discussed in relation to the phonological impairment explanation of dyslexia and to recent alternative explanations that posit an underlying impairment in automatising skills which demand the fast execution of low-level cognitive processes.

93–508 Yoon, Keumsil Kim (William Paterson Coll., Wayne, NJ). New perspective on intrasentential code-switching: a study of Korean–English switching. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (Cambridge), **13**, 4 (1992), 433–49.

This article explores typology-based differences in patterns of bilingual behaviour by analysing code-switches of Korean–English bilingual speakers, a language group that has not received much study so far. Data collected from 20 balanced bilinguals was analysed to address the issues of linguistic constraints on code-switching and applicability of the concepts of nonce borrowing, language assignment, and neutrality to the phenomena observed. Two interesting code-switching phenomena were found: a change of the part of speech in the process of making small-size nonequivalence constituent switches and an introduction of Korean 'operating verbs,' which are inflected to indicate the degree of respect to the interlocutor. Four subjects (two males, two females), who were taped in two different contexts, showed a reduction in social code-switching and a higher rate of English monolingual sentences when talking to their spouses than to an acquaintance.

Pragmatics

93–509 Bavelas, Janet Beavin and others (U. of Victoria). Interactive gestures. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **15** (1992), 469–89.

Illustrators are hand gestures made during conversation. Following Bavelas, Hagen, Lane, and Lawrie (1989), a new division of illustrators is proposed, into *topic* and *interactive* gestures. Interactive gestures refer to the interlocutor rather than to the topic of conversation, and they help maintain the conversation as a social system. They subsume but are not limited to the category previously called *beats* or *batons*. Three tests of this theory are reported here. In Experiment 1, the same narrative task was assigned to both dyads and individuals: dyads had a higher rate of interactive gestures than did individuals, but the opposite pattern was shown for topic gestures. In Experiment 2, visual availability was manipulated: the rate of interactive gestures was higher for partners interacting face-to-face than for those who could not see each other, but topic gestures were not significantly affected by condition. Thus, in both experiments, interactive and topic gestures responded differently to social variables, which strongly suggests they are functionally distinct groups. A final analysis showed that, in both data sets, interactive gestures were less redundant with the words they accompanied than were topic gestures, which supports the authors' hypothesis that they maintain involvement with the interlocutor without interrupting the verbal flow of discourse.

93–510 Clancy, Patricia M. (U. of California at Santa Barbara). Referential strategies in the narratives of Japanese children. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **15** (1992), 441–67.

The referential strategies used in narrative discourse by 60 Japanese children (aged 3 years; 8 months to 7 years; 4 months) and 10 adults were analysed to determine the factors underlying choice of nominal versus elliptical forms. Four predictor variables were examined: age, discourse context (Introductions, Same Subjects, and Switch Subjects), plot centrality (hero vs. subordinate characters), and type of narrative (picture-based vs. video-based). The main effects of age, discourse context, and plot centrality were significant interactions between all pairs of the four predictor variables. Results are discussed in terms of the cognitive, social, and linguistic factors underlying referential choice in development.

93–511 Donato, Richard and Adair-Hauck, Bonnie (U. of Pittsburgh, PA). Discourse perspectives on formal instruction. *Language Awareness* (Clevedon, Avon), **1**, 2 (1992), 73–89.

Formal instruction in the second-language classroom is generally characterised by two approaches: inductive and deductive presentations. Formal instruction is not easily reduced to explicit statements about the language or implicit strategies whereby the learners are expected to hypothesise and

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formulate structures of the language on their own. Rather, formal instruction can involve discursive negotiation resulting in the co-construction of understanding between teacher and student. This study reports on the discourse of formal instruction of two foreign language teachers. It is shown that explanation can be a negotiated process in which the teacher plays a role in collaborative sense-making with the class. This finding reveals that the dichotomy of induction and deduction fails to capture the complexity of formal instruction, since it does not take into account its often interactive nature. Through protocol analysis, formal instruction is examined and the discursive mechanism referred to as 'prolepsis' is discussed as a means of distinguishing negotiated and co-constructed formal instruction from its monologic counterpart.

93–512 Goodell, Elizabeth W. (U. of Connecticut and Haskins Labs) **and Sachs, Jacqueline** (U. of Connecticut). Direct and indirect speech in English-speaking children's retold narratives. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **15** (1992), 395–422.

In order to report the words of others, children must learn how to point out to the listener whether the vantage point is that of the original discourse (direct speech) or that of the present reporting (indirect speech). The present article reports a study designed to investigate children's deictic changes (signalling direct or indirect speech), use of speech act verbs, and preference for reporting system in their retold narratives. Twenty subjects at each of four ages (4, 6, 8 years old, and adult) participated in the study. With regard to the correct use of direct speech, a linear age function emerged. An investigation of subjects' preference for reporting style revealed a U-shaped function indicating that 4-year-olds, like 8-year-olds and adults, preferred indirect speech, whereas 6-year-olds used direct speech more frequently in their reports. The findings of this study indicate that children's complete mastery of direct and indirect speech in English extends over many years.

93–513 Janney, Richard W. and Arndt, Horst. Universality and relativity in cross-cultural politeness research: a historical perspective. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), **12,** 1 (1993), 13–50.

Although comparative politeness research during the past decade has been tacitly rooted in assumptions about the universality of politeness phenomena across cultures, findings of individual studies tend to underscore the cultural relativity of politeness phenomena. Partly for this reason, the standard interdisciplinary research framework developed by Brown and Levinson, a mixture of linguistic concepts adapted from British speech act theory (notions of verbal propositions, intentionality, implicature, rational conversational principles, maxims, etc.) and interactional concepts adapted from North American social psychology (notions of self, partner, interpersonal relationships, face work, conflict avoidance, etc.), has been criticised increasingly for having a Western ethnocentric bias. Interest in the cultural orientation of politeness research is a sign that scholars are starting to question the assumptions, theories, and methods that have guided work up to now. This paper is a partial contribution to this widening inquiry. The notion of 'universals of politeness' is discussed against the background of the historical conflict between proponents of universality and relativity hypotheses in Western linguistics since at least the 18th century.

93–514 Kwarciak, B. J. The acquisition of linguistic politeness and Brown and Levinson's theory. *Multilingua* (Amsterdam), **12,** 1 (1993), 51–68.

There is a growing body of evidence that as early as the third year of age linguistic politeness is not limited to conventionalised formulas, but involves metalinguistic judgements and pragmatic strategies. Moreover, child language at this stage is comprised of only the key functional elements of the fully developed register, due mainly to early constraints on cognition, elementary instructions provided by caretakers, and adherence to ingroup communication strategies. As a result, the developmental studies in this case can serve as a model for parallel research with adults. In particular, data from children seem to offer new insight into cross-cultural differences in polite communication. This paper proposes taking advantage of these insights in the debate over Brown and Levinson's theory. It

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hypothesises that if there exist any universals of linguistic politeness, then they should manifest themselves to the greatest degree at early ages, that is, when outgroup influences have the least impact on the child's language and primary socialisation.

93–515 Nuccorini, Stefania. Pragmatics in learners' dictionaries. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **19,** 3 (1993), 215–37.

The role of pragmatic factors as key elements in communication has not been underestimated by the authors of learners' dictionaries, which aim to help foreign students to use English not only correctly, but also effectively and appropriately. Thus information about those factors, mainly connected with extra-linguistic features such as the context of situation and connotative, culture-specific values, has been included in learners' dictionaries, either explicitly explained in notes, charts, etc. and coded in stylistic and register labels, or implicitly conveyed in definitions and examples. A few examples of both explicit and implicit information, such as on the one hand the contents of certain notes, and, on the other, the deictic use of proforms and the role of sexism, are analysed in this paper, to see how effectively and consistently pragmatic factors are dealt with in three major learners' dictionaries, the *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary*, the *Longman dictionary of contemporary English*, and the *Collins Cobuild English language dictionary*. It seems that, as already suggested by Zgusta, the decodification of the pragmatic information given ultimately relies on the pragmatic, rather than on the linguistic competence of the dictionary user.

93–516 Paltridge, Brian (U. of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand). Writing up research: a systemic functional perspective. *System* (Oxford), **21,** 2 (1993), 175–92.

This paper draws on a systemic functional theory of language to investigate the relationship between language form and rhetorical function in special purpose written texts. It looks, in particular, at one area of English for specific purposes which is generally described in the literature as Research English, that is, the writing up and publication of the results of experimental research in English. This paper aims to demonstrate that, while it is possible to make statements concerning the meanings that are made in the texts and the stages through which they move in order to achieve their goal, it is a matter of much great complexity to draw conclusions regarding the actual language of the texts. The results of this study have implications for register and genre theory as well as for the teaching of English for specific purposes.

93–517 Sprott, Richard A. (U. of California at Berkeley). Children's use of discourse markers in disputes: form–function relations and discourse in child language. *Discourse Processes* (Norwood, NJ), **15** (1992), 423–39.

Children's verbal disputes were analysed for the development of discourse markers *because, so, and, but,* and *well.* One hundred and twenty-eight verbal disputes were analysed; participants were 23 children ranging from 2 years; 7 months to 9 years; 6 months, and 10 adults, all interacting at home in various play activities. It was predicted that the functions of discourse markers would be limited to the local level of discourse for the youngest children, and the markers would primarily index either the exchange or action levels of discourse before the ideational level of discourse. The last function to develop for these forms should be the ideational function of markers which marks global discourse structure. The results showed that the markers were primarily used to mark the exchange structure of discourse when they were first used by children 2;7 to 3;6 years. The global level of discourse was not marked by children until the second half of their 4th year (3;6–5;0), and the first markers to do so were *because* and *but,* both of which have particular importance in disputes because they mark *reasons* and *contradictions,* the major parts of the structure of disputes.