'Foreigner talk': an important element in cross-cultural management education and training

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Introduction

Many of the readers of this journal serve as instructors/trainers in schools or institutes of administration (SIAS). Several of these SIAS either enrol participants from diverse parts of their own country or participants from many different countries. Faculties in these settings have an additional unique responsibility — that of communicating effectively with students who have a different native language. As Tracey (1974: 321) has pointed out:

> First, training and development are essentially forms of communication. The objective of training and development programs and systems is to produce learning — a change in behaviour. Without communication in some form or by some medium, learning is impossible. Therefore, effective communication is a prerequisite to effective learning and hence to effective training and development. A poor communicator cannot be an effective trainer.

Ramamurti (1980: 84) has stated that '[i]nteraction between persons from different cultures is more complex than that between those of the same culture. During the acculturation process, speakers from different cultures have to go through a different phase of linguistic adjustment.' The tendency of native speakers (NS) of a language to modify their speech when addressing less-than-proficient non-native speakers (NNS) has been well established (Milk, 1990). Identifying 'what modification needs to take place?' is extremely important. Such knowledge is especially important in this author's country, the United States, where approximately one-half a million international students now study (McMurtrie, 2000: A49). It is estimated that by the year 2015, 80 percent of the approximately 2.6 million additional students in US institutions of higher education will be minorities — African American, Hispanic, and Asian/Pacific Islanders — so that minority students will constitute 37.2 percent of higher education students (Carnevale and Fry, 2000: 8–9). Fix and Passel (1994) estimate that by the year 2010, 22 percent of all school age youth will be children of

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immigrants (I could not obtain an annual estimate of the number of non-US residents receiving non-academic training by US instructors).

Ramamurti (1980: 91) suggests that, in classroom situations, American professors tend to over-estimate the 'foreigner comprehension' of (American) English: '[n]o allowances are made for the "alien" on the grounds that a foreigner in an American school is expected to have at least a passive control of English'. This problem is not limited to the classroom. A recent report by the US National Transportation Safety Board recommends that one way to decrease 'close calls' on US airport runways is to '[a]dopt the English language phraseology recommended for ground operations by the International Civil Aviation Organization, and [for] direct controllers to *speak clearly and slowly, especially when dealing with foreign planes*' (Associated Press, 2000: A2; emphasis mine). As will be seen, these strategies are part of what scholars refer to as 'speech simplification'. Although all citizens of the western hemisphere are 'Americans', this article will use the term to refer to citizens of, and the term America to refer to, the United States, since this usage appears to be conventional.

Speech simplification
Linguists (those who study the science of language) suggest that there are several categories of speech simplification. These include 'telegraphes', 'lovers' talk', 'e-mail talk', and those categories of 'simplified registers' which Ferguson and DeBose (1977: 100) defined as 'more-or-less conventionalised varieties of language used by members of a speech community to address people whose knowledge of the language of the community is felt to be less than normal'. These latter categories include 'baby talk/motherese' (the variety of language that is regarded as primarily appropriate for addressing young children, and 'foreigner talk' (the variety of language regarded as primarily appropriate for addressing NNS.

Foreign talk (FT) has many overlapping definitions. Ferguson (1971) uses it to describe the speech variety used by NSS when addressing NNSS in an attempt to simplify, and thus improve, communication. Other definitions of FT suggest that it is a simple form of a language used by NSS to communicate with non-proficient speakers of the language (James, 1986); it is 'speech used by speakers of a language to outsiders who are felt to have limited command of a language or no knowledge of it' (Lattey, 1981); it represents 'possible adjustments in the speech of a native speaker (NS) when he or she is in conversation with a non-native speaker' (Campbell, 1977); and it is 'the register used by native speakers to make themselves understood by foreigners whose competence in the language is limited' (Wenk, 1978).

Although most of this article will describe situations in which a NS from one country is in discourse with a NNS of that country's language, this author's experiences suggest that this concept has utility in large diverse countries with multiple language groupings such as Nigeria, many regional dialects as in the United States and England, and in different countries that reportedly speak the same language. Professor Higgins in *My Fair Lady* complained that there 'are

places that English has completely disappeared. In American they haven't used in it years.' (If you had need to visit an American car mechanic and asked her/him to check under the 'bonnet and boot of your lorry', you are as likely to be charged with perversion as to receive good auto service.) Even SIAS in large diverse countries that serve a primarily domestic clientele might be faced with participants from significantly different cultures and regional language groupings. While most of the examples provided here refer to the use of FT by a native-English (or rather American) language speaker to a NNS, similar speech simplification strategies have been observed by NSS of other languages (Henzl, 1979; Lattey, 1981; James, 1986).

Why would a NS use foreigner talk? The literature provides many reasons, one more positive than the others. First, the non-positive reasons: Varonis and Gass (1982) provide an overview of this literature. When Ferguson (1971) first introduced the term, he suggested that NSS thought this to be the way foreigners talk. Whinnon (1971) views FT as a stereotyped notion of a learner's language use, aiming at a comic effect. Meisel (1976) notes that FT can be worse than the speech of a NNS and this is generally felt to imply social contempt. Kitao (1995a) suggests that Ferguson apparently believed that FT was intended to derogate the person to whom it was addressed and that Valdman (1981) suggested that NSS used FT to maintain social distance from NNSS considered to be socially inferior or subservient. Some linguists make a distinction between FT and foreigner register (FR), a term coined by Arthur et al. (1980). According to Kitao (1995b: 116), '[t]he main difference between FT and FR is that FR follows the rules of the standard language while FT does not'. Kitao (1995b) elaborates that Long (1981) uses the term *grammatical foreigner talk* (GFT) when he refers to FR, and that still other researchers, including this author, consider FT, GFT and FR to be part of the same phenomenon. In this article, I will focus on that positive purpose of FT which concerns the 'modifications of speech to NNSS (that) are usually assumed to make the target language more comprehensible' (Kelch, 1985: 81).

While the importance of comprehensibility might appear to be obvious, the summary of the research literature in linguistics by Johnson (1995: 82) suggests this importance is supported by hypotheses related to second language acquisition: '[t]he Input Hypothesis, a fundamental principle of Krashen's (1981) Monitor Model, holds that if input is made comprehensible to the learner, either through the context within which it is used, or as a result of simplified input (foreigner talk), acquisition will follow'. Furthermore Johnson reports that 'the Interaction Hypothesis proposed by Long (1981, 1983, 1985), emphasizes the importance of comprehensible input in the form of conversational adjustments. That is, the more adjustments speakers make in their attempts to communicate, the greater the opportunities for second language acquisition' (p. 83).

Foreigner talk research findings
This section will identify the types of specific simplification strategies that researchers of the science of language have associated with FT (in its broadest

definition), and report five studies. Two of the studies describe how NSs modify their discourse when interacting with NNSs. Studies 4 and 5 are experiments designed to determine what types of speech simplifications appear to be most effective in improving comprehension. Study 3 is a descriptive study but, because of the characteristics of its NS, is also assumed to be prescriptive in nature. These studies will report on such FT strategies as (1) reduce rate of delivery; (2) features of grammatical FT such as synonmy, hyperonomy, parallel syntactic structures, and paraphrase (a glossary of linguistic terms is given in the Appendix); (3) nego-tiation of meaning; (4) quantity of speech; (5) amount of repair; (6) elaborated responses; (7) transparent responses; and (8) note-taking in English simplified processes (Campbell, 1977; Wenk, 1978; Robinett et al., 1983; Janda, 1985; Kelch, 1985; Nelson, 1992; Crookes and Gass, 1993; Tickoo, 1993). The results of this research are summarized and a synthesis on the possible contributions FT might make to improving communications in the management development and training of cross-cultural participants is presented.

Kitao (1995b: 115) points out that originally Ferguson included in his charac-teristics of FT:

> The absence of the copula (be verb), the absence of certain morphological markers (e.g. possessives, past tense and 3rd person-s); and the presence of words that do not usually appear in English spoken to other NS . . . other characteristics include the use of full forms instead of contractions, the use of short sentences; the repetition of words, the selection of one all purpose form . . . and the use of feedback devices, such as tag questions.

Study 1
Ramamurti (1980) reports on a study that she, as a non-American, carried out while pretending she did not understand fast-spoken American English. She observed the following characteristics of discourse from her NS subjects:

• *Slowing down and enunciation*: The overall speed was reduced, and a pause was made after each word.
• *Loudness*: refers to the increasing volume with which a subject spoke only some words in a given stream, or a whole sentence was spoken loudly.
• *Gestures*: These were employed to explain the structure of an artifact or to demonstrate certain actions.
• *The avoidance of idioms, colloquialisms, and slang*: The subjects did not use any idioms or colloquial expressions in their speech.
• *The degree of ungrammaticality*: The subjects sometimes imitated the investigator's 'broken English' by using incomplete sentences or sentences with-out verb inflections.
• *Repetition, rephrasing or paraphrasing, attentiveness, and request for repetition*: This happened if there was an unknown lexical term or very heavy accent in the 'foreigner' speech.
• *Asking for confirmation*: This feature was incorporated by the subjects in

their adapted speech in order to make sure they understood what the 'foreigner meant', e.g. 'Did you say, "bus"?'

Study 2

In the second study Nelson (1992) phonologically, syntactically, and semantically analysed the discourse of her physician father (a NS) speaking to NNS patients.

Phonological characteristics of foreigner talk:

- *Pitch*: There were no notable differences in pitch between the father's speech addressed to NSs and NNSs.
- *Speech tempo*: Rate of speech as measured based on all sequences of three or more consecutive words produced per second was lower (average 2.8) for NNSs than for NSs (average 3.3).
- *Fluency and false starts*: The father began to say something, but stopped himself in the middle of a word or the middle of a phrase and started over, and began to say it with different words, or to say something different all together. For NSs the number of false starts averaged one in 125 words; for NNSs the average was one in 99 words.
- *Pronunciation*: Researcher Nelson counted the number of times her father weakened or stressed the vowels in the words listed by Prator and Robinett (1972) as containing vowels that are most frequently weakened. For NSs, the vowels most frequently weakened were weak 74 percent of the time; for NNSs these same words were weak only 31 percent of the time. For NSs the vowels that were most frequently weakened were stressed 26 percent of the time. Those same vowels were stressed for NNSs 69 percent of the time.
- *Stress patterns*: In speech to NSs the father generally used stress-timed sentence typical in Standard English. In FT, the father's stress pattern seemed nearer to syllable-time.

Syntactic characteristics of FT

- *Omissions*: Nelson found that her father omitted articles 10 times — nine times to NNS and only once to NSs.
- *Repetitions and restatements*: This researcher found clear examples of these 19 times in FT and twice in speech to NSs.

Semantic characteristics of FT

- *Offer definitions*: Nelson found that her father offered definitions four times to NNSs and once to NSs.

In summarizing, Nelson found that her physician father did not use humour in his speech to NNSs, he used idiomatic expressions only in his speech to NSs, his speech to NSs was more fluent (fewer false starts), he pronounced words more

carefully to NNSs, and his speech took on a stress pattern which was more syllable-timed to NNSs.

Study 3

In the third study, a hybrid between descriptive research and prescriptive research, Henzl (1979) studied how 11 individuals adjusted their speech differentially to various levels of native language competence demonstrated by their listeners. These listeners were grouped into those NNSs with low level of NS language competence, those with advanced NS competence, and finally a group of NSs. What made this also a prescriptive study is that the 11 individuals were all professional foreign language instructors: five teaching Czech; three teaching German; and three teaching English as a second language, and each a native speaker of their respective language. It was hypothesized that professional language instructors would be able to adjust their speech differentially to the level of NS language ability of their listeners. The adjustments were analysed using the linguistic elements of *lexicon, grammar, phonology*, and *speech characteristics*.

Lexicon. Henzl (1979: 161) argued that '[t]he analysis of the speech samples showed that the teachers preferred to use basic structures in their speech directed to listeners with low competence'. The teachers selected vocabulary which they manipulated according to the size of the listener's vocabulary. The same teacher substituted simpler or more general synonyms and paraphrases. Vocabulary items with narrow semantic meanings, which the instructors used in conversation with other NSs, were regularly substituted by more general words when speaking to NNSs with lower competencies. Henzl also suggested that 'the vocabulary used in the speech directed to the foreign language students was structurally simple since it contained the minimal amount of compound words and idiomatic phrases. In their speech to NNSs, the foreign language instructors used vocabulary that was stylistically neutral, whereas their speech to non-students was abundant in expressions that were either socially, regionally, or emotionally marked. Furthermore:

> A typical phenomenon of the foreign language teacher talk is the occurrence of situational ties to concrete factors. The analysis revealed a large number of concretizations ranging from the use of definite linguistic forms to the employment of actual physical objects in the communication. Interesting, in all three languages under study, the teachers addressing the beginning students refrained from using indefinite pronouns and indefinite adverbs, which they were using freely in their talk to native speakers, and substituted them by imaginary proper names, concrete locatives, and the like. (Henzl, 1979: 162)

Grammar. The instructors spoke to the NNSs in short and well-formed sentences. The mean length of the sentence increased progressively with the increased competency of the listener. All of the instructors used fewer subordinate clauses in their speech to NNS. 'The analysis of the verbs indicated that the

teachers preferred to use present tense, indicative, and active verb forms in their talk to the beginning foreign language learners' (Henzl, 1979: 163). Most of the instructors spoke more slowly to the NNSs with distinct patterns of word segmentation an accentuation. 'By and large, the classroom talk was marked by a considerably higher frequency of unreduced vowels and consonantal clusters, as well as by a higher occurrence of initial prevocalic glottal stops' (Henzl, 1979: 164).

Speech characteristics. The instructors talked slower and also louder to the NNS, and their speech was characterized by more frequent pauses between phrases and sentences or whenever they waited for a sign of NNSs comprehension. 'As a rule, they supported their classroom talk . . . by explanatory gestures demonstrating size, shape, distance, direction, etc., pointing to real objects, or suggesting an emotional state by facial expressions' (p. 164). Henzl summarized the findings of this research thus:

> In talking to the foreign language students, the teachers introduced a small set of basic and stylistically neutral vocabulary . . . The syntactic patterning was simple, the teachers spoke in short basic sentences with present tense, indicative verbs, and at the same time void of reduced sounds. Comprehension was aided by a frequent use of concrete objects in the classroom, by gesticulation, and by simulating the event as it was described. (Henzl, 1979: 165)

Studies 3 and 4
The next two studies are laboratory experiments, designed to determine whether FT does improve listener comprehension, and, if so, what types of speech simplification strategies appear to contribute the most to comprehension. Long (1985) wanted to test the hypothesis that '[C]omprehension of a lecturette would be higher among NNSs hearing a version adjusted for a NNS than among students hearing an unadjusted version intended for a NS, as measured by scores on a multiple-choice test on the lecturette's content.'

Long first reviewed previous research that examined the relationship between speech simplification and listener comprehension. He reported on a study by Johnson (1981) that found that 46 intermediate/advanced Iranian students of English were able to recall more events from an adapted (linguistically 'simplified and paraphrased') version of an American short story they had read than from an unadapted version, although the cultural origin of a text was generally more important for recall than linguistic adaptation was.

The second study reviewed by Long was Blau's (1982) research on the comprehension scores of Spanish-speaking students on three versions of the same reading passages, in which content and vocabulary was held constant. Version 1 was written in the short, simple sentence style common in basal readers: 'Disease germs may be present in food. Cook food for a long enough time. This will kill any disease germs.' Version 2 contained complex sentences, and so fewer and longer sentences than version 1. It also retained explicit surface clues to under-

lying meaning relationships, such as not deleting optional relative pronouns and retaining subject and finite verbs in subordinate clauses: 'If you cook food for a long enough time, you will kill any disease germs that may be present.'

Version 3 employed longer, complex sentences. It differed from version 2 in that it also deleted optional relative pronouns and any form of 'be' that followed them, as well as surface subjects in subordinate clauses, and used non-finite verbs in subordinate clauses: 'Cooking food for a long enough time will kill any disease germs possibly present.' While differences did not reach statistical significance at the .05 level, comprehension scores of both groups of subjects were generally highest on version 2. In other words, of the two types of adjustments, that which resulted in greater explicitness/redundancy, while retaining syntactic complexity, tended to facilitate comprehension most (Long, 1985: 380).

The third study that Long reviewed in his quest to determine whether speech simplification aided comprehension for NNSs was the work by Chaudron (1983a). In Chaudron's study of aural comprehension, he scripted lecturettes on different topics in such a way that each contained a paired set of subtopics, which were mentioned twice and later reinstated. The (sub)topics were each encoded in different ways. Examples include:

1. repeated noun (the beer . . . the beer tastes terrific);
2. simple noun (the beer tastes terrific).

The 135 adult English as a Second Language students who heard the lecturettes were asked to answer 12 recognition questions. 'Chaudron found that recognition scores were significantly higher for repeated noun than for simple noun' (Long, 1985: 380).

Long concludes that if we assume that the *simple noun* format in Chaudron's study was equivalent to unadjusted (NS–NS) speech, then all three research studies reviewed here found that some sort of speech simplification promotes comprehension. To test his own hypothesis Long developed two versions of a similar lecture and presented each to one-half of 34 foreign students of intermediate English language competence. He then tested each group's comprehension of the factual content by a 20-item multiple-choice test. He describes his process as follows:

> Two versions of a lecturette on Mexico were prepared, using information found in a variety of reference books and current affairs magazines. The first version was written in an informal, but 'academic' spoken style, intended for an audience of university undergraduates who were NSs of English. The script included such typical performance phenomena as run-on sentences, pause fillers, stress markings, and parenthetical remarks (asides). It began like this: 'Ok so today I'm gonna be talking about the United States's southern neighbor — Mexico. We'll be looking briefly at three things: the geography, the political system and the economy. First, the geography.' (Long, 1985: 382)

The lecturette contained 1702 words. It was recorded by a female NS of

Standard American English, and lasted 12 minutes and 15 seconds (Long, 1985: 382). Other statistics on this NS version was that it contained 114 'T' units,[1] the average length of 'T' units in words was 14.93, and it was delivered at an average rate of 138.90 words per minute.

A second version of the lecturette was then scripted, using as nearly identical propositional content as possible, and with the information presented in the same order, but this time designed for an audience of university undergraduates who were NNSs of English. This 'foreigner talk' version again included typical performance phenomena, but it was also modified in a variety of other ways well attested in the descriptive literature as characterizing speech adjusted for NNSs (Long, 1985: 383). This version was longer, containing 2140 words, and syntactically slightly less complex, with an average length of 'T' units in words of 12.89. It was also delivered slower; lasting 16.45 minutes at an average rate of 127.80 words/minute, with the slightly clearer articulation that typically accompanies slower speech.

'T' tests for independent samples were used to determine whether there were statistically significant differences in the comprehension scores of those students who listened to the NS version and those students who listened to the FT version. 'The results of the "T" test indicated that the average perceived comprehension score of the FT group was, again, significantly higher than the average for the group hearing the NS version of the lecturette' (Long, 1985: 384). Long concluded that the results are consistent with the hypothesis that one or more speech simplifications strategies used by NSs when speaking to NNSs facilitate comprehension.

Study 5

The final study to be reviewed is that of the work of Kelch (1985). He hypothesized that 'scores on a dictation given to NNSs would vary according to the adjustments made in the passage, either rate of delivery of input, modification of input, or a combination of the two' (p. 83). The subjects for the study were 26 foreign students with an English proficiency of 'intermediate'. Four versions of a passage were recorded, each reflecting one element of the previously stated hypothesis. For the non-adjustment 'control' group, the version was recorded to reflect NS speech. It did not contain any modification features and was spoken at a conversational rate. This version contained 82 words and lasted 26 seconds.

Version 2, to test the effects of a slower rate of delivery of input, was identical to the first, except the rate of delivery was slowed by one-third to 39.5 seconds. To test the effects of speech modification on comprehension, version 3 contained FT features of synonymy, hyperonomy, paraphrases, and within-sentence parallel syntactic structures. Version 3 contained 92 words and lasted 28 seconds. Version 4 was identical to the third, except the rate was again slowed by one-third and it lasted 40.2 seconds.

The findings of this study indicate that some modification of speech to NNSs does aid comprehension to some degree. Both the subjective and objective

measures revealed a significant main effect for reduced rate of delivery. This finding supports the intuitive belief that slower speech — with its clearer articulation, fewer vowel reductions, and more easily identifiable word boundaries — aid NNS comprehension by increasing perception of the stream of speech and allowing more processing time. Kelch further concludes that because the statistical analysis did not show any significant effect for syntactic modification alone, it would see that its aid to cognitive comprehension on input is dependent upon the positive contributions of a reduced rate of delivery.

Summary and conclusions

Research suggests that some of the speech simplification strategies used in FT do aid in NNSs' comprehension. Such strategies include: (1) basic and stylistically neutral vocabulary; (2) simple syntactic pattern of short sentences with present tense, indicative, verbs and the reduction of reduced sounds; (3) a slower rate of delivery; (4) concretizations; (5) gesticulations and simulating the event as it is described; and (6) repetition.

Dysfunctional aspects of FT

There are no 'aids to student comprehension' that do not have downsides, including a reduction in clarity and negative student reaction. Kitao (1995:) reviews research that reports on these two phenomena:

> Chaudron compared lectures given to native English speakers in Canada with lectures on the same topics given to NNSs. He found that the higher frequency words used in the lectures to NNSs often resulted in a lack of clarity or accuracy. For example, 'funny' was substituted for 'iconic' and 'feeling' for 'myth' making the intended meaning of the lecture for the NNSs less clear and specific.

Kitao then relates the work of Lynch (1988) who compared students' reactions to two video tapes, one of a teacher telling a story to NSs and the other of a teacher telling the same story to NNSs. The version for NNSs 'included comprehension checks, pauses, and alteration of idiomatic speech' (Kitao, 1995: 122). The NNSs students who saw this version reported that they felt they were being 'talked down to'. Kitao concludes that instructors, when using FT, must be sure that it is not more simplified than necessary for the comprehension of the students being addressed.

This article began by quoting Tracey (1974: 321), who stated that '[w]ithout communication in some form or by some medium, learning is impossible. Therefore, effective communication is prerequisite to effective learning and, hence, to effective training and development. A poor communicator cannot be an effective trainer.' This article then suggested that instructors in schools and institutes of administration should become aware of those aids to student comprehension identified in the concept of FT. After reviewing a considerable literature that provides evidence that such modification does improve comprehension, the article concludes with the advice that Nancy Adler (1997) provides in her excel-

lent book *International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior*. When asked, 'What do I do if they do not speak my language?', Adler offers the following strategies for *verbal behavior, non-verbal behavior*, and *comprehension*, many of which would facilitate our work in the cross-cultural classroom (p. 89):

- Clear, slow speech. Enunciate each word. Do not use colloquial expressions.
- Repetition. Repeat each important idea using different words to explain the same concept.
- Simple sentence. Avoid compound, long sentences.
- Active verbs. Avoid passive verbs.
- Visual restatements. Use as many visual restatements as possible, such as pictures, graphs, tables, and slides.
- Gestures. Use more facial and appropriate hand gestures to emphasize the meaning of words.
- Demonstration. Act out as many themes as possible.
- Pauses. Pause more frequently.
- Summaries. Hand out written summaries of your verbal presentations.
- Understand. Do not just assume that they understand; assume that they do not understand.
- Checking comprehension. Have colleagues repeat their understanding of the material back to you. Do not simply ask if they understand or not. Let them explain what they understand to you.

Instructors and trainers in Schools and Institutes of Administration must make use of all resources to ensure that they are communicating effectively with their enrolled participants.

Appendix: glossary of linguistic terms

Concrete: *gram* describes a noun, which denotes a real or physical entity, e.g. cat, house, and poem. (Contrasts with abstract).

Grammar: *trad* (1) the study of language and the rules that govern its usage. (2) A description of the forms of words and the manner in which they combine to form phrases, clauses or sentence, = morphology + syntax. (3) A systematic and explicit account of the structure of (a) language according to the tenets of one or other of the theories of modern linguistics, freq. taken to include phonology as well as morphology and syntax, e.g. transformation grammar, case grammar, etc.

Hyperonym, hypernym, superordinate *sem* in hyponymy, the term in which others are included, e.g. animal is the hyperonym for dog, cat, etc.

Lexicon: (1) the vocabulary or word-stock of a language, a listing of this, as in a dictionary. (2) In Generative, etc., Linguistics, the lexical component of a generative grammar or other modern grammatical theory, containing morphological, syntactic and semantic information relevant to individual lexical entries and to the organization of the particular grammar.

Markedness: *ling* the presence of some linguistic feature in an element as opposed to its absence: *god* is unmarked, vis a vis *gods* which is marked for

plurality and *goddess* which is marked for gender; *bitch* is marked for gender vis a vis *dog* which is unmarked.

Marker: in Generative Semantics, the systematic part of the meaning of an lexeme, i.e. the part it has in common with many other lexemes, e.g. (male) is the part of the meaning of *bachelor* that is systematic, (male) is therefore a marker in English.

Morphology: (1) the study of the structure of words. See also derivational morphology, inflectional morphology. (2) A level of linguistic organization, comparable with phonology, syntax, etc.

Parallelism: *rhet* the repetition of a structural pattern, e.g. *out of sight, out of mind.*

Phonology: (1) the study of the sound systems or systems of meaningful distinctions of languages. (2) A level of linguistic organization comparable with morphology, syntax, etc.

Semantics: The study of meaning as between linguistic expression and what these expressions describe; the study of the relations between sentences and the thoughts they express. See also procedural semantics, structural semantics.

Synonymy: *sem* a meaning relation of sameness, e.g. *pussy, kitty,* and less absolutely, *cat.*

Syntactic component: in generative grammar the component of the grammar that applies the rules of syntax to product syntactic structures which in turn are interpreted by the phonological and semantic components.

Syntax: (1) *gram trad* the rules governing how words combine to form sentences (constrasts with morphology 1). (2) *ling* more generally, (the study of) grammatical relationships entered into by linguistic units at any level, including morphene and sentence.

These definitions are derived from *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Oxford: Pergamon Press).

Note

1. 'T'-unit (minimal terminable unit) consisting of one main clause with the subordinate clauses attached to it (Milk, 1990: 279).

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