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SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND INTERPROPOSITIONAL CONNECTION

The psychosocial postulate on which this exploratory research is based is that the type of linkage depends on the relation to the world used by the speaker. In freely drawing one's inspiration from the logic of Hintikka (1973) and the adaptation made of it by Ghiglione (1988) concerning the analysis of the discourses, we retain three types of integration translated by different relations towards the situation: – integration into "the world to be affirmed" comes down to accepting the reality by adapting oneself to it (i.e. by behaving as a social agent); integration into "worlds to be compared" comes down to considering the interlocutors as bearers of points of view to be confronted (and in this sense to establish interpersonal relations), integration into "a world to be developed" comes down to conceiving the discourse as data being built (which corresponds with the elaboration of an individual universe). A given social configuration brings the subject to mobilize a special cognitivo-discursive program, traces of which are to be found in the linguistic processes used for inserting propositions into the discourse. The general idea is that the nature on the connection (empirical, polemical or epistemic) depends on the method of integration of the subject speaking (in "the world to be affirmed", in "worlds to be compared" or in "a world to be developed"). We therefore propose+ the theoretical hypothesis according to which the types of integration of the subjects will be translated by the use of the corresponding connectors. A certain number of quasi-experimental results are presented to illustrate this homology between the social integration of the speaker and the linkage of propositions. Indeed, the modification of situational parameters leads to significant differences in the use of the operators. Moreover, the analysis of several apparent exceptions enables one to go deeply into the role of the context (pragmatic) in the affectation of the meaning (semantic).

The idea put forward in this exploratory research is that connectives, far from appearing haphazardly as the subject changes ideas, appear just like other operators in the discursive styles (Bronckart, 1985; Schneuwly, 1988) linked with the activation of programs that might be called cognitivo-discursive (Ghiglione, 1988).

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The subject, having to manage a large number of situations, and his way of functioning usually being economical (see for example Piliavin, Piliavin & Rodin, 1975), sets the stage for us to postulate the existence of a finite number of these programs. A previous experiment (Castel & Lacassagne, 1992) showed that different social situations cause behaviors in subjects that relate to three types of functioning.

Furthermore, Ghiglione (1988) experimentally showed an interest in equally considering the three types of logic that can be deduced from the works of Hintikka (1973). Thus, the subject can only respond in three different ways:

— either he is in the reality such as it occurs. Noting that it is raining, he can say "It's raining" and therefore affirm the world;

— or he is in worlds to be compared. Faced with rain and the unpleasantness it causes him, he evokes a different place where it would not be raining. He distinguishes the present world from another possible one: "if it were not raining I could go out";

— or, in the last case, he is in a universe to be developed. Thus he can invoke the sun "let the sun shine!"

In our opinion, these language achievements are the trace of cognitive programs caused by psychosocial parameters.

We therefore propose to investigate the most homogeneous conditions possible of these types of insertion in order to be able to associate the operators appearing in them. In other words, we propose the manipulation of extreme conditions so as to identify the indicators of connection in their usage.

If we accept that discourse is a situationally inserted co-construction (Ghiglione, 1991), it is possible to isolate its three determines:

— the speaker (here, the experimental subject),

— the interlocutor (here, the experimental operator),

— the interlocution situation (here, the experimental framework).

The aim was therefore to set up contracts of communication characterized by the homogeneity of these determiners. The approach consisted in asking students what they thought of the possible obligation, within the framework of the Europe of 1994, of doing a training period abroad in order to obtain a Baccalaureate + 2 years study diploma. The operators were students doing a degree in psychology at the University of Burgundy. Each of them carried out three interviews, one per condition, the order being chosen at random. Thus each operator carried out an interview with a communication contract of the type "world to be affirmed", i.e. as a career advisor-student with a second year student doing a professional qualification diploma in farming on his job site. He also carried out an interview under a communication contract of the type "worlds to be compared", i.e. as a friend of a young person of Baccalaureate + 2 years level in his own room. Finally, he carried out an interview under communication contract of the type "world to be developed", i.e. as a student in cognitive psychology with a second year law student in a test laboratory.

"World to be affirmed" condition: integration into reality as it is.

This was an interview of students doing a professional farming diploma for an enquiry ordered by the Ministry of Labor.

The subject

Amongst the students of Baccalaureate + 2 years level, it would seem that the students doing a professional diploma are more directly integrated into "the reality such as it is". Indeed, they are registered in a short cycle that rapidly leads to active life. To emphasize the proximity of this integration, we chose 20 students in their final year. In addition, the chosen branch was farming, which seemed closer to reality than the others. The students, mainly from the country, will find at the end of the year a reality that they know already. Finally, the order explicitly stated that they were being consulted in their professional capacity.

The interlocutor

The operator, through his presentation, brought out the realistic character of the interview. Thus, he defined himself as being a future career advisor, i.e. in a pre-professional cycle like the "professional-diploma students" themselves. He said he was carrying out an enquiry for the Ministry of Labor, an enquiry that was to lead to a practical decision on the maintaining or suppression of the obligation of a training period abroad in the field. These various features aimed to bring out the upward action, i.e. advantaging reality.

The situation

The situation is mainly composed of the material context in which the interview takes place. In this case, it was a room situated on the subjects' work site, i.e. the farming school. The moment chosen for the interview was situated within a work phase. In fact, the concrete framework whether in time or in space, was characterized by the weight of the work.

"Worlds to be compared" condition: integration into a word amongst other possible things.

This was an apparently informal discussion between friends.

The subject

The 20 subjects were chosen due to their closeness with the operator. It is therefore the relationship with the tester that is manipulated and not the characteristics of the subjects, apart from the fact that they had a level approaching "Bac + 2". Nevertheless, the chosen subjects seem to be mainly students in human sciences and psychology in particular. We also know that human science is characterized amongst others by the many ways of looking at the same object; this type of belonging ought to have been profitable for the integration into a "possible reality" world.

The interlocutor

The interlocutor is a close friend of the experimental subject. The latter therefore knows that the interviewer is a student in Psychology, with all that it includes.

The situation

The interview takes place at the operator's home with a hidden microphone. After a few moments of conversation, the operator comes to the matter concerning studies. He informs the subject of a project dealing with training periods abroad and brings

him to state his opinion. The context (personal residence) is characterized by its pluri-functionality (bedroom, office, lounge...) and refers to varied worlds.

"World to be developed" condition: integration into a universe yet to be built.

Here law students were interviewed for a cognitive psychology experiment.

The subject

The chosen population consisted of 20 second year law students. Indeed, law is a conception of the world and in this sense does not belong to reality as it is (it results from it but has acquired an autonomy) and therefore is not contrary to another conception (there are not two or n Codes of Labor Laws, for example). Outside this content, the students are trained in a certain type of reasoning, legal reasoning, i.e. the declination of the consequences of an utterance (a decision, for example). Thus, in the same way as in mathematics the corollaries of a theorem are brought out and the applications developed e.g., in law the legal consequences of an amendment to a decree and application of these changes to the treatment of the case. Thus, the content of the teaching as the favored type of reasoning results from the integration into the world to be developed. This type of integration is reinforced by the fact that in law studies lasting four or five years, the confrontation with the world of work is not immediate.

The interlocutor

The operator introduced himself as a representative from a cognitive psychology laboratory and announced that the aim of the research was to build a model of human behaviour.

The situation

The experiment was conducted in a laboratory of the psychology building. The subjects were invited to come separately. The recording was supposed to enable the analysis of the cognitive processes to be used. In fact, both the material environment (books, computer, tape recorders...) and the presentation of the interview brought forward the aim of the research, integrating thereby the subject in a world to be developed.

In brief, the conditions established different communication contracts:

— the first condition (a student doing a pre-professional farming diploma interviewed by an employee from the Ministry of Labor on his job site) is characterized by its realistic aspect and thus sets up a communication contract of the type "world to be affirmed".

— the second condition (intimate relationship between two friends evoking a theme possibly inducing controversy in an atmosphere of free exchange) is characterized by its informal, spontaneous aspect and thus sets up a communication contract of the type "worlds to be compared".

— the third condition (expertise by a representative of the research for a specialist in reasoning in an experimental context) is characterized by its formal heuristic aspect and thus sets up a communication contract of the type "world to be developed".

RESULTS

The main aim of this study remains to be the discovery and the delimitation of the significant indicators of the various types of discourse referring to the three conditions:

— the world to be affirmed: situation A
— worlds to be compared: situation C
— a world to be developed: situation E

In this logic, statistical tests are not used in a probative aim but to bring out the differences that need to be treated.

The connectives in general

TABLE 1
Frequencies of connectives

A	C	E
1.656	1.436	1.991

The frequency of the connectives (number of connectives / number of clauses) is significantly higher in the E discourses than in the A and C discourses ($F(1,29) = 6.27$, $p < .02$).

The clauses in the "world to be developed" discourses are more closely connected to each other. The resulting discourses are therefore unified by a greater density of connection, thereby ensuring a coherence between the information a priori scattered. If we accept that the connection is the discursive trace of an intense intellectual activity, the result seems to comply with expectations.

The nature of the connectives

In a first approach, the nature of the connectives can be understood by the significance of the link they set up between the elements they join. The analysis concerns the three following semantically determined classes:

— empirical connectives: locative (where...), temporal (when...) and additive (and, and then...),
— polemical connectives: opposite (but, however...) and evaluative,
— epistemic connectives: explicative (because, for...) and consecutive (therefore, so...).

To study the effect of the communication contracts on the various types of connectives we indicated their proportion (number of occurrences / total number) when their occurrences were sufficient, and indicated their number (number of subjects having used them) when the number of occurrences was too small.

TABLE 2
Numbers of empirical connectives

A	C	E	A	C	E	A	C	E
1	0	2	0	2	3	4	4	4
locative (number)			temporal (number)			additive (number)		

Due to the abstract character of the subject treated (Europe of 1994), the number of empirical connectives is not sufficient to enable an analysis. In the produced discourses, it is probable that this type of connection is not to be found on a propositional or phrasal level, but belongs to the elementary level. It is probably the analysis concerning the value of the propositions that ought to enable one to validate the link between "world to be affirmed" contract and empirical connection.

TABLE 3
Proportions or numbers of polemical connectives

A	C	E	A	C	E	A	C	E
0.176	0.362	0.320	0.134	0.218	0.226	4	7	6
polemical (prop.)			oppositional (prop.)			evaluative (n.)		

The "worlds to be compared" and "world to be developed" discourses offer significantly more polemical connectives than the "world to be affirmed" discourse ($F(1,29) = 13.71$, $p < .001$). This effect is to be found both for the oppositional and the evaluative connectives.

Thus, as was expected, the "worlds to be compared" discourses include a greater proportion of polemical connectives. It remains to be explained why, using these indicators, the subjects of the "world to be developed" condition use apparently the same type of strategy.

In fact, the analysis of the discursive productions shows that the subjects in interaction with their friends ("worlds to be compared") use a "but" to oppose their world, their opinion, with that of their interlocutor; for example: tester "and you'll have to do your professional diploma in Europe"; subject's reply: "*but* we are in Europe". On the contrary, with regard to the "world to be developed" discourses, the two clauses joined together with the "but" belong to the same universe, the one which is being built. For example, talking of training periods abroad, one subject says that it would be profitable for the future trainee from the language point of view *but* that it would be useless from the point of view of the subject matter studied.

In fact, seven subjects out of ten in "worlds to be compared" condition use one or several "but's" in the first or second place after an intervention by the interlocutor compared with only two out of ten in "world to be developed" condition ($x^2 = 5.05$, $p. < .05$; if we only take into account the subjects having used the term "but", $x^2 = 5.60$, $p. < .02$).

This explanation based on the two values of the "but", either opposition between worlds (here, those of the interlocutors), or opposition between elements belonging to the same world (here, the one developed by the locutor), underlines the importance of the role in the study of the connectives (syntactical function).

The epistemic connectives are significantly more frequent in the "world to be affirmed" discourses than in the others ($F\ [1,29] = 10.234$, $p < .003$).

This result seems different from the theoretical expectations. Indeed, one might have thought that the epistemic connectives would be more frequent in the "world to be developed" discourses. There again, however, an analysis of the discursive produc-

TABLE 4
Proportions of epistemic connectives

A	C	E	A	C	E	A	C	E
0.414	0.217	0.235	0.287	0.165	0.169	0.127	0.052	0.066
epistemic (prop.)			explicative (prop.)			consecutive (prop.)		

tions enables two types of phenomena to be brought out. On the one hand, the consecutives (i.e. mainly the "donc" ([therefore]) are used to develop the previous statement and consequently instituted an empirical link (e.g. "I was at I.N.R.A. and so did research"). In addition, the explicatives are in a large majority the "parce que" ("because"), most of which are used as a justification of the main clause, and in this sense play a role of subordination (e.g., "that is because it enabled us to discover the practice"). So, the apparently irregular result can in fact be explained by the two following effects: the first effect comes from the abusive generalization of a sense of "donc" ("therefore") built from a particular usage; it does not correspond with the usual usage which belongs to the epistemic class. The second effect can be explained by the use of a rationalization (Keisler, 1971; Joulé & Beauvois, 1981); the subject acts (in this case speaks) in the first place, as the situation obliges him to, and then justifies what he said (it should also be noted that the rationalization phenomenon brings out reality as it is).

CONCLUSION

Generally speaking, the present state of the research on connectives enables us to bring out three configurations of connection. The "world to be affirmed" discourses, containing practically no oppositional connectives, are characterized by a high proportion of connectives playing a deepening or justification function. The "worlds to be compared" discourses offer a high proportion of opposite connectives; these are semantically identical to those of the "world to be developed" discourses, but seem however to play a different part, i.e. the exposition of opposed realities. Finally, the "world to be developed" discourses are significantly more closely connected than the other discourses, the oppositional connectives seeming here to ensure an integrative function.

In addition it is shown that the analysis must take into account not only the sense of the connectives but also their syntactical role determined by the context.

If we consider two clauses (a,b) and their linkage by a connective (c), we obtain a sentence (x) such as a c b = x. If we call Px the statement of the sentence × (i.e. the statement resulting from the linkage between the two clauses a and b), we are able, starting from its composition, to determine the function of the connective. Three cases can be considered, each corresponding with a function:

— Px may take up the statement in the main clause (Pa inflected by the statement of the second clause Pb); in this case, the connective (c) has a function of subordination;

— Px may include, with equal importance, the two statements Pa and Pb connected by c; in this case, the connective (c) has a coordination function.

— Px may be composed of the statement of the second clause which is introduce by the connective (Pcb); the term "proordination" enables one to account for this integrating usage bringing out the new statement (compared with those of the initial clauses) brought in by the connective itself.

Thus, if we take up the example of Ducrot (1984) "Marie est venue (a) parce que (c) Pierre est parti (b)" ("Mary came (a) because (c) Peter had gone (b)"), the statement of the sentence is "it is because Pierre had gone that Mary came". The information that the speaker intends giving is that "(b) is the cause of (a)". In a certain way "parce que" ("because") is the predicate of the phrase, the two clauses it links being the arguments.

Thus three types of connectives appear according to the nature of the link they institute:

— the subordination reproduces between the clauses the relationship between the events that correspond in reality ("world to be affirmed"): "Jean mangeait une poire lorsque Marie est arrivée" ("John was eating a pear when Mary arrived").

— the coordination enables parallel realities to be presented ("worlds to be compared"); "Jean mange une poire mais il préfčre les pommes" ("John is eating a pear, but prefers apples").

— the proordination consists in instituting a universe into which the events are integrated ("world to be developed") "Jean mange une poire parce qu'il a faim" ("John is eating a pear because he is hungry").

In other words, the subordination is an empirical type of link, the coordination is a polemical type of link, and the proordination is an epistemic type of link.

In brief, what the analysis of the kind of connectives mainly allows is the interweaving of the semantic and syntactic levels. The sense of the link instituted by the connective necessarily takes into account its intrinsic significance and the function it assumes. Thus on a practical level, the attribution of a connective to a class should not only take into account a semantic type of classification but also the part to be played by the connective, e.g., the part that can be identified from the context (subordinating, coordinating, proordinating).

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