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Mohammad Ali Salmani Nodoushan
Editor

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Clinical linguistics: A primer

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Clinical linguistics is an important and growing area of language study. Yet, this linguistic discipline has been relatively overlooked in comparison with mainstream branches of linguistics such as syntax and semantics. This paper argues for a greater integration of clinical linguistics within linguistics in general. This integration is warranted, it is argued, on account of the knowledge and methods that clinical linguists share with academics in other areas of linguistics. The paper sets out by discussing a narrow and a broad definition of clinical linguistics before examining key stages in the human communication cycle. This cycle represents the cognitive and linguistic processes involved in the expression and interpretation of utterances. Language and communication disorders are characterized in terms of specific points of breakdown in this cycle. The contribution of each branch of linguistic study—phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics and discourse—to an analysis of language disorders is considered. Data from a range of clinical subjects, both children and adults, is used to illustrate the linguistic features of these disorders. The paper concludes with a summary of the main points of the discussion and a preview of a companion article to be published in the *International Journal of Language Studies*.

Keywords: Aphasia; Apraxia of Speech; Autism Spectrum Disorders; Cleft Palate; Clinical Linguistics; Dementia; Developmental Phonological Disorder; Dysarthria; Intellectual Disability; Language Disorder; Right-Hemisphere Damage; Schizophrenia; Specific Language Impairment; Speech and Language Therapy; Traumatic Brain Injury

1. Introduction

This paper will introduce the reader to a branch of linguistics that is often overlooked by academic linguists. That branch is called clinical linguistics. Despite the relative neglect of clinical linguistics in the curriculum of most university linguistics courses, it will be demonstrated that this important application of linguistic concepts and theories has the potential to extend the study of language in interesting and novel ways. The discussion will be

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developed along the following lines. In section 2, a narrow and a broad definition of clinical linguistics will be considered. These definitions are examined, not as a means of constraining the discussion, but simply with a view to providing some focus for what could otherwise be a very broad and unwieldy account. This section will also consider a number of other disciplines which more traditional areas of linguistic study can overlook, but which clinical linguists must fully embrace.

In section 3, an overview is presented of the different clinical conditions in which language is impaired. To facilitate this discussion, the human communication cycle is presented with each category of language disorder indicated as a point of breakdown in this cycle. In section 4, the language impairments of several clinical populations are examined in relation to the disciplines that are most closely identified as integral to the study of linguistics. These disciplines are phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics and discourse. Data from clinical subjects will be used to demonstrate specific features of language breakdown. The paper will conclude with a summary of the main points of discussion as well as a preview of a companion article to be published in the *International Journal of Language Studies* entitled "Clinical linguistics: State of the art."

2. Definitions of clinical linguistics

A linguist, who has had a very profound influence on the development of clinical linguistics, provides us with the first of two definitions which will be examined in this section. The linguist in question is David Crystal[1] and his definition of the field unfolds as follows: clinical linguistics is "the application of linguistic theories and methods to the analysis of disorders of spoken, written, or signed language" (Crystal, 1997, p. 418). Crystal's definition is important in at least two respects. The first respect is that it lays the ground for applying any theoretical framework or linguistic method to the study of language disorders. Accordingly, there is a place for linguistic theories such as optimality theory and relevance theory within the study of language disorder. Optimality theory has been applied to the study of phonological disorders

[1] Some indication of David Crystal's influence on clinical linguistics can be gauged from his numerous and varied publications in the area over a period of many years. These publications commenced in 1976 with the publication of *The Grammatical Analysis of Language Disability* with Paul Fletcher and Michael Garman. They included four editions of the book *Introduction to Language Pathology* between 1980 and 1998 with Rosemary Varley. More recently, Crystal has written the foreword to the volume *Methods in Teaching Clinical Linguistics and Phonetics*, which is edited by Nicole Whitworth and Rachael-Anne Knight and which contains a chapter on Pragmatics by the author (Cummings, 2013a).

(see Stemberger & Bernhardt (1997) for discussion), while relevance theory has played a less prominent, but nonetheless important, role in the investigation of pragmatic disorders (see Cummings (2009, 2014) for discussion of relevance theory in a clinical context). Similarly, linguistic methods as wide-ranging as conducting experiments and undertaking phonetic transcription to recording and analysing conversations are as integral to the work of clinical linguists as they are to the investigations undertaken by psycholinguists, phoneticians and discourse and conversation analysts. Crystal's definition places the full gamut of linguistic theories and methods at the service of clinical linguists, who have employed both over the years to very good effect.

The second respect in which Crystal's definition is important is that it widens the focus of language disorders to include disorders of written and signed language as well as spoken language. There can be little doubt that the clinical study of language has been unduly preoccupied with speech and oral communication over other language modalities. Clinical language assessment has traditionally privileged the auditory-oral language route over reading, writing and signing. Similarly, goals of clinical language intervention have almost exclusively involved gains in spoken language comprehension and the intelligibility of speech as opposed to improved functioning in other language areas. The traditional emphasis on speech has even been reflected in the titles of the professionals who assess and treat clients with language disorders, as well as in the nomenclature of the professional bodies which represent these clinicians. The term 'speech therapist' in the UK was only replaced by 'speech and language therapist' in 1990, while the College of Speech Therapists became the Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists in 1995. The dominance of speech and spoken language has resulted in the relative neglect of non-verbal communication and written language disorders both as topics of academic study and as priorities for clinical research. More recently, the development of areas such as augmentative and alternative communication is beginning to redress this imbalance. It is an imbalance which has no place in clinical linguistics, as Crystal's definition quite clearly demonstrates.

So Crystal's definition of clinical linguistics has much to commend it. However, it still views language disorders largely as phenomena to be 'analysed', as if these disorders can be abstracted from the individuals who have them and treated as interesting topics of academic study. As well as regarding language disorders as phenomena to be 'analysed', these disorders must be viewed as conditions which have predominantly adverse effects upon the lives of the children and adults who experience them. As such, language disorders should be assessed and treated with a view to mitigating these effects rather than merely analysed. (Of course, Crystal would not disagree with this point. It is simply that it is not a feature of his definition.)

One cannot talk about the assessment and treatment of language disorders without acknowledging the work of the clinicians who make this possible. These clinicians, known as speech and language therapists in the UK (or speech-language pathologists in the US), are included within an expanded definition of clinical linguistics proposed by the author in 2008:

> 'Clinical linguistics is the study of the numerous ways in which the unique human capacity for language can be disordered. This includes 'language disorders', as standardly conceived. However, it also includes disorders that result from disruption to the wider processes of language transmission and reception [. . .] Most notably, it includes all the disorders that are encountered by speech and language therapists across a range of clinical contexts' (Cummings, 2008, p. 1).

Like Crystal's definition, this expanded definition gives emphasis to all the ways in which language is received and transmitted. The stated 'wider processes' include reading, writing and signing in addition to speech and hearing. Through the use of the terms 'transmission' and 'reception', the expressive *and* receptive uses of language are emphasized. (This is another feature not explicitly addressed in Crystal's definition, but which he would not wish to challenge.) So this expanded definition retains Crystal's emphasis on non-oral forms of language, while at the same time bringing the clinical profession which assesses and treats clients with language disorders clearly into focus. To me at least, this is a *sine qua non* of any definition that is attempting to characterize a *clinical* discipline.

So we can see one important way in which clinical linguistics differs from other branches of language study. It is simply not meaningful to discuss this field of linguistics in isolation from its clinical practice in the form of speech and language therapy. But clinical linguistics differs from other branches of language study in another fundamental respect. The knowledge base of the clinical linguist is a very broad one indeed. As well as possessing linguistic concepts and theories, the clinical linguist must have an understanding of relevant areas within a number of medical disciplines. Understanding aphasia in the adult who sustains a cerebrovascular accident or stroke, a voice disorder in the individual who develops a laryngeal carcinoma, and language disturbances in clients with schizophrenia requires a sound grasp of aspects of neurology, otolaryngology and psychiatry, respectively. Knowledge of genetics and embryology is integral to an understanding of the large number of genetic and chromosomal disorders in which there are significant language, speech and hearing disorders. Beyond medicine, the clinical linguist must be acquainted with disciplines such as child development, cognitive psychology, and neuroscience. These are not areas which must be embraced

by *academic* linguists, but they are very much part of the working knowledge of *clinical* linguists. This will become increasingly evident in later sections as we examine some of the disorders studied by clinical linguists.

3. The human communication cycle

The communication of any linguistic utterance, via speech, writing or signing, is a complex activity that involves the interplay of a large number of cognitive and linguistic processes. From the most abstract level of generating a communicative intention to the movement of specific articulators across dimensions of space and time, these processes must act in concert with each other across increasingly concrete levels of linguistic planning, programming and speech execution. In this section, we examine the different stages that lead from the generation of a communicative intention by one language user to the recovery of that intention by another language user. The communication cycle through which we will wend our way will have illustrative value in a couple of respects. Firstly, it will allow us to locate each main category of disorder studied by clinical linguists to a specific point of breakdown in the human communication cycle. Secondly, the cycle will also allow us to demonstrate how each branch of linguistics can be applied to the study of distinct phases in the formulation and understanding of linguistic utterances and disorders thereof. For example, concepts in semantics will be shown to be integral to the study of semantic disorders in aphasia, with the latter represented as a breakdown in the stages of language encoding and decoding in the communication cycle. With each category of language disorder characterized in terms of the communication cycle, the stage will then be set for an examination of those disorders in section 4.

Among the many thoughts and mental states that speakers entertain, only some are communicated to others. What motivates some thoughts to become communicative intentions, while others are overlooked or dismissed, is a diverse set of considerations including the speaker's needs in a particular situation and his or her interests at a certain point in time. The generation of communicative intentions is a poorly understood process, with everything from the form or structure of these intentions to their relationship to other mental states still essentially unknown. Certainly, theories of pragmatic interpretation tend to treat communicative intentions as a given, with the thrust of these accounts devoted to explaining the linguistic and other processes that speakers use to make these intentions manifest to hearers. Having established a communicative intention, a speaker (writer or sign user) must then translate it into a linguistic code in a stage of processing known as language encoding. During this stage, specific syntactic, semantic and phonological structures are constructed in accordance with rules and principles which constrain the ultimate linguistic form of the utterance. These

rules prohibit certain syntactic sequences such as the use of a main verb before an auxiliary verb within an utterance marked as declarative (e.g., *The man walking was across the road). These rules also specify acceptable sound sequences for the speaker's native language, so that while the consonant cluster /ŋk/ is acceptable at the end of words in English (e.g., 'link'), it is not acceptable at the beginning of words.

Even a linguistically encoded communicative intention is still an abstract entity in terms of the further stages of processing that are needed to transform it into an utterance which can be articulated by a speaker. An abstract linguistic specification of an utterance must undergo a stage called motor programming, during which a series of motor patterns are selected and arranged with the aim of directing the activity of the articulators. It is these motor patterns which will ensure the correct timing and sequencing of articulatory movements and coordination of these movements with other components of the speech production mechanism (e.g., phonation, respiration). However, these motor patterns are still somewhat removed from the neuromuscular messages which will be sent to the speech musculature. It is these messages which will ensure that the tongue adopts a particular posture for the articulation of alveolar and velar plosives, and that the vocal folds vibrate to produce voicing on /b/ but not on /p/. These neuromuscular messages are issued to the speech production mechanism (or the muscles of the arms and hands in the case of writing and signing) in a stage of processing called motor execution. These various stages in the production or expression of a linguistic utterance are demonstrated in Figure 1 below.

Of course, to this point in the communication cycle, no message as such has been communicated. The communication of a message can only truly be said to have occurred when the hearer recovers the intention which was the speaker's motivation for producing the utterance. For this to happen, a number of receptive language processes must now come into play, the first of which is called sensory processing (see Figure 1). During sensory processing, the acoustic signal emitted by the speaker triggers mechanical and other forces in the ear which result in neurophysiological events. Key landmarks in this process include the conversion of sound waves into movements of the tympanic membrane, the vibration of the ossicular chain in the middle ear and the displacement of the stereocilia of hair cells by the movement of cochlear fluid in the inner ear. These events culminate in the transmission of neural impulses along the auditory nerve to the auditory cortices of the brain. These auditory centres achieve the perception or recognition of the neural impulses which travel to the brain. As well as being able to identify the sound of a car engine and the bark of a dog, the hearer can perceive and recognize sounds within the frequency range of human speech. The recognition of

speech sounds occurs during speech perception (see Figure 1). The perception of the speech signal marks the beginning of language decoding.

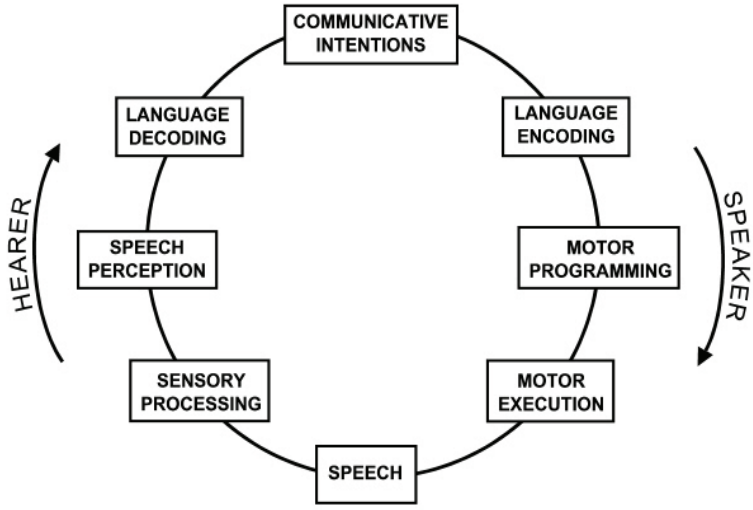

Figure 1. The human communication cycle.

During language decoding, phonological, syntactic and semantic rules operate on a linguistic representation of the utterance, revealing structural and other relationships which will have symbolic significance. In this way, a linguistic representation of the utterance *The car was followed by the van* will not only make explicit the passive voice construction indicated by the verb, but will also identify *the van* as the semantic agent in the utterance. The linguistic representation which makes explicit these meaning relations is only sometimes revealing of the communicative intention which motivated the speaker to produce the utterance. For example, on some occasions a syntactic structure in which a subject pronoun and auxiliary verb is inverted (e.g., *Did you leave early this morning?*) is intended by the speaker as an interrogative. In this case, the utterance's decoded linguistic meaning is the same as the meaning intended by the speaker. However, on other occasions, this same syntactic structure (e.g., *Can you open the window?*) is not intended as an interrogative by the speaker, and the utterance's decoded linguistic meaning must undergo further processing of its pragmatic meaning (which, in this case, is a request). This additional linguistic and cognitive processing is only complete when the communicative intention, which motivated the speaker to produce the utterance, is finally revealed.

With the different stages of the communication cycle laid bare, it is now possible to introduce the various disorders that arise when these stages are

impaired. Many children and adults have clinical disorders which compromise their ability to generate suitable communicative intentions. The child with Down's syndrome may lack the intellectual skills which are needed to formulate a communicative intention that is appropriate to context. The child or adult with an autism spectrum disorder may formulate a communicative intention which is irrelevant to a particular conversational exchange. The adult with schizophrenia may have difficulty suppressing certain communicative intentions with the result that his language may be interpreted as bizarre or even threatening on occasion. Even when a communicative intention is successfully framed, the processes involved in language encoding may be disrupted. Adult clients with an expressive aphasia may be unable to perform a range of syntactic operations including those that are needed to generate passive voice constructions and form wh-interrogatives (e.g., *Where is the milk?*). The child with specific language impairment may omit inflectional suffixes during the encoding of an utterance or employ a suffix incorrectly (e.g., *He walk to school*; *They wented to town*). The child with phonological disorder may substitute velar plosives with alveolar plosives during language encoding, leading to phonological errors such as [teik] for 'cake'.

An utterance may undergo language encoding successfully only to encounter disruption at the stage of motor programming. A motor programming disorder which has an adverse effect on speech intelligibility is developmental verbal dyspraxia in children and apraxia of speech in adults. In both conditions, the speaker is unable to perform speech-related movements in the absence of any evident neurological impairment (non-speech, oral movements may also be compromised if there is an accompanying oral apraxia). The result is that articulatory movements are mistimed and poorly sequenced, leading to substitution, transposition, omission and anticipation of speech sounds. These speech errors will be examined in section 4. The programmed utterance may contain the requisite motor patterns that are needed to produce the utterance. However, if these motor patterns are operationalized along an impaired or degraded motor pathway to the speech production mechanism, then an unintelligible utterance will be the result. Just such a scenario occurs in children and adults with dysarthria, a motor speech disorder in which the execution of an utterance is compromised. Dysarthria can occur in individuals with a range of neurological disorders including cerebral palsy, cerebrovascular accidents, traumatic brain injury and motor neurone disease. Some of the speech distortions that occur in developmental and acquired dysarthria will be examined in the next section.

Receptive language processes may also be disrupted as a result of disease, illness or injury. The stage of sensory processing in the communication cycle is impaired in children and adults with congenital and acquired hearing loss

and visual impairment. (Visual impairment holds particular significance for the sign user, but may also compromise verbal communication). The ossicular chain in the middle ear may not develop or vibrate normally in children with Apert's syndrome, or it may become degraded in adults as a result of otosclerosis. In both cases, a conductive hearing loss may result. The hair cells in the cochlea may be damaged in the infant who contracts meningitis, while the stereocilia of these cells may be fractured as a consequence of repeated noise exposure in adults. The resulting hearing loss in both cases is sensori-neural in nature. Even if the nervous impulses from the inner ear to the auditory centres in the brain are not degraded, they may fail to be recognized by these centres for a number of reasons. The auditory centres in the brain may contain lesions as a result of infections (e.g., meningitis), vascular disorders (e.g., a stroke), traumatic events (e.g., traumatic brain injury) or seizures (e.g., Landau-Kleffner syndrome). In each of these cases, speech perception may be disrupted, with the result that an otherwise intact auditory signal may not be adequately perceived or recognized.

Even an adequately perceived speech signal cannot guarantee that an utterance will be successfully decoded. The child with specific language impairment may incorrectly identify *the mouse* as the semantic agent in the utterance *The mouse was chased by the cat*. This may be on account of his failure to decode the passive voice construction in this utterance—the child treats the sentence as an active voice construction in which *the mouse* is the grammatical subject. The adult with Broca's aphasia may interpret this same utterance to mean that the mouse was chasing the cat, because his syntactic impairment may cause him to overlook the inflectional suffix *–ed* on the verb *chased*. A quite different category of language disorder obtains when a client is able to decode a linguistic utterance but is then unable to use its decoded meaning to derive a further (implicated) level of meaning. This scenario occurs in children and adults with pragmatic disorders often in the context of an intellectual disability, an autism spectrum disorder or a psychotic disorder such as schizophrenia. Pragmatic disorders have been characterized at length elsewhere (Cummings, 2009, 2014) and will be examined in the next section. But what they all have in common is a failure to move beyond the decoded meaning of an utterance in order to arrive at the communicative intention which motivated the utterance.

The failure to establish a speaker's communicative intention completes the survey of ways in which the communication cycle may be impaired or disrupted. It can be seen that these impairments include congenital disorders (e.g., hearing loss in the child with Apert's syndrome) as well as acquired conditions (e.g., apraxia of speech in the adult who sustains a stroke). Some of these impairments resolve spontaneously over time (e.g., dysfluency in young children), while many others persist despite intensive periods of intervention

(e.g., aphasia in adults). Some of the impairments that were discussed are essentially static in nature. For example, dysarthria in a child with cerebral palsy will change as the child develops, but will not deteriorate with maturation. (This is because the underlying neurological impairment which causes the dysarthria is stable). Other impairments are progressive and deteriorate over weeks or months (e.g., dysarthria in an adult with motor neurone disease, a neurodegenerative condition which worsens over time).

In all these cases, the clinical linguist must have a sound understanding of the complex medical aetiologies associated with communication impairments. Among these aetiologies are infections (e.g., meningitis), vascular disorders (e.g., cerebrovascular accidents), neoplasms (e.g., laryngeal carcinoma), anatomical malformations (e.g., cleft palate), traumatic events (e.g., traumatic brain injury) and genetic and chromosomal abnormalities (e.g., Down's syndrome). Clearly, the clinical linguist must engage with a large range of medical conditions which are not of concern to academics in other branches of linguistics. But like other linguists, the clinical linguist must also draw extensively on his knowledge of linguistic concepts and methods to understand the communication impairments we have just examined. It is to this aspect of the clinical linguist's knowledge that we now turn.

4. Linguistics and language disorders

The clinical linguist is, first and foremost, a linguist. As such, he comes to the study of language disorders with concepts, terminology and methods which form part of the working knowledge of any academic linguist. This section will examine some of these terms, concepts and methods as they are applied by the clinical linguist to the study of language disorders. To ensure consistency and evenness of treatment, each branch of linguistics will be examined in turn. These branches are phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics and discourse. Alongside a brief description of its scope of study, each branch will then be examined with a view to its role in the characterization of specific language disorders. This will not be (nor can it be) an exhaustive treatment of these disorders. For such a treatment, the reader is referred to Cummings (2008, 2013b). There have been many theoretical developments in linguistics which have also contributed insights to the study of language disorders. These developments are significant and, as such, are worthy of discussion. However, they will be addressed in the companion article to this paper, entitled "Clinical linguistics: State of the art." The emphasis of this section will be on the demonstration of the different ways in which language can be disrupted in children and adults, and how linguistics may be used to characterize those ways. Where it has illustrative value, data from clinical subjects will be examined.

4.1. Phonetics

Phonetics is the study of human speech sounds. The field includes a number of sub-disciplines: the study of the articulatory movements that are required to produce speech sounds (articulatory phonetics); the measurement of the physical dimensions (e.g., frequency) of speech sounds (acoustic phonetics); and the study of the perception of speech sounds (auditory/perceptual phonetics). Phoneticians have a rich terminology at their disposal to describe all aspects of the production of speech sounds. This terminology includes labels for the organs of articulation (e.g., velum), the place of speech sound articulation (e.g., bilabial) and the manner of articulation (e.g., plosive). Speech sounds may be further characterized in terms of phonatory characteristics such as voicing, such that the speech sounds /p, s, f/ are voiceless consonants while /b, z, v/ are their voiced counterparts. Additional phonetic labels describe the type of airstream that is used during the production of speech sounds (e.g., pulmonic, glottalic) and the direction of the airstream, whether that is ingressive or egressive.

Phonetics is integral to the work of the clinical linguist, so much so in fact that it is simply not possible to give a characterization of this work without reference to phonetic terms and concepts. It is phonetics that allows us to characterize the distortions in the speech of the child with cleft palate or the adult with dysarthria as markedly deviant in nature, and not simply as variations in normal speech production of the type seen in regional dialects, for example. Some of these deviant articulations are shown below with their original phonetic transcriptions:

Data 1: Child with developmental dysarthria (Harris & Cottam, 1985)
'penny' [ɸɛɬɪ] 'cotton' [kxɒ̟ʂən] 'boat' [boːʔʂ̟]

Data 2: Children with congenital deafness (Smith, 1975)
'mean to' [min ə stu] 'it' [ɪçt] 'new dog' [nusdɔχk]
'tell' [tsɛ]

Data 3: Child with developmental verbal dyspraxia (Marquardt, Jacks, & Davis, 2004)
'plate' [pleɪt] [peɪt] [pɛt] [pleɪ]

Data 4: Adult with acquired dysarthria (Ball, Müller, Klopfenstein, & Rutter, 2009)
I'll ask you a few questions [kw̃ẽʔn̪s] (0.25 s) questions [kwɛst͡ʃn̪s]

Data 5: Child with cleft palate (Howard, 1993)
'go' [ʔəʊ] 'key' [ʔi] 'tea' [ʔi] 'dog' [ʔɒʔ^{h}]

The child with developmental dysarthria in data 1 is substituting voiceless plosives with fricative sounds. The /p/ of 'penny' is replaced by the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ], while word-medial and word-final /t/ in 'cotton' and 'boat', respectively, are replaced with the slit articulation [s̪]. Additionally, although this child succeeds in producing /k/ in word-initial position in 'cotton', this articulation is accompanied by the voiceless velar fricative [x]. In data 2, children with congenital deafness are inserting a fricative during the formation or release of a stop. Thus, we find the alveolar fricative [s] occurring in the formation of [t] and [d] in 'mean to' and 'new dog', respectively. This same fricative is also used in the release of [t] in 'tea'. The voiceless palatal fricative [ç] occurs in the formation of [t] in 'it', while the voiceless uvular fricative [χ] occurs in the formation of [k] (itself a substitution for /g/) in the phrase 'new dog'.

In data 3, a child with developmental verbal dyspraxia is displaying the token variability which is a characteristic feature of the disorder. During repeated productions of 'plate', the child produces the consonant cluster /pl/ in its entirety and reduces it to [p]. Word-final /t/ is used on three consecutive productions, but is omitted on the fourth production. There is also variability in the production of the vowel with it realized both as [eɪ] and as [ɛ]. In data 4, a woman with multiple sclerosis and acquired dysarthria is engaging in self-repair of her production of 'questions'. In her first attempt, she uses the glottal stop [ʔ] in place of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and the voiceless affricate /ʧ/. These target sounds are correctly realized during her attempt at repair. Finally, in data 5, a child with cleft palate is replacing alveolar and velar plosives in word-initial position with the glottal stop. A glottal stop also replaces /g/ in word-final position in 'dog'. This child can achieve a complete blockage of the airstream at the glottis, which then stands in substitution of oral plosive articulations where such a blockage is not possible.

4.2. Phonology

Phonology is the study of the sound system of a language. The phoneme is the minimal meaningful sound unit in a language. A central concern of phonology is the patterns of phonemes in a language and how these patterns may be used to convey meaning. These patterns reflect the contrastive function of phonemes. Two sounds function contrastively when the substitution of one by the other changes meaning. There are numerous examples of this contrastive function of phonemes in language. For example, in English the phonemes /p/ and /b/ function contrastively both in word-initial and in word-final positions, e.g., 'pat' and 'bat'; 'pall' and 'ball'; 'lap' and 'lab'; 'pike' and 'bike'. A similar contrastive function is also observed in the case of the phonemes /k/ and /g/ in English, e.g., 'Kate' and 'gate'; 'cap' and 'gap'; 'pick' and 'pig'; 'lock' and 'log'. The use of phonemes to convey meaning in a

language can be a struggle for even normally developing children. These children routinely experience reduced intelligibility when this contrastive function of phonemes is not adequately established and, for example, [keɪt] is used for both 'Kate' and 'gate'.

Phonology is another vital part of the linguistics knowledge of the clinical linguist. Phonological disorders are particularly common in young children – in 60% of preschool children on some accounts (Shriberg, 1994) – and form a large part of the caseload of paediatric speech and language therapists. These disorders may occur in the absence of other involvement such as neurological impairment or craniofacial anomalies. Alternatively, they can be found as one of several areas of language breakdown in children with a range of other conditions including intellectual disability and hearing loss. Apart from children, phonological problems can also occur in adults with aphasia where errors known as phonemic paraphasias may be produced. Examples of phonological problems in children are shown below:

Data 6: Spanish-English-speaking bilingual children (Goldstein & Iglesias, 1996)
'plate' /plato/ → [pwato] 'cross' /krus/ → [tus]
'mouse' /raton/ → [ʁakon]

Data 7: Dutch-speaking girl with Kabuki make-up syndrome (Van Lierde, Van Borsel, & Van Cauwenberge, 2000)
'clouds' /wɔlkən/ → [wɔk] 'boy' /jɔŋən/ → [ɔŋə]
'bicycle' /fits/ → [sis]

Data 8: Children with intellectual disability (Mackay & Hodson, 1982)
'page' /peiʤ/ → [peiʧ] 'basket' /bæskət/ → [ægə]
'glove' /glʌv/ → [glʌf]

The combined data of these children reveal a wide range of phonological processes, some of which occur more commonly in disordered speech than others. The bilingual children in data 6 exhibit liquid gliding (/pl/ → [pw] in 'plate'), consonant cluster reduction and velar fronting (/kr/ → [t] in 'cross'), and backing (/t/ → [k] in 'mouse'). In data 7, the Dutch-speaking girl with Kabuki make-up syndrome, who also has a submucous cleft palate, exhibits three different phonological processes in her speech. A process called syllable deletion occurs in 'clouds' with the omission of the syllable /ən/. Both initial consonant and final consonant deletion are evident in 'boy'. A process called regressive assimilation occurs in 'bicycle' with the speaker anticipating word-final /s/ which is used as a substitution for word-initial /f/. The children with intellectual disability in data 8 display some of these same processes. For

example, initial consonant and final consonant deletion occur in 'basket'. There is also consonant cluster reduction of /sk/ to [g] in 'basket'. Processes not seen in the other children's productions are voicing of /k/ to [g] in 'basket', and postvocalic devoicing in /ʤ/ → [ʧ] of 'page' and /v/ → [f] of 'glove'.

4.3. Morphology

Individual words have their own internal structure. That structure is studied by linguists who work in the field of morphology. Morphology is the study of the morphemes which comprise the internal structure of words. Some words in language are monomorphemic in that they contain a single morpheme. An example is the word 'daughter' which cannot be broken down into more basic parts. However, many more words in language are composed of two or more morphemes. The word 'unhappiness', for example, contains three morphemes. The root of the word is 'happi' onto which are added the prefix –*un* and the derivational suffix –*ness*. Other suffixes, which have a grammatical function, are described as inflectional. In the words 'walks', 'playing', 'prettiest' and 'mended', the inflectional suffixes –*s*, *-ing*, *-est*, and –*ed* indicate a third person singular part of the verb, the present participle, the superlative form of an adjective, and the past tense of a verb, respectively. Unlike the roots of these words, which are free or lexical morphemes, inflectional and derivational morphemes are bound morphemes.

Morphological errors are by no means uncommon in children and adults with language disorders. The child with specific language impairment (SLI) can omit inflectional suffixes from nouns and verbs and use such suffixes when they are not required. The adult with aphasia who has reduced expressive language may also omit inflectional morphemes in his spoken output. He may also fail to comprehend morphemes in the spoken utterances of others leading, for example, to a mistaken interpretation of passive voice constructions when the inflectional suffix –*ed* of the passive participle 'chased' is not recognized as such: *The man was chased by the dog*. There is some evidence that adults with schizophrenia may have morphological deficits including the omission of suffixes. Some of these morphological errors are shown below:

Data 9: Children with specific language impairment (Schuele & Dykes, 2005; Bliss, McCabe, & Miranda, 1998)

(a) 'it's long ways to go'

(b) 'if you just shoot it and it makes a basket not touching the rim or the the box, it's still a points'

(c) 'I flied and then I jumped down'

Data 10: Adult with schizophrenia (Chaika, 1982)

'. . . I am being helped but at the same time that I am being help with the food and medicate the food and medicate and the the food an medicate and the an the ah rest I feel that I still do not have this I still not have the thought pattern and the mental process and the brain wave necessary to open up a page open up the old testament and start to memory it the old te- the old new testament page of the bible . . .'

Data 11: Children with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (Peets, 2009)

(a) 'summer summer is my bestest month because you know why Wonderland and swimming!'

(b) '. . .they have a machine that will they have a hooks that will pull you back up . . .'

The morphological errors in the above data include the incorrect use and omission of inflectional and derivational suffixes. In data 9, a child with SLI uses the inflectional suffix *–s* on the nouns 'way' and 'point' when it is not necessary to do so. The child who utters 'flied' has attempted to form the past tense of 'fly' by adding the inflectional suffix *–ed* to the bare infinitive form of the verb. The adult with schizophrenia in data 10 omits inflectional and derivational suffixes. The inflectional suffix *–ed* is omitted in '…I am being help…'. The derivational suffixes *–ion* and *–ize* do not appear in 'medicate' and 'to memory', respectively. (On an alternative interpretation of these morphological errors as grammatical deficits, the client with schizophrenia has selected the verb 'medicate' instead of the noun 'medication', while the noun 'memory' has been used in place of the verb 'memorize'.) One of the children with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder in data 11 has used the inflectional suffix *–s* on what should be the singular noun 'hook'. The other child has used the inflectional suffix *–est*, which is used to form the superlative of regular adjectives, on the irregular adjective 'best'. In effect, the child who uses 'bestest' has marked the adjective twice for superlative.

4.4. Syntax

Individual words can combine in various ways to form the grammatical sentences of a language. Syntax is the study of these possible combinations within a language. For example, to form a yes-no interrogative in English, the speaker must invert the subject pronoun and auxiliary verb as in *Will you help me with my homework?* The syntactic rules of English prohibit the use of the

following combination of words for this interrogative: *You me will with my homework help?*. Syntactic rules also specify the order of occurrence of the determiners in a noun phrase so that although *She loved her two elderly aunts* is a syntactically acceptable sentence in English, the combination *She loved two her elderly aunts* is definitely not. On one prominent approach to syntax – generative grammar – syntactic rules specify the types of movements that must occur between the deep and surface structure of a sentence in order to arrive at a grammatical sentence of the language. These rules are responsible for generating wh-interrogatives (e.g., *What car are you driving?*), and passive voice constructions (e.g., *The dog was kicked by the boy*) amongst other structures.

Syntax is a particularly important aspect of the clinical linguist's knowledge as grammatical impairments are commonly observed in children and adults with language disorders. Children with specific language impairment omit auxiliary verbs, use object pronouns in the place of subject pronouns, and use the wrong form for lexical verbs in sentences. Interrogative forms may be immature and grammatical classes such as prepositions may be omitted altogether. Many of these same deviant and immature grammatical features can also be seen in children with intellectual disability often in the presence of a syndrome. Adults with agrammatic aphasia display significant syntactic impairment. Often, content words such as nouns, verbs and adjectives are the only grammatical categories to be retained with function words such as prepositions and articles omitted altogether. The resulting spoken output has the appearance of a telegram (hence, the use of the term 'agrammatic' to describe this type of aphasia). Adults with schizophrenia can often exhibit impaired clause structure. Some of these syntactic deficits are shown below:

Data 12: Children with expressive SLI (Moore, 2001)

(a) 'Why he fall in the car'?
(b) 'He eating'
(c) 'Her's painting a flower'

Data 13: Boy ('JB') with FG syndrome and agenesis of the corpus callosum (McCardle & Wilson, 1993)

(a) 'I go sleep uncle room, I sleep uncle bed' (54 months)
(b) 'I go fight doggie' (67 months)

Data 14: Man called Roy who is 7 years post-left hemisphere CVA (Beeke, Wilkinson, & Maxim, 2007)

'um … so s- er skiing … er waterskiing … yeh uh Greenbridge … yeah? uh Kent … uh … uh … four of them … uuuhh …

> blokes y'know … uh … uhhh … boat … and … anyway … sort of … waterskiing … and strange! … sort of … and then … ur … bang! [mimes falling over] … funny … and all of a sudden … bang'

The child with expressive SLI in part (a) of data 12 makes use of an immature interrogative form, in which 'why' is simply placed at the start of a statement. No auxiliary verb is present and so no inversion of the type required to form a question has been attempted. The child with SLI in (b) of data 12 has omitted the auxiliary verb 'is'. In (c), the child has succeeded in including an auxiliary verb. However, it occurs alongside the object pronoun 'her' rather than the subject pronoun 'she'. The boy with FG syndrome in data 13 displays a number of grammatical errors. He is unable to use the genitive form ('s) so that 'uncle's room' is produced as 'uncle room'. Locative prepositions are omitted in 'I go sleep [in] uncle room, I sleep [in] uncle bed'. Determiners are omitted in noun phrases, e.g., '[my] uncle room', '[the] doggie'. JB uses verbs in constructions such as 'go sleep' and 'go fight' in which either 'and' or 'to' is omitted. Roy's verbal output in data 14 displays agrammatism. Nouns (e.g., Kent, blokes, boat) and adjectives (e.g., strange, funny, sudden) are retained in Roy's verbal output. Articles (definite and indefinite) and pronouns are completely omitted. Prepositions (with the exception of 'of'), conjunctions (with the exception of 'and') and verbs (with the exception of 'waterskiing') are not present.

4.5. Semantics

Semantics is the branch of linguistics that studies word and sentence meaning. The notions of sense and reference are integral to the study of language meaning. The concept of sense captures language-internal meaning and is characterized in terms of lexical relations between the words of a language. These relations include synonymy (words with same or similar meanings), hyponymy (the relation of inclusion between words), meronymy (a part-whole relation between words), polysemy (a word which has two or more related senses), homonymy (a word which has two or more unrelated senses) and antonymy (the relation of opposition between words). Reference is the basis of language-external meaning. The words in a language can refer to individuals and objects (so-called 'referents') or to sets of properties (so-called 'extensions'). Semanticists may also subscribe to different theoretical approaches to the study of language meaning. One such approach is componential analysis in which the meaning of words is analysed in terms of semantic components or primitives. The meaning of the word 'woman', for example, consists in the three primitives [HUMAN] [FEMALE] and [ADULT].

With its rich array of concepts and theories, semantics is an important branch of linguistic study for the clinical linguist. Semantic deficits are a common feature of children and adults with language disorders. Children with specific language impairment can display naming errors with many errors related to the target word (e.g., the use of 'shoe' for *foot*). The child with intellectual disability may have difficulty grouping words according to semantic fields such as fruit and transport. Many of the semantic paraphasias produced by adults with aphasia can be characterized in terms of lexical relations such as hyponymy and antonymy. Some of the lexical substitutions that aphasic clients make can be analysed in terms of components or primitives. For example, the client who utters 'heart' in place of the word 'love' is clearly substituting an abstract term with a concrete one. Semantic associations are the basis of many instances of bizarre language use in adults with schizophrenia. The disruption of semantic representations in the lexicon of the client with dementia leads to word-finding problems and the use of incorrect lexemes. Some of these semantic errors are demonstrated in the data below:

Data 15: Child ('JB') with FG syndrome and callosal agenesis (McCardle & Wilson, 1993)

(a) E: 'Tell me about your dog.' JB: 'It go woof woof.'
(b) 'Daddy have a pretty' (when asked to name a watch)
(c) 'fire, burns' (when asked to name a match)

Data 16: 74-year-old woman ('JT') with Wernicke's aphasia (Buckingham & Rekart, 1979)

(d) HWB: 'It's hot outside.' JT: 'It wasn't cold for me.'
(e) 'I would be able to hear you better with than than this eye…'
(f) 'They're too big! They're too big! They gotta make bigger for my feet…my shoes are little aren't big enough!'
(g) 'Well, that's the fingers…' (when asked to name knuckles)

Data 17: Confrontation naming in subjects with chronic schizophrenia (Barr, Bilder, Goldberg, Kaplan, & Mukherjee, 1989)

(h) cactus: 'the thing you find in Mexico'
(i) abacus: 'math beads, math scale'
(j) wreath: 'Christman rath…no, wreath'
(k) telescope: 'microscope, harmonica, molasses…telescope'

The child with FG syndrome in data 15 displays lexical immaturity when he uses the onomatopoeic form 'woof woof' instead of the verb 'bark'. He also exhibits word-finding problems as indicated by his use of circumlocutions when asked to name a watch and a match. In the absence of being able to produce the names of these items, the child begins to talk ('locution') around ('circum') them. The adult with Wernicke's aphasia in data 16 uses the gradable antonym 'cold' in place of the target word 'hot' in (d). Another gradable antonym 'big' is used in (f) in place of the target word 'small'. In (e), the target word 'ear' is replaced by the word 'eye' from the same semantic field of body parts. In (g), speaker JT has produced the word 'fingers' in place of the target word 'knuckles'. These words are related through the lexical relation of meronymy (i.e., 'knuckles' is a meronym of 'fingers').

The subjects with chronic schizophrenia in data 17 are displaying semantic deficits during confrontation naming. In (h) and (i), these clients are producing circumlocutions in place of the target words 'cactus' and 'abacus', respectively. In (j), the word 'Christman' (for Christmas) is produced en route to the target word 'wreath' because of the close semantic association between these words (wreaths are typically displayed at Christmas). Finally in (k), the speaker produces 'microscope' for 'telescope' because of a semantic association between these words which is based on their similarity of function, i.e., magnifying objects. Of course, a phonemic similarity between the uttered word and target word cannot be ruled out as a basis for this naming error also.

4.6. Pragmatics

Many linguistic utterances convey meaning beyond their truth-conditional or semantic content. For example, the speaker who utters in front of a disruptive 5-year-old 'What a delightful child!' is clearly intending to make his listener aware of his ironic intent. That the speaker believes that the child is anything but delightful is not indicated by the utterance alone—in fact, the utterance conveys that the child *is* delightful—but by the utterance in combination with features of context, in particular, the presence of a disruptive child. Pragmatics is the branch of linguistics that studies the type of language meaning in context illustrated by this example. As well as explaining how utterances which *say* one thing may be taken to *implicate* something altogether different, pragmatics is also interested in how one and the same utterance can serve different functions in different contexts. So the utterance 'There is a bull in the field' may have an informative function in one context and function as a warning in another context. Other concepts of significance to pragmatics are presupposition (meanings which are taken for granted or assumed between speaker and hearer), deixis (terms such as 'here' and 'today' which relate to the spatiotemporal context of an utterance),

politeness, and aspects of conversational interaction such as turn-taking and topic management.

Pragmatic disorders may occur alongside impairments of structural language (e.g., syntax, semantics) or in isolation from structural language deficits. These disorders have been examined in depth in Cummings (2009, 2012, 2014). They include the failure of children with an autism spectrum disorder to recover the implicature of a speaker's utterances, to use deictic expressions appropriately, and to introduce topics into a conversation which will be of interest to the hearer. Adults who sustain right-hemisphere damage may interpret the non-literal utterances used to express metaphors and idioms in literal, concrete ways. Clients with schizophrenia may produce impolite utterances. Additionally, failure on the part of these clients to adhere to Gricean maxims of relation, quantity and manner may lead to the production of tangential, verbose or under-informative, and illogical utterances, respectively. Adults who sustain a traumatic brain injury may display poor topic management skills or exchange turns ineffectively with others during conversation. Some of these pragmatic problems are evident in the data below:

Data 18: Boy ('R'), aged 9;3 years, with specific language impairment (Bliss, et al., 1998)

E: Two weeks ago I had to go to the hospital to have some x-rays taken. Have you ever been to the hospital?

R: Yeah, I had a X-ray because they they're checking on my leg and I was scared that I was going up there and they gave me a balloon and I went to um Toys 'R Us and gave me a toy but I never . . . . .I uh I just broke my leg and I just fall down on my bike because I got hurt and my Band-Aids on me. . . . put their off and I jumped out of my bike and I . . . I flied and then I jumped down.

E: You jumped down?

R: Uhuh, on the grass. . . . and I um our grandma um she died. She um she was getting older. Our grandma and she died and the uh funeral . . . My ma and dad went to the funeral and then Aunt Cindy was there too and we uh they um uh everybody was sad that um uh that died. . . .and on my birthday I went on my bike and I uh um . . . . I just jump on my bike and I just balance on my . . . . and I did it with uh I did do it with only my hands. I didn't do it without my hands and I uh um one hand too.

Data 19: The following extract is taken from Abusamra, Côté, Joanette, & Ferreres (2009: 77-78). It is a dialogue between an examiner (E)

and a male patient (P) with right-hemisphere damage. The patient has been asked to explain the meaning of one of the metaphors from the MEC protocol (Joanette, Ska, & Côté, 2004).

E: What does this phrase mean: My friend's mother-in-law is a witch?

P: Let's change also one word: My son-in-law's mother-in-law is a witch?

E: And so what does it mean?

P: I know she is a person who hasn't had a pleasant life, throughout her marriage. That…that she's about to be separated from her husband; I'm referring to the mother-in-law of my son-in-law (ha, ha, ha)

E: OK it's not important – it's the same.

P: Certainly! The mother-in-law of my son-in-law. The mother-in-law of my son-in-law is a witch!

E: What does being a witch mean?

P: Because the woman is separated, because all her life she has criticized her husband for the way he is; only seen in his defects, who has kept his daughter all her life under a glass bell and she's now a poor lady because she can't find the fiancé her mother would like.

E: So what does witch mean, then?

P: What does it specifically mean? It means being tied down to religious sects, to religions, to umbanda…who knows, there are so many.

E: So therefore, "The mother-in-law of my son-in-law is a witch". Does it mean the mother-in-law of my friend practices black magic? And the mother-in-law of my friend has many brooms and she is also a bad person an rude?

P: It's absolutely clear. My friend's mother-in-law has many brooms…no! My friend's mother-in-law practices black magic.

Data 20: Client with schizophrenia, responding to question from doctor (Thomas, 1997)

'Then I left San Francisco and moved to…where did you get that tie? It looks like it's left over from the 1950s. I like the warm weather in San Diego. Is that a conch shell on your desk? Have you ever gone scuba diving?'

These extracts of data reveal a range of pragmatic disorders commonly seen in clinical practice. The boy with SLI in data 18 displays poor topic

management skills. He fails to develop a topic to any extent before leaving it for another topic and then eventually returning to the original topic. For example, the topics in R's first extended turn can be represented as follows: leg – toys – leg – bike. In R's second extended turn, his topic structure appears as follows: bike accident – death of grandmother – funeral – bike. In data 19, P's interpretation of the metaphor '…is a witch' is concrete and literal in nature. In elaborating the meaning of this metaphor, P refers only to the conventional attributes of witches which are contained in the semantic meaning of the word 'witch', e.g., inclusion in religious sects, the practice of black magic. In data 20, the client with schizophrenia displays a failure of relevance. Initially, this client appears to make a relevant response to the doctor's question about how he came to be living in a particular city in the US. However, his response soon veers off topic into complete irrelevance. There is an additional pragmatic anomaly in that comments about the doctor's tie breach the politeness constraints that normally characterize medical interactions between doctors and their clients.

4.7. Discourse

Language is more than the study of sentences and their component parts. Many significant features of language can only be revealed by examining how sentences interrelate to other sentences within larger extracts of discourse. Discourse is now included as standard as a branch of study in linguistics. Evidence of this is the proliferation of studies in linguistics that examine discourse processes in specific contexts (e.g., media discourse, institutional and professional discourse). Linguists who examine discourse are interested in how cohesion is achieved across extended extracts of language. For example, sentences or utterances in narrative discourse may be linked through anaphoric reference (e.g., Sally bought a new dress. It was the one with the blue stripes), the use of collocation (e.g., Jack climbed up the old oak in the garden. The tree gave him the best vantage point), and lexical reiteration (e.g., The explorer began his ascent of the mountain. The climb was his most difficult to date). A narrative may contain many cohesive links, but may still not exhibit discourse coherence if it fails to develop a theme or omits information that is essential to the understanding of a text. So the narrator who states that Sally bought a new dress without also stating the purpose for which the dress was purchased (e.g., to attend a friend's birthday party) may well have produced a cohesive narrative but will not have achieved a coherent one.

Discourse can be an area of considerable impairment in children and adults with language disorders. The use of referring expressions by children and adults with autism spectrum disorders is often disrupted, principally on account of their difficulties with theory of mind (see Cummings (2013c,

2013d) for discussion). The child who cannot attribute mental states to the minds of others often fails to appreciate the listener's absence of referents for the terms he uses in a narrative or other extract of language. The child or adult who sustains a traumatic brain injury can display many discourse problems, often in the context of intact structural language skills. For example, discourse may be repetitive and under-informative, as no new information is presented during the repetitions produced by the speaker. Alternatively, discourse can digress into copious, irrelevant detail with the result that it can appear over-informative. Egocentricity is often a feature of the narrative discourse produced by adults with right-hemisphere damage and schizophrenia. Typically, this takes the form of the narration of personal experiences which are not of interest to the listener and are irrelevant to the goals and purpose of a narrative. Some of these discourse problems are illustrated by the data below:

Data 21: 16-year-old boy ('J') with autism in conversation with examiner (Bliss, et al., 1998)

E: My sister was on a swing and she fell off and broke her wrist. Have you ever broken your arm?

J: Yeah.

E: What happened?

J: I broke the wrist on his back. I got throat and the stomach and that boy says, "I got the stomach ache" and the man. . . . and they got. . . . I said, "I hurt my wrist and umm the man is umm he's a person. The man is umm he's a and the man is umm. . . . He got arrested and umm the man is got a chest with a body over and the man is uh person of the man of God.

Data 22: Girl, aged 7 years 4 months, with traumatic brain injury. She was asked to recount an occasion when she was stung by a bee (Biddle, McCabe, & Bliss, 1996)

'Ummm, I, once, there was a, we went. There was a for. There was this umm fort. A tree fell down. And there was dirt, all kinds of stuff there. It was our fort. And one day, I have a friend named Jude. She's umm grown up. She has a kid. She has a cat named Gus, a kitten. It's so cute. But once, when she didn't have that kitten, one day, me, my brother, my cousin Matt, and her, and my dad, and one of his friends, went into the woods to see the fort, to show her. And we went up there. I stepped on a bee's nest. And they chased us all the way back. And I got stung and my cousin Matt got stung in one of the private parts. And umm I had a bite right here (points), right

here (points), right there (points), and umm one on my cheek. And right here. And when I umm went over, when we got back to my friend Jude's house, in her bathroom she had this clean kind of stuff. And I put it on me. She put it one me right here (points). But umm, I had to go to the bathroom to put it on, you know. It hurt! And my brother Jason he got stung once. He got stung I think three right here (points). I remember where I got stung, but I don't remember where Jason got stung. My friend Jude didn't even get stung. She ran so fast that she didn't even get stung. The bees chased us and I looked back. And there was one right in front of my face. That's when I got stung here (points). There was like two hanging around my legs. I was running and trying to get them off me. They both went, "Bzzzzz". It hurt! I was crying my head off.'

Data 23: This extract was produced by a schizophrenic client who was studied by Chaika and Lambe (1989). It followed a viewing of a short video story called the Ice Cream Story. In this story, a young girl is refused her request for ice cream from her mother because it is close to supper time. However, when her father enters the house, the young girl approaches him with the same request and he gives her money from his trouser pocket. The young girl takes the money to the store and uses it to buy a very large double-decker cone.

'I was watching a film of a little girl and um s bring back memories of things that happened to uh people around me that affected me during the time when I was living in that area and she just went to the store for a candy bar and by the time ooh of course her brother who was supposed to be watching wasn't paying much attention he was blamed for and I didn't think that was fair the way the way they did that either, so that's why I'm kinda like asking could we just get together for one big party or something ezz it hey if it we'd all in which is in not they've been here, so why you jis now discovering it?'.

The boy in data 21 introduces several referring expressions in the absence of any referents for these expressions. They include 'his back' (whose back?), 'that boy' (what boy?), 'the man' (what man?) and 'they got' (who got?). This problem with referring expressions is symptomatic of the theory of mind problems which occur in autism. To the extent that this boy is unable to attribute mental states to the mind of the examiner in the exchange, he will also be unable to determine if the examiner has clear referents for the expressions which he introduces into his spoken discourse. Unlike the boy

with autism, the girl with traumatic brain injury in data 22 is able to take her listener's state of knowledge into account as she develops her narrative. This is suggested by several features of her spoken discourse. She explicitly introduces characters and agents into the narrative and then refers to them through pronominal reference (e.g., 'She has a cat named Gus, a kitten. It's so cute'). Through doing so, she ensures that the listener can track the various protagonists in the story. The girl also ensures that her listener knows the referents of adverbs such as 'here' and 'there' by pointing to specific body parts. Finally, she expends considerable effort introducing the familial and other relationships she has with each of the characters in the story (e.g., my cousin Matt, my brother Jason, my friend Jude). Some of these are stated on more than one occasion during the narrative. This indicates an attempt to give the listener some background knowledge within which to process the details of the narrative.

Alongside certain skills in narrative construction, the girl in data 22 also displays a number of discourse problems. Some of the referring expressions she uses lack clear referents (e.g., 'all kinds of stuff there'). There is misuse of temporal expressions which normally contribute to the development of a narrative (e.g., 'And one day, I have a friend named Jude'). The temporal expression 'one day' is incongruent with the introduction of a friend into the narrative. There are several instances of repetition and topic digression. For example, the girl gives a detailed account of where she was bitten, then talks about the medical assistance she received at her friend's house, and returns to discuss further where she was stung. She also introduces the fort, then leaves it to talk about a tree and dirt, and then returns to the fort. Additionally, certain Gricean maxims are compromised including quantity (there is an excessively detailed explanation of where each of her friends was stung), relation (she veers off topic and begins to talk about irrelevant points such as her friend's kitten) and manner (the account of the medication she received at her friend's house is confusing, ambiguous and contradictory).

The speaker with schizophrenia in data 23 also displays strengths and weaknesses in the production of narrative discourse. This speaker is able to achieve lexical cohesion through the use of anaphoric reference (e.g., 'little girl … she just went to the store …' and 'her brother … he was blamed …'). The use of an introduction to the story (i.e., 'I was watching a film of a little girl …') also reveals an appreciation of narrative structure on the part of this client. However, the narrative is highly egocentric in places with the speaker relating personal experiences which are unrelated to the story he is narrating. Egocentric discourse emerges early in the extract with 'bring back memories of things that happened to uh people around me that affected me during the time when I was living in that area …'. It is particularly difficult to follow this egocentric discourse because the speaker is using a range of expressions

which do not relate to the ice cream story and for which no clear referent can be identified (e.g., '… I was living in that area …' and '… I'm kinda like asking could we just get together …'). However, even this egocentric discourse displays adequate cohesion, as indicated by the underlined words in the following extract: 'bring back memories of things that happened to uh people around me that affected me during the time when I was living in that area …'.

5. Summary

It has been argued in this paper that clinical linguistics has been somewhat overlooked as a field of linguistic study, particularly in comparison to disciplines such as syntax and semantics. This paper has attempted to address the relative neglect of clinical linguistics by workers in traditionally dominant branches of language study by demonstrating the central role played by linguistics in the characterization and analysis of language and communication disorders. From phonetics, phonology and morphology to syntax, semantics, pragmatics and discourse, each branch of linguistic study has been shown to contribute important insights to the understanding of language disorders. To the extent that it is not even possible to describe these disorders in the absence of linguistic concepts and frameworks, some reconsideration of the place of clinical linguistics within language study in general must surely now be in order. As its name suggests, clinical linguistics is the clinical application of the same concepts and methods which are part of the working knowledge of all linguists. To treat it otherwise is to misrepresent the essential nature of this important linguistic discipline.

This paper has undertaken to introduce the reader to clinical linguistics. The field has been defined and rooted in its wider clinical context. This context includes the clinicians who assess and treat clients with language and communication disorders and the profession to which they belong. Also, the human communication cycle has been examined in its entirety, from its outset in the generation of a communicative intention by a speaker to its termination in the recovery of that intention by a hearer. Each main category of language and communication disorder has been characterized as a point of breakdown in this complex cycle of cognitive and linguistic processing. The specific role of each linguistic discipline in understanding these disorders has been examined and illustrated through the use of data from clinical subjects. However, what this paper did not explore was the contribution of theoretical developments in linguistics to the study of language disorders. Nor did it consider the ways in which language disorders can contribute to theoretical developments in linguistics and beyond. These issues will be topics of discussion in a companion article in *IJLS* entitled "Clinical linguistics: State of the art."

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The language of money: How verbal and visual metonymy shapes public opinion about financial events

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"Everything means something," Lyra said, "we just have to find out how to read it." (from Lyra's Oxford by Philip Pullman)

Much recent work on metonymy has concentrated on its definition, properties and functions (Benczes, Barcelona & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2011) but few studies have examined the combination of verbal and visual metonymy or the benefits of multimodal metonymical analysis in issues of social justice. In this paper eleven news articles regarding issues in financial discourse such as the financial crisis, fiscal cliff, underwater homeowners and entitlements are examined visually and verbally from a variety of online newspaper sources. Results reveal intricate visual and verbal metonymies such as EFFECT FOR CAUSE, RESULT FOR ACTION, INSTITUTION FOR PERSON, DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY and BODY PART FOR ACTION that aid in hiding or highlighting events and act as ideology carriers that are difficult to detect. The unique contribution of this article lies not only in the exposure of linguistic/non-linguistic strategies used to mitigate the role of those responsible for the financial crisis, or to shape public opinion on a particular policy or issue, but also in the attention it gives to metonymy's role (in text and image) in the positive representation of corporate America which, we will argue, has resulted in few repercussions for the financial sector.

Keywords: Financial Crisis; Fiscal Cliff; Metaphor; Underwater Homeowners; Entitlements; Metonymy; Multimodal Analysis; Financial Discourse

1. Introduction[1]

Does the topic of finance alter your mood? Have you recently felt like falling off a cliff? More and more the hyperbolic language of the financial world has

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become ingrained in public discourse and resembles more closely that of a soap opera than a news report. The language of the financial sector has infiltrated daily life through multiple sources of media discourse/social networks, and greatly influences how the public feels about financial, political or government issues.

One of the subtlest linguistic strategies that influences public opinion is the use of metonymy. Metonymy can be defined as a stand-for relationship in which something stands for something else it is related to or associated with. Metonymy has traditionally been overshadowed by the study of metaphor and has sometimes been thought of as a sub-category of metaphor (Genette, 1980; Levin, 1977; Searle, 1979), yet others argue that it is a very different type (starting with Jakobson 1956, [see also Barcelona, 2011; Benczes, 2011; Gibbs, 1994, 1999; Kovecses, 2006]) and thus there is increasing focus on its rhetorical force in discourse.

For the purposes of this paper, 'discourse' is language in real contexts of use (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 20) and the broader ideas communicated by a text can be referred to as 'discourses' (Fairclough, 2000; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2001). These discourses can be thought of as models of the world (as Foucault, 1981 characterizes them). More and more politicians, bankers, Wall Street executives and those involved in the world of finance have discovered the value of metonymy in discourse (although they may not refer to it as such or even know the word, much less its conceptual definition) in swaying public opinion in their favor. At the same time, others involved in making policy decisions and regulations affecting the financial sector or those advocating for change and a more equitable system often use the same terms adopted by those coming from the opposite ideological frame, and thus are not able to get their message across to the public effectively (e.g., the use of the term entitlements to be discussed later in this paper) (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012, p. 43). Thus they are making use of the discourse that surrounds us (in Foucault's sense of the term) because they see how well it works, all the while not knowing what "it" is. Therefore, the need is more pressing than ever to understand the role of metonymy (and its combinations with metaphor) in constructing and reproducing dominant discourses in order to grasp when and how manipulation is occurring. Because financial issues are often complex and difficult to understand for the layperson, the analysis of this type of language becomes even more an issue of social justice. That is, it is a right and a duty of linguists and discourse analysts like ourselves to break down the discourse and conceptual frames of metonymies in financial discourse in order to reveal the way they influence thought.

While much has been written about the language of financial events such as the current financial crisis, little has been written about the interaction of

visual and verbal metonymy in the texts and their relationship to public opinion about these issues. Ever present in today's media discourse is the use of multiple modes of delivery such as video, sound and image. Thus, the way we communicate is seldom by one mode (language), instead, ". . . it is done simultaneously through a number of modes—multimodally, by combinations of the visual, sound, language, etc. . . . ." (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Hence there is an increasing need for multimodal analysis of metonymy in order to understand its full effects. Along these lines, the present study aims to investigate the role of metonymy in shaping public opinion about financial events in the US and Europe in both verbal and visual elements of media discourse.

2. Background

2.1. How metonymy works in text and image

"What people say and how they act depends on what they think" (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012, p. 1). Language makes use of these deep modes of thought but like most of thought, use of metonymy is largely unconscious, and people are not necessarily aware of the thought processes brought about by the language they use. Unless these processes are brought to the surface, people can be easily manipulated by metonymies (frequent in the political realm) and remain blissfully unaware of how they have been influenced.

Defining metonymy is no simple task (for example, Benczes, Barcelona and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, (2011) have written an entire book on defining metonymy). However, most would agree that metonymy is a relationship in which one element stands for another element that it is closely related to or associated with in order to direct attention to it (or away from something else) (Kövecses, 2006). Metaphor and metonymy are often difficult to distinguish from each other, and recent research has shown that the two quite commonly interact in linguistic expressions, thus complicating the analysis (Benczes, 2011, p. 203). In Cognitive Linguistics (CL), metaphors are considered to be a conceptual mapping from one semantic source domain (the more concrete and more directly related to human, including bodily experience) to a different semantic target domain that is more abstract and less part of the experiential domain (Kővecses, 2006). Recent work suggests that metonymy is an asymmetrical mapping in which the target is understood from the perspective of the source (Barcelona, 2011). One example from this paper is that of underwater mortgages (see Section 4.3) where owing money on a house is understood from the perspective of a boat sinking, triggering a complex interaction between the metonymy of HOME FOR BOAT and FINANCIAL INSECURITY IS DOWN. Another simple way to understand the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is to think of the relationship between the source and target domains in metaphor as an "IS A" type,

whereas in metonymy it is a "STANDS FOR" relationship. Thus in the above example, FINANCIAL INSECURITY IS DOWN (metaphor) and the HOME STANDS FOR the BOAT (metonymy) (Herrero-Ruiz, 2011, p. 168).

Metaphor and metonymy are indispensable cognitive tools for making abstract, complex and elusive concepts more accessible to the general public and sometimes even to the politicians themselves (Gradeček-Erdelijć & Milić, 2011, p. 149). However, without ignoring the relationship to metaphor, the present paper will focus on metonymy and its uses in financial discourse. In the case of matters relating to financial events and government budgets, metonymy is often used with the clear intention of creating the pragmatic effects of hiding less favorable elements in the target concept (with the use of euphemism, and other devices such as the deletion of important and even problematic elements) or exposing them (with the use of dysphemism—the opposite of euphemism), according to the ideological viewpoint of the author/speaker (*ibid*, p. 148; Portero Muñoz, 2011, p. 153). This link between language and ideology cannot be overlooked, and CL is an efficient tool used to decode and deconstruct exactly how the ideologies are being put forth subtly and covertly in online news sources such as in this study.

Like metaphor, metonymy occurs not only in verbal discourse, but also in visual text, and can be used for the similar purpose of hiding or highlighting. What is also interesting is the way that visual elements can interact with verbal elements in multimodal texts, by elaborating, illustrating or contrasting with the verbal elements. The following examples demonstrate the use of metonymy and how it interacts with text:

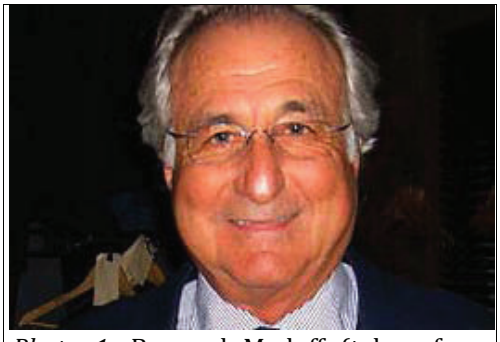

Photo 1. Bernard Madoff (taken from First author & Second author, 2012)

The above image accompanied an article from the *Wall Street Journal* online[2] and reported the arrest of Bernie Madoff for a $50 billion fraud. Analysis of the text (Catalano & Waugh, 2012) revealed many metonymies of naturalization, accompanied by metonymies in the image. This image, in which the viewer is presented with Madoff's smiling face (and not the rest of his body part for whole), communicates a nice, benevolent, grandfatherly type—wearing a suit and tie, a metonym for high status (CLOTHES FOR STATUS). In addition, the close-up camera shot symbolizes intimacy (DISTANCE FOR SOCIAL STATUS) (van Leeuwen, 2008,

[2] see http://online.wsj.com/article/SB122903010173099377.html

p. 138) and helps to establish that Madoff is "one of us" and conveys a covert positive presentation of this man, although he was convicted of a serious crime that had very harmful effects on society. In Photo 2, Lloyd Blankfein (CEO of Goldman Sachs) is shown[3] testifying for the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in defense of charges of fraud:

Photo 2. 'CEO Lloyd Blankfein has drawn heat for Goldman's rich pay and profits in the wake of the taxpayer bailout of the financial system.

Here, the metonymy of BODY PART FOR ACTION (finger for blame – and pointing in general, which is an indexical metonym that represents the item pointed at [people in this case] by the pointing finger) is the focus of the photograph, and while the accompanying caption contains subtle hints of the article's ideology by noting that Blankfein has "drawn heat," the photograph extends this meaning. That is, because the photo is in the context of a discussion of the court hearing about the case of securities' fraud against Goldman Sachs, we know that the persons on the other side of the pointed finger are the government lawyers (working for the SEC). Therefore, the underlying message of the photo is not that Lloyd Blankfein or Goldman Sachs is to blame, but instead, the recipient, metonymically represented by the pointed finger, is to blame.

As illustrated by the above examples, metonymy in image plays an equally important role in (re)producing ideologies but is often harder to detect and easier to deny as subjective because it is accomplished through suggestion or connotation and by appealing to barely conscious, half-forgotten knowledge (Berger, 1972; van Leeuwen, 2008). Thus, if images seem to allude to things and never say them explicitly, it is important to make these allusions explicit (van Leeuwen, 2008). Metonymy in image can have varying roles such as extending the meaning of the text by adding new and different meanings to complete the message (as in the above photographs) or elaborating on the text's meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Consequently, the "visual component of a text is an independently organized and structured message, connected with the verbal text, but in no way dependent on it—and similarly

[3]http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303491304575187920845670844.html?mod=WSJ_hpp_LEFTTopStories

the other way around" (*ibid*, p. 19). For this reason, the present paper has chosen a multimodal analysis of metonymy, which will allow a more holistic view of how the different elements in the text interact and affect the message that is being communicated to the readers.

2.2. Research on metonymy and language of finance

There is a large body of recent multidisciplinary research that focuses on the language of the financial crisis and issues of government spending and finance (Haase, 2010; Lakoff & Wehling, 2012; Llopis & Rea Rizzo, 2010; López & Llopis, 2010; Malhotra & Margalit, 2010; Portero Muñoz, 2011; Riad & Vaara, 2011, to name a few). Three studies that look at metonymy or metaphor and metonymy (sometimes not referred to explicitly as such) in financial and political discourse have been particularly important for this work in general, and thus they will be discussed here before going on to the analysis. The first study (Riad & Vaara, 2011), focuses on use of metonymy in international mergers and acquisitions (M&As), and in particular examines the way metonymy and metaphor act as central linguistic resources through which national cultural identities and differences are reproduced in media accounts of international M&As. Findings also show that metonymy (in particular, nation metonyms such as "China") contributes to the construction of emotive frames, stereotypes, ideological differences, and threats, and combines with metaphor to construct cultural differences.

A different study by Portero Muñoz (2011) investigates the language of the global financial crisis and how noun-noun sequences worked with metonymy and metaphor to mask unpleasant facts. In particular, she demonstrates how noun-noun euphemisms use contextual hints and activate conceptual metaphors and/or metonymies designed to make the financial crisis appear less dangerous/dire. Some of the most common euphemisms and their corresponding categories of metonymies found in the discourse about the crisis include ACTION FOR RESULT (e.g., currency adjustment, budget restructuring), RESULT FOR ACTION (e.g., career change, resource reallocation) and EFFECT FOR CAUSE (e.g., employment crisis, employment gap). This article served as an important model for the classification of conceptual metonymies related to financial discourse (as seen in Tables 2-3 on page 54-55).

In addition to the above studies, we have been inspired by the latest addition to a large body of work by George Lakoff (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012), on the use of metaphor and metonymy in political discourse. In *The Little Blue Book*, the authors show how language use leads to different ways of understanding political issues and how to frame progressive arguments. Although they never mention metonymy specifically (and barely mention metaphor), this book is actually all about the use of metonymy. According to the authors, "Words

mean things. They are defined by conceptual frames. In politics, those frames are morally based . . . . To discuss political language is to discuss morality and politics" (p. 9). The authors then go on to explain the important concept of cascades—networks of neurons that link brain circuits, all of which must be activated at once to produce a given understanding. The conceptual structure of political cascades is hierarchical (starting at the bottom and going up) as such:

Moral values framing
General frames exemplifying those values
Specific frames using those values
Specific issues

When a specific issue is discussed, all the frames and values higher up in the hierarchy are also activated and therefore language use (such as metonymies) triggers cascades (*ibid*, p. 29). Thus, "any discussion of a specific issue activates the entire cascade, strengthening all parts of the cascade in the brains of those hearing the arguments for the specific issue" (p. 29). This is why often just explaining the facts of an issue does not work to persuade someone, because they understand the words in terms of moral values and neural logic, not logical arguments in the mathematical sense. Another important concept in the book is the idea that words such as "freedom", "equality", "justice" and "fairness" can mean different things for people coming from different moral values frames, and that using an opponent's language or repeating political myths or lies sets the frame for discussion, and is equivalent to "shooting yourself in the foot" (p. 40). Hence, metonymies are often used unconsciously by politicians/journalist on all sides of issues, often to the detriment of the writer/speaker because they activate the wrong frames and thus result in an understanding that does not persuade the reader/listener to agree with them. A final importance of this practical guide is that it takes common metonymies used in financial and government discourse such as entitlements, benefits, tax relief, free market, safety net, health care, and debt ceiling and breaks them down as to how they work metonymically and metaphorically in cascades while giving alternative lexical choices to activate progressive frames. For example, if a politician says that the government should require health care to cover birth control pills, this activates the specific frame (government should assure affordable health care for all, including medications), the general frame (the government should provide resources to protect everyone equally) and the moral values (democracy requires all citizens to care for each other) (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012). Mentioning that we should not require health care to cover birth control pills would activate different cascades. These terms and their alternative suggestions were helpful in understanding the language in the

texts examined for this analysis as well as their use in shaping the public's opinion.

3. Method

Selection of articles for analysis was a two-part procedure. First, the authors identified financial topics (or topics related to political issues involving government budgets) frequently used in public discourse in the US or Europe by conducting a Google search with terms such as 'financial', 'crisis', 'taxes', 'debt', 'benefits', 'health care', 'fiscal'. From this search a list of terms that appeared frequently was compiled including 'financial crisis', 'fiscal cliff', 'underwater mortgages' and 'entitlements'. A second Google search was then carried out in order to identify articles from each topic, resulting in a purposeful sampling of eleven texts. Criteria for selection of articles included the following:

1) Topic (such as financial crisis) must be main argument of text.
2) Topic must be mentioned at least three times during the text.
3) Article must contain at least one image or graphic.
4) Article must contain at least 350 words.[4]
5) Article must have been written between the years 2011-2013.[5]

The resulting articles came from various online sources such as *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times* and *US News* (to view the articles, see p. 59). Next, a corpus analysis (using *Antconc 3.2*) was conducted to identify key metonymies related to the topic. Because the authors were already aware of terms that are frequently used to discuss these topics (and preliminary searches confirmed this), the analysis concentrated on finding the terms and showing in detail how the different types of metonymy work in context. Thus, after the search for metonymies was completed, a second manual search was carried out with a close reading of the contexts of the articles, in order to understand which terms were being used to refer to the topics in various contexts. Once these were determined, the authors selected examples from each topic (and from different texts) to illustrate how the metonymies were being used in both image and text, with the goal of classifying the underlying conceptual metonymies and their interacting metaphors (if there were any). The following analysis of data is organized by financial topic/theme. For a summary of the types of metonymies found in the discourse see Tables 2-3 on pages 54-55.

[4] This minimum word limit was imposed in order to ensure enough context to analyze the meaning.

[5] This time frame was imposed in order to keep articles within a similar political and economic context.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Financial crisis

Analysis of discourse discussing the financial crisis of the US and its equivalent in Europe revealed much use of conceptual metonymies and interactions with metaphor. Regardless of the ideology or end goals of the articles (*placing blame, deflecting blame, looking for solutions, predicting the future economy*), similar terminology was employed in very different articles, and patterns and themes emerged in verbal and non-verbal elements of texts about the crisis in the US and Europe.

In the following examples (taken from Text 1: Dithering at the Top Turned EU Crisis to Global Threat, from the online *Wall Street Journal*, December 29, 2011), metonymies of the financial crisis in Europe appear, including (a) debt crisis, (b) euro-zone debt crisis, and (c) immediate crisis. The key term associated with the European crisis is debt, which in Text 1 is largely linked to Greece. It is important to note that use of the lexical items debt and debt crisis (which activate the conceptual metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE) have strategic corporate uses and serve as mechanisms of manipulation (as found in Portero Muñoz, 2011), which have now been adopted unconsciously by all sides of the political spectrum. According to Lakoff and Wehling (2012, p. 68), framing the crisis in terms of debt works under the metaphor of NATION AS A FAMILY, and national budget=family budget, which masks the fact that money owed by the government is actually owed to citizens of the same country, with only a small amount to foreign nations. This proliferates the myth that the European Union's debt was caused by indulgent government spending, and that the remedy is to eliminate as much of that spending as possible. Myth is used here according to the work of Barthes (1973), which shows how ideas are naturalized in the discourse to the point of becoming so conventional that we no longer think about what is behind them. Thus, as language constitutes us or those we seek to describe in the discourse (Foucault, 1981), and we think about ourselves or others through the discourse we use, some aspects become suppressed or concealed in order to legitimize a particular ideology (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This strategy hides the real causes of the crisis, which are out-of-control corporations lacking regulation (Goldberg, 2011).

Here below is an example of the use of the most common metaphor found in the texts dealing with the financial crisis: FINANCIAL CRISIS IS A NATURAL DISASTER (manifested through linguistic realization of 'engulf', 'spread' and 'burn down'). In the example below, metonymies of EFFECT FOR CAUSE and NATURAL DISASTER FOR FINANCIAL DISASTER (wildfire), contrast with metonymies of MONEY FOR UNITY referring to the Euro as the only symbol of European unity, placing the crisis in direct opposition to a united Europe. Note the opposition of south vs. north, which fits within the image schema of

UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD, with the metonymies DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY (indebted south and richer north). These metonymies (and the phrase 'outstrip the resources') include pre-suppositions (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 153), placing implicit blame on the countries in debt instead of on individuals such as corporate executives or politicians, or on systemic effects of the power of corporations. See below for an example from Text 1.

- Like a wildfire, the spreading uncertainty threatened to engulf the whole of Europe's indebted south, to outstrip the resources of its richer north and to burn down the symbol of Europe's dream of unity, its single currency.

The following examples again highlight the indebted south by focusing on Greece in particular, and contain metonymies such as COUNTRY FOR PROBLEM (Greece), ACTION FOR EVENT (bailout) interacting with the metaphors of GREECE IS A PROBLEM/DISEASE (with linguistic realizations such as fixed and aid) and GREECE IS A BOAT (keep Greece afloat) which can only stay above water (debt) if the water is taken out of the boat (bailout). Moreover, the metonymies of PLACE/EFFECT FOR CAUSE and PLACE FOR PERSON in the words euro-zone debt crisis highlight the location of the crisis and link it to the area that has been affected, again hiding who is responsible (individuals in the government, banks, corporations, etc.) for this accumulation of debt.

- Greece, the country that triggered the euro-zone debt crisis, would need a much bigger bailout than planned, Mr. Strauss-Kahn said.
- Meanwhile, the cost for fixing Greece was rising.
- They tried to please everyone: Greece would get more aid.
- Europe hadn't resolved how to keep Greece afloat.
- In April, after a year of drama and bailouts, the euro zone seemed to have contained the immediate crisis to Greece and other small countries.

The following images appeared in the article (Text 1); clicking on the first image takes the reader to a series of videos of six European families talking about their lives and how the EU crisis has affected them personally. However, the photo the editor chose to include as a lead on to the videos shows a family in the Netherlands with the title "Netherlands: On solid ground". Although the video shows photographs of the family leading a relatively happy and privileged life, with audio of the family talking about their lives and how well they are doing, the photo itself, which metonymically represents all of the families in the Euro zone, does not convey this message and subtly implies the opposite. This opposition is important to notice because the reader is not necessarily inclined to click on the image to view

the video, and therefore may see only this one photo, which contains several metonymies, which are conveyed through the use of positioning of the viewer in relation to people inside the image as well as color and typeface.

Photo 3. Life in the euro zone.

The actors in this photograph appear to be enacting a typical scene in the daily life of a typical Euro zone family (preparing and eating a family meal together). The distance is close-up, close enough to focus on the actions of the family, but not their individual facial features. This relative closeness symbolizes intimacy and reflects feelings of everyday life in the Euro Zone, creating the conceptual metonymy of MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR ENTIRE CATEGORY (this family = all Euro Zone families) (Machin, 2007). The vertical camera angle is mostly at eye level (signifying equality) with the head of the family (the father) slightly above the focus of the photo, conveying his power and authority over the family. In addition, the gaze (the extent to which we are encouraged to engage with the participants) is non-existent, in that no one in the family is looking at the viewer, and the viewer is not required to interact with the participants. This objectivization suggests lack of power, since the actors are not allowed or asked to address the viewer in the imaginary relationship they have with him/her. Furthermore, the actors are looking down, which has the simple metaphorical association where up is positive, powerful, high status and down is negative, low energy, low status, and thus suggestive of negative thoughts or worry (*ibid*, p. 113).

The use of color in this photograph is also significant. First to be examined is the brightness of the photo. According to Machin (*ibid*.), the meaning potential of brightness rests on the fundamental experiences we have with light and dark and the fundamental idea of truth as opposed to darkness as seen in the metonymy LIGHT FOR TRUTH (p. 70). Thus, the dim lighting in the photograph is suggestive of obscurity and heaviness. The relatively low saturation of the photo conveys emptiness or subtlety and the somewhat monochromatic nature of the color differentiation again highlights the seriousness of the article's topic.

As for typeface, the title placed on the photo "Life in the Euro Zone" also carries meaning potential. In the case of the nouns in the title, the weight of the letters could be described as bold (in that the letters are thick), signifying a more substantial message and increased salience in order to highlight the serious nature of the article represented by the metonymy WEIGHT FOR

STRENGTH. The somewhat squat letters also add to the heaviness of the issue, although the white color (probably chosen to contrast the dark colors in the photo) gives it a lighter tone.

Photo 4. The state of the union.

In Photo 4. (again in Text 1), the broken typeface and red color symbolize the broken state of the European Union (EU)—with red symbolically representing violence, bloodshed or a broken body, where the EU is seen as one body) and the metonymy STATE OF TYPEFACE FOR STATE OF UNION.

Photo 5. The crisis cast.

Finally, in Photo 5, the persons involved in resolving the EU crisis are seen in the metaphor of actors in a play. The "cast members" are shown as they would be in a theatrical program, and they are referred to with metonymies such as crisis cast and players. This metaphor of the Euro crisis as a theatrical production was found throughout Text 1, and is coherent with the previous example where it was referred to as a year of drama and bailouts. The unrealistic hues (such as the yellow of Angela Merkel's and green of Dominique Strauss-Kahn's face, respectively) convey the essence of the crisis and the persons involved rather than the crisis itself (Machin, 2007) and further dramatize the issue and the people involved in resolving it, without placing any blame. This type of image makes the news more newsworthy and evokes notions of spectacles, which, while it brings attention to the article, downplays the criminal nature of what is behind the crisis (Mayr & Machin, 2012).

The next examples from Texts 2-5 deal with the financial crisis in the United States. As in Text 1, many different metonymies of natural disaster or disease were found to refer to the crisis regardless of the main message of the article. Note the metonymies of EFFECT FOR CAUSE (meltdown, disaster, downturn, mess, abyss, slowdown), NATURAL/NUCLEAR DISASTER FOR FINANCIAL DISASTER (meltdown, storm, aftermath), SIMPLIFIED EVENT FOR COMPLEX SUB-EVENTS (failure, debacle, bad luck, wrongdoing) and their interactions with metaphors such as FINANCIAL CRISIS IS A NATURAL DISASTER (erupting, trembled, predictable aftershocks, green shoots), FINANCIAL CRISIS IS A DISEASE (symptoms, immune system, recovery, remedying), THE ECONOMY/DEBT IS A BOAT (sank the world financial system) and FINANCIAL CRISIS IS A BOOK (the final chapter . . .):

- The study supports what industry insiders have been saying for years: that hedge funds have been unfairly blamed for the worst financial meltdown in decades. (Text 2)
- Problems kept erupting, efforts to restore calm failed, and we trembled on the brink of a financial abyss in 2008-09. (Text 3)
- There's a long way to go before the economy, and people, recover from wounds inflicted by the financial meltdown. (Text 3)
- I've been writing about the financial meltdown and its aftermath almost continually since I joined Fortune the month after the symptoms surfaced (Text 3)
- We could well have ended up with a downturn worse than the Great Depression, which was the previous time that failures in the financial system (rather than the Federal Reserve raising rates) begat a US economic slowdown. (Text 3)
- We've had more than enough shrieking and demonizing since this mess erupted in 2007. It's time that we stopped trying to blame "the other"—be it poor people or rich people or Wall Street or community organizers—for the problems that almost sank the world financial system. (Text 3)
- There was talk of "green shoots" and the "recovery summer." Events in Greece and in oil markets were chalked up to bad luck rather than the predictable aftershocks of a financial crisis. (Text 4)
- "Now knowing how much worse the storm was, people look back and say, you guys undershot," sighs Treasury Secretary Timothy F. Geithner.
- These crises have a sort of immune system. (Text 4)
- Mr. Cuomo, as a Wall Street enforcer, had been questioning banks and rating agencies aggressively for more than a year about their roles in the growing debacle, and also looking into bonuses at A.I. G. (Text 5)
- An S.E.C. spokesman said: "The primary consideration was remedying the alleged wrongdoing and in fashioning that remedy, the emphasis was

placed on retail investors because they were suffering the greatest hardship and had the fewest avenues for redress." (Text 5)
- The Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission, created by Congress to investigate the origins of the disaster… (Text 5)
- The final chapter still hasn't been written about the financial crisis and its aftermath. (Text 5)

The above examples point to a general tendency in discourse about the financial crisis to avoid the language of crime, and use vague language filled with references to natural disasters and disease. All of the terms such as 'meltdown', 'storm', 'debacle' and 'mess' avoid naming who is responsible. Once again, this is a case of hiding the real culprits. The storm itself may be no one's fault, but good prior planning or regulations (such as not building houses on the seashore where they can be destroyed by a storm) could make the effects of the storm less. Hence it is implementation of the discourse of natural disaster that makes events related to the financial crisis appear to be "natural" and thus, we cannot be responsible for the terrible effects it has. Therefore, it should not be surprising that four years after the financial crisis, not one financial executive has gone to jail, even though some of the articles analyzed pointed that out (Ferguson, 2012). In fact, we argue that one of the reasons why this is so, is precisely because of the neutralization and naturalization of the language involved in the discourse about the financial crisis, and the way that this language shapes public opinion about who is responsible. According to Mayr and Machin (2012), these techniques of neutralization are part of the nature of the coverage of corporate crime, and work to mitigate and justify criminal conduct. Moreover, corporations and Wall Street executives, through their ownership of mass media, have privileged access to, and control of, how information is managed. Thus, it is often their choice as to the kind of language that is used, and the criminal nature of the events is therefore discussed again in the context of non-criminal terms (*ibid*, p. 215). As Charles Ferguson notes in his book, explaining political and corporate corruption related to the crisis: "Regulation is nice, but the threat of prison focuses the mind" (2012, p. 2). If journalists and editors are serious about getting to the bottom of the issue and persuading the public to put more pressure on government institutions, such as the Department of Justice, to prosecute Wall Street executives involved in the crisis, they need to use language that activates conceptual metonymies that do not mitigate the results. The same goes for image.

In addition to terms to refer to the financial crisis, many different terms and images (as seen from Text 1) were used to represent the people responsible for the crisis or for resolving it. Here are a few:

Photo 6. TimesCast April 14, 2011. (Text 5)

This image (photo 6) contains the metonymies SIGN WITH NAME OF PLACE FOR PLACE, PLACE FOR ACTION and PLACE FOR PEOPLE—where the street where executives involved in the crisis do business stands for the individuals themselves. These metonymies are helpful in conveying a vague idea of who is responsible, without placing direct blame on any specific individuals. This image appears under the title 'In Financial Crisis No Prosecution of Top Figures' and is one of a series of photographs illustrating the article's main message that asks the question, why have no high-profile participants in the disaster been prosecuted?

Photo 7. A United States attorney dropped an investigation of Angelo Mozilo, former chief executive of Countrywide Financial, after the S.E.C. settled a civil fraud case against him.

Despite the aim of the article, other photos included those responsible for investigating the financial dealings that led to the crisis (instead of those that caused it), with the exception of photo 7 (of Angelo Mozilo, CEO of Countrywide), whose case was dropped by the L.A. attorney's office after he paid a $22.5 million dollar settlement with the SEC; no criminal charges have since been filed. The photo shows the accused in a suit and tie (CLOTHES FOR STATUS), in a courtroom[6] looking off camera at the person he is gesturing toward, most likely the SEC. Notice again the fingers pointing in the direction of the accusers (BODY PARTS FOR ACTION, indexical qualities of the pointing gesture)

Also in the same text Wall Street executives are referred to metonymically by the name of the company they work for (e.g., Bear Stearns) and then through another metonymy as players (DEFINING PROPERTY FOR PERSON). All of this interacts with the metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A GAME (players, rules would be applied).

[6] This is in opposition to mug shots, which are the standard in crime reports. For examples of contrasting ways that minority groups are seen in crime reports see Catalano & Waugh, 2012 and Catalano, 2012.

- At Bear Stearns, the first major Wall Street player to collapse (Text 5)
- It's consistent with what many people were worried about during the crisis, that different rules would be applied to different players. (Text 5)

Additionally in Text 5, we see again the use of neutralizing terminology and non-crime news frames to refer to the illegal act of misrepresentation, that is, lying about the state of the company in order to convince shareholders to invest in something so they could profit. The use of these verbs combined with metonymies not associated with crime (e.g., 'suit') adds to the effect of mitigating the responsibility of those accused ('Bank of America').

- The suit accuses them of understating the losses of Merrill Lynch to shareholders before the deal was approved; the case is still pending. (Text 5)
- He was interested in whether the banks had misled the ratings agencies about the quality of the loans they were bundling and asked how many workers they had hired from the ratings agencies. (Text 5)

All things considered, the author of Text 5 does a good job presenting the case that not enough has been done to investigate and incriminate the individuals and systems responsible for the crisis. However, the above analysis indicates the author's case (as was common in all the articles about the financial crisis that were examined) was weakened by the continued use of vague conceptual metonymies or metonymies of natural disaster (such as wrongdoings, disaster), language of neutralization (misled, understated), metonymies of INSTITUTION FOR PERSON, which mask the responsibility of the CEO, CFO, etc. (Bear Stearns, Merrill Lynch), as well as image metonymies that weaken the case against those responsible by not identifying specific people (similar to verbal metonymy of INSTITUTION FOR PERSON), or in the case of Angelo Mozilo, presenting a positive image of the accused.

4.2. Fiscal cliff

The term "fiscal cliff" was coined by Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke who used the phrase at a congressional hearing in February, 2012 (Jackson, 2012) to refer to a series of across-the-board federal tax increases and spending cuts that would kick in if Congress were unable to put together a new "debt reduction" agreement. Thus the term stands for the economic effects that could result from these tax increases and spending cuts and activates the metonymies of PLACE FOR ACTION (cliff stands for being in a dangerous place, and possibly falling over, jumping off) and EFFECT FOR CAUSE (jumping off a cliff stands for the cause: economic decline). These then interact with the metaphorical association UP IS GOOD, BAD IS DOWN, and the resulting conceptual metaphor FINANCIAL INSECURITY IS DOWN. Here

below are some examples of how the metonymy fiscal cliff has been used in financial discourse in image and text.

- House Republicans sharply divided on 'fiscal cliff' deal (Text 6 title)
- A sharply divided House Republican leadership struggled to reach agreement on a measure to avoid part of the so-called "fiscal cliff," as key members said they could not support the compromise approved early Tuesday by the Senate. (Text 6)
- The tax increases and spending cuts in the "fiscal cliff" would sharply reduce the deficit – too sharply in the eyes of most economists. (Text 6)
- With a token the size of a penny, the White House could head off another round of Congressional brinkmanship and another run at a fiscal cliff. (Text 7)

In the above examples, it is easy to see that the metonym 'fiscal cliff' has become so conventionalized that it is used in situations where the stand-for relationship is no longer obvious. This confusion plays on the fears of citizens as they struggle to understand what is being referred to (is it the cuts and increases, the agreement to be made, or what will happen to the economy?). One example of this is in the term 'fiscal cliff deal', where the economic results of the cuts/tax increases have now been turned into an adjective that stands metonymically for the agreement that must be made to avoid disastrous economic effects. In addition, fiscal cliff is seen as a container ('in the fiscal cliff'), and a place to avoid or run at. Because of its status as a metonym coined by Bernanke, journalists are confused about how to use the term, even in the same article: as a normal (albeit metonymic) phrase (no quotes), as a phrase that should not be taken literally (single quotes), or as a phrase coined by a known source (double quotes). See Table 1 for details.

Table 1
Use of Fiscal Cliff in Three Different Online Newspapers

Number of tokens of *fiscal cliff*	Text 6: latimes.com, January 1, 2013	Text 7: money.cnn.com, December 6, 2012	Text 8: nytimes.com, January 10, 2013
No quotes	1	4	3
Single quotes	1	0	0
Double quotes	3	0	2

The image below in Photo 8 (corresponding with Text 7 and interacting with the title and caption) dramatizes the effects the fiscal cliff could have, making the fiscal cliff concrete (with the photograph of the paycheck) and something that all citizens can relate to. The photo then activates the metonymy of SIMPLIFIED EVENT FOR COMPLEX SUB-EVENTS in which the photo of the

paycheck represents all the possible effects of the fiscal cliff (and possibly the most salient to the readers).

Photo 8. Fiscal cliff could bring paycheck scramble. (Text 7)[7]

These linguistic and non-linguistic realizations then activate (through constant repetition in the media) the conceptual metaphor of FINANCIAL EVENTS ARE SUICIDE, mapping government interactions as being equivalent to self-destruction. Because of its relation to discussion about the national 'deficit' or 'debt', the term fiscal cliff frequently collates with other metonymies such as 'national debt', 'debt limit' and 'debt ceiling', as in the following examples:

- As the national debt has grown, the Treasury has periodically bumped against this debt limit or debt ceiling. (Text 7)
- The 2011 deal pushed the next collision with the debt ceiling past the 2012 elections, but by late that year the Treasury Department was warning that it would run out of room to maneuver on the debt sometime in early 2013. (Text 7)

According to Lakoff and Wehling, concepts like deficit, debt and debt ceiling are part of the "family budget metaphor," which inaccurately equates a national budget to a family budget, backgrounding the fact that we as a nation owe money to ourselves, can print money and borrow it cheaply, and also that conservative tax anti-regulation and subsidy policies are significant causes of debt (2012, p. 116). Unfortunately, this conservative framing of the family budget = national budget has been used by both sides of the political spectrum (to the benefit of conservatives) and hides the way that the nation can strengthen its economy by internal investment. This could be done by using borrowed money to create jobs in infrastructure, education, health, and research, which would be one way to strengthen the economy and get out of debt (*ibid*, p. 68). The metonymy of PHYSICAL BOUNDARY FOR HYPOTHETICAL BOUNDARY (debt ceiling) turns an imaginary limit into a more concrete one and is further reinforced by the metaphor of DEBT IS A ROOM in which we can bump or collide with the ceiling if we have too much (see examples above). This metonymy further strengthens the moral cascade related to the nation as a family and the family budget. Alternative ways to discuss these fiscal policies might be to call them deficit creation policies and

[7] Payroll companies warn Congress must act soon to avoid the fiscal cliff—or risk confusing companies about how much to pay their workers.

use the words 'revenue neglect' and 'undertaxing' to discuss them, which would lead to more progressive cascades (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012). In addition to the metonymies for debt, it is worth noting that in the above examples we also see the frequent metonymy of INSTITUTION FOR PERSON (Treasury, Treasury Department) in which the institution where the individuals work substitutes for the individuals actually responsible for the actions, and thus again, specific people are not held responsible for these actions.

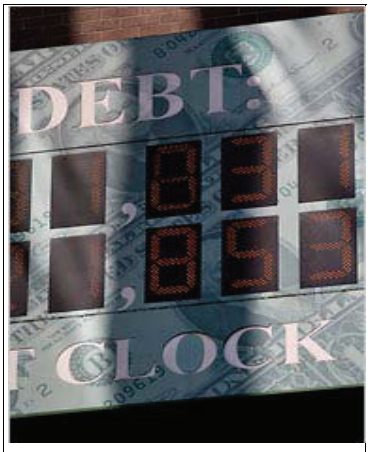

Photo 9. Federal debt ceiling (National debt). (Text 8)

Photo 9 of the New York Times Square Debt Clock (Photo 9) provides another example of sensationalism in image (in addition to the 'crisis cast' from Photo 5) and the metonymy of CAUSE FOR RESULT where the clock reminds us that time is ticking and the effect is coming (like a bomb going off) if we do not change our ways. This sensationalism is further elaborated by the timer's surface being covered in print that resembles money where money stands for debt (RESULT FOR AGENT) and the red numbers on black background, classic framing of any bomb ready to go off on a Hollywood set (COLOR FOR DANGER). The image also cuts off the other words that are included with the words debt and clock ('Our national' at the top, 'Your family share' to the left of the second row of numbers, and 'The National Debt' to the left of Clock); this cropping of the image highlights the two words debt and clock, and further exaggerates the issue.

4.3. Underwater

The term underwater (referring to owing more on a house than it is worth) corresponds with the frequent metaphors involving money and water found in financial discourse. Thus because water is an essential ingredient of life (as well as a large part of our physical make-up), it is frequently equated metaphorically with money, another fundamental element necessary for daily life in Western society. But water can also be dangerous or unwanted: a human being who is under water can drown; floods that inundate areas with homes, leading to a significant amount of water in a house or even completely covering a house, are disastrous and destructive. In the texts examined for this paper, the following examples were found of metonymies related to being underwater; it is important to note that in all cases here, what is 'underwater' is human beings (homeowners, borrowers, people):

- If it had moved more quickly to appoint a director when it had firmer control of the Senate, it could perhaps have used Fannie and Freddie to kick off a giant wave of refinancing for underwater homeowners. (Text 4)
- "Cramdown," in which judges simply reduce the principal owed by underwater homeowners, works this way. (Text 4)
- On first blush, there are few groups more sympathetic than underwater homeowners or foreclosed families. (Text 4)
- It was always in the room when you were trying to help one underwater homeowner write off some debt while the person next door was playing by the rules and paying their mortgage every month. (Text 4)
- As he met with distressed homeowners in Las Vegas, the foreclosure capital of the nation, Obama announced steps to allow "underwater" borrowers to refinance their mortgages at today's ultra-low rate—near 4 percent. (Text 9)
- Home values are hovering at eight-year lows, and more than 10 million people are underwater, or owe more than their homes are worth. (Text 9)
- Originally designed to help up to 5 million people, nearly three years later it has reached only 822,000, one-tenth of whom are significantly underwater. (Text 9)

As seen from the above examples the term underwater is used to create the conceptual metonymies of HOME FOR BOAT/HOME FOR LIFE: thus when things go bad, the boat sinks, causing the owner to be underwater and subject to drowning=losing one's home, where home stands for one's life).[8] The term 'foreclosed families' also activates a metonymy of DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY creating sympathy by including reference to family. The same metonymy is created when 'underwater' appears with borrowers or homeowners, emphasizing the agency of the person owning the home, and hiding who is responsible for giving them the loan in the first place. In addition to underwater homeowners and borrowers other metonymies such as 'giant wave', 'illiquid markets' and 'liquid investments' (RESULT FOR ACTION) are in force in these examples, as well as the metaphors of FINANCIAL SECURITY IS UP, FINANCIAL INSECURITY IS DOWN. Here are some examples of how they were used in the discourse:

- In addition, the study said, "the potential remains for the leverage of large funds to quickly balloon and for the industry to find itself needing to sell assets in very illiquid markets when the next crisis hits." (Text 2)
- For years, companies like UBS and Goldman Sachs operated auctions of these securities, promoting them as highly liquid investments. (Text 5)

[8] Notice the use of *home* as opposed to "house". The former has much more emotional power because it's where the occupiers make a life for themselves; it's not just a building.

- Europe hadn't resolved how to keep Greece afloat. (Text 1)
- Treasury Secretary Timothy F. Geithner, speaking at the same meeting, said the government could bump into its borrowing limit before the end of the year, but, he said, the Treasury has enough "tools" to keep the government afloat into early 2013. (Text 8)
- Trichet, in the twilight of a 36-year career as a finance official, feared that if Greece didn't honor its bond debts on time, the implicit trust that kept credit flowing to many weak euro-zone governments would shatter. (Text 1)

In addition to more metonymies substituting company names for those responsible for the problem (UBS and Goldman Sachs), the word 'liquid' is used to refer to the fluid movement of cash through buying and selling, and the fact that stocks/bonds/mutual funds, etc. can be easily sold for 'real' money. Thus if a market is 'liquid' or has 'liquidity', one can easily buy and sell. Additionally when an investment is liquid, it can be bought and sold easily without much effect on its market price. As mentioned above, these linguistic realizations activate the conceptual metonymy of RESULT FOR ACTION (liquid stands for the movement of the money through buying and selling). The other examples above illustrate a complex combination of metaphor and metonymy in which words such as 'afloat' activate metonymies of HOME FOR BOAT/HOME FOR LIFE, which then set off metaphors of MONEY IS WATER (flowing) and DEBT IS WATER (staying afloat is staying out of debt). These complex combinations are examples of what Mittelberg and Waugh (2009) refer to as "metonymy first, metaphor second".

These metaphors and metonymies further contribute to the ideology of the vital nature of money, which feeds into neoliberalism (Block et al, 2012) and the infiltration of corporations on everyday thought.

Photo 10. Underwater mortgages. (Text 9)

In Photo 10, taken from Text 9 (entitled "Government announces new program to help 'underwater' homeowners"), Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner is seen talking in the oval office with President Obama (and an aid in the background). The photo presents an interesting metonymy whereby Geithner's hand gestures stand for the relationship between what a homeowner owes and what the house is worth. Accompanied by the title, this metonymy (BODY PART FOR ACTION) helps to illustrate the idea of 'underwater' homeowners through the metaphorical association with

verticality in that the owners are below (because the house is sinking in debt) and the house is above, again UP IS GOOD and BAD IS DOWN. Moreover, we see the metonymy of INSTITUTION FOR PERSON with the term Government standing for those responsible for this new policy (members of the Obama administration and the Federal Housing Finance Agency). The result of the use of Government in the title of Text 9 is that the government's role in helping underwater homeowners is highlighted, and the role of the individuals responsible (such as President Obama, who is the head of the government) is hidden.

Photo 11. Two financial crises compared: The savings and loan debacle and the mortgage mess. (Text 5)

A similar photo appeared in Text 5 in which the financial crisis and the savings and loan "debacle" of the late 1980's are compared. In this metonymy (BODY PART FOR ACTION), Geithner's hands demonstrate an equivalence of the two events being compared as if they are vertically equal. Seen here with Ben Bernanke, Federal Reserve Chairman, a concerned-looking Geithner is shown to be active and engaged in the conversation, looking directly at Bernanke, while Bernanke appears to be gazing in a disinterested manner off camera at something in the distance. In both photos it is clear that the hand gesture is meant to illustrate the text.

4.4. Entitlements

The final financial element to be examined is that of entitlements. The terms 'entitlements' or 'entitlement program' refer to programs such as Medicare, social security, Medicaid, veterans benefits, etc. which are mostly deferred pay. For example, health care, pensions and severance pay are all forms of earned income, but metonyms such as 'entitlements' and 'benefits' hide this fact, and exist in the entitlement frame, which is separate from the earned frame. In the entitlement frame (capitalizing on the definition of entitlements = amount to which a person has a right to something), you can be entitled to money without earning it. Thus, all payments should be earned and no one is entitled to anything (Lakoff & Wehling, 2012). Because this metonymy (RIGHT FOR DEFERRED PAYMENT) taps into conservative frames and thinking that activates cascades related to a strict father model of morality, its use does not persuade readers to support these programs. In spite of this, all sides of the political spectrum (as the following examples from different texts

demonstrate) use the term, even to the detriment of those that support the programs (such as the author of Text 11). Here are some examples from the texts:

- Spending on entitlements is the highest in American history. (Text 10)
- Out-of-control entitlements are a major threat to national security. (Text 10)
- The explosive growth in entitlement spending, while well-intentioned and in many cases necessary, is bad for the economy and our workforce. (Text 10)

In the above examples it is easy to see how the metonymies related to government programs ('entitlement spending', 'out-of-control entitlements', 'entitlements') work to support the text's ideology against these programs. In the following examples from Text 11, the author highlights how many Americans actually benefit from the program, in an attempt to garner support. However, the use of the metonymies 'entitlement programs' and 'spending programs' work against this by activating conservative frames.

- Forget the 47%. A new study finds that 71% of Americans live in a household in which at least one member has benefited from one of the federal government's major entitlement programs. (Text 11)
- The new data, based on a survey by the Pew Research center, underscore the wide reach of the spending programs that make up the lion's share of the federal budget. More than half of Americans (55%) have personally benefited from one of the government's six best-known entitlement programs, including 53% of people who voted for Mitt Romney in November's election and 59% of those who voted for President Obama. (Text 11)

Photo 12. Most Americans benefit from entitlements. (Text 11)

In image 12 from the same text, the caption shows that the protesters in the photo are voicing opposition to cuts in programs, supporting the text's message that the majority of Americans benefit from and want these programs. Focus is on the woman in the foreground creating the metonymies of ACTION FOR AGENT/DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY. These metonymies detract from the message by highlighting the action of

protesting (which activates conservative frames that view this as immoral in the strict father model) and hide the actions that citizens are engaged in (such as working) in order to become eligible for certain programs. In addition, the pose of the woman carries meaning, since poses are an important realm of connotation in images that are able to signify broader values, ideas and identities (Barthes, 1973). In the case of Photo 12, the woman is standing looking off camera to her left with an almost pleading look on her face, elaborating on the image's message of protesting the loss of government programs. She is at mid-distance and does not interact with the viewer. Hence, we are bystanders watching her, but not invited to engage with her directly. Moreover, her head is tilted slightly to the side as if she is listening to someone off camera. Her agency in the action of protesting (with a focal point on the bright red sign "NO CUTS") is the focus of the photograph, not her individuality nor her needs. In summary, the image does not help communicate the message of the text, and the metonymies of ACTION FOR AGENT, DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY play a large role in this miscommunication. A better choice for an image in this article (more supportive of the author's somewhat covert aims) might have been a photo of women in the workplace, showing why they are eligible for worker-earned health care and deferred pay.

Table 2
Major Metonymies in Verbal Analysis

Type of metonymy	**Examples from texts**
EFFECT FOR CAUSE	debt, debt crisis, downturn, mess, slowdown, cliff
NATURAL/NUCLEAR DISASTER FOR FINANCIAL DISASTER	wildfire, disaster, storm, aftermath, meltdown
DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY	indebted south, richer north, borrowers, homeowners, foreclosed families
COUNTRY FOR PROBLEM	Greece
INSTITUTION/PLACE FOR PERSON	euro-zone, Merrill-Lynch, Treasury, Treasury Department, Government, Bear-Stearns
ACTION FOR EVENT	bailout
SIMPLIFIED EVENT FOR COMPLEX SUB-EVENTS	failure, debacle, bad luck, wrongdoing
DEFINING PROPERTY FOR PERSON/S	players
PLACE FOR ACTION	cliff
PHYSICAL BOUNDARY FOR HYPOTHETICAL BOUNDARY	debt ceiling
HOME FOR BOAT/LIFE	underwater, afloat
RESULT FOR ACTION	giant wave, illiquid markets, liquid investments
RIGHT FOR DEFERRED PAYMENT	entitlements

Table 3
Major Metonymies in Visual Analysis

Type of metonymy	Examples from texts
MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR ENTIRE CATEGORY	specific family for all euro-zone families
LIGHT FOR TRUTH	dim light for obscurity and heaviness
WEIGHT FOR STRENGTH	thick letters for seriousness, heaviness of issue
STATE OF TYPEFACE FOR STATE OF UNION	broken letters for broken European Union
PLACE FOR ACTION/PEOPLE	Wall Street sign
SIGN WITH NAME OF PLACE FOR PLACE	Wall Street sign
CLOTHES FOR STATUS	suit and tie
BODY PART/S FOR ACTION	pointing finger for blame, Geithner's hand gestures for what homeowner owes/house is worth and for equivalence of events
SIMPLIFIED EVENT FOR COMPLEX SUB-EVENTS	photo of paycheck for fiscal cliff effects
CAUSE FOR RESULT	ticking clock for effects when time is up
RESULT FOR AGENT	money for dept on Time Square clock
COLOR FOR DANGER	red on clock for danger
ACTION FOR AGENT	action of protesting for woman
DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY	action of protesting for all actions of those opposed to budget cuts

5. Conclusion

In this multimodal analysis of financial discourse, metonymies were found in both text and image that euphemistically focus on peripheral parts or properties of the scenarios and thus avoid mentioning specific results or those responsible. Some of the most common metonymies found in the discourse included some found in Portero Muñoz's (2012) study such as EFFECT FOR CAUSE, RESULT FOR ACTION and SIMPLIFIED EVENTS FOR COMPLEX SUB-EVENTS (referred to by Portero Muñoz as PART OF THE EVENT FOR THE WHOLE EVENT). In addition, this study uncovered metonymies such as PLACE FOR ACTION, DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY, INSTITUTION FOR PERSON, BODY PART FOR ACTION, MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR ENTIRE CATEGORY and LIGHT FOR TRUTH that were found in text (see Table 2) or image (see Table 3) or both. Additionally, many sequences based on the interaction of metaphoric and metonymic processes were also found such as the metaphor NATURAL DISASTER IS FINANCIAL DISASTER interacting with the metonymy NATURAL DISASTER FOR FINANCIAL DISASTER (a wildfire that spreads and burns) and in the case of underwater homeowners creating metonymies such as HOUSE FOR BOAT and DEBT FOR WATER that interact with metaphorical associations of UP IS GOOD/DOWN IS BAD.

This study contributes to the relatively new body of literature on the role of metonymy (both verbal and visual) in political/financial discourse and the use of metonymical analysis for the purposes of social justice. Consequently, we encourage more academics to raise consciousness of this manipulation by using their knowledge of metaphor and metonymy and the power this knowledge provides to counteract the degree of disparity in wealth and power (caused by corporate deregulation and a flawed system) that is becoming more and more the norm in today's democratic societies.

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Appendix A: Texts used in the corpus

Text # 1	Forelle, C. & Walker, M. (2011, December 29). Dithering at the top turned EU crisis to global threat. The Wall Street Journal. Retrieved from http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970203518404577094843835831390.html
Text # 2	Chung, J. (2012, September 19). Don't blame hedge funds for financial crisis, study says. The Wall Street Journal. Retrieved from http://blogs.wsj.com/marketbeat/2012/09/19/dont-blame-hedge-funds-for-financial-crisis-study-says/?KEYWORDS=financial+crisis
Text # 3	Sloan, A. (2012, June 15). 5 misconceptions about the financial crisis and its aftermath. The Washington Post. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/5-misconceptions-about-the-financial-crisis-and-its-aftermath/2012/06/15/gJQAoK2EfV_story.html
Text # 4	Klein, E. (2011, October 8). Financial crisis and stimulus: Could this time be different? The Washington Post. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/business/financial-crisis-and-stimulus-could-this-time-be-different/2011/10/04/gIQALuwdVL_story.html
Text # 5	Morgenson, G. & Story, L. (2011, April 14). In financial crisis, no prosecutions of top figures. The New York Times. Retrieved fromhttp://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/14/business/14prosecute.ht?ref=litigation&_r=0
Text # 6	Little, M. & Mascaro, L. (2013, January 1). House Republicans sharply divided on 'fiscal cliff'. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved from http://www.latimes.com/news/politics/la-pn-house-republicans-fiscal-cliff-deal-20130101,0,5939537.story

Text # 7 Pagliery, J. (2012, December 6). Fiscal cliff could bring paycheck scramble. CNN Money. Retrieved from http://money.cnn.com/2012/12/06/smallbusiness/fiscal-cliff-pay/index.html

Text # 8 Eells, S. (2013). Federal debt ceiling (national debt). The New York Times. Retrieved from http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/subjects/n/national_debt_us/index.html

Text # 9 Goldfarb, Z.A. & Wilson, S. (2011, October 24). Government announces new program to help 'underwater' homeowners. The Washington Post. Retrieved from http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2011-10 24/business/35279553_1_underwater-homeowners-mortgage-plan-jobs

plan

Text # 10 Cary, M.K. (2012, December 19). The shocking truth on entitlements: The real cost of medicare, medicaid, the budget deficit, and the national debt. US News. Retrieved from http://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2012/12/19/the-shocking-truth-on-entitlements

Text # 11 Lauter, D. (2012, December 18). Most Americans benefit from entitlements. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved from http://www.latimes.com/news/politics/la-pn-americans-entitlements-benefits-20121218,0,4733607.story

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The issues of construct definition and assessment authenticity in video-based listening comprehension tests: Using an argument-based validation approach

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The advancement in technology has paved the way for the inclusion of videos in L2 listening comprehension tests. It is true that video listening test format is becoming more popular in various contexts. But, as existing research shows, there are still some on-going debates over the practice of video-based listening tests. Taking an argument-based validation approach (Chapelle, Enright, & Jamieson, 2008), this paper focuses on the issues of construct definition and test authenticity in video-based listening tests. The inferences of Domain definition and Explanation were introduced to help contextualize the issues. Empirical studies suggest that the controversial role of visual-related skills in the construct of video-based listening tests is not well recognized both in theory and in practice. The commonly held assumption that the introduction of videos into listening tests boosts authenticity is questionable with a closer look at the two aspects of authenticity, namely, situational and interactional authenticity. Therefore, more empirical research and theoretical thinking are needed to warrant the use of videos in listening tests. Some suggestions concerning video-based listening test development and validation studies are made at the end of this paper.

Keywords: Video-Based Listening Comprehension Tests; Argument-Based Validity; Construct Definition; Authenticity

1. Introduction

This paper addresses the controversial issue of using video in L2 listening tests under the framework of argument-based validity, more specifically from the perspectives of construct definition and assessment authenticity. The last two decades have witnessed a steady growth of video-based listening test development and research. Currently, video-based listening tests are becoming a popular test format in many low-stakes institutional tests. However, while enjoying the acclaimed authenticity, this practice has also been questioned for the representativeness of the construct (Buck, 2001; Coniam, 2001; Feak & Salehzadeh, 2001; Ockey, 2007; Read, 2002). Following

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the traditional view of language proficiency, Buck (2001) maintained that listening tests should assess the unique characteristics of listening ability and cautioned language testers about the possible inducement of construct-irrelevant variance if videos are used in listening tests. However, this skill-based view has been challenged by other language testing researchers, such as Wagner and Gruba, who argued for an enlargement of listening construct and put authenticity as one of the priorities in listening test development. They posited that the inclusion of videos reflects the key characteristic in real-life communication and thus provides a strengthened authenticity (Gruba, 1997; Wager, 2008, 2010a, 2010b).

The debate over video use in listening tests will surely continue. Undoubtedly, with technology advancement, we can expect that more and more video-based listening tests will be developed for various purposes. Although technology use will promote language testing practices, I still maintain that the use of videos in listening tests requires more critical support from theory and empirical studies. A critical analysis of the use of video in listening tests is very important. On the one hand, we understand from common sense that listening comprehension process in mono-input mode is definitely different from a bi-modal or multi-modal comprehension process. Hence, the construct of video-based listening tests should be well-defined with sound theoretical basis. Furthermore, test-takers' interaction with videos in listening tests is still not well-documented. The assumption that adding videos will contribute to a better authenticity needs more empirical evidence.

In this paper, I situate the discussion of the use of video in listening test within an argument-based validity framework (Chapelle, et al., 2008). Construct definition and assessment authenticity in listening tests are explored in the inferences of Domain definition and Explanation. Firstly, a brief overview of the current development of video-based listening tests will be presented. Then, I will introduce the framework of argument-based validity. The concept of situational authenticity is discussed with reference to the inference of Domain definition. Following this, the inference of Explanation is elaborated with a discussion of two construct definition approaches in listening tests and the role of videos in listening construct. Furthermore, the issue of interactional authenticity is presented as a challenge to the common assumption that the inclusion of videos can boost assessment authenticity. Lastly, implications and suggestions concerning video-based listening construct definition and assessment authenticity are made.

2. Current development of video-based listening tests

Although the important role of non-verbal information in listening

comprehension has long been acknowledged by many researchers (Rubin, 1994), the practice of using videos in listening tests is only a relatively new attempt. So far most of the video-based listening tests reported in language testing literature are either some tests of exploratory nature in some research projects (Coniam, 2001; Elkhafaifi; 2005; Ockey, 2007; Parry & Meredith,1984; Progosh, 1996; Sueyoshi & Hardison, 2005; Wagner, 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2010b) or in-house placement tests used at some universities (Feak & Salehzadeh, 2001). One of the early experiments on the effect of videos on listening comprehension was conducted by Parry and Meredith (1984). Parry and Meredith designed a videotape-mediated Spanish listening test with 27 short everyday conversations among native Spanish speakers and administered the video-based listening test and an audio-only version of the same test to two groups of students (178 in total) from the first three years of college Spanish classes. The results indicated that videotapes provided students with more stimuli and contributed to their listening comprehension.

There are also some studies on the development of video-based listening tests for placement purpose at universities. Feak and Salehzadeh (2001) reported on their designing process of an English for Specific Purposes (ESP) video-based listening placement test and justified their use of videos in listening test with a requirement of close connection with curricular characteristics and better authenticity. By contrast, large-scale, high-stakes language proficiency tests, such as TOEFL and IELTS appear to be more cautious in making the decision of using videos in listening tests. For example, in the new TOEFL framework the situation factors are considered as one of the three elements of task characteristics. As a result, content and contextual visual (still images) are currently included in its new listening test as a part of situational factor. However, while acknowledging the potential benefits of enhanced face validity and authenticity brought about by videos, Bejar, Douglas, Jamieson, Nissan, and Turner (2000) claimed that more research was needed to decide whether the use of videos will help achieve better "measurement advantages" over the use of still images.

Currently, the bulk of existing research on video-based listening tests centers on the comparison of test-takers' performances on tests in video mode and audio-only mode. In light of the positive influence of multimedia in language teaching, it is expected that videos in listening tests will improve test-takers' performance because of the visual support presented, as shown in Parry and Meredith's study. However, the existing studies on video-based listening tests only yield conflicting results regarding the effect of videos.

Facilitative effects of videos in listening test performances have been confirmed in some studies. For example, Shin (1998) found a salient positive

effect of video in her study on a listening comprehension test. 83 ESL learners were assigned to either audio-only listening test group or video-based listening test group. The results indicated that video group learners outperformed the ones on audio-only test by 24%. Sueyoshi and Hardison (2005) focused on the effects of hand-gestures and facial expressions on L2 learners' listening comprehension and manipulated a lecture videotape in three formats: audio-only, face-only video, and hand-gesture-and-face video. 42 ESL students were randomly assigned to three groups, taking a test in one of the three input modes. Sueyoshi and Hardison found that both video groups performed significantly better than the audio-only group; whereas there was no significant performance difference between the video groups. Wagner (2010b) adopted a quasi-experimental design in a study of video-based listening test, which consisted of three lecturettes and three dialogues. He administered one of the two versions of the same test (audio-only vs. video) to two different groups of ESL learners and observed that test-takers' performance in video-based listening test group was 6.5% higher than the audio-only listening test group.

However, on the other hand, other studies indicate some mixed findings about performance difference on listening tests that only differ in input modes. Gruba (1993) assigned 91 undergraduate and graduate ESL students into video group and audio group in a listening test. He found no significant performance difference between the two groups. Brett (1997) reported a mixed result in his listening comprehension study, in which 49 undergraduates were assigned to three groups and took audio-only, video and multimedia (computer-based context with immediate feedback) tests respectively. It is found that learners' performances on video test were not consistent across listening tasks, learners in video group scored higher than audio-only group on four tasks but lower on other two tasks. In Coniam (2001), no significant difference was found between the test performances of 104 English language teachers at Hong Kong on the audio and video versions of the same listening test. Suvorov (2008) compared 34 ESL students' test performances on six listening passages, which were presented in three modes – audio, photograph-mediated audio, and video. Suvorov found that test-takers scored significantly lower on video-mediated passages than on audio-only and photograph-mediated passage tasks while no significant difference existed between the performances on audio-only passages and photograph-mediated passages. As shown from the mentioned comparative studies, these conflicting findings foreshadow the complexity of test-takers' interaction with videos in listening tests.

There are some hypotheses behind the positive and negative influence of videos on listening comprehension. According to the connectionist view of listening comprehension, the inclusion of visual information can help

listeners identify speakers and contexts, thus helping listeners form and modify their own hypotheses and inferences during the listening process (Antes, 1996; Guichon & McLornan, 2008; Hulstijn, 2003; Kellerman, 1990; Lynch, 2009; White, Easton, & Anderson, 2000;). On the other hand, the main explanation for the negative effects of video is approached from the cognitive load perspective, which suggests that videos can be a distractor to test-takers especially when the video contents are less relevant or in conflict with the audio input (Ginther, 2002; Gruba, 2004). This idea coincides with the concept of "seductive-details effect" in visual studies, which is the hindrance of comprehension caused by increased amount of information (Gruba, 2004; Schroeders, Wilhelm, & Bucholtz, 2010).

The aforementioned studies are very revealing in terms of the effects of video in listening tests, However, the essential question about the construct of listening comprehension, that is, whether video in listening tests poses as a construct-relevant or construct-irrelevant factor is not directly addressed. In the following sections, I will discuss the issues of construct definition and test authenticity in video-based listening tests under the framework of argument-based validity.

3. Argument-based approach to validation studies

Traditionally, validation has been mainly approached with attention to the three major elements of validity structure, namely construct validity, content validity and criterion-referenced validity. By contrast, the recent development of validity theory witnessed a shift to an argument-based approach (Bachman & Palmer, 2010, Chapelle, Enright, & Jamieson, 2008; Kane, 2006), which shows some advantages over traditional ways (Chapelle et al., 2010). Chapelle et al. point out that an argument-based validation can make a difference in four aspects—"framing the intended score interpretation, outlining the essential research, structuring research results into a validity argument, and challenging the validity argument" (Chapelle, Enright & Jamieson, 2010, p.3). Nearly all the previous studies on video-based listening tests were conducted without clear score inferences and systematic research agenda. An argument-based approach can help identify key issues in video-based listening tests and situate the research in a coherent framework.

There are three similar argument-based validity frameworks proposed by Kane (2006), Chapelle et al. (2008), and Bachman and Palmer (2010), respectively. A common feature is that validity is taken as an argument which calls for warrants and rebuttals to make stepwise inferences of test scores. To avoid confusion in the terminology, I will use the terminology from Chapelle et al. 2008, which is based on Kane (2006). There are two components in Kane and Chapelle et al.'s frameworks: Interpretive Argument and Validity

Argument. According to Kane (2006, p.23):

> An interpretive Argument specifies the proposed interpretations and uses of test results by laying out the network of inferences and assumptions leading from the observed performances to the conclusions and decisions based on the performances. The validity argument provides an evaluation of the interpretive argument (Cronbach, 1988). To claim that a proposed interpretation or use is valid is to claim that the interpretive argument is coherent, that its inferences are reasonable, and that its assumptions are plausible.

In Kane (2006), four inferences in interpretive argument, including scoring, generalization, extrapolation, implication/decision, are illustrated to help researchers link test performance observation to proper trait interpretation and test score use. In between these two ends there lie three more steps, establishing observed score, universe score, and target score. Scoring inference is a number or value assigning process, made based on test performance and through using scoring rubrics. Generalization inference deals with the relationship between the observed score from a specific test situation to universe score of all the parallel forms of the same test. Extrapolation inference goes beyond testing contexts and looks at test-takers' actual performance in real life situations or target score. Implication inference or decision inference is about the use of target score either in terms of construct understanding or decision-making. In this sense, following the metaphors used by Chapelle et. al. (2008), the inferences function as bridges to link test performance to score interpretations and uses.

Chapelle et al. (2008) expanded Kane's framework and applied it to their TOEFL validation study. Six inferential links were identified: Domain definition, Evaluation (Scoring inference in Kane's term), Generalization, Explanation, Extrapolation, and Utilization (see Figure 1). The salient feature in this framework is the addition of Domain definition and Explanation. Both inferences address the concern about the underlying construct to be measured, but in different ways. Domain definition inference reveals the connection between the skills elicited in target language use (TLU) tasks and those in test tasks, whereas Explanation inference links test performance to theoretical account of the construct. Similar to Kane's framework, the establishment of each inference requires warrant(s), rebuttal(s) and corresponding backings. Warrant in Chapelle et al. (2008) is defined as a "generally held principle" or "rule of thumb" (p. 6). A rebuttal usually provides evidence to weaken an inferential link between grounds and a claim. Both warrant and rebuttal need specific backing(s) to authorize an inferential link. In this paper, I will focus on the inferences of Domain definition and

Explanation (see Figure 1, adopted from Chapelle et al., 2008, p.18), which are essential for the issues of construct definition and test authenticity.

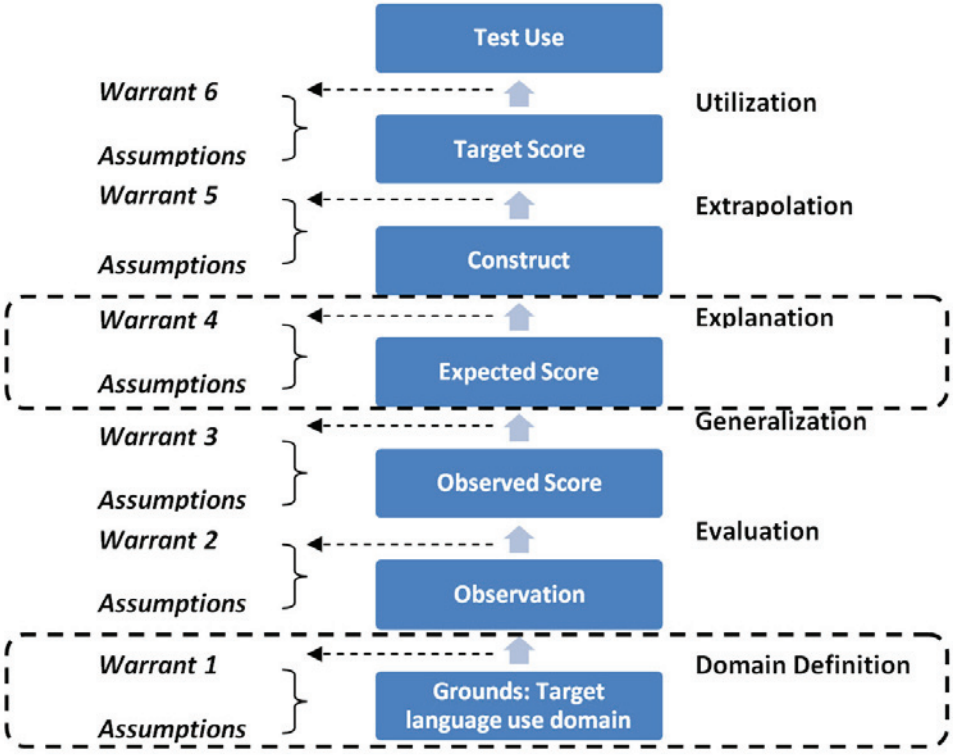

Figure 1. Structure of interpretive argument for video-based listening test.

4. Domain definition inference

4. 1. Domain analysis

According to Chapelle et al. (2008), domain description can serve as a departure point for both test development and validation studies because this inference links target domain and test task modeling. The Domain definition inference is based on the warrant that observations of performance on a specific video-based listening test reveal relevant knowledge, skills, and abilities in situations that are representative of those in the target domain of language use (Chapelle et al., 2008). Accordingly, the assumptions underlying this warrant are that the target domain is identifiable and the features of tasks in the target domain are simulatable. For the inference of domain definition a rebuttal is that there may be some important features in real-life situations that are omitted in the video-based listening tasks.

Take institutional English placement test as an example, we can reasonably expect an inclusion of videos in the listening section because visual aids have been very common in various classes. An example would be online or hybrid courses in which lectures are delivered as either live or via prepared videos (Al-Jarf, 2011). A follow-up question would be what types of videos should be used for testing purposes. The assumptions underlying the warrant of Domain definition require a closer look at the characteristics of target language use task and the involvement of critical knowledge, skills and abilities. To better capture the characteristics of target domain of language use, a genre analysis of the multi-model activities in real life should be conducted (Cross, 2011). For example, only showing a talking head in a lecture video would be a mis-presentation of real-class because it limits test-takers' use of critical visual-related skills in a real-life situation.

Since the warrant to Domain definition is mainly about the identification of tasks in target domain and the match of the characteristics between target language use tasks and test tasks, in this sense, the traditional concept of situational authenticity fits well in my discussion of video-based listening tests.

4. 2. Situational authenticity

The importance of authenticity is also reflected in Bachman and Palmer's framework of test usefulness, in which authenticity is listed as one of the six key qualities of language tests, the others being reliability, construct validity, interactiveness, impact and practicality (Bachman & Palmer,1996). Authenticity is thought to be closely related with construct validity, especially when the construct is mainly defined with reference to task characteristics. However, the term authenticity itself needs to be clearly defined before being used for any claims in language testing field.

In the developmental process of language testing theory, the importance of authenticity emerged with the advent of communicative language teaching and subsequently communicative language testing practice. In the book *Fundamental Considerations in Language Assessment*, Bachman (1990) categorized "authenticity" into two types, situational authenticity and interactional authenticity. Situational authenticity reflects the characteristics resemblance between test tasks and TLU tasks. Interactional authenticity refers to the similarity of the interaction elicited by test tasks and TLU tasks. This dual notion of authenticity has been appraised by many researchers, such as Buck, Douglas, and Lewkowicz. Later, Bachman and Palmer (1996) kept the term "authenticity" for "situational authenticity" and coined a new term "interactiveness" for interactional authenticity in their framework of test usefulness. Authenticity in that framework retains the nature of

situational authenticity and is defined as "the degree to which a given language test's tasks' characteristics correspond to a TLU task's features" (Bachman & Palmer, 1996, p. 23). This is the notion that has been widely used in support of video listening test research and practices. In Bachman and Palmer's framework of test usefulness, the new category of "interactiveness" replaces the concept of interactional authenticity. Bachman and Palmer intended to raise the importance of authenticity and interactiveness in relation to construct validity. However, there are some unexpected consequences from this further differentiation. As questioned by Lewokoicz (2000), this change could be misleading to some researchers who may neglect the interactional side of authenticity when they use the term of authenticity in their argument. In the existing studies of video listening test, the notion of authenticity has been limited to situational authenticity only. For example, in defending the use of video in listening tests, Wagner (2006) posited that videos can help recreate real-life context in listening tests and the requirement of authenticity should "dictate" test design, thus helping build up construct validity.

While situational authenticity has been acknowledged as an important factor in the overall quality of a test, there are some aspects that should not be overlooked. First, authenticity should be regarded as a continuum. Therefore, the question of how authentic a test task should be is always there. Take the relationship between language teaching and testing as an example, there are always some gaps in the use of authentic linguistic materials and tasks between language teaching and testing practices. In ESL classes, students can communicate with others in a face-to-face manner and they can negotiate meaning when listening comprehension problem occurs. In video-mediated language classes, students usually have control over video materials or multimedia and in addition, in the context of computer assisted language learning (CALL) learners can resort to help from both internal and external resources, such as online dictionary, closed captions, lexical annotations and so on. These are regular authentic activities in and outside ESL classes. However, it is not very possible by now to incorporate these real-life technological aids to testing situations, where listening tasks are still mainly designed in the form of one-way information conveying and no clarification seeking from test-takers is allowed.

Second, situational authenticity has been an area where test-takers' voice is rarely made heard. Even authenticity has been frequently mentioned in various theoretical descriptions of language assessment, there are only a few empirical studies on the perception of authenticity in actual test projects. In a comparative study of a traditional English test and an EAP (English for Academic Purposes) test which resembled subject class activities in a Hong Kong university, Lewkowicz (2000) reported on a mismatch of test

authenticity perceptions by different stake holders, including test-takers and language test developer. In this study, 72 first-year college students at Hong Kong, who were familiar with both test formats, showed a preference of the traditional English test which adopted multiple-choice question format over the EAP test which was featured with integrated, performance test tasks. Lewkowicz pointed out that authenticity in her study was regarded as less important by test-takers than test developer thought. In a discussion of authenticity, Spencer-Brown (2001) also claimed that not all the stakeholders perceive authenticity in the same way. From her own research on a course based assessment of Japanese language, Spencer-Brown went further to suggest that test-takers' view authenticity differently from other stakeholders, such as subject course instructors.

Likewise, the effort of using video to boost authenticity in listening tests has been perceived differently as shown in existing studies. Progosh (1996) asserted that the majority of Japanese college students in his comparative study of video and audio listening tests showed their preference of video listening test over audio one. In a post-video listening test questionnaire Wagner (2010a) found that in general test-takers held a positive attitude toward video listening test. Most of their responses to a set of seven 5-point scale items were over three, the centerpoint. But, test-takers in Wagner's study seemed to be uncertain about the effect of visuals in the test as their response to the statement "I scored higher on the test because I was able to see the speaker (in the video lecturette)" was "markedly lower at 2.98" (p.287). In a study of teacher certification test in Hong Kong, however, Coniam (2001) noticed that the participants in audio-only listening test group expressed interest in taking video listening test while the participants in video listening test group complained about the distraction from videos and said they would have performed better in the audio-only test. Suvorov (2008) found that nearly half of 34 ESL test-takers in his study claimed to prefer the audio-only test over either the photograph-mediated listening test or the video test.

Therefore, when the term authenticity is used in support of using videos in listening tests, two aspects of situational authenticity should be considered: the degree of TLU task simulation and test stake-holders' perception of authenticity, especially test-takers' perception. Otherwise, the argument of using videos in listening tests for the sake of authenticity may not hold.

5. Explanation inference

Explanation inference reflects the connection of test performance with theoretical construct in video-based listening tests. The warrant to this inference is that expected scores are attributed to a construct of listening

comprehension in its broader sense. In this section, the approaches to construct definition and the interactional authenticity are discussed.

5. 1. Construct definition

Traditionally, listening itself has been recognized as the ability to decode aural input with little attention given to visuals (Gruba, 2004). Although there is no widely agreed definition of listening construct, most researchers would accept the view of listening comprehension as a dynamic inference processing of the incoming information, including aural as well as visual information (Buck, 2001; Dunkel, Henning, & Chaudron, 1998; Taylor & Geranpayeh, 2011). Apart from audios as the defining characteristics of listening comprehension, non-verbal information, such as body language, facial expressions, kinesics, and so on, has been acknowledged as an important component in real-life listening activities and thus it has attracted much attention in the field of listening teaching in (Guichon & McLoran, 2008; Harris, 2003; Lynch, 2009; Sueyoshi & Hardison, 2005; Ruhe, 1996). This recognition of non-verbal information is also reflected in the involvement of videos in listening tests. To accommodate this change, the construct of video-based listening tests should be reconsidered (Ockey, 2007).

The construct of a test is the trait to be measured. Defining a construct in a theoretically sound and practically operationalizable way has been the top priority in language test development. There are two basic approaches to construct definition, namely, competence-based approach and task-based approach (Buck, 2001; Chapelle, 1998). Competence-based approach treats test performance consistency as a result of test-takers' underlying knowledge and ability. This approach emphasizes test-takers' characteristics and their cognitive processes in tests. The construct defined in this approach can be operationalized as sub-skill taxonomy in test specifications (Song, 2008). However, listening comprehension is a highly complex cognitive process and can only be assessed indirectly. The major problem in this approach lies in the difficulty in matching specified underlying skills with particular test tasks. In other words, it is not easy to guarantee that the required competence is tapped by items as designed (Buck, 2001).

On the other hand, task-based approach to construct definition attributes test performance consistency to situational factors and characteristics of test-tasks. Testers who advocate this approach usually stress copying real-life task characteristics and value authenticity because what kind of tasks test-takers can perform and under what circumstances are the immediate concern to them (Buck, 2001). However, the task-based approach runs a risk of under-representing test content and task characteristics because of the immense diversity in target language use (TLU) tasks. Even in tests of language for

specific purposes (LSP), capturing and simulating characteristics of TLU tasks are very challenging (Douglas, 2000).

Considering the merits and drawbacks of these two approaches, both Buck (2001) and Chapelle (1998) advocate an eclectic position: the interactionalist approach to construct definition. This approach embraces the characteristics of test-takers and test tasks, and their interactions. Following this line, Jamieson, Eignor, Grabe, and Kunnan (2008) emphasized three aspects in the design of new TOEFL listening test, namely, abilities, task type and text type. Likewise, Taylor and Geranpayeh (2011) proposed a socio-cognitive framework for testing academic listening, which consists of test-taker characteristics, external contextual factors, and internal cognitive processing. Taylor and Geranpayeh drew on psycholinguistic research findings and posited that listening cognitive processing covers a series of cognitive activities, including acoustic/visual input decoding. This interactionalist view of construct seems very appropriate in test development. However, the concern in this approach is how to balance the competence and task sides of construct definition as they reflect different philosophies (Buck, 2001; Chapelle, 1998). More importantly, the inherent problems in each approach do not disappear in such a combined fashion.

One of the concerns in video-based listening tests is where to categorize visual-related abilities in a competence-based listening construct which conventionally focuses on listening comprehension ability exclusively due to the influence of traditional tests of the four individual linguistic skills (listening, reading, speaking, and writing). In other words, listening tests have been made in a way to minimize contextual influence and there is no room for visual-related abilities in the construct of listening tests (Buck, 2001). In responding to this concern, Wagner (2008) argued that the ability of using visual information should be subsumed under the category of pragmatic knowledge in Purpura's definition of grammatical ability for testing purpose. Purpura's notion of pragmatic knowledge covers a series of elements: knowledge of contextual meaning, sociolinguistic meaning, sociocultural meaning, psychological meaning and rhetorical meaning (Purpura, 2004). Nevertheless, Wagner's suggestion actually begs the question of the role of visual-related ability in the construct of listening comprehension.

Undoubtedly, the inclusion of visual-related ability will make the competence-based construct even more difficult to operationalize in actual test projects. This is because when videos are used in listening tests, visual literacy, the ability to decode visual information, have to be included as a part of listening construct (Ockey, 2007), which could be very problematic due to the complex nature of visual literacy itself (Gruba, 1997). As previous studies on visual literacy show, learners may differ in their ability to interpret visual

cues and their perceptual habits of visual information could be conditioned by specific cultures (Gruba, 1997). As indicated in some educational studies, some learners may benefit more from their exposure to visual modes, whereas some learners can make better progress with other non-visual modes (Stokes, 2002). Visual learning style has also been discussed by Ellis (2008) as one of the common learning styles in second language acquisition. Up till now, there are only few empirical studies on the effect of visual literacy level on second language listening comprehension. The studies on effects of still images in language tests confirmed that different visual types do have different influence on test-takers' performance. In a speaking testing research conducted by Xi (2005), test-takers were required to describe graphs (bar chart with various visual chunks). Her research results indicated that graph familiarity affected test-takers' performance on graph description tasks. Based on this finding, Xi asserted that graph familiarity presents a construct-irrelevant source in the speaking test. Xi's findings are also echoed in Ockey (2007) and Wagner (2008) as they found their participants engaged with visual information differently and benefited differently from visual information. Therefore, visual-related skills or visual literacy should be considered in construct definition because they are inevitably a part of the competence tapped by video-based tasks. In this sense, some measures should be taken to control for the variable of test-takers' visual literacy to achieve fairness in video-based listening tests.

As for the concern in task-based construct definition, the ultimate goal of mirroring TLU tasks itself is not quite achievable (Douglas, 2000). Bachman and Palmer (1996) have proposed a framework of task characteristics to guide test-task design. However, defining TLU tasks, on the other hand, is a sampling process in nature considering the vast number of characteristics related to real-life target language use. For example, in tests of language for academic purposes, the degree of visual involvement varies across academic activities and disciplines. Even the visual aids used by lecturers, such as PowerPoint slides, videos, and so on, can be dramatically varied in terms of format, content and use frequency (Buck, 2001; Lynch, 2011). Likewise, in establishing a validity argument for new TOEFL test, Jamieson et al.(2008) admitted that the consideration of situation aspect of task created a "long list of variables rather than many actual tasks for the test" (p.66).

Given the fact of wide use of videos in language classrooms and ubiquitous presence of visual modes in real-life communication, theoretically, videos or other visuals should be incorporated into listening construct definition as an input characteristic of tasks. However, the aforementioned problems of each construct definition approach call into question the endeavor of using video in listening test. More research is needed to investigate to what extent videos should be used in listening tests and what role videos can play in listening

construct.

5. 2. Interactional authenticity

Compared with situational authenticity, the interactional authenticity of test tasks attracts less attention in language testing research. Nevertheless, its importance has been recognized by some researchers (Buck, 2001; Douglas, 2000; Lewkowicz, 2000). As Buck rightly pointed out,

> When making test tasks, the important thing is not that the test task is similar to the target language use tasks, but the interaction between the test-taker and the test task is similar to the interaction between language user and the target language use situation (Buck, 2001, p.108).

The role of interactional authenticity of test tasks is also highlighted by Weir (2005) in his concept of 'cognitive validity' which addresses the same concern of the interactional authenticity of test tasks. Cognitive validity refers to the extent to which the language processes induced by test material resemble those that would occur in a natural context (Weir, 2005). Therefore, we should go beyond situational authenticity and investigate test-taking process to reveal how test-takers interact with visual input in actual tests. Ideally, test-takers' interaction with test tasks should be compared with that in TLU tasks.

Nevertheless, there are some difficulties in understanding interactional authenticity in video-based listening tests. Admittedly, there is a dearth of established research on the actual interaction with TLU tasks and consequently, a valid comparison of the interactive process with test tasks and with TLU tasks is not easy to make. Gruba (2004) proposed a seven-category framework of videotext comprehension, in which different roles of visual information are identified from a series of immediately retrospective verbal reports by learners of Japanese after watching three authentic Japanese news broadcasts. Based on a constructivist view of listening comprehension, Gruba characterized the roles of visual elements as "identify text type", "initiate macrostructure", " generate tentative hypothesis related to an initial macrostructure", "confirm interpretation", "constrain, or refine, an interpretation", "hinder macrostructure development", and "provide little assistance". Gruba posited that visual elements do not just function as supportive information and he called for more attention to learners' media literacy development in language classrooms. Although Gruba's framework was derived from the news report video genre, his distinction of video roles can, to some extent, be applied to video listening test. It follows that in video-based listening tests interaction process should also be studied to make sure videos have been attended to in a way similar as in TLU tasks.

As mentioned earlier, the conflicting findings of visual input effects on listening test performances suggest that test-takers may perform differently in various video-based listening tests. In the existing studies of video-based listening tests, Ockey (2007) and Wagner (2007, 2010a) are the few studies that investigated test-takers' interaction with videos and test tasks. They asked a similar question: how did test-takers watch the videos in listening test? In Ockey's study, two computer-based parallel listening tests were designed with a major difference in visual presentation, one was presented in video and another was mediated through five still images from the same video lecture on American politics. Through observations, retrospective verbal reports and interviews with six ESL college student participants, Ockey (2007) found that in still image-mediated listening test, participants only attended to the first few still images and then tended to ignore the other images, but in video listening test their engagement with videos varied greatly in terms of the time spent on videos, ranging from 2.5% to 73.6%. Some of the participants spent very limited time on videos, which means that some of them barely interacted with the visual information. Meanwhile, the helpfulness of visuals was perceived differently by the participants.

Wagner (2007), however, revealed a different pattern of interaction with visuals in his study of a video listening test, which consisted of six videotexts: three being lecturette videos and the other three being dialogue videos. Wagner videotaped the test-taking process of 36 ESL students in a non-credit bearing ESL class and found that test-takers watched videos intensively. As the videotape of test-taking process showed, test takers oriented themselves to the video screen for an average of 69% of video playing time and demonstrated some consistency in viewing behaviors among the 36 ESL test-takers. In another study by Wagner (2010a), he administered a shortened video listening test (two lecturette and two dialogues) to 56 ESL students who were enrolled in a pre-academic intensive English program at an American university. Like in Wagner (2007), test-takers' viewing behavior was videotaped and their eye gaze at the screen was quantified. Analysis results indicated that test-takers spent 47% of the time on video screens in the video listening test, which is much lower than the average viewing time in his previous study. Also, the time test-takers engaged with videos varied greatly among test-takers, as well as across video types (lecturette vs. dialogue). Interestingly, the relationship between viewing time and test performance was only negatively correlated. Wagner speculated that this could be attributed to the viewing behavior of lower ability learners because they might watch videos more often as a compensatory strategy (Wagner, 2010a, p.289).

Test-takers' viewing behavior differences found in the mentioned studies can be partly accounted for from the perspective of the very nature of language

tests (Lewkowicz, 2000; Spencer-Brown, 2001). Test is a test. It is never the same as a regular learning activity no matter how closely it mirrors TLU tasks. Spolsky (1985) commented similarly on this aspect of authenticity. He maintained that the test tasks actually have a set of different rules compared with non-test tasks, requiring test-takers to display their knowledge and skills, as a result, the simulation of real-life tasks cannot elicit genuine interaction. Along the same lines, Taylor and Geranpayeh remind us in their comments on the use of video in listening tests that

> Though there may be a strong ecological argument in favor of using modern technology in our tests to simulate real-life lecture listening, there are obvious constraints on how far this reality can be achieved or should even be pursued. On the one hand, visual cues (e.g. facial expression, gesture and PowerPoint slides) might be seen as supplying information not present in an audio recording; on the other hand, the requirement to heed those cues and also to note-taking might be seen as imposing a heavier cognitive load than a straightforward audio test (Taylor & Geranpayeh, 2011, p. 99).

From these studies, a tentative conclusion can be drawn that videos are at least used by some test-takers in video-based listening tests. However, we are not sure whether videos were viewed in a similar way as in TLU tasks. In addition, there are only limited visual information was reported in test-taking processes in Ockey (2007) and Wagner (2008), compared with the framework of visual elements proposed by Gruba (2004). Obviously, it is true that video inputs are treated differently by different test-takers and the benefits from visual inputs also vary from person to person. The inclusion of video in listening tests may bring more variation to video-based listening tests and thus undermine the construct validity and cause fairness issue. Therefore, more empirical studies on test-taking processes are needed to establish the interactional authenticity of video-based listening tests.

6. Conclusion

Read (2002) once predicted that "for practical as much as for more principled reasons, listening tests with only auditory input will continue to have a prominent role for the foreseeable future" (p. 108). Responding to Read, Lynch (2011) contended that "it is becoming increasingly difficult to justify academic listening assessment (and research) based on audio-only input, of the type that has been the norm" (p. 86). Indeed, videos have been experimented and used in some low-stakes in-house placement tests. The earlier technological barrier and cost factor in video listening test development seem to be less intimidating with the rapid development of computer technology and increased availability of video materials. However,

there are still two key concerns that need to be considered for a defensible use of video in listening tests.

First, the construct of video-based listening tests needs to be well defined to accommodate visual-related skills or visual literacy, and to sample representative TLU tasks in which visuals are involved. On the one hand, if videos are used in listening test, visual literacy will inevitably be a part of the construct. Some measures to control for visual literacy as a confounding variable should be taken to ensure that visual-related skills do not override listening skills. On the other hand, the representativeness of test task in video-based listening tests should be further considered because the TLU tasks themselves may be different in degrees of visual involvement. Second, as for the frequently used term of authenticity in support of video-based listening tests, more considerations should be given to both situational authenticity and interactional authenticity of test tasks, which appear to be questionable in video-based listening tests.

Going back to the structure of interpretive argument for video-based listening test as shown in Figure 1, a systematic research agenda on video-based listening tests can be outlined. For example, needs analysis and multi-modal analysis of target language use will be needed in the Domain definition for initial test development and validation studies. Scoring rubric and item or testlet level statistical analyses will provide support or rebuttal to the assumptions underlying Evaluation inference. For Generalization inference, a series of reliability studies, including generalizability studies on item effect, should be planned out. For Explanation inference, test-takers' cognitive process in video-based listening tests should be investigated. The study on the internal structure of video-based listening test can shed light on the comparison of traditional audio-only listening test and video-based listening tests. In addition, differential item functioning (DIF) studies should be conducted to detect possible bias from video-mediated items and group differences (Karami & Salmani Nodoushan, 2011). For Extrapolation inference, criterion-related validity studies are needed. Utilization inference, the last inference of test scores, calls for standard-setting studies and washback studies on the use of video-based listening tests.

With the influence of current theories of communicative language assessment and performance assessment in general, we can anticipate more and more attention to be devoted to simulating TLU tasks. Naturally, videos will surely play an important role in defining task and situational characteristics in listening tests. In future research on video-based listening tests more process-oriented studies are needed to reveal the role of visual literacy in the construct of listening comprehension. In addition, different video types should be studied in listening test contexts to find out the interaction of visual

literacy with different visual types. Furthermore, new task types should be experimented, including test interface design, to promote interactional authenticity of test tasks.

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Two-folded messages behind CFP: A cross disciplinary study

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Much research on analysing generic structure and linguistic features in academic settings mainly focuses on a single genre, but the structures of inter-related genres have been relatively less systematically studied. 'Call for papers' (CFP), as one of the ignitions in a genre chain of academic texts, could play a rather crucial role in affecting prospective contributors' attention and also determining the quality of submissions. However, compared to the studies on research papers, studying textures of CFP has received relatively little attention from analysts. Thus, in this study 120 CFP were collected from various academic conferences in six disciplines on the Internet, and were compared to examine whether any disciplinary variations existed in terms of the unique schematic structure and lexical features of this genre employed by writers in both the hard and soft sciences. A manual multi-level move analysis and computerised analysis of textual elements were used. Subtle variations in CFP were identified between the two major science areas.

Keywords: Genre Analysis; Call for Papers (CFP); Generic Structure; Rhetoric Choices; Academic Conferences; Discipline Variations

1. Introduction

For the past few decades, genre analysis of academic texts has gained much attention and thus the production and publication of it are many. For instance, some genre analysts have investigated the generic structures and linguistic features of the titles, abstracts, introductions, results, discussions and conclusions in research journal articles, while others have focused on analysing genres of presentations and papers in academic conferences such as paper titles, conference paper abstracts, speech acts in presentations, written texts in poster presentations, and oral presentations delivered by English native speakers and non-native speakers, or affected by cultural factors. Most of these analyses involve the production of disciplinary knowledge. However, lately researchers' focus on genre analysis has attended to the distribution of knowledge, in particular, those academic genres

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embedded with promotional, persuasive and/or evaluative purposes. Back-cover blurbs (Gea Valor & Inigo Ros, 2009; Gesuato, 2007), publishers' descriptions (Giannoni, 2009), book review (Salmani Nodoushan & Montazeran, 2012) and journal descriptions (Hyland & Tse, 2009, 2010) all fall into this category. The importance of these so-called 'carrier genres' lies in the fact that they play an indispensable role in the mechanisms of delivering and promoting authors'/editors' expectations to their potential readers or contributors (Giannonni, 2001), and in "staking out a specific territory which it can then claim to uniquely occupy" (Hyland & Tse, 2010, p. 22). Yet, one genre with a similar purpose is relatively less attended to and researched, that is, Call for Papers (CFP) for academic conferences, an initiating genre of genre chains (Swales, 2004) eliciting the generation of the following communicative events in conferences.

It is argued that CFP, like the descriptions in research journals (Hyland & Tse, 2010), play an important role in positioning the conference in a particular field and in the consciousness of the members of a community. The members of the discourse community which uses CFP include the academic conference committee, people working in the field, postgraduate students, sponsors, and others who are highly motivated to participate and who have a suitable degree of relevant content knowledge and field expertise. Though usually CFP writers may enjoy higher scholastic reputations and academic power than their readers, due to the implicit purpose of promoting, they have to keep a well-balanced position between maintaining knowledge and expanding the number of potential participants. Hence, writers of CFP need to exercise carefully-structured moves and precisely-chosen linguistic features to conform to academic conventions and to accurately deliver their expectations to potential contributors/readers. In addition, the communicative purposes of CFP are also evident and multi-faceted namely, informative, persuasive and promotional. CFP not only call for wider contributions or participation, but also describe how the field has developed and provide a sufficient account of this development to convince readers of the importance of calling for papers to visit the proposed issues. Thus, CFP, embedded with their specific layout features, the generic construction, the communication medium, and the language systems, describe the present development of the discourse community, motivate prospective contributors to join the communicative events, and persuade them of the benefits of contributing to the field of knowledge to achieve the multiple purposes of communication. Hence, analysing CFP with a genre-analytic approach cannot only help further unveil the less-exploited genres of distributing disciplinary knowledge but promote the success of text writing (Salmani Nodoushan & Khakbaz, 2011).

Though Yang (2012a) has made the first attempt to identify the structural moves and linguistic choices of CFP by using sampled texts in one discipline,

namely, applied linguistics, the present study broadens its scope to include CFP from various science areas to compare and contrast the diversities of structural constructions and linguistic realisations across different disciplines. It is believed that variations in disciplines reflect different epistemological and social practices, which inevitably affect the construction of texts in a genre and the employment of unique language across disciplines (Cava, 2011). Hence, rather than relying on one prototypicality, "discipline variation is much more significant than allowed for in the original work on genre analysis" (Dudley-Evans, 2000, p. 9). To be specific, this research focuses on the following questions:

1. What are the moves of effective CFP for announcing academic conferences across discipline variations?
2. What are the lexical features employed in CFP to represent the authorship and keyness in academic conferences across discipline variations?

2. Background

Generally, CFP can be defined as a genre because they usually follow certain conventions and regularities which affect information processing in a recurrent manner and thus make their forms, functions and contexts of communication predictable and understandable (Santini, Mehler & Sharoff, 2010). Yet, CFP are a very unique text type compared to other written texts in terms of their formation, medium of delivery, and purpose, which makes it equivocal to position or categorise absolutely which genre CFP belong to. CFP share similar features with at least the following genres: formulaic genre, persuasive and evaluative academic genre, commercial promotional genre, and digital/Internet/Web[1] genre.

It is clear that CFP conventionally follow a particular formula of construction. Like other formulaic genres such as editorials or engagement notices in newspapers or sports commentaries on TV, CFP depend on external exigencies such as structure, and internal regularities such as linguistic properties, to accomplish their communicative functions or purposes (Kuiper, 2009). Though genres usually exhibit stability due to their emergence over a period of time and reinforcement within situations (Yates & Orlikowski, 1992), they can still be dynamic and open to change and cross boundaries to include characteristics from different genres (Bhatia, 2002; Guenther & Knoblauch, 1995; Rahimi, 2011; Santini et al., 2010). They allow for variations across ideologies, ontology, epistemology, geographical locations, socio-

[1] The terms, digital, the Web and the Internet genre, are regarded as the same and are used interchangeably in the present study.

cultural norms and expectations, peoples and time (Kuiper, 2009). Various discipline areas such as the hard and soft sciences can hold different beliefs and attitudes towards the existence of reality and the knowledge of essence. Thus, it is assumed that these ideological diversities between the two main science areas may have an impact on the construction of a single genre such as CFP.

CFP for academic conferences, without a doubt, have their persuasive and evaluative functions of distributing knowledge, but the process of distribution to attract a wider contribution or participation also implicitly connects to promotional purposes, as with other commercial publications. Journal descriptions (JD), as analysed by Hyland and Tse (2009, 2010), share similar functions with CFP. Differing from other academic texts which mainly produce knowledge, JD distribute knowledge as a carrier genre. Descriptions in journals specify how the editors position their journals and what they expect from their contributors, and offer readers information about their aims, scope, and readership. A JD provides "the editor's evaluation of both the journal and the field it helps construct, identifying the key features of the publication and the position it occupies in the disciplinary firmament" (Hyland & Tse, 2009, p. 704), and it "acts dialogistically to maintain relations with readers and invokes or recognizes particular positions to persuade them to see things in a certain way" (p. 708). Besides, its promotional messages are implicitly realised by stating types of submissions and acceptable style in a mutually respectful way. Hence, the language used cannot be too subjective or as obviously promotional as business promotional genres (see examples in Bhatia, 2002; Cheung, 2008; Henry & Roseberry, 2001; Kong, 2009; Lien, 2008; Yang, 2011, 2012b) or other academic promotional genres such as personal statements, grant proposals or application letters (see Asher, 2000; Ding, 2007; Sii, 2004). Similarly, CFP also share the above features with JD. However, unlike the above genres, CFP enjoy a relatively broader coverage of readership as they are always distributed worldwide through the Web, and thus it is difficult to target their specific audience. This would supposedly make writers of CFP more cautious in employing moves and strategies and exercising linguistic components in order to keep a neutral tone but still with informative and promotional purposes.

In the present digital era, many traditional publications have been transformed into digital formats and publicised on the Internet, and the emergence of this new media has brought about great changes to genre repertoires (Yates & Orlikowski, 1992). The Internet has not only modified the traditional genres and given rise to new ones, but the texts and functionalities of digital genres are constantly evolving with the advance of technology (Crowston & Williams, 1997; Toms, 2000). Differing from traditional written genres, web genres enact a new communication setting

that reconfigures the situations in which pragmatic features of language respond (Giltrow & Stein, 2009). Currently, nearly every CFP is announced and circulated with the help of the Internet. As such, the Internet has become a fairly important medium for publishing CFP, and the features of the Web can presumably regulate how CFP should be formed and constructed in order to meet conventions of dialogue on the Internet and the expectations of net-users. Thus, web CFP might be expected to be embedded with the characteristics of interactivity, multimodality and dynamic context in line with other web documents (Santini et al., 2010).

Yet, CFP seemingly cannot be simply classified as one of the web genres. As a new global medium, the Internet has greatly changed the directions of communicating and delivering knowledge, and one of its recognisable features is to allow for synchronised communication and co-authorship such as in Weblogs, encyclopaedias, book reviews or newspapers. However, most CFP currently apparently still lack this greater fluidity and pragmatic openness (Giltrow & Stein, 2009), though they do rely on some of the benefits of using the Internet as a medium, such as hyperlink features, large storage of messages, speedy circulation, tailor-made interface or multiple channels for contribution (Luzon, 2007; Cheung, 2008). In contrast to traditional paper-based CFP, computer-mediated CFP involve many more language issues than simply technology. The language used in digital discourse also reflects the ideology, contexts, and political economies of access and power where texts are created (Thurlow & Mroczek, 2011) and is influentially shaped by a number of factors such as technological, situational, and linguistic variables (Herring, 2004a). Besides, Cheung (2008) also argues that the Internet would not only influence the overall interactional or social strategies of informing and promoting, but pose new challenges to the structure and presentation of academic promotional genres. Hence, it is assumed that on-line CFP can potentially be different from traditional printed ones in terms of their structure and linguistic components, and variations across disciplines may also cause diversities internally.

Judging from the above review, rather than being viewed as a pure genre, CFP would be better to be categorised as an instance of a hybrid genre, a genre embedded and mixed with features of other genres (Bhatia, 2002), in particular, the on-line CFP characterised by the construction of both text and many other multimedia or user-interfaces (Herring, 2010). However, compared to the large amount of genre analysis of academic texts, their inter-related or sub genres such as CFP have received relatively little attention (Samraj, 2005). In addition, even though a great deal of language in an increasing number of texts is available on the Internet, many web genres such as on-line CFP are still underrepresented (Santini et al., 2010). However, by collecting 40 on-line CFP from the discipline of English language teaching in

applied linguistics, Yang's (2012a) pilot study established an initial 6-move structure of CFP (i.e., Drawing attention, Identifying the discourse community coverage, Soliciting contributions, Presenting incentives for participation, Clarifying miscellanea and Signing off), and argued that the promotional purposes of CFP are rather implicit and embedded with informative messages and social events due to the nature of the audience. To better generalise Yang's model and to investigate the variable of whether disciplines with different ideological, ontological and epistemological beliefs and values would affect structure and linguistic choices in CFP, the present study broadens its sampling size by collecting CFP on the Internet from different disciplines, and attempts to compare and contrast the hard and soft science disciplines.

3. Method

3.1. Corpus

Data for this research project were collected from the Internet. All of the 120 CFP texts came from a conference alert Website (www.conferencealert.com), and all conferences were held or were planned to be held in either 2012 or 2013. In order to compare and contrast the move structures of the two main science areas, the texts were selected purposefully based on the following procedure. Firstly, according to their disciplines, all the conferences listed were categorised into the two main sciences, namely, the soft and hard sciences. Next, three major areas of each science were randomly chosen. Thus, the hard sciences included conferences about physical and life science (PLS), health and medicine (HMD), and engineering and technology (EET) while the soft sciences included conferences about law and interdisciplinary fields (LID), education (EDU), and social sciences and humanities (SSH). In addition, only those conferences with an international scope and held in English-speaking countries (the US, the UK and Canada only) were adopted. Twenty conferences in each of the six areas were decided on; hence, in total 120 CFP were collected, serving as the corpus of this study, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1.
Numbers of Texts from Different Countries

	US	UK	Canada	Totals
Soft sciences	28	23	9	60
Hard Sciences	36	16	8	60
Totals	64	39	17	120

The purposes of sampling only the authentic texts chosen mainly aimed to avoid, firstly, the varieties of English language used by native speakers and

non-native speakers, which can be regarded as a small culture, and secondly to obviate the possibility of socio-cultural influences in non-Anglo-Saxon contexts, which is defined as a kind of large culture by geographical setting (Holliday, 1999). These criteria of selecting texts helped focus the present research on investigating the issues at the level of discipline variation only.

3.2. Analysis

The present study adopted the methods of hand-tagged move-analysis and computerised analysis of lexical features, which are extensively used in analysing a personal promotional genre (Ding, 2007; Henry & Roseberry, 2001; Upton & Connor, 2001). A three-tier method was developed for this study. Firstly, Yang's (2012a) model of establishing the move structure of CFP based on the discipline of applied linguistics was used as the initial framework to generate the possible move structures by using 16% of the present corpus in both science areas. Secondly, to identify more possibilities of moves in various disciplines, the discourse markers used in the texts were located, as they are considered to provide clues to divide the texts and make them meaningful units (Connor & Maureanen, 1999). The textual markers used to identify the moves in this study include connectors, section boundaries, paragraph divisions, subheadings and hyperlinks in the CFP. Major section boundaries and some hyperlinks helped generate the moves, while sub-headings, connectors, paragraph divisions, column chunks or some hyperlinks facilitated the identification of the steps following a main move. Then, the occurrences of both the newly-identified and Yang's original moves/steps in the current corpus were manually categorised by the researcher and a research assistant. The inter-coder reliability between the two coders reached 88.5% (agreed steps/ total steps in a selected 10% of the corpus). Third, with the help of the concordance software, WordSmith Tools (Scott, 2008), the wordlist and keyword lists as well as collocations in the texts were generated, which helped in the categorisation of the CFP into distinct moves/steps (Ding, 2007). In other words, the present study attempted to research the genre of CFP from both macro and micro perspectives, namely, their move structures and linguistic features.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Subtle variations in CFP structure across disciplines

With reference to Yang's (2012a) preliminary model, the present analysis attempts to complement the generic structure of CFP to a higher generalizability. Due to the broader representation of the corpus, more steps were identified in the present study. The newly-proposed move/step structure and their explanations are listed in Figure 1.

Move/Steps	Definition
Move 1: Drawing attention	**Catch readers' attention to read the CFP**
Step 1.1 Announcing a novel leitmotif	Announce the main topic/theme/aim/catchphrase
Step 1.2 Presenting well-established brands	Present the organizations, venues, and dates
Move 2: Identifying the discourse community coverage	**Define the scope of the conference**
Step 2.1 Describing the history of the community[a]	*Introduce the history and past events of the Conference chronically*
Step 2.2 Addressing knowledge development	Review the development of the knowledge
Step 2.3 Re-visiting current knowledge	Examine the current knowledge again in the conference
Step 2.4 Filling gaps in existing knowledge	Bring up new issues to explore the gaps in the literature
Step 2.5 Highlighting featured speakers	Present the keynote/plenary speakers to explore the above issues and attract contributions/participation
Step 2.6 Presenting the committee	*List the names of scholars who are organising the Conference or screening the submissions*
Move 3: Soliciting contributions	**Offer guidelines for contributions**
Step 3.1 Regulating submissions	State rules and applications of acceptances and rejections
Step 3.2 Scheduling key dates	List important due dates for each step, esp. submission and registration
Step 3.3 Locating channels for contribution	Provide the correct way of submitting contributions and correspondence for future contacts
Step 3.4 Listing types of contribution	Provide different sessions for submitters to contribute to
Move 4: Presenting incentives for participation	**Promote the conference to increase participation**
Step 4.1 Inviting potential participants	Invite those who are interested in and would benefit from the conference
Step 4.2 Explaining registration procedures	Provide special rates to attract early-bird registration and membership
Step 4.3 Arranging additional activities	Arrange social or leisure activities to build up connections with academia
Step 4.4 Printing the submissions	*Select papers for the journal/proceedings publication*
Step 4.5 Nominating the beneficiaries	*Choose qualified papers to award sponsorship*
Move 5: Clarifying miscellanea	**State notices which are not directly related to academic events**
Step 5.1 Acknowledging assistance	Thank people and organizations who offer help or resources
Step 5.2 Supplying contextualized notices	Remind about other supplementary issues to attend to
Step 5.3 Suggesting Websites/*multimedia (This includes photo gallery and videos, etc.)*	Encourage readers to visit Websites/*multimedia add-ons* for more information
Move 6: Signing off	**Express best wishes and expectations of meeting at the conference**

[a] Note: a Steps in italics are newly-added in the present study. b Please refer to Yang (2012a) for examples of moves/steps

Figure 1. New framework of Call for papers' moves/steps and definitions.

In total, six major recurrent moves, as in the original structure (Yang, 2012a), were confirmed again, but a number of sub-steps, which were not proposed

in the previous version, were also recognised. These newly-emerged steps are believed to strengthen the description of the communicative purposes of CFP. Steps 2.1 (Describing the history of the community), 2.6 (Presenting the committee), 4.4 (Printing the submissions) and 4.5 (Nominating the beneficiaries) are embedded with the purpose of promoting conferences as they attempt to convince readers that there have been numerous successful experiences of hosting academic events. By presenting the distinguished committee members organising the conference and screening submissions, Step 2.6 tries to persuade contributors and participants that the conference is highly academic with a leading position in its field, which would make readers perceive that submissions/participation are worthwhile and useful for their academic experience. Then, offering incentives, as realised by Steps 4.4 and 4.5, for possible publication and sponsorship (usually undergoing a process of reviewing and selecting), once again implicitly encourages or attracts potential readers to make contributions. An increasing number of conferences nowadays are cooperating with high-quality journals to publish a special issue, collecting the best papers from the conference. This, especially, would motivate novice researchers, academics or postgraduate students to make contributions. Although many messages in these steps (or other steps) sound seemingly informative, they do not simply inform but also represent, advocate and anticipate certain features of CFP (Wernick, 1991). Nowadays, in our modern consumer society, the distinction between facts and evaluation in promotional statements are always blurred (Fairclough, 1995). Messages in CFP, as with journal descriptions, are "blended with evaluation and promotion diluted with caution so that the excesses of the commercial world are held at bay" (Hyland & Tse, 2009, p. 719); therefore, it requires readers to observe textual clues of promotional purpose with a critical eye. In other words, differing from other commercial or personal promotional genres, the present genre depends on employing a range of strategies (moves/steps) with rhetorical tools to implicitly achieve the purpose of promoting conferences.

As for Step 5.3, it was modified due to the advance of technology, which shapes traditional genre repertoires (Yates & Orlikowski, 1992). Half of the present corpus comes from the hard science disciplines, and computer technology is believed to be essentially relied on in these fields, which may supposedly lead to the heavy application of technology in the publication and circulation of CFP. It is found that a large portion of CFP would especially employ the benefit of the larger digital storage space to include much more information about conferences to make them interactive, interesting and easy to handle, which certainly is unlikely to appear in traditional printed CFP. Thus, rather than simply suggesting other external Websites for further information, many CFP web pages include internal hyperlinks, multimedia

clips, a photo gallery, on-line submission/ review/ registration/ participation systems, and virtual presentations, not only to provide comprehensive information, but also to arouse viewers' interest in joining the conference, both physically and virtually. These extra add-ons can extend the space for displaying more information and thus will very possibly change the layout and arrangement of CFP. Accordingly, viewers' expectations and predictions of reading this digital genre might begin to correspond less with those of reading printed CFP. Hence, it is argued that texts in digital format blur the regularities and structures of the printed form.

Table 2.
Frequency of Moves/Steps in the Present Corpus

Moves/steps	**Frequency**			
	Totals	Relative freq.	Soft disp./RF	Hard disp./RF
Move 1				
Step 1.1	241	2	138/2.3	103/1.7
Step 1.2	180	1.5	101/1.7	79/1.3
Move 2				
Step 2.1	88	0.7	37/0.6	51/0.9
Step 2.2	51	0.4	21/0.4	30/0.5
Step 2.3	56	0.5	27/0.5	29/0.5
Step 2.4	38	0.3	24/0.4	14/0.2
Step 2.5	86	0.7	49/0.8	37/0.6
Step 2.6	96	0.8	31/0.5	65/1.1
Move 3				
Step 3.1	331	2.8	154/2.6	177/3
Step 3.2	136	1.1	63/1.1	73/1.2
Step 3.3	103	0.9	57/1	46/0.8
Step 3.4	162	1.3	89/1.5	73/1.2
Move 4				
Step 4.1	91	0.8	56/0.9	35/0.6
Step 4.2	104	0.9	64/1.1	40/0.7
Step 4.3	71	0.6	40/0.7	31/0.5
Step 4.4	86	0.7	41/0.7	45/0.8
Step 4.5	32	0.3	18/ 0.3	14/0.2
Move 5				
Step 5.1	77	0.6	40/0.7	37/0.6
Step 5.2	241	2	129/2.1	112/1.9
Step 5.3	171	1.4	84/1.4	87/1.5
Move 6	16	0.1	9/0.2	7/0.1

Table 2 displays the frequency and relative frequency of moves/steps realised in the present corpus. Apparently, Moves 1, 3 and 5 are obligatory, while Moves 2 and 4 are optional, which differs from Yang's (2012a) previous model in that each current CFP employs the digital features of the Web so that messages about encouraging readers to virtually follow conferences are very common, and thus this application makes Move 5 compulsory. Besides, though Moves 2 and 4 are seemingly optional, Steps 2.1, 2.5, 2.6, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 can be regarded as 'quasi-obligatory steps' as they appear in over 60% of occurrences in the corpus (Ding, 2007). It is believed that due to the relatively large space for displaying text on the Internet and the international scope of the conferences, information is provided as clearly as possible in digital CFP. Though CFP in both science areas generally follow the proposed model, a number of subtle variations can still be identified. For instance, Step 2.6 is absolutely obligatory in hard science CFP, whereas Steps, 3.3 and 4.2 are surpassingly necessary in soft science CFP. In the hard disciplines, the people who organise conferences and screen submissions seem to be fairly important and persuasive in terms of attracting potential contributors. By clearly identifying the important individuals on the committee, conferences not only establish their distinguished academic status but also convince readers of their importance and worth. However, only half of the soft science CFP choose to employ this strategy and obviously they prefer to highlight keynote speakers in order to attract contributions. The possible explanation could be that sharing knowledge is what soft disciplines value, while following knowledge is crucial in the hard sciences, which can be an influential reason for deciding on participation or contribution.

4.2. Authorial subjects and pronouns

Unlike other academic texts, usually the writers of CFP are unknown to the readers, and the question of authorship is seldom either asked or answered. However, the different choices of authorial subjects can represent how writers define their distance from, position and relationship with readers. In addition, writers in various science areas may have different preferences or expectations regarding this usage As Hyland (1999, p. 341) asserts, "academics actively participate in knowledge construction as members of professional groups and … their discoursal decisions are influenced by, and deeply embedded in, the epistemological and social conventions of their disciplines." Table 3 exhibits the frequencies of different subjects and their concordances by the two science areas. Apparently, writers of soft science CFP tend to use authorial subjects to represent authorship more frequently than writers in the hard disciplines (805 versus 525), and not surprisingly, not one occurrence of the first person pronoun I was identified in either area since it is very unlikely that conferences would be organised without a third party's involvement. The lack of I in texts also makes CFP different from other

Web genres, as many of them (e.g. wikis, blogs, reviewer's comments) identify authorship and thus the use of I is common in these texts (Pollach, 2006).

Table 3.
Frequencies of Authorial Subjects in CFP by Discipline Areas

Subjects	Major words preceding and following the authorial subject	Total
We		*185*
Soft Disp.	can- (14), do- (10), -are (12), -invite(11), -encourage (9), -will (7), -offer (4)	112
Hard Disp.	-welcome (7), -will (6), -cannot (6), -also (4), -receive (6), -have (5), -look (5), -encourage (3), that- (6)	73
You	(incl. you're, you'd)	*202*
Soft Disp.	if- (42), -are (21), -would (15), -will (10), -may (13), -can (13), -use (6), -should (5), -have (3)	127
Hard Disp.	if- (12), invite- (5), -are (18), -will (12), -have (6), -may (7), -would (4)	75
I		*0*
Soft Disp.	-	0
Hard Disp.	-	0
The Conference		*943*
Soft Disp.	the- (177), int'l- (81), this- (27), our- (6), -on (65), -is (33), -will (33), -was (15), -are (8), -has (4), -dedicated (4)	566
Hard Disp.	the- (109), int'l- (83), this- (12), -on (78), -will (23), -is (19), -was (11)	377

The subject we implies a sense of inclusion and hospitality in expectation of potential contributions and participation, which is also commonly seen in commercial hospitality and tourism brochures (Yang, 2011, 2012b). Thus, words such as welcome, invite, and encourage are found to follow the subject We. Yet, there are some subtle differences in using this word in sentence structures between the two science areas. Soft science CFP writers used we in interrogative sentences to specify the knowledge to be explored in their conference (e.g., Can we speak of the self without the other? What can we learn from musicology and ethno-musicology? Do we need special translators to appreciate music?). However, this usage was not identified in the hard science CFP. In contrast, hard science writers tend to use negative sentences in their notices (e.g., Note that we cannot schedule your session(s) in the program until we receive the paid registration(s). Please note that we cannot

guarantee a dedicated power source for each presenter.); yet, this application was seldom found in the soft CFP. Though early warnings like these examples help lessen future correspondence about continuous enquiries regarding the facilities provided, they also implicitly suggest the organisers' authority.

In contrast to using the word we to represent hospitality, the subject you signifies a more authoritative voice to lay certain rights and responsibilities on contributors. Hence, a number of auxiliary verbs such as are, would, will, may, can, should or have are employed to functionally express modality (with the word if), voice and emphasis. For instance,

(a) If you would like to know more about this conference, bookmark the Humanities Conference site and return for further information – the site is regularly updated. You may also wish to subscribe to the conference and journal Newsletter.
(b) You should plan to set up your poster prior to 10 a.m. on the day of your poster session and remove it after the poster session ends.

This use of the authorial subject occurs nearly twice as often in the soft discipline CFP than in the hard science CFP (127 vs. 75). It is therefore assumed that writers of the soft disciplines have a greater tendency to stress interaction with readers, as in their training mutual influences between researchers and participants are commonly recognised, in particular, in ethnographical research designs. The frequent use of you can unequivocally define mutual duties in terms of providing information; however, it also likely that it would impact the purpose of promotion and the image of hospitality.

The final authorial subject is the impersonal the Conference, which is used to implicitly indicate the objectivity, academism and professionalism of the organisers, and to avoid personal confrontations with the readers. Thus, this neutral choice is usually employed to introduce organisers and to address the knowledge the conference is investigating or focused on. Instances of this application include "This Conference will address disciplinary and interdisciplinary challenges in the sciences, and in particular the relationships of science to society." and "The conference is an initiative of the EU-project SHAPING 24, a collaboration between Norwich Heritage Economic and Regeneration Trust (HEART) in the UK and Stad Gent in Belgium." Again, soft science CFP have comparatively more occurrences of this employment than do the hard science CFP, but interestingly, the phrases international conference and conference on are slightly more frequently used in the hard science CFP than in those for the soft sciences. This implies that conferences in hard disciplines tend to emphasize their internationalised scope and vision to attract wider participation and establish their status, and also focus on issues/areas to be addressed much more strictly.

Table 4.
Frequencies of Pronouns Used by Discipline Areas

Pronouns	Soft disp.	Hard disp.	Totals
he	5	0	5
she	0	0	0
they	18	20	38
it	62	24	86
myself	1	0	1
yourself	0	1	1
ourselves	1	0	1
itself	4	4	8
Totals	91	49	140

In addition to the above pronouns I, we and you, other third (non)personal pronouns together with their possessive forms (i.e. our, my and your) are relatively insignificant in the present corpus, which is similar to Master's (2013) results in examining the determiners in research articles. Table 4 displays the breakdown of the use of other pronouns. The pronoun he is only used by the CFP in the education discipline to introduce some famous figures in the professional community. The occurrences of the pronoun they in the two areas are almost the same, but it is used in very different situations. They is mainly used to refer to non-human beings such as the books/ proceedings/ programmes in the hard science CFP, whereas it can represent the knowledge explored, the organisations and human beings in the soft science CFP. For example,

(1) What is the political value of migrants and foreigners, strangers and aliens, refugees and the displaced? How are they made 'invisible' within nations and states?
(2) How are new languages - new terminologies and new structures - being lived? That is, how are they already shaping experience through and in the development of idioms and rhetoric, signs and symbols?

Furthermore, another third non-human pronoun it is also employed diversely in both science areas. Writers of hard science CFP tend to use it to refer to the conference itself with a more neutral voice (e.g. Even more importantly, it has provided a forum where scholars and practitioners from across the disciplinary spectrum…or It will give scholars an opportunity to explore both underexplored modern(ist) forms…), while it is used with more diverse meanings, including the knowledge explored, the conference information, the organisation or the venue, in the soft science CFP. Selected examples are as follows:

(1) Why is there a need for music? What does it add and what does it subtract from our lives?
(2) We are currently sending hotel information only to accepted presenters; it will be made public….
(3) The International Summit is a youth/adult partnership. It is being directed by young activists who….
(4) Has the 'multicultural project' become defunct and/or inadequate? Is it any longer feasible?

In other words, the results demonstrate that authorial subjects and pronouns are used more diversely in the soft science CFP. It is found that writers in the hard disciplines seemingly attempt to detach themselves from the texts, that is, to play an impersonal role. Arguably, these diverse preferences are shaped by the ideological assumptions of the different sciences, and the writers are simply following the habitual conventions and the unwritten agreements of their respective communities (Hyland, 1999).

4.3. Keyword analysis

Table 5 displays the total running tokens, distinct/different words (DW) and TTR (ratios of total tokens/DW) used by the two disciplines. In general, CFP in the soft sciences involve longer texts than those in the hard sciences, and accordingly, more DW appear in the former than in the latter. This tendency is identical to other types of academic texts across the soft and hard sciences such as dissertation acknowledgements (Hyland, 2003, 2004; Hyland & Tse, 2004; Yang, 2012c) or academic journal descriptions (Hyland & Tse, 2010). Though the authors of the soft disciplines tend to write longer CFP and employ a greater range of lexical choices, the TTR of soft science CFP is, on average, lower than that of the hard science CFP. A higher TTR, generally, implies that the lexis used in texts is rather heterogeneous, while a lower TTR suggests that the corpus has relatively lower lexical richness or density (Pollach, 2006). Hence, the results may suggest that authors in the hard disciplines tend to write CFP more concisely.

Table 5.
Text Lengths in Words, Distinct Words (DW) and Ratios of Tokens/DW (TTR)

	LID	EDU	SSH	PLS	HMD	EET	Overall
Total tokens	15,310	9,338	9,891	7,883	8,583	8,434	59,439
Avg. length	765.5	466.9	490.8	394.15	429.15	421.7	495.33
DW	3,498	1,986	2,100	1,837	1,991	1,874	6,668
TTR	22.85	21.27	21.23	23.30	23.20	22.22	11.22

In order to identify the specific peculiarities of lexis used in CFP (Cava, 2011),

which characterises the communicative purposes and defines its *aboutness*,[2] a keyword analysis was performed with reference to BNC and BAWE, as shown in Table 6. Appendices A and B tabulate the top 20 keywords. These keywords, including both overused and underused words, help to explain the features of the CFP and the subtle differences between the two sciences.

Table 6.
Keywords (KW) in the Present Corpus with Reference to BNC and BAWE by Science Areas

	BNC		BAWE	
	Overused KW	Underused KW	Overused KW	Underused KW
Soft disciplines	552	54	528	57
Hard disciplines	474	46	413	33
All disciplines	799	99	772	63

Firstly, nearly one third of the overused keywords in both lists are conference-related words such as conference, international, participation, submit/submission, and registration. These words also precisely signify the main structure of CFP; that is, the purpose of the texts, the scope of the knowledge community, the promotional invitation, the expected responses, and explanations of the attendance procedures. Both the keyness and aboutness of the genre are well represented by these keywords (Scott & Tribble, 2006). Secondly, the underused keywords with reference to BAWE also feature one aspect of CFP, which differentiates it from other academic texts. That is, the sentences explaining causality and the connectors between sentences in CFP are relatively less common compared to other academic texts. Hence, words such as thus, results, than, so, although, even, then, and however are underused. Unlike academic scientific papers, causality of evidence or data is not the focus of CFP. Besides, the modifiers, much and more, and the negatives, no and not, are less common, perhaps in order to keep a neutral but friendly voice to realise the purposes of providing information and promoting the conference. Thirdly, using the Internet as the medium means that words such as Web, email, virtual, and database become keywords, but these words are not at all likely to be key in traditional printed texts. This appearance supports the previous arguments that genres are modified and evolving with the advance of new technologies and the medium of publishing (Crowston & Williams, 1997; Toms, 2000; Yates & Orlikowski, 1992). Both of the science areas share the above features; however, subtle variations between the two are also identified. For instance, the first personal

[2] Aboutness refers to what a keyword represents in its particular genre, whereas keyness means a quality words may have in a given text or set of texts, suggesting that they are important and reflect what the text is really about (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 55-56).

pronoun I is relatively underused in the hard science CFP. It is argued that hard science writers tend to downplay the role of the author and thus using the authorial subject I is not conventionally desirable (Hyland, 1999). Furthermore, another major difference is that the word speaker ranks with much higher keyness in the soft science CFP than in those of the hard sciences (namely, 17th versus 102nd). This indicates that in the soft sciences, highlighting the keynote speakers of a conference is essential as it helps to not only build up the reputation and status of the conference, but also to attract potential contributions or participants. This promotional strategy is hence more commonly used by soft science writers. It is believed that emphasising the connections and interactions among people (specifically academics) in the soft science disciplines may contribute to this cause. In other words, as Scott and Tribble argue (2006), this keyword analysis of CFP helps researchers identify the quality that words have in a given text and what a text is really about, and avoids attending to trivia and insignificant details.

5. Conclusion

This study has compared and contrasted the generic structure and linguistic features of on-line CFP for the soft and hard science disciplines. Though the structure of the CFP in the present study generally follows Yang's (2012a) preliminary model, some newly-identified steps have been added to complement it. It is argued that the elaborate but implicit strategies of promoting conferences in academic communities as well as the reliance on new technologies have contributed to the generation of these new steps. In terms of disciplinary preferences of structure construction, the study has produced some tendencies rather than highly prominent differences across differences. Yet, a number of subtle variations were also found across the two different science areas in terms of the frequency of moves/steps, the employment of authorial subjects and pronouns, and keyword analysis. It is believed that the different ideological assumptions, knowledge communities, and academic training lead to the diversity in these two science areas, in particular, the conventional adherence to impersonality in writing academic texts in the hard sciences. In terms of employing the Web as a formatting and delivering medium as with other digital genres, interactive co-authorship between writers and readers is currently still barely allowed in on-line CFP, though this can be expected in the future. Moreover, more and more digital CFP are likely to resemble each other in terms of content and layout as it is found that on-line CFP are increasingly being managed and maintained by specialised conference agencies, who are apparently attempting to create a universal template for announcing various kinds of conferences. It is supposed that this standardised procedure will decrease the diversity of

language use in CFP. Another relevant change is the highly visible commercialisation of CFP because more and more on-line CFP explicitly address the need for financial income by offering space for advertisements or leasing venue facilities and rooms for exhibitions and the press. This tendency can affect how language is arranged, and may gradually pose a threat to maintaining an academic tone in CFP in the future. Moreover, the commercialisation of academic CFP leads to both competitiveness and explicit attacking language,[3] which is very uncommon in academic texts.

Call for papers (CFP), an understudied but initiative genre for its following academic text types, represents different knowledge assumptions and conventions in individual professional communities. Analysing this form helps not only writers to better apply appropriate strategies and arrangements to achieve their communicative purposes in this specific context, but also researchers, submitters, sponsors and postgraduates to realise how their contribution and participation can meet their expectations, and accordingly, how they can obtain benefits for their academic career. However, in today's digital era, genre analysis of CFP cannot exclude considering the impact of new technologies because these new communicative medias such as the Internet increasingly affect how texts are constructed (Chalak, 2012). Thus, the foci of micro-level (i.e., lexis, phrases, and sentences) and macro-level (i.e., discourse structure and rhetorical organisation) examinations should be extended to considering the influences of Web interfaces, as the advancing computer technologies can facilitate the development and success of international communication (Salmani Nodoushan, 2011) and provide new understanding of form-meaning relations (Cava, 2011). Herring (2010) even suggests that a hybrid approach including quantitative and qualitative methods be adopted to study computer-mediated discourse (CMD). She argues that textual analysis on the Web is not merely about studying the language itself, but that this channel of communication provides a unique messaging system to understand the computer-mediated genres where social and cultural context is embedded with particular linguistic use. Hence, compared to studies on physical texts, examining texts on the Web not only achieves the same purposes of analysing genres, but also helps researchers "see interconnections between micro- and macro-levels of interaction that might otherwise not emerge by observing spoken or written communication, and potentially to forge more comprehensive theories of discourse and social action as a result" (Herring, 2004b, p. 625).

Future studies can be carried out to complement the present analysis. Firstly, online CFP in academic journals can be compared and contrasted to the

[3] In a CFP of the international conference on data mining, higher acceptance rates of other similar conferences were severely criticised by the conference agency.

present research. Relatively, it is supposed that CFP for journals would be richer in text but less dependent on technology. Furthermore, these CFP may be constructed in accordance with the journal policies or editor's writing style, which would make them less conventional and predictable. Thus, it would be useful but challenging to analyse their generic structure and linguistic features with reference to those for academic conferences. Secondly, CFP from other non-native English speaking countries can be studied to identify whether there are more variations across contexts since English, currently, is generally regarded as an international language, and socio-cultural factors are usually one of the crucial factors affecting how texts are written. Apart from universal moves/steps, new localised structures will probably be generated due to the responses to glocalisation, the interplay of cultural norms, social situatedness and identities of members, and the interaction between participants (Fairclough, 2009; Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Analysing CFP from the perspectives of intercultural rhetoric or communication can be a feasible direction. Finally, ethnographic approaches can be integrated for future research as they can increase awareness of the social nature of discourse (Connor, 2011). For instance, observations or interviews with writers and readers of CFP can provide researchers with more in-depth views on how writers of different disciplinary backgrounds approach the construction of CFP, how they perceive themselves as writers engaged in employing discoursal strategies and linguistic components to realise the purposes of the CFP, and how readers judge if a CFP is effective in motivating contributions. Such deep investigations would help unveil the unwritten messages in CFP.

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Appendix A: Keywords with high keyness (top 20) with reference to BNC by science areas

ALL disciplines	SOFT disciplines	HARD disciplines
Overused keywords		
CONFERENCE	CONFERENCE	CONFERENCE
PAPERS	EDUCATION	PAPERS
INTERNATIONAL	LEARNING	SCIENCE
SUBMIT	PAPERS	SUBMIT
JOURNAL	INTERNATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL
REGISTRATION	UNIVERSITY	CITATION
LEARNING	#	DATA
RESEARCH	UNIV	JOURNAL
#[a]	EMAIL	PRESENTATIONS
UNIVERSITY	REGISTRATION	DATABASES
PRESENTATIONS	JOURNAL	SUBMISSION
VIRTUAL	RESEARCH	WEB
PARTICIPANTS	SUBMIT	BIOINFORMATICS
SCIENCE	USA	BIBM
EDUCATION	VIRTUAL	REGISTRATION
ABSTRACTS	ABSTRACTS	APPLICATIONS
SUBMISSION	SPEAKERS	PARTICIPANTS
USA	PHD	WORLDCOMP
EMAIL	PARTICIPANTS	PAPER
PRESENTATION	IBNS	RESEARCH
Underused keywords		
THREE	MOST	AT
RATHER	ONLY	GET
CALLED	OLD	BEING
NIGHT	COME	DID
PARTY	OVER	IF
FACT	HAS	WHAT
AT	RIGHT	WHO
HOWEVER	BACK	NOW
NEXT	GET	SEE
MADE	WHERE	AS
LIKE	FIRST	DO
THOUGH	YOU	TWO
LOOK	KNOW	IS
THINGS	TIME	WHERE
DO	TO	FIRST
SINCE	EVEN	SOME
IF	BY	WITH
THEIR	WAY	KNOW
LAST	WOULD	JUST
WHO	SOME	HAVE

Note: [a] refers to any numerical figures.

Appendix B: Keywords with high keyness (top 20) with reference to BAWE by science areas

ALL disciplines	SOFT disciplines	HARD disciplines
Overused keywords		
CONFERENCE	CONFERENCE	CONFERENCE
PAPERS	EDUCATION	PAPERS
REGISTRATION	PAPERS	SUBMIT
SUBMIT	REGISTRATION	SCIENCE
INTERNATIONAL	UNIVERSITY	CITATION
EDUCATION	PLEASE	SUBMISSION
UNIVERSITY	LEARNING	REGISTRATION
PLEASE	USA	DATABASES
JOURNAL	INTERNATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL
USA	UNIV	PRESENTATIONS
SUBMISSION	SUBMIT	PROCEEDINGS
PRESENTATIONS	ABSTRACTS	APPLICATIONS
SCIENCE	VIRTUAL	PAPER
VIRTUAL	JOURNAL	CONFERENCES
ABSTRACTS	PHD	COMPUTING
LEARNING	RESEARCH	SESSIONS
SESSIONS	SPEAKERS	WEB
PROPOSAL	EMAIL	JOURNAL
RESEARCH	PRESENTERS	SESSION
SESSION	PROPOSAL	ENGINEERING
Underused keywords		
LAW	POWER	BOTH
MY	BE	MOST
ANOTHER	RESULTS	THEM
ALTHOUGH	MUCH	HAS
ONLY	WITH	WHERE
SINCE	EVEN	HER
FACT	THAN	BEING
INCREASE	ONLY	THEN
ORDER	TIME	SO
THEIR	WAY	WHEN
POWER	THUS	HAD
MARKET	ALTHOUGH	THERE
THAN	ORDER	USED
EVEN	MARKET	THEY
WITH	THEIR	NO
TWO	MOST	NOT
BUT	WOMEN	I
OUT	CAN	CAN
THUS	TWO	OF
MOST	WHERE	HOWEVER

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Conversational and Prosodic Patterns in Spanish Requests

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This study analyzes the manifestations of *autonomy* and *affiliation* (cf. Bravo 2004) in the performance of requests among young Colombian women in comparable situations, presented in a symmetrical system (-Power), and with various degrees of social distance (+/-Distance). The data were examined quantitatively and qualitatively, and the role of linguistic and non-linguistic (i.e. prosodic) devices of mitigation was closely examined in relation to *politeness* and *face*. The results show that, in terms of frequency, Conventionally Indirect requests constitute the most common strategy in this variety, followed by Direct requests, and Non-conventionally indirect requests. Internal and external modification in requests is also found to be significant in all conversations (downgraders, expressions of solidarity, intensifiers). Also, specific prosodic patterns are found in certain types of segments within the interactions, which suggest a direct relation between prosody and politeness in the realization of requests. The results of the study indicate that young Bucaramanga female speakers tend to manifest cooperation and camaraderie when involved in –Distance situations, and respect and deference when involved in + Distance situations. In this sense, some components of *face* seem to reflect the socio-cultural background of this community in Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Keywords: Politeness; Face; Prosody; Requests; Colombian Spanish

1. Introduction

Preliminary observations indicate that the study of requests in Colombian Spanish has been very limited (Delgado, 1995; Escamilla Morales, Morales Escorcia, Torres Roncallo, & Henry Vega, 2004). Furthermore, although prosody has been noted to play an important role in conversation, few studies have directly analyzed the (im)polite effects of prosody and its relation with the production of speech acts (Briz & Hidalgo, 2008).

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The present study closely examines the production of requests in Bucaramanga Spanish, a Colombian dialect which has been little explored, through a quantitative and qualitative analysis of conversational patterns. The analysis derived from the study contains evidence that supports the claim that both linguistic (external and internal mitigation) and non-linguistic (prosody) strategies are used by speakers in order to convey certain components of *face*. Furthermore, the pitch patterns extracted from request head-acts provide further evidence to the claim that prosody is directly related to the manifestation of (im)politeness. Finally, the results of the study contribute to a more accurate understanding of the dialectal spectrum in Colombian Spanish, in terms of request production: In an (in)directness continuum, Bucaramanga and Pasto Spanish (both Andean varieties) share more similarities in the use of indirectness when compared to Barranquilla Spanish (a Caribbean variety).

The paper is organized as follows: the first section reviews previous literature related to the study of requests in Spanish, and it includes the research questions that motivated this study. The second section describes the methodology used for the data collection: the sample, the method of data collection, and the procedures for the analysis of the data. The third section outlines the research findings by providing a detailed account of the distribution of request head-acts (a quantitative analysis), and an exhaustive analysis of head-acts in each situation (a qualitative analysis). The fourth section includes a discussion of the results obtained in terms of socio-cultural considerations and socio-pragmatic variation, the limitations of the study, and pathways for future research. Finally, the fifth section briefly enumerates general conclusions.

2. Background

2.1. Requests and politeness

Speech acts have been widely studied in English and German (House & Kasper, 1981), Australian English and Polish (Wierzbicka, 2003), Canadian French, German, Australian English, Spanish and Hebrew (Blum Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989), among other languages. Requests, in particular, have been analyzed across languages by Blum-Kulka, et al. (1989), in French by Warga (2005), in British English by Márquez Reiter (2000), in Polish by Wierzbicka (2003), in Persian by Salmani Nodoushan (2007, 2008) and Salmani Nodoushan and Allami (2011), among Chinese learners of English by Lee (2011), and so forth. Wierzbicka (2003) indicates that studies in speech acts have suffered from ethnocentrism, since the observations obtained in Anglo-Saxon communities are generalized to other communities and cultures.

Throughout her analysis the author suggests that, unlike English, *interrogative directives* are not commonly used in Polish to express requests and sound formal and elaborately polite, whereas flat imperatives constitute one of the *milder* ways to express them. Polish imperatives are often combined with various particles to minimize or maximize the weight of the imposition, which blurs earlier theoretical distinctions between directness and indirectness. Wierzbicka (2003) highlights the importance in relating language-specific norms of interaction with specific cultural values of the individual and the community.

2.2. Requests and politeness in Spanish

When looking specifically at Spanish, several scholars have drawn interesting conclusions regarding request production. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), for example, demonstrate in their analysis that Conventional Indirectness is the most frequently used strategy by Argentineans, who also show to be the most direct group. According to García (1993), Peruvian female and male speakers prefer deference over camaraderie when making a request; they establish camaraderie when responding affirmatively to it, and deference when responding negatively. García (2002), however, observes a different tendency in Venezuelan speakers since they show a balance between deference and solidarity politeness when making a request and responding to it.

Márquez-Reiter's (2000) analysis shows that Uruguayan speakers are more direct in their requests when their relation to the interlocutor is less distant, and they are more indirect when their relation to the interlocutor is more distant. Placencia (1998) compares the realization of requests in service encounters in Madrid and Quito Spanish, and finds that more abrupt and direct formulas are employed by Spaniards, and that compensatory measures such as address terms and politeness formulas are more widely used by Ecuadorians when making a direct request. Félix-Brasdefer's (2005) analysis of Mexican requests indicates that conventional indirectness is more common in situations of +Power or +Distance, whereas directness is more common in situations of –Distance.

Most of the research on Spanish requests has consisted on describing the strategies that speakers of certain communities use to realize them, following the politeness model of Brown and Levinson (1987), and Blum Kulka et al.'s (1989) classification of requests.

Other authors (Boretti, 2003; Hernández Flórez, 1999; et al.) have followed the socio-cultural approach to politeness, as defined by Bravo (1999, 2004). This view closely relates language to society and culture since speakers acquire interpretative resources that originate from their social environments and their previous communicative experiences. In this sense,

speakers may partially share such experience with other people from the community (they share with the group), and may not partially share it with those same people (they have it as individuals). This new approach arises as an attempt to construct a characterization of social image (*face*) which relates communicative behaviors with socio-cultural contexts. Bravo (1999, 2004) proposes the notions of *autonomy* and *affiliation,* adapted from Fant (1989), as human needs that comprise aspects of *face*. For Bravo (1999), *autonomy* is related to the image that the individual has of him/herself, and the image that others have of the individual as someone different from the group; *Affiliation*, on the other hand, is related to the individual's and others' perception of him/herself as part of the group. Bravo (1999) claims that the positive and negative aspects of social image are not universal, as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987), and should be defined socio-culturally. Thus, her socio-cultural view of politeness greatly contributes to the study of politeness since it detaches from previous claims that view it as a constant factor, whose strategies are applicable universally. In fact, as the author points out, the universal categories of *autonomy* and *affiliation* are not fixed, and they should be interpreted as empty categories that are filled according to socio-cultural premises[1].

Given the need to study the expression of these components of *face*, and the lack of research on requests in other Spanish dialects (i.e. Colombian Spanish), the present study adopts Bravo's (1999, 2004) socio-cultural view of politeness in order to analyze the production of requests in the community of young female university students from Bucaramanga, Colombia.

2.2.1. Studies of requests and politeness in Colombian Spanish

In terms of Colombian Spanish, few studies have explored the role of politeness in requests. Delgado's (1995) dissertation on requests in Colombian and Peninsular Spanish, and American English, constitutes a first attempt to explore this area of pragmatics in this particular variety of Spanish. The author investigates the specific norms and strategies of expressing politeness in each of the three cultures, and the factors that influence their behavior toward politeness. Based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework of politeness, Delgado (1995) designs discourse completion tests (DCTs), and distributes them to 30 Colombian speakers from

[1] Salmani Nodoushan (2012) also proposes an interesting theory of politeness and *face*, according to which there are not only face-threatening acts (FTAs), but also face-attacking acts (FAAs). While FTAs originate naturally, FAAs require active and conscious engagement. Thus, his proposal entails that in order to analyze politeness and *face* it is also necessary to understand the cultural values and practices shared by a particular speech community.

Pasto, in Southern Colombia; 30 Peninsular speakers from Madrid, Bilbao, and Valladolid; and 30 American speakers from Long Island, N.Y. The various situations employed varied according to ± Power, ± Distance, and ± Ranking of imposition factors. Among her findings, Delgado (1995) indicates that Spaniards are the least formal group and show a greater degree of directness, in comparison to the Colombian and the American groups. Thus, Peninsular speakers employ more informal expressions when making requests, whereas Colombian speakers use more formal ones. Although Delgado (1995) acknowledges that *Politeness Theory* is successful in showing different distributions of ± Power, ± Distance, and ± Ranking of imposition, she admits that this theory does not allow her to provide an adequate account of the complexity of identity issues that motivate the communicative behavior observed.

Escamilla et al. (2004) study verbal and non-verbal politeness in Northern Colombia from a semiolinguistic perspective. In their study, the authors attempt to describe the various expressions of politeness in verbal and non-verbal interactions produced by speakers from Barranquilla, Colombia. By means of data collected from real conversations, they study communicational and social components such as the presence of the interlocutors (physical presence or absence, proximity and non-proximity), their social identity (age, gender, social class, etc.), their psychological identity (humor, happiness, sadness, etc.), the relation of strength within them (physical strength, personality, intelligence, etc.), and the degree of knowledge among interlocutors. The authors conclude that conversational processes in the city of Barranquilla are based on a specific ritual, closely related to the community's idiosyncrasy, which is characterized by informality, and interventions that denoted open destination, positive affection, and strength. Throughout their analysis, they emphasize the lack of linguistic politeness markers in the speech of these coastal speakers (expressions of mitigation, diminutives, etc.), which does not affect the success of the communicative contract among them, although it may be seen rude by speakers of other dialects.

Finally, Ringer Uber (1984) implicitly discusses the role of politeness in the use of address forms in Bogotá Spanish. By analyzing the functions of *tú* '*you* informal' and *usted* '*you* formal' found in contemporary natural conversations among Bogotá speakers, the author claims that there is a continuum of [± solidarity], which characterizes the use of *usted* in this particular dialect.

So far it has been shown how several studies have attempted to describe polite behavior in Spanish speaking communities when making requests. Interestingly enough, most studies have only focused their analyses in linguistic manifestations of politeness when producing or responding to

requests. Although some studies have suggested the importance of prosody in the study of requests (Bravo and Briz, 2004; Briz and Hidalgo, 2008), few of them have closely examined specific prosodic aspects (intonation, speech intensity, etc.) and their relation to (im)politeness. It is our belief that prosody has a strong influence in the realization of requests, and that its effects have been undermined in the analysis of request strategies.

2.3. Prosody

Prosody is here understood as a mechanism used to describe acoustic properties of speech that cannot be completely predicted from orthographic transcription, and whose components may include pitch (i.e., intonation), loudness, speed, and voice quality. Prosody has been widely studied in the fields of phonetics and phonology, but scarcely analyzed in pragmatics. Schegloff (1998), and Swerts and Hirschberg (1998), illustrate the need to analyze prosody in the study of conversation, and provide some suggestions to include this factor in *Conversation Analysis* research. Schegloff (1998), for example, claims that prosody should be studied in context, that is, within a tone unit or a talk-in-interaction segment. In his study of telephone conversations, Schegloff (1998) specifically examines pitch peaks and their relation to the end of turns, and initial turns. He finds that pitch peaks may initiate a turn or inform speakers that the next syntactic possible completion is the designed end of a turn.

Culpeper, Boufield and Wichmann's (2003) work on the effects of prosody in impoliteness is one of the first attempts to make a connection between prosody and pragmatics. By using television documentary recordings of disputes between traffic wardens and car owners, these authors analyze the manifestation of impoliteness in pitch and loudness patterns. According to them, in order to fully appreciate impoliteness, it is necessary to move beyond single strategies (lexically and grammatically defined), and examine the role of prosody when conveying impoliteness. Prosody was, in fact, found to affect the way an utterance is conveyed, by making it more impolite according to the situation. Pitch, in particular, operates paralinguistically to express speaker's emotions while certain local pitch changes tend to have grammatical and discourse functions. Thus, high pitch is associated to deference, and low pitch with assertiveness.

2.4. Research questions

This study addresses specific questions regarding the production of requests in Colombian Spanish. First, what kinds of request strategies are used by young female Bucaramanga students when performing requests in specific contexts? Second, what components of *face* can be found in such request

process? Third, what is the role of prosody in the realization of requests, and what effects does it have on politeness?

3. Method

This section describes the participants, instruments, and procedures of the study.

3.1. Participants

Ten female undergraduate students from Bucaramanga[2] participated in this study. At the time of the data collection, they were between the ages of 18 and 21. Seven of them were studying *International Business* at *USTA*, and the other three were enrolled in the *Language Teaching* program at *UIS*.

Based on Rincón's (2004) account of Bucaramanga's demography, it is possible to characterize our speakers as members of the *middle class continuum* (upper-middle, middle-middle, and lower-middle class), since they are all college students, who are probably supported economically by their parents. For the purposes of this study, we will assume that the participants belong to two *Communities of Practice* (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992) or *University Discourse Communities* (Granato, 2002): seven are part of a private-university community (*USTA*), and three to a public-university community (*UIS*).

All ten undergraduate students interacted with the same volunteer: a thirty-three year-old female who was their English instructor during that semester.

3.2. Instruments

The data were collected using open-ended role-plays, as they have shown to generate representative and ample data for the study of speech acts (Félix-Brasdefer, 2003). The situations employed were adapted from those used by Félix-Brasdefer (2005), so that certain vocabulary and expressions would suit the Colombian dialect. The six situations were comprised by four request

[2] Bucaramanga is a mid-size Andean city with approximately one million inhabitants. Rincón (2004) describes the city as the most important urban center of northeastern Colombia, and its people as hard-working, courteous, but stern (Rincón, 2004, 4). The city has rapidly developed over the past decades and it currently attracts a massive student population from its surrounding areas, given the large amount of colleges and universities available. The data were collected at two universities: *Universidad Industrial de Santander (UIS)*, a public institution nationally and internationally recognized for its academic standards, and *Universidad Santo Tomás (USTA)*, a private college managed by Dominican priests.

situations, and two distracters (a compliment and an invitation). The average number of words for all four request situations is 150. In these four situations, the factor *Power* remains constant [-P], and the factor *Distance* varies from [+D] situations (a-b) to [-D] situations (c-d).

Table 1.
Request Situations Used for Data Collection

Request situation	Distance	Power
a. *Ride*: the participant asks a stranger for a ride to a gas station.	+D	-P
b. *Class notes*: the participant borrows class notes from her classmate.	+D	-P
c. *Bathroom*: the participant asks her roommate to wash the bathroom.	-D	-P
d. *Map*: the participant asks her friend to get directions.	-D	-P

The request situations outlined in Table 1 carefully describe the difficulty that the speaker encounters, and the possible solutions that their interlocutor may be able to provide for them. At the end, the question *¿Qué le dices?* 'What do you say to her?' concludes every situation, so that the participant knows that it is her time to start the simulation. The complete set of request situations can be found in Appendix A.

3. 3. Procedures

In order to create a comfortable environment, speakers interacted with someone they already knew (their English instructor), in their own classroom. Each participant interacted separately with the volunteer, and the researcher was present during all interactions. The situations, typed in index cards, were given to each participant, one at a time. A few minutes were provided to allow the student to read the situation, understand it, and make questions if needed. Once the student was ready for the interaction, the researcher retrieved the index card and started the voice recorder. After each situation, the researcher stopped the recording and handed a new index card (with a new situation) to the participant.

All conversations were carefully transcribed following a modified version of Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions (See Appendix B). In terms of strategies used in the production of requests, head act strategies were examined according to a modified version of the classification by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Márquez-Reiter (2000). Head act strategies were classified into (i) Direct requests, (ii) Conventionally Indirect requests, and (iii) Non-

conventionally Indirect requests. Direct requests comprise six strategies (Mood Derivable, Performative, Obligation Statement, Need Statement, Want Statement, Elliptical Direct), and Conventionally Indirect requests comprise four strategies (Suggestory Formulae, Query Preparatory Indicative, Query Preparatory Conditional/Imperfect, Query Preparatory Future/Subjunctive). Non-conventionally Indirect requests are only comprised by hints. All head act strategies and examples are included in Appendix C.

Finally, pitch (intonation) contours were only obtained for Direct head-acts. The fact that this kind of request strategy is the most direct and less mitigated one, poses an interesting context to find relations between prosody and (im)politeness. Pitch tracks were extracted using *Praat*, Version 4.13.14 (Boersma & Weenink, 2005), and the pitch range was set to 100-500 Hz, since this is the adequate range to display pitch contours of female voices.

4. Results

Distribution of request strategies

The present study limits its results to the analysis of head acts in order to provide a deep and concrete account of request strategies in terms of politeness tendencies and prosodic patterns. As illustrated in Table 2 below, from the 94 cases of head-act strategies obtained, 49% (*N*= 46) are Direct requests, 44% (*N*= 41) are Conventionally Indirect requests, and 7% (*N*= 7) are Non-Conventionally Indirect requests.

Table 2.
Distribution of Head-Act Strategies in the Corpus

Type of head-act strategy	Tokens	Percentages
Direct (D)	46	49
Conventionally Indirect (CI)	41	44
Non-Conventionally Indirect (NCI)	7	7
Totals	94	100

These general results suggest an unexpected tendency in this dialect, given that Direct requests have been found to be less frequent than Conventionally Indirect requests in other Spanish dialects (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; García, 1993; Márquez-Reiter, 2000). However, a detailed analysis of each head-act strategy in each of the four situations (ride, class notes, bathroom, and map) indicates the misleading nature of the account provided above. As Table 3 illustrates below, only Direct and Conventionally Indirect strategies were employed in all four situations, whereas Non-Conventionally Indirect strategies were used in only two of them (bathroom and ride).

As shown, Direct strategies occur more frequently in –Distance situations (bathroom and map), whereas Conventionally Indirect and Non-Conventionally Indirect strategies are employed more often in +Distance situations (notes and ride). Although this is an expected result, considering that –Distance situations have triggered the use of Direct strategies in other studies (e.g., Félix-Brasdefer, 2005), it is interesting to find that most of the Direct strategies are used in the ride situation (the least distant situation), and that the type and frequency of these strategies change depending on the request situation.

Table 3.
Distribution of Head-Act Strategies per Situation

	+distance ← SITUATION TYPE → -distance							
Head-act	Ride		Notes		Bathroom		Map	
strategy	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
D	4	17	5	28	11	58	26	79
CI	15	62	13	72	6	32	7	21
NCI	5	21	0	0	2	10	0	0
TOTALS	24	100	18	100	19	100	33	100

Direct strategies, as explained in the previous section, were classified into MD (Mood Derivable), P (Performative), OS (Obligation Statement), NS (Need Statement), WS (Want Statement), and ED (Elliptical Direct)[3]. A careful analysis of Direct strategies employed by speakers demonstrates that MD is the most frequent strategy (*N*= 28/46; 61%), followed by ED (*N*= 8/46; 17%), NS (*N*= 4/46; 9%), P (*N*= 3/46; 6%), WS (*N*= 2/46; 4%), and OS (*N*= 1/46; 3%). In fact, MD strategies were mostly used in the map situation (*N*= 23/26, 88%), whereas both NS (*N*= 3/11; 27%) and ED (*N*= 3/11; 27%) were mostly used in the bathroom situation.

In the next section, a qualitative analysis of excerpts from each situation show that the overall frequency of Direct requests (*N*= 46/94; 49%) in relation to Conventionally Indirect requests (*N*= 41/94; 44%), is apparent and that it is mostly driven by the nature of the situation where it mostly occurs (the ride situation).

4.1. Configuration of request strategies

When looking at the data qualitatively, the distribution of head-act strategies appears to be consistent with the type of situation in which the request was produced. Although –Distance situations (ride and bathroom) require the

[3] Examples of each type of requests are provided in Appendix C.

participant to see her interlocutor as her close friend, the behavior encoded in the speech act varies from one situation to the other. However, +Distance situations (notes and ride) do not show such extreme contrast. A detail look at each situation shows that this heterogeneity corresponds to the nature of the –Distance situations.

4.2. +Distance situations (ride, notes)

Given that the ride situation provides the most distant setting, indirect strategies are more frequent (CI: *N*= 15/41; 37%; NCI: *N*= 5/7; 71%), whereas direct strategies are less frequent (D: *N*= 4/46; 9%). Examples of CI, NCI, and D strategies are shown in (1), (2), and (3) respectively:

(1) AMP: *lo que pasa es que me quedé sin gasolina↓ y yo hm- necesito llegar al trabajo urgente, urgente↓, no puedo llegar tarde↓...((sigh)) y llevo media hora esperando un taxi, y nada↑,* ***será que↓...sería mucha molestia pedirle que me lleve en su carro un momentico a la estación de gasolina?↓***

Trans. What happens is that I ran out of gas and I need to get to work urgently, urgently, I can't arrive late … and I've been here for half an hour waiting for a taxi, and nothing, so … would it be too much of a trouble to ask you to take me in your car just a little bit to the gas station?

(2) CFP: *uy señora, qué pena, discúlpeme, lo que pasa es que... mi carro se quedó sin gasolina y* ***necesito ir allí a tres kilómetros a- a...a conseguir gasolina, porfa*** *((porfa = por favor)),* ***es que tengo que...ir a trabajar...y no...no sé quién más pedirle ayuda por aquí↓***

Trans. Oh ma'am, I'm sorry, what happens is that … my car ran out of gas and I need to go there three kilometers away to … to find gas, please, it's that I need to go to…work and I don't … know who else to ask for help around here.

(3) AYP: *lo que pasa es que↓...me acabo de quedar sin gasolina↓...y para te- para más completar, se me que- e:- no tengo celular↓, y la agenda de los...teléfonos se me quedó y no puedo llamar a ningún familiar y- y amigos cercanos↓, para que me venga a auxiliar↓, entonces yo-* ***yo quería↓...si no fuera↓- si no sería mucha molestia↓ e:- que usted me- me acercara a la...gasolinería más cercana de acá para... traer la gasolina↓***

Trans. What happens is that … I just ran out of gas…and on top of everything I don't have my cell phone, and I left my … address

book and I can't call any relatives or close friends to help me, so I wanted … if it weren't too much of a trouble that you take me to the … nearest gas station around here to bring gas.

Furthermore, as illustrated in the examples, the request head-act is accompanied by external mitigation devices (alerters, reasons, and intensifiers), and an ample repertoire of internal mitigation techniques (politeness markers, negation, diminutives, and intensifiers) that allows the speaker to minimize the strength of the imposition. In (1), for example, the Query Preparatory Fut/Subj request highlighted in bold is preceded by reasons (a need to get to work quickly and the impossibility to find transportation). The head-act itself is comprised by an initial modal expression (very common in this particular dialect), which is first expressed in future form (*será que*), and then modified by its conditional form (*sería* […] *que*).

The intensifier (*mucha*) in the polite expression (*sería* ***mucha*** *molestia*), and the diminutive in *momento* (*moment**ico***) are also internal modification devices. In (2), the NCI head-act is preceded by alerters (*uy señora, qué pena, discúlpeme*), and reasons (the lacking of gas and the need to find some at the gas station). The head-act itself contains a shortened form of the politeness marker *por favor* (*por fa*). In (3), although the head act is direct (Want Statement), it is preceded by an extensive list of reasons (the lacking of gas, the impossibility of communication and help) which are desperately intensified by expressions such as *para* ***más*** *completar*, and ***ningún*** *familiar*. The head-act is mitigated by the polite expression *si no fuera- si no sería mucha molestia*, which is actually repaired by the speaker in an attempt to be less impositive (*fuera* changes to *sería*).

The notes situation also follows the expected pattern since it still refers to a situation of distant relation between the interlocutors (classmates who are not close friends), and it triggers the use of indirect strategies (CI: *N*= 13/41; 32%) more frequently than direct strategies (*N*= 5/46; 11%). However, the fact that no NCI strategies are used in this particular situation suggests that the notes and the ride situations do not demand the same type of interaction. Example (4) below illustrates CI strategies, and example (5) shows D strategies:

(4) CFP: *oye nena, qué pena, discúlpame, lo que pasa es que...yo no pude asistir las últimas semanas a clase y necesito por favor los apuntes…que hicieron en la clase ((soft laugh))…****será que eres tan ama:ble y me los puedes prestar?***

Trans. hey honey, I'm sorry, what happens is that … I couldn't come to class these past weeks and I need the notes that you took in class

please…so would you be so kind to lend them to me?

(5) AYP: *hmm ya↓…pues si quiere **préstemelos** y los- y los apuntes que usted tiene también se puede…↓ ((very soft speech))*
Trans. ok … well if you want, lend them to me and the notes that you have can also ….

In (4) external mitigation is again expressed by alerters (*oye nena, qué pena, discúlpame*), reasons (the impossibility of going to class and the need for the notes), and gratitude markers (*por favor*). Moreover, the Query Preparatory Fut/Subj request is composed of the modal expression *será que*, and the intensifier *tan* in *será que eres **tan** amable*. Although in (5) there are no immediate external mitigation devices, the hesitation expressed in *hmm* and *ya* shows the lowering of the imposition. This is also noticeable in the internal expression *pues si quiere* which precedes the MD strategy (***pues si quiere** préstemelos*).

At this point, it is important to indicate that examples (1)-(3) contain the *formal* address form *usted* ('you'), which is expected given that the conversations occur between strangers. However, example (4) contains the *informal* address form *tú* ('you') and (5) contains the *formal* address form *usted*, which is an unexpected inconsistency given that both conversations are based on the same situation. It will be further shown in the next sections that the use of *formal* and *informal* address forms does not correlate with the ±Distant characteristic of the speakers' relations, and that its use is not consistent throughout interactions or within turns.

4.3. –Distance situations (bathroom, map)

In the bathroom situation speakers hold a close relationship, which is evidenced by the frequency of D strategies (*N*= 11/46; 24%), and CI strategies (*N*= 6/41; 15%). Although this situation implies a close relation between interlocutors, it is still possible to find NCI strategies (*N*= 2/7; 29%). Examples of D, CI, and NCI strategies are shown in (6), (7), and (8) below:

(6) CFP: *= ((laughs)) **necesito que por favor me ayudes con la limpieza este sábado**… porque no- no puedo, es imposible tengo que trabajar, me contrataron↑…y: y: empiezo este sábado, es imposible, y el domingo llegan mis padres, por favor **ayúdame** porque quiero que ellos vean la casa bien↑*
Trans. I need you to please help me with the cleaning this Saturday…because I can't, it's impossible and I have to work, they hired me…and I start this Saturday, it's impossible and on Sunday my parents arrive, please help me because I want them to see a clean house.

(7) MGV: *es que resulta que mis papás vienen el domingo:↓, pues llegan acá al apartamento↓, y la verdad es que yo no tengo tiempo para: asearlo↓, entonces* ***será que tú no: me puedes ayudar en eso?↑***

Trans. what happens is that my parents come this Sunday, well they arrive here to the apartment, and the truth is that I don't have time to clean it, so can you help me with that?

(8) APA: *= pero lo que pasa es que el sábado yo tengo que irme desde la mañana hasta la noche a estudiar donde una amiga↑ y el domingo en la mañana no puedo porque también me voy a estudiar↓ y voy bien- y este domingo llegan mis papás↓...****y entonces me gustaría que vieran todo ordenado...y es que desafortunadamente no puedo lavar el baño↓***

Trans. but what happens is that on Saturday I have to go all day long to a friend's house and on Sunday morning I can't because I'm also going to study and this Sunday my parents come over…so I would like them to see everything clean…and unfortunately I can't wash the bathroom.

In (6) both head-acts (NS: *necesito que por favor me ayudes con la limpieza este sábado*; MD: *por favor, ayúdame*) are externally modified by reasons (starting a new job and having parents coming to visit). Internally, both the NS and the MD are mitigated by the politeness marker *por favor*. In (7) the Query Preparatory Fut/Subj request is externally modified by reasons (the visiting parents and the lack of time), and the intensifier expression *la verdad* in ***la verdad*** *es que yo no tengo tiempo*. Internally, the request is mitigated by the modal expression *será que*, and *no* functioning as a mitigator. Finally, in (8), the NCI head-act is externally mitigated by reasons (absence, lack of time, visiting parents), and internally by conditional forms (*me gustar****ía***) and intensifiers (*desafortunadamente*).

In the above examples ((1)-(8)), speakers show a tendency to avoid imposition. Although Direct strategies are used in examples (3), (5), and (6), speakers employ various kinds of external and internal mitigation strategies to minimize the power of the imposition. At the same time, they appear courteous and desperate (3), they submit themselves to their interlocutor's will (5), or they seem apologetic when pleading for help (6).

However, in the map situation, participants feel entitled to impose more. The drastic increase of D strategies (*N*= 26/46; 57%), the low use of CI strategies (*N*= 7/41; 17%), and the complete absence of NCI strategies suggest that this situation demands a higher degree of imposition given the immediacy of the problem (being stuck in traffic and not knowing where to go), and the

disappointment experienced by the participant (she has been placed in a difficult position because her friend forgot to bring the map). D and CI strategies in the map situation are shown in (9) and (10), respectively:

(9) CFP: *((laughs)) no, te tocó a tí,* ***te tocó preguntarle a esa persona que va pasando****, aproveche que el semáforo está en rojo y:...y* ***pregúntele*** *porque para qué olvidaste el mapa...yo confiaba en que usté lo tenía*↓

Trans. no, it's your turn, you have to ask that person who is passing by, do it now that the traffic light is red and…ask him because why did you forget the map…I trusted that you had it

(10) CSS: *OLU me puede*↓*- me puedes hacer un favor?*↑ ***por qué no le preguntas al...señor que está ahí***↑ ***parado***↓ *si nos puede al-hacer el favor de poder llegar a la galería?*↓ ***podrías?***↑

Trans. OLU could you do me a favor? Why don't you ask the…man standing there if he could do us the favor to get us to the gallery? Could you?

In (9) the OS (*te tocó preguntarle*) and the MD (*pregúntele*) are externally modified only by a series of reasons. When comparing the type of reasons given here to those given in previous examples of D strategies ((3), (5), (6)), it is clear that they concern different types of interaction. In (3), (5), and (6), the reasons justify the use of D strategies on the basis of accidental situations (running out of gas), or situations which the participant could have avoided (missing class and not having the notes; failing to keep her compromise to clean the bathroom). In (9), however, the fact that the participant relied on her friend to arrive promptly to the art gallery, justifies her disappointment (*yo confiaba en que usted lo tenía*), and her blaming behavior (*para qué olvidaste el mapa*). In fact, the use of OS strategies and the absence of internal mitigators reinforce the idea that the speaker is upset with her interlocutor and *expects* her to solve the problem.

Although (10) is a CI request, the use of Suggestory Formulae (*por qué no le preguntas* […]), and the absence of internal modification also indicates the increase of the imposition. In fact, the use of a shorter form of the Query Preparatory Cond/Imper request (*podrías?*) seems to reinforce and punctually end the demand. (10), unlike (9), is externally modified by alerters (*OLU*), and preparators (*me puedes hacer un favor?*).

In terms of address forms, it is important to indicate that example (9) is representative of the frequent interchangeable use of *formal* and *informal* address forms. The particularity of excerpts like (9), here repeated as (11), is

that the *tú* forms (highlighted in bold), and the *usted* forms (shaded) occur both in the same turn.

(11) CFP: *((laughs)) no,* ***te*** *tocó a* ***tí****,* ***te*** *tocó preguntarle a esa persona que va pasando, aproveche que el semáforo está en rojo y:...y pregúntele porque para qué olvidas****te*** *el mapa...yo confiaba en que usté lo tenía*↓

When examining interactions across turns, we see that the disappointment is expressed by most participants (7 out of 10) throughout the conversation, as exemplified in fragment (12) below, where TAR is the participant and OLU is the volunteer:

(12)
1 TAR: *uy* ***cómo pudiste dejar el mapa****?*↑
2 OLU: *ay no, pero yo lo dejé ahí*↓*, se me quedó en la mesa*↓*, yo ya venía para acá*↑ *y no*
3 *sé [se me quedó*
4 TAR: *ay] no*↓*....****eso no [se vale*** *y ahora?...*↑
5 OLU: *pero] yo más o menos lo miré::*↓ *y ahí más o menos las calles ahí*: ↓
6 TAR: = ***pero es que más o menos no sirve****, necesitamos [es...*
7 OLU: = *ay] pero imposible que no seamos capaces de guiarnos ahí*↓*...por los avisos y*
8 *por los...*
9 TAR: *ay mira*↑*, ahí hay una persona, necesito que por favor le preguntes*↓*, como*
10 *para:...ahí más o menos*↓
11 OLU: = *ay pero- ay sí pero usté que es menos tímida*↑
12 TAR: = *no::* ↓ *pero es que usté fue la que dejó el mapa*↓*, no yo*↓
13 OLU: *ay pero:*↑*...pues sí fue mi culpa*↓*, pero usté sabe que yo soy muy penosa*↓*, y*
14 *más para hablar con extraños*↑
15 TAR: *ay no*↓*, no me parece*↓*, además...él va por el lado tuyo*↓*, no por el mío*↓

Trans.
1 TAR: oh, how could you leave the map behind?
2 OLU: oh no, but I left it there, I left it on the table, I was on my way here and I don't
3 know [I left it
4 TAR: oh] no....that's not [fair, and now?...
5 OLU: but] I kind of saw it and the streets are kind of
6 TAR: = yes, but 'kind of' doesn't help us, what we need [is...
7 OLU: = oh] but I can't believe that we won't be able to guide

ourselves around…by
8 looking at signs and…
9 TAR: hey look, there's someone I need you to please ask him↓, how we can
10 to…kind of
11 OLU: = but- yes, but you do it because you're less shy
12 TAR: = no but you were the one who left the map, not me
13 OLU: but…yes, I know it was my fault, but you know that I'm a very shy person,
14 even more if I have to talk to strangers
15 TAR: no, no, I don't think so and also…he's walking by your side, not mine.

The participant's disappointment is clearly expressed in line 1 (*cómo pudiste dejar el mapa*), line 4 (*eso no se vale* 'that's not fair')[4], and line 6 (*pero es que más o menos no sirve*). Given OLU's invalid excuses and TAR's disappointment, TAR proceeds to *demand* OLU to ask for directions, that is, TAR feels licensed to perform a direct request. The request in line 9 (*necesito que por favor le preguntes*), as expected from the previous turns, is direct (NS). Although it is mitigated by *por favor*, by the context of the interaction, and by the prosodic features of the head act (as it will be explained in the next section), the request is still stern. However, when OLU refuses in line 11, TAR expresses her disappointment with a contradiction in line 12 (*no*), and a subsequent reason to blame OLU (*pero es que usté fue la que dejó el mapa*). After OLU's second refusal in lines 13-14, TAR again expresses a contradiction in line 15 (*ay no, no me parece*), and a new reason (*él va por el lado tuyo, no por el mío*).

Furthermore, the fact that the direct request seems justified in this type of situation is indicated by the low use of external and internal mitigation. Finally, similar to the participant in example (9), TAR also uses both *tú* and *usted* address forms to refer to her close friend OLU. Although she does not employ them both in the same turn, she employs *usted* only when she strongly contradicts OLU in line 11 (*no, pero es que* ***usté*** *fue la que dejó el mapa, no yo*).

As shown in this subsection, although both the map and the bathroom situations are [–D], and Direct requests are the most frequent head-act strategies used, there are some qualitative differences between the two: participants conveyed more imposition in the map situation because they feel justified to do so in the given context.

[4] In Colombian Spanish this expression means that something is not right or is not a valid argument. In this case, TAR considers an invalid excuse the fact that O left the map on the table and in the midst of her hurry she left it.

It is also important to indicate that Direct strategies do not occur isolated from other strategies. In the map situation, in particular, most speakers employ other request strategies (direct and indirect), and internal and external modification to lower or raise the degree of the imposition. Example (13), which is a longer version of (10), illustrates the complexity of the conversation pattern:

(13)
1 CSS: *OLU me puede↓- me puedes hacer un favor?↑* ***por qué no le preguntas al...señor***
2 ***que está ahí↑ parado↓*** *si nos puede al- hacer el favor de poder llegar a la*
3 *la galería?↓* ***podrías?↑*** [...]
4 OLU: *no, pero a mí me da pena preguntarle a ese señor... ↓ [y a mí me da pena hablar*
5 *con desconocidos↓*
6 CSS: *ay OLU:: ((unaudible segment))]* ***OLU, por fa↓****, mira que es que si me ven*
7 *aquí↓...distraída los- los señores del tránsito, me pueden por algo↓...alguna*
8 *falla↓,* ***por qué no les preguntas? ↓****, por fa↓*
9 OLU: *no, pero igual yo no me voy a bajar del carro↓, acerca el carro lo más que*
10 *puedas↓*
11 CSS: *sí pero* ***pregúntale↓****,* ***pregúntale*** *por fa↓, es que estoy más lejos a ellos...****por qué***
12 ***no le preguntas? ↓****, por fa↓*

Trans.
1 CSS: OLU, could you do me a favor? Why don't you ask that man
2 who's standing there, to see if he can help us get to the
3 gallery? Could you? [...]
4 OLU: no, but I feel bad to ask that man... [and I'm too shy when I talk
5 to strangers
6 CSS: Come on, OLU] OLU, please, look, if they see me
7 here ... all distracted, the transit police, they can give me … some
8 ticket, why don't you ask him?, please
9 OLU: no, but I'm going to get off the car, bring the car as close as
10 you can
11 CSS: yes, but ask him, ask him please, I'm further away from them...why
12 don't you ask him? please.

CSS starts the conversation by signaling OLU that she needs a favor (*OLU me puedes hacer un favor?*) in line 1. The subsequent requests in lines 2-3 are Suggestory Formulae (*por qué no le preguntas al señor*), and Query Preparatory Cond/Imperf (*podrías*). After receiving a refusal in lines 4-5, the speaker addresses her interlocutor repeatedly (*ay OLU::* […] *OLU…*), and decides to insist by means of a more direct strategy: ED (*OLU, por fa*↓). A more indirect strategy reinforces CSS' previous requests and ends the turn in lines 7-8 (*por qué no le preguntas*). Finally, in lines 11-12 CSS reinforces the imposition by employing MD strategies (*pregúntale, pregúntale por fa*), reasons (*es que estoy más lejos a ellos*), and a less direct request (*por qué no le preguntas?*).

So far the distribution and the configuration of requests have been discussed in terms of quantitative and qualitative analyses. In conclusion, it is observed that the quantitative distribution of request types may be determined by the type of situation in which speakers are immersed. In particular, the fact that Direct strategies are the most frequent in the corpus is explained by the nature of the situation in which they mostly occur (map), and by the correlation between the different types of direct strategies and the kinds of situations where they are employed. Although linguistic devices such as internal and external mitigation strategies help speakers mitigate or intensify the strength of the imposition, it will be shown in the next section that non-linguistic devices (i.e., intonation) also help them to increase or decrease this force.

4.4. Prosodic analysis of requests

As mentioned in the second section, the prosodic analysis was only performed on direct requests. Specifically, the analysis only concerns direct requests taken from the map situation (the least distant situation), given that this is the setting where most of the direct strategies were employed (*N*= 26/46; 57%). In fact, direct requests in the map situation are comprised by MD strategies (*N*= 23/26; 88%), OS strategies (*N*= 1/26; 4%), NS strategies (*N*= 1/26; 4%), and ED strategies (1/26; 4%).

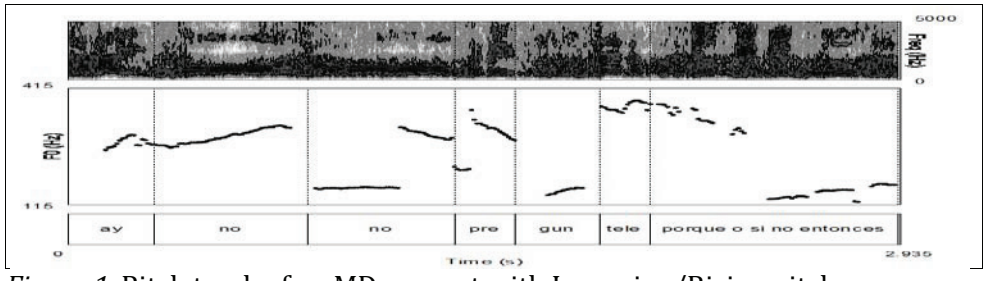

Figure 1. Pitch track of an MD request with Lowering/Rising pitch.

All these strategies showed specific prosodic tendencies which we describe in terms of four pitch patterns. The first pattern, which we call Lowering/Rising pitch pattern, was the most commonly found among MD strategies (*N*= 15/23; 65%), and OS strategies (*N*= 1/1; 100%). In this pattern, the head-act starts with a high pitch (around 350Hz), it lowers to almost 100Hz, and it finally rises to almost 400Hz. This type of pitch contour seems to consistently show the speaker's tentativeness to produce the request, her desire to decrease the degree of the imposition, and to be respectful. In Figure 1 above, for example, although the MD head-act *pregúntele* ('ask him') is very direct, it is prosodically modified to convey less imposition and the speaker's tentative attitude:

The second pattern, here called Rising pitch pattern, was the second most commonly found in MD strategies (*N*= 4/23; 17%), and the only one used in NS strategies (*N*= 1/1; 100%). In this pattern, the head-act starts with a low pitch (around 200Hz), and it increasingly rises to around 300Hz with upstep tone ¡L+H*[5]. In this type of pitch contour the speaker stresses her imposition towards her interlocutor, and does not make an attempt to soften it. As shown in Figure 2 below, the head-act (*pregúntale* 'ask him') starts with a low pitch (200Hz), which progressively rises to 300Hz. The clitic *le* ('him') is produced with a lowering pitch (from 300Hz to 270Hz), since it is prosodically tied to the closing segment (*a alguien* 'someone').

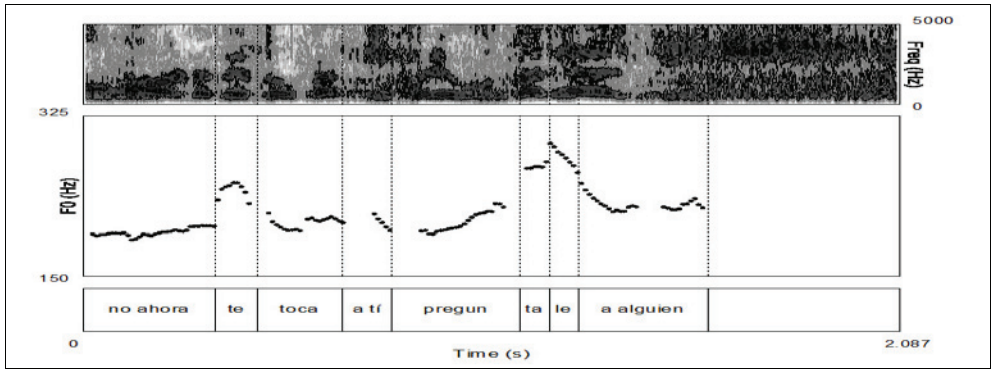

Figure 2. Pitch track of an MD request with Rising pitch.

The third pattern, Lowering pitch pattern, was only found in MD strategies (*N*= 3/23; 13%). In this pattern, the head-act generally starts with a relatively high pitch (380Hz) and it progressively drops to a low pitch (100Hz), with a falling tone H+L*L%. In this type of pitch contour, the request seems to end with a prosodic closure. Thus, instead of showing tentativeness, the speaker clearly manifests her imposition by signaling that her decision is final and

[5] The tone transcription here employed is taken from Beckman et al. (2002).

that she does not expect any contradictions to her demand. This is shown in Figure 3 below, where the head-act (*preguntas* 'you ask') finishes the speaker's intervention, and it is preceded by a segment that introduces a definite and closing statement (*lo siento pero* 'I'm sorry but'):

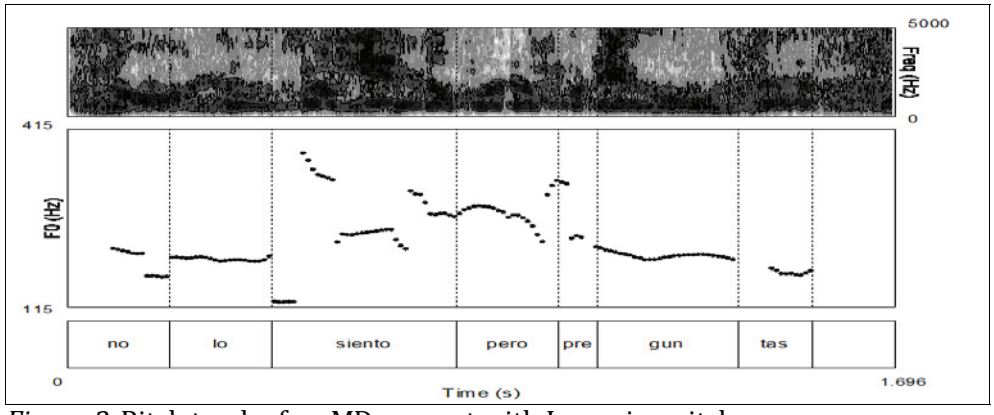

Figure 3. Pitch track of an MD request with Lowering pitch.

Finally, the fourth pattern, here called Sustained pitch pattern, was the least frequent one in MD strategies (*N*= 1/23; 5%). In this pattern, the head-act does not show major prosodic changes. That is, it usually starts and ends at a mid-pitch level (250Hz). In this type of contour the speaker conveys neither imposition nor tentativeness, and the segment is produced as a neutral statement, with no particular prosodic characteristics. As shown in Figure 4 below, the head-act *pregúntele* ('ask him') is prosodically embedded in the entire segment *bueno pregúntele entonces desde* ('ok, ask him from'), with an average pitch level of approximately 250Hz. Only the last part of this segment *la ventana* ('the window') shows a pitch change that lowers from 250Hz to 200Hz, as it is used to close the intervention:

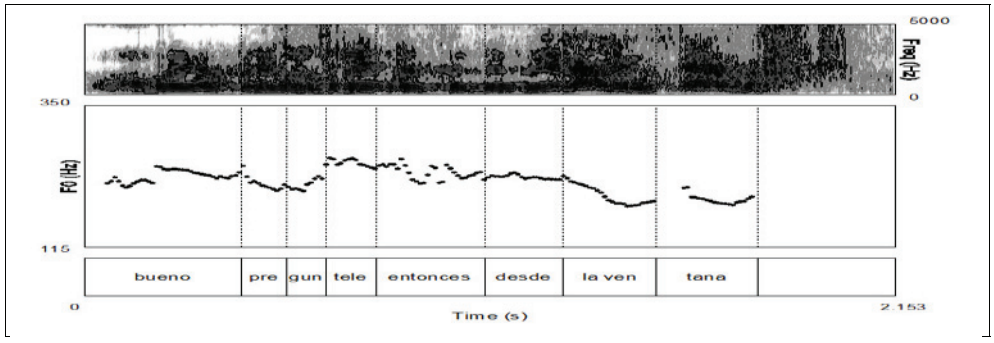

Figure 4. Pitch track of an MD request with Sustained pitch.

To summarize, the results from both linguistic and non-linguistic analyses show that speakers from this particular variety employ direct and indirect strategies in specific situations, under specific conversational circumstances. Moreover, Direct strategies are much more complex than expected. Although they appear to be the most frequent request strategy, their distribution shows that they are more commonly employed in less distant situations. Also, it is observed that Direct strategies are reinforced by internal and external mitigation strategies, the use of other types of requests (CI and NCI), and specific prosodic patterns.

In particular, the prosodic analysis of direct strategies in the map situation suggests that direct requests are produced with different prosodic patterns, although they may be classified under the same types of categories (MD, NS, OS, etc.). Furthermore, it is clear from this analysis that the prosodic features of a head-act are not only determined by the prosodic context in which they are embedded. For example, although the head-acts in Graphs 1, 2, and 3 are preceded by low-pitch segments (*ay no, no* in Graph 1, *no ahora te toca a tí* 'no, now it's your turn' in Graph 2, and *no lo siento pero* 'no, I'm sorry but' in Graph 3), they present very different prosodic patterns: Lowering-Rising pitch contour in Graph 1, Rising pitch contour in Graph 2, and Lowering pitch contour in Graph 3. As it will be discussed in the next section, both linguistic and non-linguistic features of a head-act may provide evidence to characterize the needs for *autonomy* and *affiliation* shown by young female Bucaramanga speakers.

5. Discussion

5.1. Socio-cultural considerations

Quantitative and qualitative evidence examined in the previous section shows a clear correlation between ±Distance and (in)directness in Bucaramanga Spanish. This is similar to what was found in Uruguayan Spanish by Márquez-Reiter (2000) and in Mexican Spanish by Félix-Brasdefer (2005). It is interesting, however, that speakers of this dialect choose not only certain types of request strategies depending on the situation of the interaction (e.g. MD in the map situation), but also specific linguistic (external and internal mitigation) and non-linguistic (intonation) devices to increase or decrease the degree of their imposition. This gives us reason to believe that young Bucaramanga female speakers are aware of the social implications of their linguistic acts, and that they chose certain strategies (linguistic and non-linguistic) to perform a request.

Following Wierzbicka's (2003) claims that the distinction between direct and indirect request strategies is not completely clear, and that language-specific

norms of interaction should be related to specific cultural values of the individual and the community, our results and analysis also seem to indicate the lack of exclusive correlation between directness and politeness. As shown in the results section, for example, neither CI strategies are exclusive types of requests for +Direct situations, nor are D strategies exclusive types of requests for –Direct situations. For example, in the ride situation (the most distant situation), it is possible to find interactions where both direct and indirect requests are used (e.g. excerpts (1)-(3)).

Furthermore, there seem to be certain norms of interaction that encode specific socio-cultural values of the individual and the community. That is, it is possible to extrapolate from our results that the speech of young female speakers from Bucaramanga reflects certain components of *face*, in terms of their needs for *affiliation* and *autonomy* (Bravo, 1999, 2004).

In +Distance situations, for example, speakers clearly recognize their interlocutor as someone different who needs to be respected. In the *ride* situation, for example, participants show a higher degree of *respect* toward the volunteer by means of various external strategies (Alerters: *uy señora, qué pena, discúlpeme* 'oh ma'am, I'm sorry'; Reasons: *... mi carro se quedó sin gasolina* 'my car ran out of gas'), and internal strategies (Politeness Markers: *si no sería mucha molestia* 'if it weren't too much of a trouble'*;* Diminutives: *un momentico* 'in a little bit'). Other expressions denote the speaker's awareness of the other's need for *autonomy* such as: *buenas noches señora* ('good evening ma'am), *le agradecería muchísimo* ('I would greatly appreciate it'), or *que Dios se lo pague* ('may God reward you').

In the notes situation, participants also show their *respect* toward their interlocutor and recognize that even though they need her help, they do not have a close relationship with her. In some cases this *deference* is shown by certain external mitigation expressions, such as *¿será que eres tan amable y me los puedes prestar?* ('Would you be so kind to lend them to me?'), or *qué pena contigo* ('I feel so bad'). Also, the abundant use of external and internal mitigation devices indicate that the speaker is aware of the other's need for *autonomy*.

Although participants recognize the distance between them and the volunteer in +Distance situations, they also want to be understood and they express their desire to be helped. This need for *affiliation* (appealing to the interlocutor's solidarity) can be shown by the use of expressions such as *ay señora* ('oh ma'am')*, no me deje aquí* ('don't leave me here'), or *eso puede costar mi trabajo* ('that could cost me my job').

This need for *affiliation* and *autonomy* is also recoverable from their speech in –Distance situations since the camaraderie bonds between interlocutors and

the expressions of solidarity from the participants are constantly constructed throughout the interaction. In the bathroom situation, participants mainly show a desire to be helped and understood by the volunteer (they express their need for solidarity), although they also acknowledge that they are imposing on her. In this sense they aknowledge their interlocutor's need for *autonomy*, which is shown in expressions such as *yo sé que me corresponde hacerle el aseo al baño(…) pero me es imposible hacerlo* ('I know that it is my turn to clean the bathroom[…] but it's impossible for me to do it').

Given this imposition, participants try to reinforce their camaraderie bonds with the volunteer to minimize the force of their requests. They attempt to get closer to their interlocutor so that they can be understood and helped. This need for *affiliation* is indicated by colloquial expressions such as *porfis* (*por favor* 'please'), repeted expressions of insistence *ay dí que sí, dí que sí* ('oh say yes, say yes'), and overjustification (justification repeted along the turns).

In the map situation, participants also reinforce their camaraderie bonds and their need for solidarity throughout the entire interaction. This need for *affiliation* is again shown by a great occurrence of colloquial expressions such as *porfis* (*por favor* 'please'), *eso no se vale* ('that's not fair'), *mírele la pinta* (*la apariencia*) *que tiene* ('look at the appeareance he has'), less employment of external and internal mitigation strategies, and more use of direct request strategies. Participants also indicate their need to be recognized as someone different from the interlocutor. This need for *autonomy* is commonly seen in this situation by expressions of disappointment and blame towards the interlocutor: *pregunte usté porque usté fue la que se le quedó el mapa yo me confié* ('you ask because it was you who left the map and I trusted you'), or *pero es que usté fue la que dejó el mapa, no yo* ('but it was you who left the map, not me').

After examining all conversations, it is also possible to find components of *face* in the use of *tú* (informal 'you') and *usted* (formal 'you'). As shown in the previous section, some speakers have a tendency to employ both address forms across the interaction, and within turns. These observations seem to further support Ringer Uber's (1984) claims, according to which *usted* in Colombian Spanish not always signals deference and distance between interlocutors. In fact, *usted* may express +Solidarity (among close friends and family) or –Solidarity (among strangers and acquaintances). As illustrated in this study, the gradient uses of ±Solidarity *usted* are also present in the speech of Bucaramanga young female speakers, since they use this form of address when referring to close friends (bathroom and map situations), when talking to an acquaintance, or to stranger (notes and ride situations).

Interestingly enough, speakers from the private-university community of practice seem to make the greatest effort to employ *tú* in their speech, since

speakers from the public-university community of practice almost never use it (only one speaker from this group uses it once in the bathroom situation). Given this, it may be possible to claim that private university students use *tú* in order to be recognized as members of a higher socio-economical class, or as members of a more prestigious community of practice. In other words, these speakers may be indicating their need to be *affiliated* to a more desirable or prestigious community of practice, and at the same time, their need to be seen as *autonomous* individuals (different from others who belong to their community of practice).

Finally, it is important to mention that not only linguistic strategies may convey the speakers' need for *affiliation* and *autonomy*. Prosodic strategies, specifically pitch effects, are closely related to components of *face*. As shown in pitch analyses of direct head-acts in the map situation (Graphs (1)-(4)) certain pitch contours convey more or less tentativeness, imposition, and deference. For example, head-acts with a Lowering-Rising pitch (Graph (1)) show tentativeness and a desire to diminish imposition and to intensify deference (*autonomy*). Head-acts with a Rising pitch indicate intensification of the imposition and less tentativeness (*autonomy*), which may imply the speaker's reinforcement of the camaraderie bonds, and a possible desire for solidarity (*affiliation*), which is acceptable in this situation where both interlocutors are good friends (-Distance). Head-acts with a Lowering pitch (Graph (3)) also seem to show imposition and closure (*autonomy*), which may only occur in situations where camaraderie bonds are reinforced (*affiliation*). Finally, although head-acts with a Sustained pitch (Graph (4)) do not show particular prosodic changes, they seem to imply the speaker's desire for solidarity and friendship (*affiliation*).

5.2. Socio-pragmatic variation in Colombian Spanish

In terms of regional variation, the present study shows that, contrary to what is found by Escamilla et al. (2004) in Barranquilla Spanish, Bucaramanga Spanish seems to greatly favor the use of linguistic polite expressions. In this sense, Barranquilla speakers (coastal dialect speakers) show more directness than Bucaramanga speakers (Andean dialect speakers). Furthermore, although Bucaramanga Spanish and Pasto Spanish (Southern Andean dialect) may be closer to each other than between them and Barranquilla Spanish, indirectness (CI and NCI requests) seems to be more frequent in Pasto Spanish. Although more studies should be conducted in order to construct a more accurate understanding of (im)politeness in Colombian Spanish, and more Colombian varieties should be analyzed, we propose the following continuum in order to indicate how (im)politeness may be characterized in these three dialects:

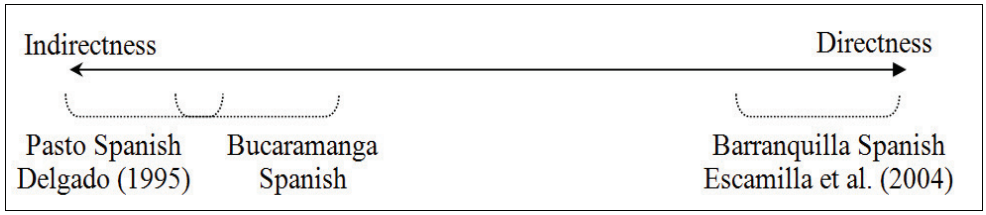

Figure 5. (In)Directness continuum in Colombian Spanish.

6. Conclusions

In terms of our first research question, it is possible to conclude that Direct request strategies are more commonly used in –Distance situations, whereas Conventionally Indirectness strategies are more commonly used in +Distance situations. In this sense, it has been shown that ±Directness correlates with ±Distance.

As for our second research question, linguistic (internal and external mitigation) and non-linguistic strategies (intonation) are widely used by these speakers to convey specific socio-cultural aspects of *face* (camaraderie, respect, deference, solidarity). These socio-cultural aspects of politeness are also shown by the use of address forms. The fact that private university students, and almost no public university student, greatly employed *tú* and *usted* interchangeably in all situations, across turns, and within turns, may indicate a need for *affiliation* to a more prestigious community of practice, and a need for *autonomy*, since they may desire to be acknowledged as different from the rest of the community.

Also, there are regional differences in the production of requests in Colombian Spanish. Unlike Barranquilla speakers, Bucaramanga speakers use linguistic devices to convey politeness and are not as direct. Similarly to Pasto speakers, Bucaramanga speakers frequently use indirect strategies, but they do not seem to be the most indirect group of all.

Finally, regarding our third research question, it has been shown that prosody directly correlates with politeness and clearly affects it. That is, different prosodic patterns are used by speakers in order to minimize or reinforce the force of the imposition conveyed in the request, and to denote speakers' needs for *affiliation* and *autonomy*.

Limitations and future research

The present study is only a first attempt to the analysis of requests in Colombian Spanish. It is clear that future studies should be undertaken in order to examine the speech of a wider range of participants: from various Colombian dialectal areas, both women and men, and from a more varied age

and social range. The analysis here provided only concerned the speech of a limited population (young female university students from Bucaramanga), but it is certain that an analysis of other communities (male university students, middle-aged women and men, etc.) would help us construct a more accurate understanding of Bucaramanga Spanish in terms of speech act production. Also, other speech acts (compliments, invitations, etc.) should also be examined to broaden our understanding of pragmatic behavior in real speech situations.

In terms of the prosodic analysis, the present analysis only examines the intonation contours of direct head-acts. Further studies should be undertaken in order to clarify the effects of prosody (pitch, intensity, speed, tonal range, duration, etc.) in conversation when making requests or accomplishing other kinds of speech acts. Studies of this kind would be crucial to provide more evidence to the claim that prosody has effects on politeness and it encodes particular socio-cultural characteristics of the community under investigation.

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Appendix A

Complete set of request situations

Request situation 1: asking for a ride (+Distance)

Son las 8:00 de la mañana y te diriges al trabajo manejando tu carro. Decides tomar un atajo por una zona residencial cuando de repente te quedas sin gasolina. Tienes que estar en el trabajo en una hora y no quieres dejar el carro por ahí ya que sales de trabajar a las 10:00 de la noche y luego no tienes forma de devolverte a tu casa. Sabes que en esta zona encontrar un taxi es casi imposible; tampoco conoces a ninguna persona cerca de ahí, ni tienes teléfono celular para pedir ayuda a un amigo o familiar. Después ves a una señora que sale de su casa con sus hijos y se dirigen a su carro. Sabes que hay una estación de gasolina a unos tres kilómetros y quieres que te lleve ahí. Así

que, aunque no conoces a la señora, decides pedirle que te lleve a la estación porque necesitas llegar a tu trabajo. ¿Qué le dices?

English translation

It's 8 in the morning and you are going to work in your car. You decide to take an alternative route through a residential zone when you suddenly run out of gas. You have to be at work in an hour but you don't want to leave your car in the area because you leave work at 10 p.m. and you have no other way to get back home. You know that in this area it's almost impossible to get a taxi; you don't know anybody around there, and you don't have a cell phone to ask a friend or a relative for help. Later you see a woman coming out of her house to get in her car with her kids. You know that there is a gas station three kilometers away and you want her to take you there. So, although you don't know this person, you decide to ask her to take you to the station because you need to get to work. What do you tell her?

Request situation 2: class notes (+ Distance)

En el último día de clases, tu profesor de la clase de (escoge una clase de este semestre) hizo un repaso de las lecturas para el examen final y tu no asististe a clase las últimas dos semanas. Desafortunadamente, necesitas los apuntes para el examen ya que el profesor hace las preguntas de las notas que da en clase. Sabes que una de tus compañeras de clase es la única persona que tiene buenas notas y confías que ella te prestaría los apuntes. Los demás compañeros han sido un poco perezosos y a la hora de la clase hacen otras cosas menos poner atención. Decides preguntarle a esta compañera si te presta los apuntes, aunque no te hablas con ella y no la conoces bien. Sólo se tratan para realizar proyectos de clase, de vez en cuando. El día de la revisión del examen, la ves que va saliendo de clase y decides pedirle los apuntes. ¿Qué le dices?

English translation

The last day of classes, your professor for (choose a class from this semester) made a review of the readings for the final exam and you did not attend class the last two weeks. Unfortunately, you need the class notes for the exam since the professor gives questions from the reviews that he gives in class. You know that one of your classmates is the only person who takes good notes and you are confident that she would lend you her notes. The rest of the classmates have been a little lazy and during class time they do other things besides paying attention. You decide to ask this classmate if she can lend you the notes, although you don't talk much to her, and you don't know her very well. You only talk to each other when you need to do class projects, once in a

while. The day of the review for the exam, you see her as she comes out of class and you decide to ask her about the class notes. What do you say to her?

Request situation 3: cleaning the bathroom (-Distance)

Has convivido con tu compañera de apartamento durante dos años en tu apartamento con dos habitaciones en Bucaramanga. Te llevas muy bien con ella y se han puesto de acuerdo para hacer el aseo semanalmente. Este fin de semana te corresponde a tí lavar el baño, aunque no tendrás tiempo para hacerlo. El domingo por la tarde tus padres te visitarán y quieres que vean el apartamento limpio y ordenado. No hay ninguna posibilidad de que tú lo limpies antes del domingo y no quieres que tus padres lo vean sucio y que empiecen a criticarte. Así que decides pedirle el favor a tu compañera de apartamento. Tú y tu compañera se llevan bien y piensas que ella podría ayudarte esta ocasión. ¿Qué le dices?

English translation

You have lived with your roommate for two years in your two-room apartment in Bucaramanga. You get along with her very well and you have agreed to do the house cleaning on a weekly basis. This weekend you have to clean the bathroom, although you won't have time to do it. On Sunday afternoon your parents will visit you and you want them to see the apartment clean and tidy. There is no possibility that you clean it before Sunday and you don't want your parents to see it dirty so that they can criticize you. So, you decide to ask your roommate. You and your roommate get along very well and you think that she could help you this time. What do you tell her?

Request situation 4: asking for directions (-Distance)

Estás en tu carro con una buena amiga tuya y estás manejando. Conociste a esta amiga en la universidad en una de tus clases de (escoge una clase de este año) y se llevan bien. Las dos han sido invitadas a una recepción de una galería de arte y la invitación traía las direcciones y un mapa para llegar a la galería. Sin embargo, tu amiga olvidó el mapa y aunque sabe la dirección, no se acuerda cómo llegar a la galería. Tú no pusiste mucha atención a las direcciones de la invitación porque contabas con ella y estabas confiada de que ella traería el mapa. Al llegar a un semáforo en rojo, ves un peatón en la esquina. Quieres que tu amiga, quien está sentada a tu lado, le pregunte a esa persona cómo llegar a la galería con la dirección que tienen. ¿Qué le dices?

English translation

You're in your car with a good friend and you're driving. You met this friend at the university in one of your classes (choose a class from this year) and you get along well. The two of you have been invited to a cocktail party in an art

gallery, and the invitation showed directions and a map to get to the gallery. However, your friend forgot to bring the map, and although she knows the address, she doesn't remember how to get to it. You didn't pay much attention to the directions because you trusted her and you counted that she would bring the map. At a stop light, you see a pedestrian in the corner. You want your friend, who's sitting next to you, to ask that person how to get to the gallery with the address you have. What do you tell her?

Appendix B

Transcription symbols adapted from Jefferson (2004):

,	separation between spoken segments
…	short pause
=	intervention that starts immediately after the end of another intervention
:	lengthening of a sound
[ ]	overlapping sequence
↑	rising intonation
↓	lowering intonation
underlined	segment where stressed is marked
bold	segment that shows a particular characteristic. This characteristic is described in parenthesis (( )), immediately after the segment.
(( ))	notes from the transcriber
((¿?))	one segment (one word) is not clear
?	rising intonation for the end of a question
ABC:	initials of the participant's name

Appendix D

Classification of head-act strategies (Adapted from Blum-Kulka et al., 1989 and Márquez-Reiter, 2000):

Direct	
Mood Derivable: the grammatical mood of the verb signals illocutionary force.	*No, no, mírele la pinta que tiene, pregúntele* 'no, no, look at his look, ask him'
Performative: the illocutionary force is explicitly named.	*Ay señora, se lo pido de verdad* 'Oh miss, I ask you truly'
Obligation Statement: states the obligation of the addressee to comply with the request.	*Te tocó preguntarle a esa persona que va pasando* 'You have to ask that person

	who is passing by'
Need Statement: states the speaker's need that the hearer carries out the act.	*Necesito que por favor le preguntes* 'I need you to please ask him'
Want Statement: states the speaker's desire that the hearer carries out the act.	*Yo quería…que usted me acercara*… 'I wanted … that you took me close to…'
Elliptical Direct: a request is not explicitly stated, but it is recoverable by *por favor*. The request is already stated in a previous turn.	*Ay OLU, por favor* [request e] 'Oh OLU, please'
Conventionally Indirect	
Suggestory Formulae: contain a suggestion to do something	*Por qué no le preguntas al señor que está ahi…?* 'Why don't you ask the man who is there?'
Query Preparatory Indicative: Reference preparatory conditions in indicative mood.	*¿Será que tu me puedes acercar a una estación?* 'Can you take me close to a station?
Query Preparatory Cond/Imperf: Reference preparatory conditions in conditional and imperfect indicative.	*¿Será que podrías prestarme tus apuntes?* 'Could you lend me your class notes?
Query Preparatory Fut/Subjunc: Reference preparatory conditions in modal Future and Subjunctive.	*Era para pedirte el favor si me pudieras prestar*… 'It was to ask you the favor if you can lend me…'
Non-Conventionally Indirect (Hints)	
A: Yo sé que hemos prometido turnamos para limpiar el apartame:nto y el baño en especial… 'I know that we have promised to take turns to clean the apartment and the bathroom especially…' B: = ay, no me digas que me vas a pedir el favor de que lave el baño que es lo que más detesto 'oh, don't tell me that you're going to ask me to clean the bathroom which is what I hate the most'	

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Persian speakers' use of refusal strategies across politeness systems

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This study aimed at investigating the preferred refusal strategies in Persian. 3047 refusals collected by 108 field workers as well as 376 refusals collected through face to face interviews were analyzed and classified according to the descriptions proposed by Liao (1994) and Liao and Bresnahan (1996). The frequencies of the resulting direct and indirect refusal strategies were then used as the data for the current study. Politeness systems as suggested by the model proposed by Scollon and Scollon (2001) as well as refusers' demographic characteristics (i.e., their age, sex, and education level) were used as the independent variables of the study. Kruskal-Wallis *H* Test and Mann-Whitney *U* Test results indicated that teen-agers and low-education Persian speakers prefer non-performative refusal strategies. Power relations can also determine whether non-performative strategies are preferred to performative refusals. The results supported the claim that politeness is a dynamic concept that changes through time and with human generations.

Keywords: Refusal Strategies; Refusals; Politeness Systems; Intercultural Communication; Speech Acts; Face; Politeness; Face-Threatening Acts

1. Introduction

Utterances that serve communicative functions have been termed speech acts. They vary in the functions which they serve in interpersonal communication (e.g., apology, request, invitation, compliment, refusal, etc.) and also in the number of words they employ (i.e., they range in length from a single word to quite long stretches of speech). Since they are part and parcel of real-life interaction, speech acts are informed by such socio-cultural variables as authority, distance, situational setting, politeness, and so forth. In addition, the influence which these variables leave on speech acts differs from culture to culture.

In this connection, it should be noted that, since developments in commerce, tourism, travel, the Internet, and the like have made intercultural

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communication an ordinary everyday activity, the importance of cultural understanding should be emphasized more strongly than before; no such understanding is possible without access to knowledge and information. This entails the idea that a second/foreign language speaker needs to develop an in-depth understanding of the culture of the target language society and at the same time master the intricacies and nuances of the linguistic formulae that are appropriate for interaction with the people in that society. They therefore need to access precise descriptions of the target language pragmatic and cultural aspects. This requires that research studies be conducted with the aim of describing other societies' cultures.

The present study therefore focused on one aspect of Persian speakers' linguistic behavior—i.e., their preferred refusal strategies. The study specifically sought to answer the following question:

> Is there any significant difference in the type of refusal strategies native speakers of Persian use when they perform refusals in different politeness systems?

2. Background

A refusal is a speech act whereby a speaker provides a direct or indirect negative answer to a request or invitation. Through refusals, speakers deny to engage in the action which the listener suggests. As such, refusals fit in the category of 'commissive' speech acts in the sense that the refuser commits himself/herself not to take the course of action suggested by the listener (Searle, 1979). Moreover, Refusals are face-threatening in that the inviter or requester normally expects a positive response. If the answer is 'no', it will definitely contradict listeners' expectations. Therefore, refusals threaten the addressee's positive face since they indicate that the speaker does not take the addressee's feelings and demands into account. Tanck (2003) noticed that refusals are quite frequently achieved indirectly because of their face-threatening nature; any polite individual generally tends to get along with others and tries to appear amiable in social encounters.

Although refusals are present in all the major and minor languages of the world, each language or culture has its own set of refusal strategies; while some languages—like Persian—by default expect that invitations be refused as a show of politeness, some other languages may consider refusing an invitation as a taboo. For one thing, Biesanz, Biesanz, and Biesanz Zubris (1999, p. 7) noticed that Costa Ricans (or Ticos) will "nod or say *si* even when they don't mean it simply to avoid conflict." Biesanz even quoted Melvin Mendez, a Costa Rican playwright, who wrote: "We beat around the bush to avoid saying "no", a syllable which seems almost rude to us, and rather than hurt someone, we say one thing and do another" (Biesanz, 1999, p. 7). It is the

very face-threatening nature of refusals that quite often makes them indirect, a fact that led Yule (1999) to conclude that uttering a direct refusal is often taken to mean that the 'refuser' is claiming more social power; as such, direct refusals are less expected. Chen (1996), for example, employed semantic formulae to analyze a set of refusals and to conclude that, regardless of the refuser's first language, direct refusals are quite rare.

The question that ensues is whether all cultures and languages draw on the same strategies to make their refusals indirect. Non-native speakers need to master such strategies to make sure they will not socio-pragmatically and/or pragmalinguistically fail in their intercultural communication. In this connection, Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliz-Weltz (1990) argued that the socio-cultural appropriateness of refusals is so important that refusals can be considered as 'striking points' for non-native speakers. Know (2004) noticed that refusals are innately offending, and that people use various strategies to avoid the offense hidden in refusals; an inappropriate refusal can compromise interpersonal relations.

An overview of the existing literature on refusals implies that non-native speakers seem to know about the importance of appropriate refusal strategies, but that they do not know the strategies themselves, and therefore often tend to transfer their L1 refusal strategies and cultural schemata to L2/FL settings. The result is self-evident, and misunderstanding is inevitable. For one thing, Nelson, Al-batal, and Echols (1996) reported that Egyptian Arabic speakers of American English failed to produce the 'offer' and 'suggestion' strategies which are quite frequent in American English refusals. This highlights a deficit in Egyptian Arabic Speakers' pragmatic competence of American English. Sending and receiving '*no*' messages is one thing, and '*how*' to send such messages another (Al-Kahtani, 2005). The question of 'how' to make refusals requires attention to form-function relationships, social elements, group values, and also cultural-linguistic values (Al-Kahtani, 2005).

In a seminal study of Japanese and American refusals, Shigeta (1974) used DCT data to compare Americans and Japanese in terms of apologies, requests, and refusals. Shigeta argued that Japanese speakers were more concerned with the status of their interlocutors, but Americans cared more about their own relations and solidarity with their interactants. The Americans studied were outspoken and clear while the Japanese were vague and less clear. Along the same lines, Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990) analyzed DCT data on refusals directed at addressees of higher, equal, or lower status. They concluded that Japanese and American refusals differed in terms of semantic formulae, frequency of occurrence, and content. The Japanese frequently resorted to vague explanations as compensation strategies while the

Americans for the most part offered specific details in their explanations. Moreover, Americans used indirect strategies in refusing requests while the Japanese preferred direct strategies specifically when they addressed listeners of lower status; the same was true about the Japanese refusing invitations. By way of contrast, the Japanese used more indirect strategies in addressing listeners of higher status whereas the Americans did not adjust their refusal of invitations to the direction of listeners' power (Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz, 1990). In another study, Kitao (1996) found that the Japanese preferred an expression of regret followed by an excuse or reason while the American provided specific reasons.

In a study of Korean refusal strategies, Lyuh (1992) found much more semantic formulae and politeness strategies in Korean refusals than in the American. The Koreans used avoidance and gratitude formulae quite productively. Plain refusals (i.e., refusals not furnished with compensatory strategies) were rare; Koreans avoided a plain use of '*no*' or '*thank you*' mainly because of their face-threatening loads. Along the same lines, Know's (2004) study supported the claim that Korean speakers are quite parsimonious in their use of direct refusals, that their refusals are often tentative and vague, and that their refusals often follow pauses and apologies. English speakers, on the other hand, tended to use statements of positive opinion and gratitude. Moreover, in the refusals they directed at higher-status listeners, the Korean resorted to mitigating strategies whereas English speakers seemed to be less sensitive to listeners' status (Know, 2004).

Refusals have also been studied in the Arabic language. Stevens (1993), for instance, analyzed DCT data which were based on 15 scenarios to conclude that such refusal strategies as 'partial acceptance', 'explanation', and 'white lies' are used almost equally by Arabic and English speakers. In another study of Arabic refusals, Al-Issa (1998) observed that 'expressing regret' (e.g., *I am sorry*) was a much more frequent refusal strategy in Jordanian Arabic than in English, and that both groups used 'explanations' and 'reasons' quite frequently. Yemeni Arabic and American English were compared by Al-Eryani (2007) who delineated the differences in the frequency and content of the semantic formulae used by speakers of the two languages. Another conclusion of this research was that 'interlocutor's status' and 'eliciting acts' affect these semantic formulae. By eliciting acts is meant such speech acts as 'request', 'invitation', 'suggestion', and 'offer' which have the potential to elicit refusals.

Persian refusals were also studied. In his study of Iranian EFL learners' pragmatic transfer of Persian refusal strategies to English, Ghahraman (2002) concluded that Iranian EFL learners' foreign language performance was fraught with pragmatic features transferred from Persian—even at the most

advanced level. He further concluded that the level of 'directness' and the amount of transfer were a function of a multitude of factors including 'the type of eliciting speech acts', 'the level of learners' language proficiency', 'the importance of L1 cultural values', and 'the ease of use of semantic formulae in L1 or L2'.

Studies of refusal strategies have even helped researchers to develop new theories of politeness (e.g., Salmani Nodoushan, 2012). For one thing, Watts, Idle, and Ehlich (1992) suggested the notion of western versus non-western modes of politeness. They noticed that Grice's (1975) principles and maxims as well as Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness were based on the western mode of politeness and, as such, quite often failed to appropriately account for politeness patterns found in data gathered from non-western languages (Liao & Bresnahan, 1996). Therefore, if the Japanese use 'regret' or 'apologies' as the salient refusal strategies in their social interactions, their behavior should not be described in terms of the western mode of politeness. The Japanese differ from the American in their choice of refusal strategies, but this should not be taken to mean that they are less polite (Takahashi & Beebe, 1986).

Liao and Bresnahan (1996) reported that Taiwanese people provide extrinsic reasons in their refusals to claim that they would love to accept if the extrinsic reasons left them with the choice. They behave as if they are forced to decline in spite of their unwillingness. They also observed that the use of refusal strategies was far less frequent in the speech of Taiwanese than Americans, and that people in the Far East use fewer strategies in refusing and apologizing.

All in all, the studies described above, as well as several other studies not reviewed here, yielded 24 refusal strategies used by different cultures and languages (Liao, 1994; Liao & Bresnahan, 1996).

01 Silence, hesitation, lack of enthusiasm
02 Offering an alternative
03 Postponement
04 Putting the blame on a third party over which the refuser tacitly or overtly claims to have no control (Extrinsic reason)
05 Avoidance
06 General/Ostensible acceptance without giving details
07 General/Ostensible acceptance with excuse
08 Divert and distract the addressee
09 Saying what is offered or requested is inappropriate
10 External yes, internal no
11 Statement of (personal) philosophy

12 Direct no
13 Excuse or explanation
14 Complaining or appealing to feelings
15 Rationale
16 Joke
17 Criticism
18 Conditional yes
19 Questioning the justification of the request
20 Threat
21 External no, internal yes
22 Statement of principle
23 Expressing regret; Saying 'I'm sorry'
24 Code-switching

Along the same lines, Baron (2002) argued that, depending on the speech act they want to decline, refusals quite frequently consist of formulae of varying content, frequency, and order, and that these formulae are controlled by interlocutors' gender and social status. Earlier in 1999, Caffi had argued that refusals involve a lot of mitigations, and that mitigations are often used by refusers to avoid conflict, loss of face, and so forth. In a discussion of mitigation formulae, Bella (2011) noticed that mitigations are either external or internal modifications of refusals. An external mitigation modifies the context of the refusal, but an internal mitigation modifies the refusal statement itself.

Earlier speech act studies had also found mitigations as modifying strategies for requests and apologies (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989); depending on whether such modifications had been observed inside the clause that carried the act itself or in an adjacent clause, they were called internal supportive discourse moves or external supportive discourse moves, respectively (Félix-Brasdefer, 2005; Salmani Nodoushan & Allami, 2011). Like requests, refusals can also be formulated as head acts supported by internal and external supportive discourse moves. External supportive discourse moves can either precede or follow the head acts.

Refusal = (External Supportive Discourse Move) + HEAD ACT + (External Supportive Discourse Move)

External mitigators appear in the external supportive moves while internal mitigators appear in the refusal head acts. Bella (2011) noticed that internal mitigators are linguistic elements found in refusal head acts whose job is not to help the identification of the illocutionary force of the head acts but to mitigate their potential negative effects. Internal mitigators are either

syntactic (e.g., conditionals, tense, or aspect markings) or lexical (e.g., politeness markers, modals, psychological predicates, adjectives, modifiers of degree, etc.). In this connection, it is interesting to notice that internal mitigators are not innately polite, but that the way they are used in refusal head acts can give them a politeness value.

Such politeness features of refusals, which are for the most part pragmatic rather than purely linguistic in nature, make them quite hard for non-native speakers to master; they require a mastery of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic aspects of language use. For one thing, Felix-Brasdefer (2004) argued that even advanced learners often lack the necessary sociopragmatic knowledge which can help them reduce the 'face threat' tacit in refusals. As such, they very often transfer their L1 strategies to L2/FL contexts. This highlights the importance of research studies that address sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic aspects of communication.

Informed by the literature reviewed and the concerns expressed above, the current study set out to describe Persian speakers' preferred refusal strategies; it sought to describe such strategies in solidarity, distance, and power politeness systems.

3. Method

3.1. Data

A pool of 3047 refusals was collected by 108 field workers who helped us collect the data for this study. The field workers observed and recorded any instance of refusal exchange they witnessed. They also reported the purpose of each refusal exchange, and described enough of the context in which the refusal took place in such a way as to make sure that the reported conversation would be comprehensible. Moreover, they quoted, as best as they could, exactly what had been said in each exchange, and also included the utterances that came before and after each refusal (i.e., the supportive moves). The field workers also reported the demographic characteristics of the people whose conversation they observed including their age, sex, social class, and kind of relationship. "The advantage of the examples collected this way is that they reflect a range of people observing spontaneous instances in a variety of naturalistic settings" (Salmani Nodoushan, 2006, p. 907).

Another set of refusals was gathered in face-to-face interviews. The researcher himself interviewed 94 people who volunteered to help. Each volunteer was asked to recall four refusals extended towards him/her. One refusal recalled was to involve a close friend, one a stranger or acquaintance of equal status, one a person of known higher status, and one a person of known lower status. Each interviewee was then asked to describe the context

in which the refusal had taken place, and to provide demographic information about his/her interlocutor (i.e., sex, age, etc.). The interviewee was also asked to reenact the dialogue as best as s/he could.

3.2. Frameworks

Two frameworks were used in this study: (a) Scollon and Scollon (2001) for data classification, and (b) Liao and Bresnahan (1996) for the identification of refusal strategies.

The framework used for data classification in this study was that of Scollon and Scollon (2001). This framework is a reconsideration of the politeness framework presented by Brown and Levinson (1987) and also took into account the points made by Fraser (1983) and Spencer-Oatey (1996). Scollon and Scollon (2001) envisaged three politeness systems: Hierarchical Politeness System (HPS), Deferential Politeness System (DPS), and Solidarity Politeness System (SPS). The politeness systems are based on Perceived Situational Seriousness (PSS) which is, in turn, controlled by power and distance relationships between interlocutors. However, Scollon and Scollon (2001) employed the term "hierarchy" to describe the notion of "power" suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987); they also used the term "deference" to refer to Brown and Levinson's "distance." They further noticed that "social closeness" or "solidarity" can affect interlocutors' perception of Brown and Levinson's "size of imposition" (Salmani Nodoushan & Allami, 2011).

Scollon and Scollon's (2001) framework for politeness is therefore based on three factors: (a) hierarchy, (b) deference, and (c) solidarity. The framework can be summarized as:

	Power	Distance	Solidarity	Description
HPS	+	+	–	interlocutors are in a subordinate vs. superordinate position (*e.g.,* boss vs. employee)
DPS	–	+	–	both interlocutors are of equal social status but share a distant relationship (*e.g.*, classmates)
SPS	–	–	+	both interlocutors are of equal social status and their relationship is close (*e.g.*, roommates)

In the HPS system, there is direction in the sense that the person who is the agent/doer of the refusal act may be either the subordinate or the superordinate interlocutor. Therefore, the direction of the refusal can be either top-down or bottom-up.

The framework used for data analysis was that of Liao and Bresnahan (1996). The corpus for this study was evaluated in the light of this framework; this resulted in the identification of the refusal strategies present in the data.

3.3. Procedures

Two human coders separately evaluated the corpus which had been collected through interview and observation. Both coders were university professors with a minimum of five years of experience in teaching post-graduate 'Pragmatics' and 'Discourse Analysis' courses. As the first step, each example from the corpus was evaluated in the light of the politeness framework proposed Scollon and Scollon (2001). This was done for the purpose of classifying the examples into four categories: (1) top-down HPS refusals, (2) bottom-up HPS refusals, (3) DPS refusals, and (4) SPS refusals. The coders then used the framework proposed by Liao and Bresnahan (1996) and tried to identify the type and frequency of each of the 24 refusal strategies proposed by Liao and Bresnahan in the corpus. For example, if a respondent refused an invitation by uttering "I'm sorry, I already have plans. Maybe next time," this was coded as [expression of regret] [excuse] [offer of alternative] (Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz 1990, p. 57). The frequency of use for each type of refusal strategy in each example was then obtained and was recorded under the appropriate politeness system.

Only after both coders had taken these steps did they meet to discuss their codings and to compare them for any probable mismatch. Where there was a mismatch or difference in their codings, they would extensively discuss the issue to reach an agreement. They had agreed from the start that wide disagreements should discard the problematic refusal from the corpus. Based on this agreement, 29 examples, all from the observation data, were omitted from the corpus.

As to the reliability of the codings, it was decided that the inter-coder agreement should be estimated. To this end, the reliability of the codings was estimated using the Spearman-Brown correlation coefficient. The strategy frequencies identified by the two human coders were correlated through another one-tailed bivariate correlation analysis using Spearman's rho. The result was indicative of a high enough inter-coder agreement (*rho* = .841) to make the data reliable for further analysis.

4. Results

It was stated earlier that the current study aimed at evaluating refusal strategies in Persian in the light of solidarity, distance, and power politeness systems. Therefore, to test the null hypothesis that the three politeness systems do not affect Persian speakers' preference for different refusal

strategies, a set of Kruskal-Wallis *H* Tests were performed on the data of this study. Notice that the HPS has two levels (top-down versus bottom-up); hence, *df* =3. The results are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1.
Kruskal-Wallis H Test Results for Refusal Strategies across Politeness Systems

	Chi-square	*df*	*Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)*
Performative	1.12	3	.77
Non-performative	18.54	3	.00*
Regret	56.07	3	.00*
Wish	4.81	3	.18
Excuse	50.23	3	.00*
Alternative	11.34	3	.01*
Condition	6.29	3	.10
Promise	18.62	3	.00*
Principle	15.14	3	.00*
Philosophy	3.41	3	.33
Dissuasion	2.79	3	.42
Acceptance	2.04	3	.56
Avoidance	12.60	3	.00*
Adjunct	81.15	3	.00*

Significant differences were observed among the three politeness systems in the case of the of 'non-performative' refusal strategy (chi^2 = 18.54, p = .00), 'regret' refusal strategy (chi^2 = 56.07, p = .00), 'excuse' refusal strategy (chi^2 = 50.23, p = .00), 'alternative' strategy (chi^2 = 11.34, p = .01), 'promise' strategy (chi^2 = 18.62, p = .00), 'principle' strategy (chi^2 = 15.14, p = .00), 'avoidance' strategy (chi^2 = 12.60, p = .00), and the 'adjunct' refusal strategy (chi^2 = 81.15, p = .00). In case of the 'non-performative' and 'promise' strategies, the highest mean ranks belonged to top-down HPS; for the 'excuse' strategy, the highest mean rank belonged to bottom-up HPS; for the 'principle,' 'avoidance', and 'adjunct' strategies, it belonged to DPS; and for the 'regret' and 'alternative' strategies, the SPS had the highest mean rank.

It was hypothesized that the observed difference might be due to the gender of the participants in refusal speech acts. To determine if participants' gender left any impact on the choice of refusal strategies, the data were fed into a series of Mann-Whitney *U* Tests. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 2 below.

Based on the results obtained, male and female participants were found to

differ significantly only in their use of the 'regret' type of refusal strategies (Z = -2.53, p = .01) with males using it much less than females (169 vs. 194 mean rank). They did not differ from each other in their use of any of the other strategies. Although the difference between their use of 'condition' refusal strategy was not significant, a trend was observed in that case too (Z = -1.79, p = .07), males using that strategy less than females (177 vs. 185). The same thing happened for the 'acceptance' refusal strategy (Z = -1.88, p = .06). Unlike the previous cases, males used this strategy more than females (mean rank of 183 vs. 176).

Table 2.
Mann-Whitney U Test Results for Male and Female's Use of Different Refusal Strategies

	Mann-Whitney U	*Wilcoxon W*	*Z*	*Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)*
Performative	15829	30025	-.66	.50
Non-performative	14827	33355	-1.43	.15
Regret	13896.50	32424.50	-2.58	.01*
Wish	15660	29856	-1.53	.13
Excuse	14893.50	33421.50	-1.30	.19
Alternative	15714	2991	-.59	.56
Condition	15378.50	33906.50	-1.79	.07
Promise	16085	34613	-.08	.94
Principle	15952.50	34480.50	-.38	.70
Philosophy	15805	30001	-1.48	.14
Dissuasion	15654	29850	-.68	.49
Acceptance	15792	29988	-1.88	.06
Avoidance	15859	34387	-.45	.65
Adjunct	15258	33786	-.99	.32
Accept	15228.50	29424.50	-1.49	.13

Another demographic variable that was studied was the participants' age. The participants in this study belonged in five different age groups (13-20, 21-30, 31-40, 41-50, and 50^{+}). To determine if participants' age affected their use of refusal strategies, a Kruskal-Wallis H Test was conducted. Table 3 (below) summarizes the results obtained.

A significant difference was observed among the age groups in the use of 'non-performative' refusal strategy (chi^2 = 25, p = .00), 'alternative' refusal strategy

(*chi*^{2} = 11.91, p = .02), and the 'avoidance' refusal strategy (*chi*^{2} = 10.05, *p* = .04). A trend was also observed in the use of the 'excuse' (*chi*^{2} = 9.10, *p* = .00), and the 'philosophy' strategies (*chi*^{2} = 9.17, *p* = .00). As for the 'non-performative' strategy, the highest mean rank belonged to the age range of 13-20; for the alternative' strategy, the highest mean rank belonged to the age range of 31-40; and for the 'avoidance' strategy, the 50$^+$ age range had the highest mean rank. For the two strategies for which a trend was observed, the highest mean ranks belonged to the age group of 13-20 for both the 'philosophy' and 'excuse' refusal strategies. These indicate that politeness is a dynamic concept, and signal a generation gap in the present day Iran.

Table 3
Kruskal-Wallis H Test Results for Different Age Groups and the Use of Different Refusal Strategies

	Chi-square	*df*	*Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)*
Performative	4.68	4	.32
Non-performative	25	4	.00*
Regret	7.17	4	.12
Wish	5.09	4	.28
Excuse	9.10	4	.06
Alternative	11.91	4	.02*
Condition	1.95	4	.74
Promise	4.62	4	.33
Principle	3.10	4	.54
Philosophy	9.17	4	.06
Dissuasion	6.55	4	.16
Acceptance	1.60	4	.81
Avoidance	10.05	4	.04*
Adjunct	5.48	4	.24

The connection between participants' level of education and their choice of refusal strategies was also studied. The participants belonged in either of the four education groups: high school diploma or below, bachelor's degree, master's degree, and PhD/PhD candidate.

Another aim of the study was to find out if there is any significant difference among groups of participants with different educational background in their use of refusal strategies. To address this, a Kruskal-Wallis *H* Test was used. Table 4 (below) summarizes the results obtained. To test the probable effects of this demographic variable, another Kruskal-Wallis *H* Test was conducted.

A significant difference was observed among the participants with different educational backgrounds in the case of the 'non-performative' refusal strategy (chi^2 = 11.55, p = .01), 'regret' refusal strategy (chi^2 = 14.17, p = .00), 'wish' refusal strategy (chi^2 = 20.80, p = .00), 'excuse' strategy (chi^2 = 7.92, p = .05), and the 'dissuasion' strategy (chi^2 = 10.21, p = .01). In case of the 'non-performative' and 'dissuasion' strategies, the highest mean rank belonged to the group who had (not) completed high school diploma; for the 'regret' strategy, the highest mean rank belonged to the group holding MA/MS; and for the 'wish' and 'excuse' strategy, it belonged to the group holding PhD.

Table 4.
Kruskal-Wallis H Test Results for Different Educational Background and the Use of Different Refusal Strategies

	Chi-square	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Performative	5.33	3	.13
Non-performative	11.55	3	.01*
Regret	13.17	3	.00*
Wish	20.80	3	.00*
Excuse	7.92	3	.05
Alternative	5.22	3	.15
Condition	1.00	3	.80
Promise	8.35	3	.09
Principle	1.99	3	.57
Philosophy	2.13	3	.53
Dissuasion	10.21	3	.01*
Acceptance	1.31	3	.70
Avoidance	2.30	3	.51
Adjunct	5.95	3	.11

5. Discussion

One striking finding of this study was that Persian 'refusers' only used 14 of the 24 strategies identified by Liao (1994) and Liao and Bresnahan (1996). It seems that the strategies used by Persian speakers are very much similar to the ones identified by Takahashi and Beebe (1986) and found in Arabic by Al-Eryani (2007) (See Appendix A).

Another finding of the study was that female participants more often tended to use 'regret' strategies; they often reject requests of invitations using phrases like:

vaqe?an mote?asefam[1].	I am sorry.
?ehsaas badi daram. Nemitunam ghabul konam.	I feel bad. I cannot accept.

It should be noted that in the second example, the modal 'can' signals that the refusal is made because of a lack of ability not interest. Female refusers also tend to use the 'condition' or 'wish' strategy with generosity. They use expressions that function as conditionals for a possible acceptance of the request/invitation if the condition had been met. It should be noted that even when a 'wish' is uttered, it quite often functions as a condition. The 'wish' and 'condition' strategies function as refusals because they show lack of ability to accept the invitation/request due to some external cause. Examples of such expressions are:

kash zudtar gofteh budin.	I wish you told me sooner than this.
?aga mehmoon nadashtam hatman mi?umadam.	I would join you if I did not have guests at home.

By way of contrast, male participants tend to use the 'acceptance' strategy more frequently. This difference in male versus female strategy preference is most probably due to the cultural difference in power relations in Iran. The Iranian culture has always given males more power over females. This cultural factor has resulted in men's seeing themselves as more powerful in comparison to women. Therefore, men see themselves in a higher position to show no enthusiasm in a request or invitation or no regret to reject a request or offer.

A third finding of the study had to do with the role of participants' age in their choice of refusal strategies. People from the first age group (i.e., 13-20 years) preferred to use direct non-performative strategies quite frequently (e.g., flat 'no', or other expressions of negative willingness/ability like *nemitunam* = 'I can't', *nemikham* = 'I won't', or *fekr nemikonam* = 'I don't think so.'). They were also found to use indirect strategies like offering excuse (e.g., *farad emtehane saxti daram* = I have a terrible exam tomorrow) or providing statement of philosophy (e.g., you can never be too careful). 31- 40-year-old participants, on the other hand, preferred to use the 'alternative' strategy of providing options. Here are a couple of examples:

[1] See Appendix B for a guide to phonetic symbols.

chera narim shomal?	Why don't we go to the North instead?
tarjih midam bemunam khuneh futbal bebinam.	I prefer to stay home and watch the soccer match.

For participants belonging in the 51-plus age group, hedging strategies (e.g., *motma?en nistam* = I am not that sure) and postponement (e.g., *dar baresh fekr mikonam* = I will sleep on it) were the preferred refusal strategies.

The overt and frank refusal behavior on the part of the 13-20 age group is most probably due to the fact that developments in the Internet and access to satellite TV channels has had a great impact on Iranian teen-agers. They find foreign cultures more appropriate and prefer to break away from the cultural ties of the Iranian society—which, as some of the interviewed teen-agers suggested, they find inferior to the western way of social conduct. This claim can be supported if one browses the concerns about cultural change and cultural hegemony that are expressed by conservative sociologists and authorities in Iranian mass media. The observed difference also lends support to the claim that politeness, as a human trait, is not a static concept. It is lively and dynamic, and it changes over time. As such, a static theory of politeness may not be able to account for data that are collected in social studies. As generations change, their views of politeness also change. Where as direct non-performative strategies are the least polite strategies in the eyes of the elderly, teen-agers prefer them as the dominant refusal strategy.

Participants' level of education also controlled their choice of refusal strategies. Participants with a high school diploma or lower level of education often used the blatant '*na*' (= NO) or '*nemitunam*' (= I can't). They also used 'dissuasion' strategies; they were inclined towards warnings and criticism and often reminded the requester of the negative consequences. Take the following example:

> It was an evening. A young boy of 10-20 years of age was on the subway train in Tehran. It could be said from the book he was reading that he was a junior student at high school. In a station, a friend of his stepped into the wagon and sat beside him. They started a conversation and the young man addressed his friend saying:
>
> A: *migam farad miay berim khuneh javad ina bara ye shenaye jananeh?*
>
> would you like to go to Javad's house with me tomorrow for a lot of fun in the swimming pool?

B: *bebin, man aga jay to budam pam ra unja nemizashtam; yadet nist daf?eh pish mamnesh che juri bahamun rafter kard?*

Look, I wouln't go there if I were you; don't you remember how his mother treated us the last time we were there?

The blatant use of direct non-performative strategies is most probably due to refusers' difficulty in understanding appropriate social behavior. People with low education often work in low-paid jobs, and belong to the lower class of the society. They often reside in neighborhoods that are culturally isolated from other parts of the society, especially in big cities. They have their own dialects and ways of social conduct. Narcotics are used in these neighborhoods in such great quantities as if they are going out of fashion. All these details of life go hand in hand to create a way of social conduct that stands in contrast to those of the other higher-class neighborhoods. These people seem to have accepted their own social inferiority, and this acceptance of one's inferiority leaves no room for one to attempt to retain face. Needless to say, when one has nothing to lose, one does not need to worry about and care for; politeness finds meaning only when one has something to lose.

The last finding of the study was that in the top-down HPS, participants were inclined towards the frequent use of 'non-performative' and 'promise' strategies; in a bottom-up HPS, on the other hand, the 'excuse' strategy was the most frequently used strategy. In the HPS system, power relations are vivid and the interlocutors are conscious of their power relations. They, therefore, adjust their choice of refusal strategies to the requirements of the situation. In the DPS system, although there is no overt power relation between the interlocutors, there is social distance which makes it possible for them to feel they can easily refuse an invitation, offer, or request. 'Principle,' 'avoidance,' and 'adjunct' strategies were the most frequent strategies in DPS. In the SPS, the determining factor is the solidarity between the interlocutors. Here, the refuser and the one refused are friends and they expect from each other. As such, any act of refusing becomes emotionally charged, and the refuser finds it quite difficult to refuse. In such situations, refusers often tend to use 'regret' and 'alternative' strategies.

6. Conclusion

This study and other studies that address speech acts have a lot to do with intercultural communication. The developments in international trade, the advancement of transportation, and the growth of mass media and the Internet have all made it quite easy for people from different cultures to enter into conversation and social relations. The world has become a small village were people from different cultures come to close contact at an increasing

rate. If they do not know about the nuances and delicacies of others' cultures, they may fail in their intercultural communication and relations. This understanding requires a description of the cultural values and social behavior of each and every society. The current study was an attempt at addressing this very issue.

It was found that Persian speakers only use 14 refusal strategies where as Liao (1994) and Liao and Bresnahan (1996) had listed 24 different refusal strategies. A comparison of the results of the current study with those of the study conducted by Al-Eryani (2007) also revealed that Persian speakers are quite similar to Arabic speakers in their choice of refusal strategies. However, Persian speakers differ from non-Arab communities in their refusal strategies. The list presented by Liao (1994) and Liao and Bresnahan (1996) indicates that both Persian speakers and their non-Arab counterparts need to learn about the appropriate choice of refusal strategies (i.e., the 10 strategies absent in Persian and the ones absent in Arabic) for successful intercultural communication. Last but not least, a natural conclusion of studies like the current study is that people need to learn the differences between their own cultural values and those of other human societies. Governments, too, need to give more value to inter-cultural training to avoid conflicts and wars that can follow a misunderstanding fueled by a failure to realize the cultural values and social conduct of other communities.

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Appendix A: Refusal Strategies [Adopted from Al-Eryani (2007)]

I- Direct

A. Performative (e.g., "I refuse")
B. Non-performative statement
1. "No"
2. Negative willingness/ability ("I can't." "I won't." "I don't think so.")

II- Indirect

A. Statement of regret (e.g., "I'm sorry…", "I feel terrible…")
B. Wish (e.g., "I wish I could help you….")
C. Excuse, reason, explanation (e.g., "My children will be home that night."; "I have a headache.")
D. Statement of alternative
1. I can do X instead of Y (e.g., "I'd rather do…""I'd prefer")
2. Why don't you do X instead of Y (e.g., "Why don't you ask someone else?")
E. Set condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., "If you had asked me earlier, I would have…")
F. Promise of future acceptance (e.g., "I'll do it next time";" I promise I'll…" or "Next time I'll…"- using "will" of promise or "promise")
G. Statement of principle (e.g., "I never do business with friends.")
H. Statement of philosophy (e.g., "One can't be too careful.")
I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor
1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester (e.g., "I won't be any fun tonight" to refuse an invitation)
2. Guilt trip (e.g., waitress to customers who want to sit a while: "I can't make a living off people who just order coffee.")
3. Criticize the request/requester, etc. (statement of negative feeling or opinion); insult/attack (e.g., "Who do you think you are?"; "That's a terrible idea!")
4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request.
5. Let interlocutor off the hook (e.g., "Don't worry about it." "That's okay." "You don't have to.")
6. Self-defense (e.g., "I'm trying my best." "I'm doing all I can."
J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal
1. Unspecific or indefinite reply
2. Lack of enthusiasm
K. Avoidance
1. Nonverbal
a. Silence
b. Hesitation
c. Do nothing
d. Physical departure
2. Verbal
a. Topic switch
b. Joke
c. Repetition of part of request, etc. (e.g., "Monday?")
d. Postponement (e.g., "I'll think about it.")
e. Hedging (e.g., "Gee, I don't know." "I'm not sure.")

Adjuncts to refusals

A. Statement of positive opinions/feeling or agreement ("That's a good idea…"; "I'd love to…")
B. Statement of empathy (e.g., "I realize you are in a difficult situation.")
C. Pause filler (e.g., "uhh"; "well"; "uhm")
D. Gratitude/appreciation

Appendix B: Guide to Persian transcription symbols.

Symbol	Example	Symbol	Example	Symbol	Example
aa	arm	p	pen	t	tea
o	or	s	so	j	joke
u	too	ch	change	h	house
a	hat	x	xub	d	door
e	ten	z	zoo	r	red
i	sheep	zh	vision	sh	shoe
q	Qom	n	noon	f	foot
k	kill	y	yard	g	good
l	land	?	?al?aan	m	moon
v	voice	b	bad		

NOTES:

1. The /?/ symbol represents glottal stop, and is used at the beginning of Persian syllables followed by a vowel.
2. The /q/ (i.e., a radical stop) and /x/ (i.e., a radical fricative) represent Persian-specific consonants.
3. The Persian sporadic feature *tashdid* is represented by the repetition of the phoneme that receives it.

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Borrowing of Persian words into Arabic language and its influence on Arabic literature and language: A review paper

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The link between Persian and Arabic Languages has been investigated by researchers since a long time ago. After the Arab invasion of Iran, at that special period of time, Arabic language was a lot more important than Persian language; it was the language of courts of Iran for a while, and Iranian writers had more tendency to write in Arabic rather than Persian. That is why; some researchers believe that the Persian language has been influenced by the Arabic language. However, in pre-Islamic Iran, during Parthian and Sassanid kingdoms, there was a wide association between Iranians and Arabs. According to many Arabic and Persian references, Persian, in Sassanid era, was spoken from Hira (located in today's Iraq) to Yemen. From 399 till 430 AC (224 till 193 BH), Persian had been prevalent among inhabitants of Hira who could speak in this language. By investigating Arabic poems in pre-Islamic Arab tribes, we can figure out that the Persian language and the Sassanid civilization have influenced Arabic culture and language. In these poems, there are many Persian entries (words from Pahlavi or Middle Persian language which have changed according to Arabic dialects). In this research, by referring to historical and literary Arabic and Persian documents, we have investigated how the Persian language and the Iranian civilization have influenced the Arabic language and literature in the pre-Islamic period, and we will also illustrate some Persian words which were been used in pre-Islamic Arabic poems.

Keywords: Arabic Poetry; Persian Language; Arabic Language; Borrowing; Lexical Transfer; Cognates; Word Formation

1. Introduction

John R. Perry, professor in oriental studies in Chicago University, believes that Middle Persian was not deficient, but that it has enjoyed a sophisticated system of lexical derivation and has excelled Arabic in compiling native religious vocabulary and in adapting to Greek philosophical and medical

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terms. Indeed, it has borrowed vocabulary from all these classes from pre and early Islamic Arabic (Perry, 2005).

Arabic includes many words which are called Moarrabat (words with non-Arabic root changed and adapted to Arabic and its dialects). Many researchers made many efforts but could not find the root of these words because when they had entered Arabic form other languages, they changed a lot, so it is not easy to distinguish their roots. Arabic is a derivative language in the sense that it has a very complicated morphological system that draws on certain word formation patterns called "Babs" such as 'Efaal', 'Tafeil', 'Mofaele', 'Estefaal', and the like. These Babs can receive word stems as their raw materials which they will then change into new words with different meanings (i.e., cognates). Research shows that the number of Moarrabat with Persian roots is around 5000.

In this article, we will illustrate that Persian has had a great influence on pre-Islamic Arabic. In addition; we will show that many Pahlavi and Middle Persian words are found in pre-Islamic Arabic poems.

2. Iranian and Arabs connection in Sassanid era

Prior to discussing Iranian culture and Persian language influences on Arabs, it is necessary to talk briefly about the geography of Iran in Sassanid era and the relationship between Iranian kings and their neighbors, especially their relationship with Arabs whose country was located in the southwest of Iran. Iran, in the Sassanid era, had the most extensive territory, and was the most significant country among all its neighbors in science, culture, and economy. Moreover, we can consider the Sassanid era as a golden era in the history of Iran. In that era, Iranian currency had the highest value and was prevalent in the world—from the banks of Tigris to Indus Rivers and from the deserts of Arabia to the border of China. Even after Arab's domination, Iranian money was valid for many years, and it seems that Arabs feared that it would not have been valuable any more if they tried to change the shape of Iranian currency (Nafisi, 2009).

Iran in the Sassanid era had the most extensive territory and a close relationship with its neighbors. Arabs lived in southwest of the Sassanid territory. During the Sassanid era, all Arabs who lived in the west of Arabia and in the vicinity of Syria, Palestine, and the shores of the Black Sea were under the domination of the Roman Empire, but Arabs who lived in the east of Arabia and in the vicinity of Iran were under the domination of Iranian kings and even governors of Hira, from Lkhmyan feudals, who were subordinate to Sassanid kings. Furthermore, after the event of "Amalfyl", in which inhabitants of Yemen pleaded to Khosrow Anoushirvan for military support, Yemen had always had Iranian governors even until after the Arab

domination. Governors of Hira succeeded to the throne after the Iranian kings in 250 AD; the first invasion of Iranian army to Yemen occurred in 570 AD. In addition, all the southern shores of the Persian Gulf and all its isles and islands belonged in the Sassanid territory; Ardashir Babakan had occupied Bahrain and all its isles as well (Nafisi, 2009).

Whenever the Arabs, living in the west of Iran since ancient times, had some difficulty due to drought, they immigrated to Iran. These immigrations, being always followed by defiance, battles, and struggles, increased significantly during the Sassanid era. Many Arab immigrants were from Bahrain, Kazma, and Bdalqys who had come to the Iranian borders. After so much looting, they resided in the southern areas of Iran and adapted themselves to the Iranian ceremonies and rituals; they also promoted them (Azarnoush, 2008).

3. Iranian culture's influences on Arabs

Hira, the city which was founded simultaneously with the downfall of Parthian in the bank of Euphrates, is one of the areas which played an important role in the connection between Iranian language and culture and Arabic language. Governors of Hira were subordinate to the Sassanid kings, and Iranian kings changed primitive people in Hira to urbanized people to defend the Iranian Empire against uncivilized Arabs who were living in the deserts around Iran by supporting inhabitants of Hira and providing army for governors of Hira. Due to a vast connection between Iranians and Arabs in Hira, some Iranians resided in Hira; By doing so, this city's population became a combination of Iranians and Arabs (Azarnoush, 2009).

Governors of Hira used Iranian traditions which had been used in Sassanid court; they put crown on their heads by imitating Sasanian's kings, and many of them learnt Iranian games and sports such as equestrian, shooting, hunting, and Polo (Chōwgān) and became skillful at them at that time. Arabs of Hira were affected a lot by Iranians in arts and especially in music. They learnt playing Oud from Iranians for the first time and taught it to Arabs in other parts of Arabia and the people of Mecca. Generally, music in Iraq, due to its mixture with Iranian music, is different from music and songs in other parts of Arabia (Azarnoush, 2009).

In the Achaemenian era, and after that in the Sassanid era, there existed official yearbooks, and writers of *Khowdaynamag* used the yearbooks. *Khowdaynamag* was written in the end of the Sassanid era and during the reign of Yazdegerd III. Theodor Noldeke (1836- 1930), a German orientalist and professor in Semitic languages, believed that the yearbook, as a Pahlavi history, was the main reference book for most of the historical Persian and Arabic books which had been written about Iran in pre-Islamic times. *Khowdaynamag* has been translated into Arabic as *Seyar Almuluk Alajam* or

Seyar Almuluk and into Persian as *Shahnameh*. One of the most important Arabic translations of *Khodaynamag* is a translation done by Ibn al-Muqaffa who was a Zoroastrian who converted to Islam after the Arab domination of Iran (Christensen, 2009).

Iranian culture and literature was noteworthy for Arabs in both Pre Islamic and Islamic eras. Arabs became familiar with Iranian mottos and traditions in different ways, including translating some writings from Pahlavi to Arabic by those who knew both the Persian and the Arabic language. Arabs were much interested in these writings, especially in the Iranian history, *Seyar Almuluk*, policies of kingdom and Iranian mottos. Jahiz talked about it in one of his writings and criticized the behavior of the ascribes of his age when he wrote that . . . whenever one of the ascribes intended to eulogize one of Prophet Mohammad's companions, he was at loss for words soon and could not admire the companions with so many good qualities. Whenever an ascribe remembered Sharih, he started to talk about his faults. Whenever an ascribe heard someone is admiring Hassan, it was not gracious to him, . . . Whenever an ascribe mentioned Nakhaei, it was just to underestimate him. But in gatherings, when someone began to speak about the great policy of Ardashir Babakan, the wisdom of Anoushirvan, and the stability of the Sassanid government, no one could deny him (Alakub, 1995).

4. Persian language influence on Saudi Arabia

According to Abd Alvahed Vafi, an Arab contemporary researcher, most of the words that one language borrows from another are related to the issues that are related to the lending countries, and the borrowing language does not benefit from it; sometimes these words are related to the matters in which the lending countries are predominant to the borrowing countries, or the lending countries have gained some benefits in those matters. Moreover, the lending countries may have gained advantages in such matters over the borrowing countries. For instance, most of the words from Persian and Greek that are borrowed by Arabic are related to material and mental issues, and Arabs had to borrow them. Motives for borrowing vocabulary from other languages could be necessities, prestige, or the importance of the culture and the society of the lending language (Jeffery, 2007).

Political connections between Iranians and Arabs has started since Achaemenian era in the 5th century BC. At that time, Arabia was a province or 'satrap' of the Persian Empire and comprised Palestine, Lebanon, Shaam mainland and Abyssinia. At that time, some words with Persian roots entered Arabic through Aramaic—the language which was a scientific language in courts in that era—like Latin in Europe. Since the 5th century, governors of Hira in Babel, in the west of Abyssinia, were paying tax to the Sassanid

kingdom, and these governors were indeed as cultural intermediates between Iranians and Arabs. Some of the poets in the court of Hira were completely familiar with the Iranian culture and language and had several good poems in middle Persian, such as Oday Ebn Zeyd who was an actuary in the court of Khosrow I, and he later was sent to the Byzantine Empire as an ambassador of the king. Other Arabic poet, Aesha, also lived in the court of the Sassanid for a long time (Tafazzoli, 2009).

Arabs, who lived in Hira, were familiar with the Iranian history and the Iranian mythology. In the era of the Prophet of Islam, Nazr Ibn Hares, from the Quraish tribe, told some stories for people in Mecca about the Iranian kings and champions and compared them with the Quran and the prophet's speeches. The areas from Bahrain and Oman through to Yemen were subordinate to the Iranian Empire. Some Iranians lived in Bahrain, and Hariz, who was one of the Sassanid governors according to the request of Hmyryan, was the leader of one of the Iranian army leagues that fought against Abrhh, the Abyssinian governor of Yemen. At that time Iranians were famous as nobles and were always admired by Arabs for the liberation of Yemen (Tafazzali, 2009).

5. Persian loan words in pre-Islamic Arabic poems and literature

In all eras, Iranians were living in some areas where Arabs and a symbiosis of Iranians made up its major populations, and the Arab population increased after the Arab domination. Iranians who lived in the mentioned areas were much better than Arabs in science, culture, and art and affected Arabs a lot. Gradually Persian spread in all areas in Iraq, especially in Basra, Kufa, and Baghdad by Iranians who lived in these areas. In addition, this also affected the people with an Arabic descent. Dr. Azarnoush listed some documents that show Persian was spoken by Arabs at that time (Azarnoush, 2008):

- Some of the inhabitants of Kufa, spoke in Persian when Emam Ali went there;
- Many troopers resided in Iraq (Belazari, 279, P. 41)
- Residents of all Esvari army in Basra (Belazari. 367, P. 129)
- Residents of four hundred captives of Bukhara in Basra (Narashkhi, 46)
- In Mokhtar army, all people spoke in Persian (Dinvari, 302, P. 316)
- Ubaidullah bin Ziad whose mother, Marjaneh, was Iranian, knew Persian well and had difficulty speaking Arabic (Jahez, Bayan, 2/167; Aghani, 18/284)

- Ebn Mafragh, in response to children in Basra who spoke in Persian, composed Persian poem (History of Sistan, 96)
- Some of the famous poets had Persian dialect (Ziad Aejam, Abol Aeta Sendi, …)
- Asmaei, underestimated every Arab who spoke in Persian (Mabrad, Kamel, quoted from Taha Neda, P. 55)
- Numerousness of Iranian names in Iraq (Fok, 84)
- Frasiyat written by Abu Noas (poems in which some Arabic and Persian verses are combined)
- Sermons of Moosa Esvari in mosque of Basra in Arabic and Persian languages (Jahez, Bayan, 1/ 368)

Many of the common words between Persian and Arabic, which seem Arabic at first sight are indeed Persian or Moarrab; some of these words are; Kam (in Persian pronounces Chand and it means how and how much), Jas (in Persian pronounces Gach and it means chalk), Rebaat (it means inn), Bayan (it means quotation), Noor (it means light), Dar Alakhera (it means hereafter), Takaddi (it means begging), Rajas (it means impurity) and Najes (it means unclean). For instance, Noor (meaning light) is Moarrab from Khor and Khor meaning light and sun in Pahlavi.

Arthur Jeffery (1892-1959), a famous English researcher, linguist and Quran scholar, proved that twenty seven words in the Quran have Persian roots. Some of these words are: Sejjil (means stone and slosh), Abarigh (plural of Abrigh and means latrine), Tanoor, Marjan, Mesk, Kovverat (it means somber), Taghalid (plural of Taghlid and means imitation), Beye (it means buy and sell), Jahannam, Dinaar, Zanjabil, Soradegh, Saghar (it means inferno), Salsabil (it means soft), Varde (Rose), Sandos (worthful cloths), Ghertas (it means paper), Kafour and Yaghout. Some other researchers believe that words in Quran with Persian roots are around one hundred such as Seraj (in Persian pronounces Cheragh and means lamp), Zamharir, Shoeleh, Osveh, Fil, Kanz (in Persian pronounces Ganj and it means treasury) and Borhan (Jeffery, 2007).

According to Sadeghi (2000), there are many vocabulary items in Pahlavi which since pre Islamic era were well known in Arabic. Such items include: Johar (in Pahlavi: Gohar/ Makenzi), Khaz (in Pahlavi: Khaz and it means a stuff makes from silk/ Bondaheshn, Glossary, P. 21), Khosrowani (it means a kind of stuff makes from silk and in Pahlavi word is the same), Divan (it means official organization), Zanjabil (it was Singirra in Sanskrit and Sangapil in Pahlavi, it came from Pahlavi to Semitic language and from Semitic to

Arabic), Mohragh (it means a skin of animal which was used as paper for writing letter and in Pahlavi it was Motrak or Modrak).

6. Examples from Persian vocabulary in Arabic pre-Islamic poems

In this section, examples of Persian vocabulary items found in pre-Islamic poems are presented and discussed.

1. Taaj (Crown) تاج

Taaj, is one of the oldest Persian words which entered Arabic language as a Moarrab. The most important document is famous epigraph—*Alnamreh*, which dates back to 328 AD and in which "Taaj" has been written in this statement "Zoo Asr Altaaj (i.e., one who takes crown); this epigraph has been discovered by orientalists and was published in 1902 AD. For the first time and has been translated, written, and transcribed many times. Arabs have known this word "Taaj" well, and most of the Arabic poets have used this word in their poems (Rajabi, 2001).

"Taaj" in Pahlavi was written and pronounced as "Taag" but when it entered Arabic, it changed into "Taaj". There is no doubt that it is a Persian word, and Arabs borrowed it from Iranians. It seems that the population of Hira saw "Taaj" of kings in 4th Hormazd kingdom time (578-590 AD) for the first time. Abu Alfaraj Esfahani in his book, *Aghani*, and Mohammad Jarir Tabari in his book, *History Alrosol and Almuluk*, have written that the 4th Hormazd being one of the Sassanid kings gave Naeman III a "Taaj" as a gift whose value was 60,000 AED, when Naeman III, governor of Hira ascended the throne. That's why, some Arabic poets named Naeman "Zo Altaaj" (ones who has crown) (Dehkhoda, 1994).

2. saraab Mirage سراب

This word is also common between Persian and Arabic languages and entered Arabic poems from Iran. The poets who have used this word in their poems many time are Aesha, Emrae Algheys, Abu Zoeyb, Derid, Hares Ibn Zalem, Alghameh, Lobeid, and Motlames (Azarnoush, 2009).

3. rezgh aliment رزق

This word has been used in poems of Zahir and Lobeyd. This is one the most famous Quranic words borrowed from Persian vocabulary which has been used in the Quran, and it appears in the Quran in different forms with many of its derivations. The root of this word is Roochik (in Pahlavi) meaning aliment

which has firstly entered Syriac language and then entered Arabic through the Syriac language. In Syriac, it means bread and daily stipend, and it has also entered Armenian language (Azarnoush, 2009).

4. Din Religion دین

Arthur Jeffery, believes that Din is originally Pahlavi which has been taken from an Avestan word "Daena", and its root is another Elamite word. Based on the Translation of Arthur Jeffery's Book which by Fereydoun Badreie, Geo Widengran believes that "Daena" in the Avestan language is indeed a Sanskrit word that was originally "Dahena" not taken from the Elamite language at all. The Hozvaresh found in Pahlavi Glossary should be pronounced as Dina that is a derivation and it should not be read as Dena as it is a strange combination of Aramaic Hozvaresh and Pahlavi pronounciation, Den (Jeffery, 2007).

5. Lejaam Rein لجام

This word was very prevalent in Arabic and has been used in different patterns—as a verb, a subject, an object, a location name, and some other derivatives. Most of the scholars of Arabic syntax and morphology believe that this is indeed a Persian word "Legaam" which has entered Arabic as "Lejaam". This word has also been used in Abyssinia language since ancient times, and its usage in the Quran is the same as its usage in Persian (Rajabi, 2001).

Due to the connection between Iranian and Arabs in pre Islamic era, the Iranian culture and the Persian language prevailed among Arabs, and Persian vocabularies entered the Arabic literature. Persian vocabulary can be found in Arabic literary and historical books; from among the books in which Persian words can be found, one can name the Moslem's religious book—Quran—which has borrowed several Pahlavi vocabularies. After the Arab domination of Iran, the connection between Arabs and Iranians grew at a more increasing rate on an every-day basis and reached its climax in the Abbasi era.

7. Conclusion

The influence of Persian on Arabic is not limited only to the Abbasi era; rather, Persian influence on Arabic can be seen in different periods of history. In this article we investigated the influence of Persian on Arabic in the pre-Islamic era with regard to the kind of Persian which was called Pahlavi and Middle Persian. We have illustrated just a few Persian loaned vocabularies in Arabic, which were used in pre Islamic Arabic poems (known as *Moallaghat-e-Sabe*). We have investigated just a few cases, but it must be emphasized that

there are many such cases in Arabic poems. Some of these vocabularies entered Arabic directly from Persian with the same shape that they were used in Persian and some others entered Arabic through other languages or as Moarrabat.

Perhaps the main reason for these borrowings is that Iranians and Arabs had economic and commercial connections since the Achaemenian era. This connection was spreading everyday by the expansion of the territory of Iran in the Sassanid era. Also this connection spread in cultural, artistic and literary aspects. Iranians who were superior to Arabs in culture, civilization, art, and sciences of that time, after residing in some areas where Arabs also lived, and also by living beside Arabs who migrated to Iran because of drought, started to propagate Iranian language and culture.

The combination of Iranians and Arabs caused the Iranian civilization to exert its influence on Arabs and also caused many Persian vocabularies (i.e., Pahlavi and Middle Persian vocabularies) to enter the language of the majority of Arabs, the language of poets and authors included. Iranian stories, narratives, and proverbs were famous among Arabs in both pre-Islamic and Islamic eras. The influence of Persian and the Iranian culture on Arabs continued and even became more and more important in the following periods.

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Book Review

Richards, J. C., & Farrell, T. S. C. (2011). *Practice teaching: A reflective approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [185 pp; ISBN 978-0-521-18622-3 (paperback)].

The most recent book by Jack C. Richards and Thomas S. C. Farrell, *Practice Teaching: A Reflective Approach,* is designed as a resource for pre-service language teachers who are involved in classroom practice as a preliminary step in their profession. Although the text speaks directly to student teachers, the authors claim that it may also serve as supplementary material for instructors of practice teaching courses. Rather than offering a prescriptive method for teaching, the book adopts a reflective approach which encourages prospective teachers to develop a better understanding of the nature of language teaching through experience and self-criticism.

Each of the book's twelve chapters covers specific issues that student teachers may face while trying to bridge the gap between their teacher education programs and the real world of classroom instruction. Chapter 1, "Learning to Teach through Practice," sets the stage by discussing ways of learning to teach through reflective activities such as microteaching and working with a cooperating instructor. After laying the groundwork for practice teaching, Chapter 2, "The Nature of Teacher Learning" focuses on eight dimensions of teacher learning; these include developing discourse skills, establishing a language teacher identity, building a repertoire of teaching skills, professional knowledge application, understanding context, strengthening cognitive skills, engaging in learner-focused teaching and developing theory from practice. In the next chapter, "Understanding the Teaching Context," the authors explain that student teachers should not only develop their teaching skills, but also consider some of the contextual factors that may either create opportunities or lead to problems in their professional practice. The functions of a cooperative teacher, as well as the obligations of the pre-service practitioner to ensure a healthy communication between them, are outlined in the fourth chapter, "Working with Your Cooperating Teacher;" while Chapter 5, "Planning Your Teaching," offers guidance on how to plan short-term, week-by-week and day-by-day teaching. With the sixth chapter, "Teaching an Effective Language Lesson," the authors focus on the core principals of good teaching, including professional standards; a

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theoretically grounded and principled understanding of teaching; effective classroom management; appropriately structured lessons; giving students the opportunity to practice language and experience success; meaningful learning outcomes; and reflecting teachers' goals for the lesson. Chapter 7, "Classroom Observation," presents teachers with issues that should be considered during a systematic classroom observation, underlining its focus, procedures, etiquette, and follow-up discussions; while the next chapter, "Creating an Effective Learning Environment," examines five approaches to creating the right kind of classroom environment for language learners. In "Developing Learner-Centered Teaching," the authors then explore six methods for moving from a teacher-centered approach to a student-centered classroom, while Chapter 10, "Classroom Discourse and Communication," reveals how student teachers can maximize the potential of classroom discourse, focusing on modeling language use, providing comprehensible input, using effective questioning techniques, giving constructive feedback, and understanding kinesis and proxemics. Next, in "Exploring Your Own Teaching," Richards and Farrell aim at helping teachers to become more aware of various aspects of their practice by providing them with an array of self-reviewing techniques, such as audio or video recording of lessons; keeping written accounts in the form of a checklist or narrative; maintaining a teaching journal; writing case reports; building a teaching portfolio; tracking critical incidents; taking part in action research; and joining student teacher support groups. Finally, in the last chapter, "After Teaching Practice," the authors examine the possible challenges that student teachers may face after taking up full time work in the classroom; some options for promoting ongoing professional development are also suggested.

With its practical information, enhanced by rich commentaries from teachers of various backgrounds all over the world, this book has the potential to accompany pre-service teachers as they move from teacher training to teacher development. Due to its limited technical vocabulary, the text is accessible for teachers at all levels, from student teachers to more experienced instructors who want to gain deeper insight into their classroom practice. Moreover, the tabulated information at the end of each chapter serves as both a summary and a smooth transition to the next chapter; in addition, discussion questions and follow-up activities provide an opportunity for further learning. The book may also serve as core teaching and learning material, as it contains reproducible materials such as lesson plans, observation checklists and class profiles.

Practice teaching: A reflective approach serves as a useful guide to language pedagogy, with the potential to build confidence in student teachers regarding the realities of language teaching, as well as providing practical advice for teachers at all levels of experience. The book is worth

recommending, as it fosters three attributes which facilitate a reflective approach to teaching: "open-mindedness, responsibility, and wholeheartedness" (Dewey, 1933, cited in Richards & Farrell, 2011, p. 167).

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