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English Department, University of Zanjan, Zanjan, IRAN
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A moraic approach to syllables: Evidence from Moroccan Arabic

Mohammed Rida Bernouss

Sidi Mohammed Benabdellah University, Fes-Morocco

The mora, a phonological constituent between the segment and the syllable, is the terminal element in the prosodic hierarchy. It is a unit of phonological weight that measures syllables' heaviness or lightness; taking into consideration extraprosodicity, a bimoraic syllable is heavy whereas a monomoraic syllable is light. The present study shows the importance of adopting a moraic approach to the syllable to explain phenomena in prosodic phonology. Specifically, it demonstrates that an analysis in which syllables consist of moras can clarify four previously problematic areas in the phonology of Moroccan Arabic: the invariably long character of lexical vowels, the thorny issue of stress, the lengthening of vowels in some contexts, and their shortening in others. We argue that the adoption of the mora as a syllabic constituent leads to simple and explanatorily adequate analyses of prosodic phenomena in Moroccan Arabic.

Keywords: the mora, vowels, the syllable, stress, vowel shortening, vowel lengthening, Moroccan Arabic.

1. Introduction

Prosodic phonology is concerned with the representation of constituents above the segment: the mora, the syllable, the foot, and the prosodic word. The mora, also called a beat, is a unit of phonological weight that measures syllables heaviness or lightness; taking into consideration extraprosodicity, a bimoraic syllable is heavy whereas a monomoraic syllable is light. In an extended version of the theory of moras as propounded in Hyman (1985), McCarthy & Prince (1986, 1988) have abandoned the traditional treatment of syllables in terms of the onset/rhyme dichotomy and have opted, instead, for a syllable that consists solely of an onset and moras¹. In this paper, we show

¹ Moras are assigned a prominent role in root-and-morphology and in phonological phenomena like epenthesis (Ito, 1989) and compensatory lengthening (Hayes, 1989).

the importance of adopting a moraic model of the syllable to describe and explain phonological phenomena. More specifically, we argue that a characterisation of syllables in terms of moras helps in clarifying previously puzzling phonological phenomena in Moroccan Arabic (MA), namely the invariably long character of lexical vowels, the thorny issue of stress, the lengthening of vowels in some contexts, and their shortening in others.

2. Moroccan Arabic

Classical Arabic (CA), from which MA originates, is a Semitic language that has been considered since 1970 as a member of the Afro-Asiatic family together with sub-families like Berber, Chadic, and Cushitic that comprise languages like Tamazight, Somali, and Hausa. The most salient feature of Semitic languages is their reliance on the root for lexical organisation. Elements from the root combine with affixes of different types in patterns to yield different grammatical classes. In addition to this characteristic, the above languages exhibit special features like glottal consonants, paratactic constructions, and verbs that consist of roots with one prefix and/or one suffix in the imperfective.

MA is an Arabic dialect spoken by nearly half the population of Morocco, a country situated in North Africa. The Arabic language reached North Africa and more specifically The Maghreb (Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Libya and Mauritania) as a result of the expansion of the Islamic empire around 650 CE. Like its mother (CA), MA is a kind of systems called non-concatenative (or non-linear), because unlike Indo-European languages, MA does not concatenate morphemes to form words by the familiar affixation processes; instead, it combines elements from the root and the affixes and intercalates them in patterns called schemes² to express grammatical categories. For example, whereas the form *ktāb* 'to write' denotes a simple verb category, the verb *kattāb* 'to cause to write' denotes the causative through medial consonant reduplication in a CVCCVC scheme or pattern. At the prosodic level, the MA vowel inventory consists of three long vowels /i,u,a:/ and a schwa [ə] which is epenthetic, and two core syllable types CV: and CəC. Unlike CA, MA has witnessed a reduction in the number of vowels, syllable types, and inflectional categories. In most Moroccan dialects, short vowels have

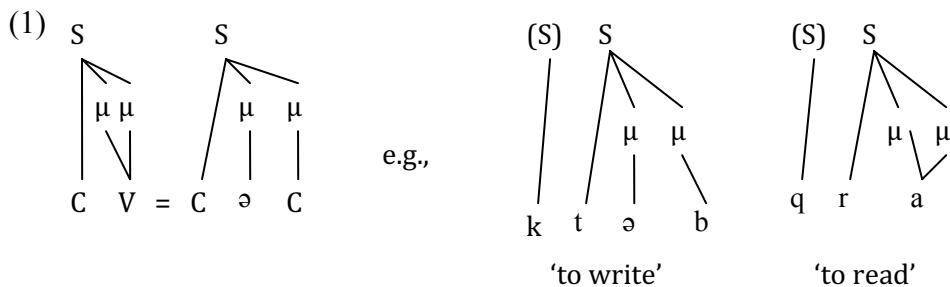
² In segment-sized theories, schemes or templates consist of either CV elements (McCarthy, 1979) or Xs specified for nuclei (Kaye, 1987).

disappeared, and long vowels have become acoustically shorter. This very fact has led to new syllable structure, which has led to a system that seems to be substantially different from the neighbouring Arabic dialects.

3. Vowel length

Nearly all previous works on the MA segmental inventory have agreed that it consists of three underlying short vowels /i,u,a/ and a phonetic schwa (Harrell, 1962; Youssi, 1977; Marsil, 1988; Elhimer, 1990; Boudlal, 2002; among many others). The rationale behind the general agreement on the short character of MA vowels is the observation that vowel length is not distinctive; that is, there are no minimal pairs by which we can contrast short vowels with longer ones. In our account, we postulate that the vowel inventory of MA comprises long (bimoraic) vowels, which are attached to two moras at the skeletal level, and a schwa. Evidence from instrumental phonetics, phonology, and stress (in section 4) supports our hypothesis.

Benkirane (1982) provides acoustic evidence to back up the qualitative equivalence between CV and CəC syllables. It should be noted that the author treats the vowel in the open syllable CV as short. Once we adopt a moraic view of MA syllables³, we find out that this acoustic equivalence cannot hold unless we hypothesise the existence of bimoraic (long) vowels in open syllables to motivate the parallelism between acoustic length and structural (moraic) form:



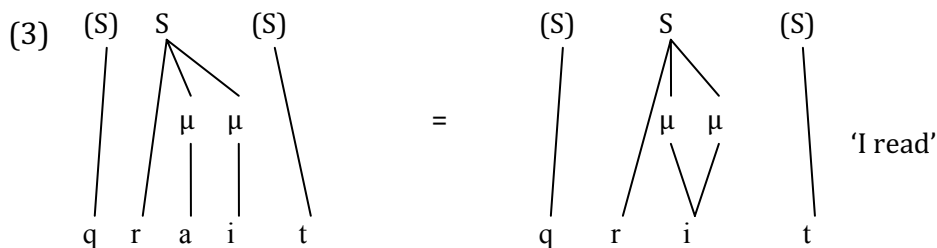
³ see Pike & Pike, 1947; Fudge, 1967; and Selkirk, 1982; among others for an onset/rhyme characterization of the syllable.

Unlike the phonological analyses that characterise syllables in terms of onsets and rhymes, a moraicly-oriented approach counts the number of beats or timing units present within the syllable. This counting ability makes this model superior to previous ones as it has the power to scan and relate the elements immediately dominated by the moras. As the above trees depict, segmental quantity is highlighted through mora labels that display a close correspondence between the long vowel of the open syllable (CV:) and the əC part of the CəC syllable.

Concerning phonological evidence that supports lexical vowels' bimoraicity in MA, we refer to the phenomenon of diphthongs / long vowels alternations. In the dialect of Sidi Kacem (a Moroccan city situated in the western plains), there exist some vocalic alternations between long vowels and diphthongs, which are mainly used by people living in the neighboring areas of the city.

(2)	<u>Rural areas of Sidi Kacem</u>	<u>Sidi Kacem</u>	
	<i>qrait</i>	<i>qri:t</i>	'I read'
	<i>xdait</i>	<i>xdi:t</i>	'I took'
	<i>qrai?a:</i>	<i>qri:?a:</i>	'a little bottle'
	<i>fraimi:ža:</i>	<i>fr:.mi:ža:</i>	'cheese (dim.)'

The bimoraic structure of diphthongs points toward treating the vowels with which they alternate as bimoraic too. If we consider these vowels as short, it will become difficult to motivate this alternation at the prosodic level. This intra-dialectal variation offers a considerable support for the hypothesis we try to defend.



With the inclusion of the mora, it becomes easy to account for the problematic area of vowel length through establishing a moraic correspondence between diphthongs and their long vowels counterparts.

At another level, a succinct look at data from the northern dialect of Morocco shows that it still preserves its short vowels. Therefore, the contrast between long and short vowels, which is missing in the majority of Moroccan dialects, is still prominent in the north. Consider the data in (4), which we have collected in Asilah, a small town near the northern city of Tangier:

(4) <i>zlaq</i>	'slide'	<i>zla:q</i>	'sliding'
<i>sdaq</i>	'is adequate'	<i>sda:q</i>	'dot'
<i>bjad</i>	'white'	<i>bjɑ:d</i>	'luck'
<i>dxul</i>	'enter'	<i>dxu:l</i>	'entrance'
<i>šibna</i>	'we have become old'	<i>ši:bnɑ</i>	'our grey hair'

From the data we deduce that long vowels that stand in contrast with their short counterparts are true phonemes of this dialect. In the other dialects of the middle and the south of Morocco, however, short vowels are no longer present because, with the evolution of language, they have been reduced to schwas. It has, therefore, become extremely difficult to find minimal pairs that are distinguished semantically through vowel length. The evidence we have advanced so far and the arguments in the next sections assert that although short vowels have turned into schwas and the contrast between short and long vowels is no more present on the surface, we should posit underlying long vowels for phonological reasons. This finding could not be attained without a direct reference to the mora. Next, we will see that treating MA vowels as bimoraic simplifies the analysis of stress. Here again, adopting a moraic approach to the syllable simplifies the description and the explanation of this phonological process.

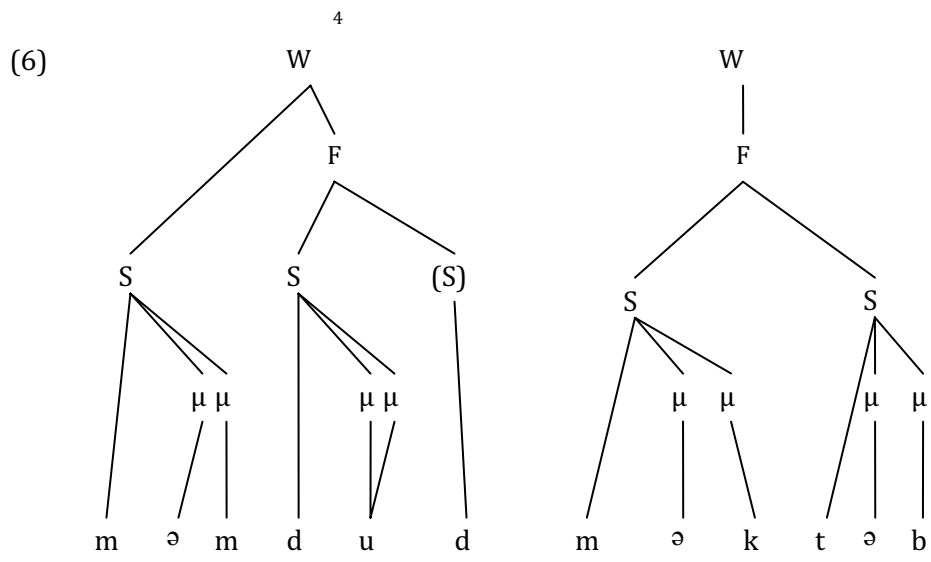
4. Stress

In MA stress is final if the last metrical syllable is followed by an extraprosodic one; otherwise, it is penultimate (Bernouss, 1995). For Elhadri (1993) and Fares (1993), stress in MA is insensitive to both vowel quality and syllable weight. The same finding has been reached by the majority of researchers on MA stress. Nonetheless, they have failed to give a viable explanation to this phenomenon (Hammoumi, 1988; Benhallam,

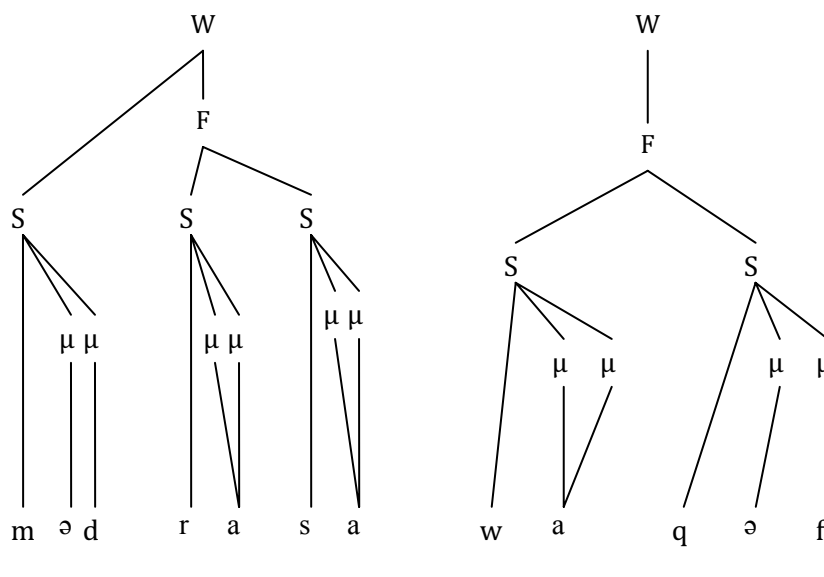
1990b; Nejmi, 1993; Boudlal, 2002; among others). In the present account, by according MA vowels two moras at the skeletal level, all syllables become bimoraic (CV: and CəC): there is no light /heavy syllable distinction. Accordingly, stress is dictated by the position of the syllable in the prosodic word. The final syllable is stressed if it is truly bimoraic (if it is followed by an extraprosodic syllable); otherwise, the penultimate syllable is stressed.

- (5) *t-fa':hm-u:* 'they understood each other'
ma':kla: 'meal'
ktəb-na':-hə: 'we wrote it'
ma-qri':-tʃ 'I did not read'
mə-mdu':d 'stretched'
mədra':sa: 'school'
m'əktəb 'desk'
dərs-u':-h 'they studied it'
jət-fə'rkəs 'he is elegant'

Building trees for some representative data above reveals the following structures (stressed syllables are underlined):



⁴ The prosodic constituents are organised in a hierarchy of exhaustive domination (Selkirk, 1980)



A brief look at the data above reveals the following points:

- 1) The final syllable is stressed if it is followed by an extraprosodic syllable.
- 2) If there is no extraprosodic syllable at the right edge of the prosodic word, stress falls on the penultimate syllable.
- 3) The antepenultimate syllable never receives primary stress.
- 4) Stress in MA does not distinguish between lexical vowels and schwas.
- 5) Stress in MA is not sensitive to syllable types (CV: or CəC).
- 6) Stress in MA is not sensitive to morphological information (e.g. whether the stem is prefixed or not).
- 7) Stress feet are always left-branching and disyllabic (either SS or S(S)), and stressed syllables are invariably ultimate or penultimate.

Here again, the mora has an important role to play. Once we state the stress rule in moraic terms, it becomes obvious that what determine the stress patterns of MA are the final moras.

(7) Stress the right bimoraic syllable.

What the rule says is that stress falls on the rightmost bimoraic syllable if it is really bimoraic (if it is followed by an extraprosodic syllable). If there is no

extraprosodic syllable at the right edge, then stress moves leftward to the penultimate syllable. Such a pattern is characteristic of trochaic prosodic systems that demand from feet to be either syllabic or moraic trochees. Furthermore, the trochaic nature of stress aligns MA with languages that respect the universal constraint prohibiting stress from falling on the rightmost syllable. In fact, it is a constraint called Non-finality (Prince & Smolensky, 1993).

Acknowledging the bimoraicity of the lexical vowels of MA, and the two syllable types (CV: and CəC) that ensue, has revealed the secret behind the stress pattern of MA, which has always been considered a debatable issue by all scholars. In our account, the fact that stress is insensitive to vocalic quality, syllable weight, and morphological information is not only understood, it is predictable. Once we assert the bimoraic nature of all MA lexical vowels, all vocalic contrasts are neutralized; that is why stress treats all instances of lexical vowels as long. CV: and CəC, in which the schwa is epenthesised to break nucleusless CC structures, constitute an inventory in which there is no contrast as the two syllables are bimoraic. Thus, stress falls either on the ultimate or the penultimate syllable because the right-left directionality of MA stress, combined with the absence of contrast at both the vocalic and the syllabic level, results in assigning prominence to the first bimoraic syllable from the right. With extraprosodicity being active in the language, stress falls on non-final syllables in total conformity with the universal Non-finality constraint. This finding is in harmony with the universally attested observation that trochaic systems are quantity-insensitive and that they invariably assign stress at the right edge of prosodic words. To sum up, the stress system, which constitutes another important argument in favor of vocalic length in MA, is given a straightforward account once we characterize the syllable in terms of moras i.e., metrical structure can not be understood without reference to moraic structure.

5. Compensatory lengthening

Another argument advanced in support of the mora is borrowed from diachrony. In Classical Arabic, many forms where the coda is occupied by a glottal stop⁵ have witnessed a deletion of this latter in MA. This means that

⁵ Due to the lack of a full specification of its features, the glottal stop is usually subject to both deletion and insertion as a default onset (Bernouss, 1995).

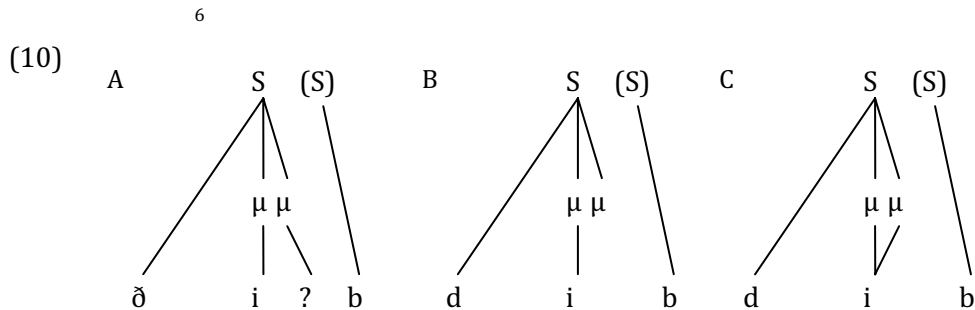
the mora will remain empty; however, a process known as “Compensatory Lengthening” (Hayes, 1989) takes place to lengthen the vowel.

(8) Classical Arabic (CA)		Moroccan Arabic (MA)
<i>ði?b</i>	'a wolf'	<i>di:b</i>
<i>bi?r</i>	'a well'	<i>bi:r</i>
<i>šu?m</i>	'bad omen'	<i>šu:m</i>
<i>ka?s</i>	'a glass'	<i>ka:s</i>

The glottal stop, which is elided for simplification reasons, leaves one mora stranded. The latter should be either elided or filled by a default segment. However, what happens is that the short vowel preceding the glottal stop lengthens to fill this vacant position. In other words, to license the mora prosodically, MA has recourse to vocalic expansion to fill the position left empty by /?/ elision to keep the mora in its place in total conformity with Prosodic Licensing (Ito, 1986). The option of eliding the mora in this context is unacceptable in MA as the resulting forms like **dib* 'a wolf', which consist of one monomoraic (light) syllable followed by an extraprosodic syllable, are prohibited since they violate one of the most powerful universal constraints, namely Foot Binariness (McCarthy & Prince, 1993a), which stipulates that feet should be binary under moraic or syllabic considerations.

- (9) Foot Binariness: (Prince & Smolensky, 1993; McCarthy & Prince, 1993a)
 Feet are binary.

Forms like **dib* 'a wolf' violate this universal constraint as they do not consist of a binary foot. They are neither bimoraic (the final mora is extraprosodic), nor disyllabic (the second syllable is extraprosodic). The only option available is to lengthen the vowel to meet the bimoraic requirement of foot binariness. What reinforces this claim is the fact that nearly all MA words are minimally bimoraic: all MA words satisfy the minimality condition that forces lexical words to have a bimoraic syllable followed by an extraprosodic syllable (e.g. *mədd* 'to hand', *da:z* 'to pass'). To illustrate, we will consider the phonological shift of the form *ði?b* of CA to *di:b* 'wolf' in MA.

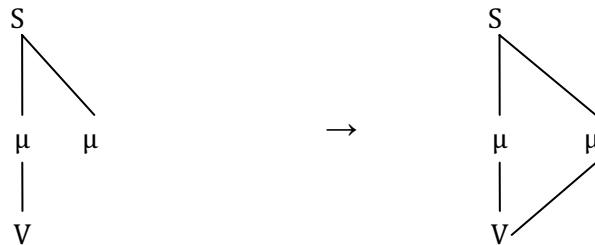


stage D follows from stage C

D [di:b] → output (phonetic form)

Stage (C) is accounted for by the following spreading rule:

(11) Spreading Rule



Compensatory Lengthening, then, is a repair process that regulates the prosodic make-up of lexical items. A short survey of this mechanism has shown that a model incorporating moras can account for the elision/expansion processes in a very simple way.

6. Vowel shortening

In the northern regions of Morocco, where the contrast between short and long vowels still persists, people tend to shorten vowels in concave (hollow) verbs in the perfective as a result of the concatenation of suffixes. This is the result of a phonological rule that makes the system respect the bimoraic (two

⁶ The interdental fricative \ddot{o} of Classical Arabic is realized in MA as an alveolar or a dental stop.

moras) requirement of the syllable. The data in (12), collected from Asilah will depict the situation:

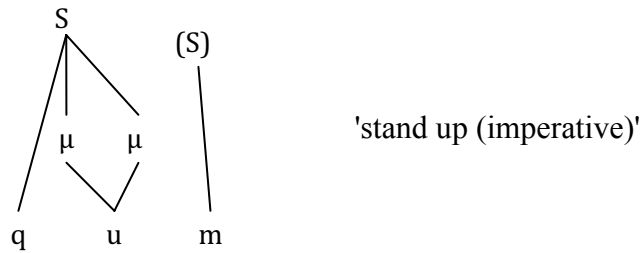
(12) <u>The imperative and the imperfective</u>	<u>The perfective</u>
<i>šu:f</i> 'see' (imperat.)	\ <i>šuf-t</i> 'I died'
<i>n-di:r</i> 'I will do' (imperf.)	\ <i>dir-na</i> 'we said'
<i>j-əu:m-u</i> 'they swim' (imperf.)	\ <i>əum-ti</i> 'you swum'

From the data above we observe that the long vowels in concave verbs (verbs that consist of a medial vowel) in the imperative and the imperfective become short in the perfective (except in the third person). The rule in (13) accounts for the data above:

(13)	V: → V / — CC #	
		(concave verbs)
		(perf.1 st – 2 nd persons)

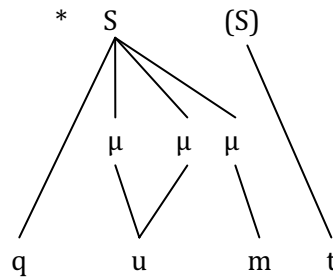
Although the above rule is descriptively adequate, it does not tell anything about the real motive behind vowel shortening. All we can deduce is that it is a readjustment rule that shortens the long vowel of the base of concave verbs like *du:r* 'turn around', *qu:l* 'say', and so forth when first and second person affixes are added in the perfective. If this rule does not interfere, forms like **šu:f-t* 'saw' will be generated. Once we introduce the mora in our conception of the syllable, we will quickly realize that forms like these are universally condemned as they violate one of the most powerful constraints on syllable form, namely the constraint prohibiting superheavy syllables (hypercharacterised syllables to use Sherer (1994)) word-internally. Native speakers of this northern dialect tend to shorten the long vowels in this context by producing forms like *šuf-t* instead of *šu:f-t* 'I said'. In the moraic model we adopt, this vowel shortening is expected as all instances of heavy syllables closed by another consonant are bound to drop one mora in all contexts to satisfy the universal constraint prohibiting trimoraic structures. The vocalic shift from the stem *qu:m* 'stand up' to *qum-t* 'I stood up (perf.)' will illustrate the whole process:

(14)



The ill-formed configuration in (15) emerges as a result of the concatenation of the first person suffix in the perfective:

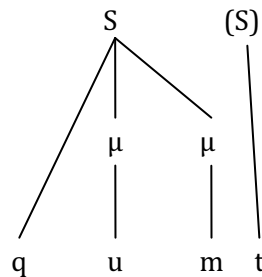
(15)



As MA does not tolerate trimoraic structures⁷, this configuration can not make its way to the surface. As a repair strategy, the constraint in (16) shortens the long vowel and, therefore, drops one mora to yield the representation in (17):

(16) * $\mu\mu\mu \rightarrow \mu\mu$

(17)



⁷ Research in Optimality Theory has backed up our claim by stipulating that prohibition of trimoraic structures is universal (see Sherer, 1994).

This process, which shortens the long vowel through one mora elision, has to operate because it is universally motivated: all languages avoid concatenating three moras successively word-internally. Other solutions to account for this phenomenon like the ones in which we may stipulate the existence of an archiphoneme that may turn into either a short vowel or a long one in different contexts would not clarify the issue. The constraint in (16), being active throughout the whole system, would prevent any long vowel from emerging in this special context as any chosen vowel in the underlying representation will be realised as short (The Richness of the Base (McCarthy, 2003)). All in all, what we have is a matter of moraic concatenation and mora simplification; no more, no less. Models that do not include moras as necessary ingredients of the syllable can describe the process in (13), but they cannot give the reason behind its occurrence.

7. Conclusion

From the analysis developed, we have reached the linguistically significant generalization that any treatment of MA data should incorporate the mora as an essential component of the syllable. This incorporation, necessary on both universal and language-specific grounds, has backed up our hypothesis whereby lexical vowels in MA are prosodically long, and has helped in providing a clear and principled account of MA stress. It has also enhanced our understanding of two previously problematic phonological areas in MA: vowel lengthening and vowel shortening.

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AUTHOR BIO

Mohammed Rida Bernouss is a professor of phonology at Sidi Mohammed ben Abdellah University (Fes, Morocco). His main areas of research are phonology and morphology, in addition to applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. He has participated in a number of academic events, the last of which is an international conference on language, culture, and identity, held in Fes on March 2006. His last publication is an article entitled "Moroccan Arabic morphology: A critical survey" in *Almisbahiyya* (A journal of linguistics and literature). He is currently the head of the "English Studies" modular degree program at the faculty of letters and human sciences, Fes-Sais, Morocco.

ADDRESS: Avenue Elwahda, Rue Elkaraz 2, Appt 2, Narjis B, Fes 30000, Morocco.

Phone: +21235657928 Mobile: +21268354807)

E-Mail: romanssimo@gmail.com or romanssimo@yahoo.com

NOTES ON PHONETIC SYMBOLS:

1. The /ʔ/ symbol represents glottal stop consonant.
2. The /q/ and /x/ symbols represent Arabic-specific consonants.

Native speaker norms and teaching English as an international language

Saeed Ketabi, PhD

Department of English, University of Isfahan, Iran

Nematullah Shomoossi

PhD candidate, Department of English, University of Isfahan, Iran

Sabzevar School of Medical Sciences, Sabzevar, Iran

This article is intended to briefly overview the status of the native speaker norms within the English as an International Language (EIL) context. While extremely conformist and non-conformist stances exist, it seems reasonable if EIL users conform to the native speaker grammar and phonology; and native speakers do not impose their sociopragmatic values on other users. In short, while conforming to the native speaker norms in the linguistic areas—e.g., phonology and grammar—is necessary, extralinguistic elements—e.g. sociopragmatic features—can be adapted to the EIL situation. Consequently, the language we call ‘English’ will remain almost as it is, and mutual intelligibility will not rely solely on the native speaker norms. However, the argument has bearings for language teaching, which are not discussed in this article.

Key Words: Native Speaker; Grammar; Phonology; Pragmatics; English as an International Language; EIL.

1. Introduction

The rise of English as an international language (EIL) and the resultant status of English as a medium for global communication (predicted by Sapir as long ago as 1931: 66) poses new challenges to the ELT profession in the sense that we need to rethink some of the already dominant concepts, aims and objectives (McKay, 2002). With no attempt to de-emphasize the national practice of teaching English as a Native Language (ENL) for English speaking countries, the international function of English is thought to be a different realization, which deserves particular attention by itself. EIL and several other names with relatively similar conceptual frameworks have been

proposed as viable substitutes for the old EFL/ESL models: English as an International or Intra-national Language or EIIL (Smith, 1978 quoted in Talebinzhad & Aliakbari, 2001); English as an International Auxiliary Language or EIAL (Smith, 1983 quoted in Talebinzhad & Aliakbari, 2001); English as a World Language or EWL (Nunan, 2003); English as a lingua franca (ELF) versus English as a native language (ENL) (Seidlhofer, 2001); English as an Intercultural Language or EIcL (Sifakis, 2004) and still others.

EIL has also opened new directions for research in ELT. It has been the focus of research for the last two decades and many attempts have been made to describe it from various perspectives. As a consequence of the macro-scale globalization process (Block, 2004), linguistic imperialism, the notorious lack of communication in the 20th century which led to the occurrence of the two World Wars and other major debilitating wars in the world, man's desire to find a natural lingua franca for international communication rather than inventing an artificial one like Esperanto, the appearance of internet as a medium of communication, the emergence and silent penetration of e-learning into cross-cultural negotiations, and the superpower ownership of English by the English speaking community, EIL is now prevalent the world over. While Arabic (due to its large community of speakers) or Spanish could have been considered as serious rivals, English wiped them out. Many modern journals, magazines, and newspapers appear in English in non-English speaking countries. Many websites and most formal/informal correspondence are now in English. Research reports are published in English by non-native speakers (NNSs) nationally and internationally. All in all, NNS-produced materials outnumber those written by native speakers (NSs), who are now considered a minority community as far as English language is concerned; even estimates of up to 80% of communication in English between NNSs are reported (Prodromou, 1988). As a consequence, many fresh outlooks emerge from the NNS community who are the majority English users and speakers. For instance, the ownership of English has been much debated in the literature, whether it is the property of English people or billions of people who use it while it is not their mother tongue. As Norton (1997) states, almost all contributions to the discussion, implicitly or explicitly, address the question, 'Who owns English internationally?' The question is whether it belongs to native speakers of English, to speakers of Standard English, to White people, or to all those who speak it. Such questions brought forth claims such as 'the World English belongs to

everyone who speaks it, but it is nobody's mother tongue' (Rajagopalan, 2004). Matsuda (2003) reminds us of the assertions such as 'as long as English is learned as an international language, it should not come from an inner circle country [England or the United States] and should not be taught as an inner circle language.' (Brackets are inserted by the authors).

Other claims appeared as 'how English develops in the world is no business whatever of native speakers in England, the United States or anywhere else' (Widdowson, 1994). Consequently, many learners and states even started to resist the spread of English as the NS culture was suspected to transmit through its language in Asia, Africa, South America and even in European courtiers. Some attempted to localize ELT and nativize the NS materials in order to prevent or delay the cultural invasion. Even radical views were expressed casting doubt on the necessity of international tests such as IELTS and TOEFL while the issue of ownership was still in question and English was considered as an international property rather than a national one.

2. Native Speaker Grammar

Consequently, a challenging question was put forward by Cook (1999), 'Why should the attested language use of a NS community be a model for learners of EIL?' Under the influence of the EIL perspective, ELT was no longer supposed to prepare learners to achieve intelligibility for NS receivers (Jenkins, 2002) or to develop the kind of communicative competence based on a NS model (Kuo, 2006). Researches on the attitudes toward conforming to the NS norms are not few and the results indicate that teachers and learners have different views in such respects as pronunciation, grammar and pragmatics. Willis (1999, quoted in Timmis, 2002) argues that we should place a very low premium on conformity to NS grammatical norms. In an extensive study, Ivor Timmis (2002) investigates the conformity to NS norms from the viewpoints of participants in the classroom, i.e. students and teachers. Through two parallel questionnaires, he manages to elicit the attitudes of teachers and students on conforming to the NS norms in pronunciation, written grammar and spoken grammar. The results on pronunciation did not accord with that of Jenkins' (2000) assertion; the majority in Timmis' (2002) study expressed a desire to retain something of their first language and a similar idea was expressed by respondents from Pakistan, India and South Africa. Teachers' views on pronunciation stressed

the NS model as it was considered as a benchmark for perfection and achievement. Likewise, the NS grammar model was the stressed choice with both students and teachers though some teachers believed that the students were to be left to themselves to choose the model or to retain their own identity. On spoken grammar, the need for authenticity was the reason most often cited by teachers who felt that students should be exposed to the NS spoken grammar. On the contrary, opposite views came from other teachers in the study that the NS spoken grammar, influenced by the NS culture, may be too complex for students unless they were living in English speaking countries; NNSs do not use this type of language when communicating with each other. Likewise, Prodromou (1988) questions the pedagogic relevance of the grammar of informal, spoken English grammar to NNSs and its relevance to the context of EIL. Finally, Timmis (2002) concludes that (1) there is still some desire among students to conform to the NS norms, (2) student and teacher opinions on the value of informal spoken grammar seem to be quite divided and (3) teachers seem to be moving away from the NS norms faster than students are. Describing the disadvantages of an intelligibility-based model of ELF, Kuo (2006) also favors the native speaker model and states that such a model serves as a complete and convenient starting point, particularly with its sociocultural richness (p. 220).

Offering a tentative and partial answer, Timmis tries to bang the drum for the NS model and states that 'there is no reason why it should, but it may be that some students still want it to be, even when we least expect it.' The drawback of his study, as he admits in the conclusion, is that the survey could not show how far respondents' attitudes were related to their *awareness of the sociolinguistic issues* involved in the debate about the NS norms and international English. Furthermore, he contends that the 600 respondents were selected from over 45 countries but the procedure is not vividly stated. While the results are interesting and illuminating, the study is conducted in Leeds, England, where the context, ESL by nature, could have affected the respondents' attitudes because the case cannot be directly related to EIL situations in the NNS communities. Another shortcoming is that the final conclusion is somehow oriented towards the NS community while it could presumably have been otherwise and subject to a more neutral analysis. Also, Kuo's (2006) judgment, while worthy of consideration, is strongly biased towards the native speaker community, where she is living and studying. The sociocultural richness of this model is precisely the disadvantage for the EIL

paradigm; it is exactly due to the culturally loaded nature of this language that communication stops in both NNS-NNS and NS-NNS interactions.

3. Native Speaker Phonology

As for pronunciation, an outstanding work is done by Jennifer Jenkins (2000). In her introduction to *The Phonology of English as an International Language*, she argues that English is the international language at present; so rather than arguing in terms of the past why this should not have been, we would rather look ahead to ways in which we can make the language more cross-culturally democratic, under the ownership of all who use it for communication, regardless of who or where they are (2000, p. 4). Jenkins identifies pronunciation 'as the area of greatest prejudice' and her book presents a series of suggestions for democratizing phonology away from the NS norms. For instance, her *Lingua Franca Core* (LFC) is aimed at international intelligibility among NNSs, rather than the imitation of NSs (though learners wishing to sound as native-like as possible, e.g. prospective teachers, may pursue this higher aim, provided that they familiarize themselves with the LFC in order to equip themselves for international communication). Offering individual speakers the chance to express their own personal identity through the phonological features of their own language, her prescriptive model is of an empirical basis, focusing on genuine interactional speech data.

The LFC, which tries to keep sounds as close as possible to spelling, has segmental and supra-segmental parts; this is one of the reasons why, both productively and receptively, American /r/ is preferred to Standard British /r/, and British intervocalic /t/ to American intervocalic /t/, which has a tendency to become /d/, thus endangering intelligibility. The segmental part comprises all the consonants (some with the addition of phonetic features like aspiration, as in initial /p, t, k/, to prevent confusion with /b, d, g/). Worth noting for NNSs is the possibility to substitute /f/ and /v/ for voiceless and voiced /th/ respectively. The same is true of 'dark' /l/ and 'clear' /l/. Also for the sake of intelligibility consonant clusters are not to be simplified (an exception being made for medial and final clusters, but only in conformity with the phonological rules of English as a native language). In the vowels, length is very important. This also applies to 'free' and 'checked' vowels such as /bid/ versus /bit/ and /bi:d/ versus /bi:t/. Of the diphthongs,

only three remain (/au/, /ai/, and /oi/), due to the addition of American word-final /r/. In the supra-segmental part, weak forms are not recommended (unless one wants to sound native-like). Accentuation and especially contrastive stress are regarded as more important than intonation, which appears to have no clear-cut grammatical functions.

It would not be necessary to go into more detail but the case is quite obvious from the few examples given here that the LFC may drastically reduce the teacher's task by removing from the pronunciation syllabus many time-consuming items which are either not teachable or irrelevant for EIL, thus also relieving the learner of an unnecessary burden. Jenkins (2000) contends that it is time teachers of English became more aware of the educational implications of EIL and of the benefits it may hold for them and their students. However, from the authors' perspective, the NS prejudice will absolutely disagree with this much destroying and minimizing English; a humane approach may suggest learners to struggle in order to master English rather than to simplify it. Kuo (2006) also contends that while the native speaker model is a controversial model, 'it is more appropriate and appealing in second language pedagogy than the description of English which is somewhat reduced and incomplete' (p. 220).

4. Native-Speaker or EIL pragmatics?

Having more or less the same optimistic attitude as Jenkins, Norton (1997) suggests that if English belongs to the people who speak it, whether native or non-native, whether ESL or EFL, whether standard or nonstandard, then the expansion of English in the era of rapid globalization may possibly be for the better rather than for the worse. Moving a step farther than pronunciation and grammar, Peter Grundy (2004) considers the nature of intelligible pragmatics for intercultural communication through the medium of a lingua franca and explores its pedagogic implications for teachers. While EFL pedagogic materials tend to privilege formulaic utterance-type meanings (Levinson, 2000), on the principle that the learner is able to convey a lot of (presumptive) context for relatively little linguistic effort, Grundy (2004) argues that intercultural communication takes place in a relatively context-free cultural setting, and learners need to become more adept at producing and comprehending utterance-token meaning, on the principle that less context implies more language.

5. An intelligibility driven Model

However, Jenkins (2000) puts forward the question why the NS norm is assumed as the standard for intelligibility. She reminds us that intelligibility is determined by the receiver and is not necessarily reciprocal, and that what NSs and NNSs find intelligible will not necessarily coincide. Her argument is that questions such as these emerge in the context of English as a global lingua franca, while in the case of EFL and perhaps ESL, these questions do not arise since the learner's purpose is to learn a language to use in contact with native speakers. But under the EIL influences where English is fast becoming the default medium of international communication, only a minority of interactions involve a NNS interacting with a NS. That is why Jenkins argues for the cross-cultural democratization of EIL so that it is shared by all its users, with considerable implications for speakers of native varieties who will increasingly need to become EIL users. This in turn means that NSs should be more tolerant of the eccentric varieties than before precisely because the number and variety of English speakers is drastically on the rise. It may also be assumed that the imperialistic spread of English is already over and, once more, the question of ownership is to be stressed.

An intelligibility driven model, as supported by Jenkins (2000) and many others, has a number of problems. Such a perspective omits the phonological and grammatical redundancy, meant to protect the preciseness and completeness of the message (Kuo, 2006). In general, such views help diminish the NS model into 'ungrammatical but unproblematic features' such as 'he look very sad', and 'a picture who gives the impression' (Kuo, 2006 quoting from Seidlhofer, 2001). The final version of such an international lingua franca will be 'inaccurate but intelligible' pronunciation such as 'I think /sɪŋk/' (Jenkins, 2002).

6. Discussion

While the idea of English as a Lingua Franca is put forward for the unity and consistency of communication at a global level, the result will be diversity, in the long run, rather than unity. Therefore, a governing NS model is undoubtedly required and essential. This article has reviewed some of the pro-and-con views of conforming to the NS model; extremely non-conformist views (e.g. Jenkins, 2000 & 2002) versus extremely conformist views (e.g. Timmis, 2002; Kuo, 2006) are briefly reviewed. However, as far as phonology

and syntax are concerned, sticking to a NS model is inevitable for the sake of global understanding and mutual comprehension. The point which remains is that English is not merely syntax and phonology; rather, the advantage of the native speaker model – its sociocultural richness (Kuo, 2006) – is the starting point for communication failure. The extralinguistic elements or the realm of sociopragmatics is the area which cannot be governed by the NS rules and regulations within the EIL paradigm!

As it was noted earlier, Jenkins' argument for phonology and Grundy's argument for pragmatics share the advantage of mutual intelligibility at the international level. However, such intelligibility (in NNS-NNS and NNS-NS dialogs) is by far associated with deviating from the NS norms and trying to set new norms which are copies of the former, not the former itself. Such re-adjustments lead to inaccurate production, ungrammatical but unproblematic features and inaccurate but intelligible pronunciation (Kuo, 2006) while a humane approach to language learning would not allow sacrificing a human language for intelligibility. Rather, it is undoubtedly reasonable to follow the NS norms as far as the language is concerned but certain extralinguistic aspects such as sociopragmatic elements require re-consideration for both native and non-native speakers.

While Essen (2004) contends that many non-native speakers associate *English* with the native-speaker English and culture, many more NNSs all over the world use English to interact with other NNSs without giving a single thought to the language and culture of English native-speaking nations. For such language users English is not 'English' in the restricted sense of relating to England nor to its people and language but just a useful tool for communication between people of varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds in a variety of communicative contexts. Almost the same idea is proposed by Sifakis (2004) referring to the former as N-bound perspective and to the latter as C-bound perspective (N standing for norms of NSs and C for communication, comprehensibility and culture). However, he prefers to refer to the N-bound perspective as EIL and C-bound perspective as EICL (English as an Intercultural Language) but the difference is only terminological because what he terms as EICL and argues for the consequences is EIL in nature; and what he terms as EIL is ESL or EFL in other works. Although different in terminology, Sifakis shares many of his

opinions with others (e.g., Talebinezhad & Aliakbari, 2001) in the pedagogic consequences to this global trend.

It is mainly due to this trend in the world community of EIL learners that previous methods and approaches are felt to be insufficient. Even the most successful of them, i.e. the CLT, has been criticized as defective and malfunctioning in the global context (Bax, 2003). Deviation of learners from NS norms and the rapidly growing need for a communicative tool has brought about a considerable gap between NS norms and the western traditions of teaching and learning. Today, under the EIL paradigm, English has turned to be an international property with unique features and consequences. Therefore, it is also important that EIL-oriented research sheds light on the ways learners from different speech communities and cultural backgrounds communicate with NSs and other NNSs in English. As far as the culture is concerned, due to the diversity of EIL speakers, on the one hand, and the heterogeneous population of non-native speakers, on the other, the culture of native speakers can no longer be imposed but it can be considered as one of the major varieties of English at the international competition. Thus it seems urgent that learners in all parts of the world be efficiently equipped with this effective tool as soon as possible.

7. Conclusion

This article was intended to re-examine the adoption of the NS norms within the EIL paradigm. It was argued and revealed that EIL was characterized with the diversity of speakers or users and contexts; that it is not an easily manageable area with clear borderlines as ESL and EFL were. However, despite empirically based studies (e.g. Jenkins, 2002), this article does not follow an emancipatory stance in the sense that EIL users are allowed to minimize the grammar or phonology of English to the size they wish for intelligibility excuses. Such minimized and imperfect versions of English would not be considered as the natural language we call 'English', and will bring about diversity and communication failure in the long run. It is reasonably arguable that EIL users adopt the NS norms as far as the linguistic features are concerned. However, as various sociocultural bearings rush into EIL every minute from its widespread speakers, the extralinguistic or pragmatic aspects of teaching and learning for global communication can no longer rely solely on the NS norms. The wide range of participants and

contexts, in general, create a new paradigm for teaching. EIL users can enjoy the advantage of having a natural Lingua Franca but, at the same time, add their sociopragmatic perspectives to English as the international language. In conclusion, we will need to re-emphasize the context of use, to re-define the participants, and to reconsider the nature of EIL to adopt a new approach in teaching EIL. To do that, EIL pragmatics (i.e. the learner's interpretation and interaction) to enhance cross-cultural consciousness and teacher professionalism are to be at the heart of an educational and curricular revolution – the core of this revolution being the efforts to empower EIL teachers the world over.

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AUTHORS' BIO DATA

Saeed Ketabi, PhD in Applied Linguistics from University of Cambridge, England, is currently teaching various ELT courses at graduate levels at the Department of English, Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Isfahan, Iran. He has published and presented papers in his field. Email: ketabi@fgn.ui.ac.ir

Nematullah Shomoossi, PhD candidate in Applied Linguistics at the University of Isfahan, Iran, is the coordinator of English programs at Sabzevar School of Medical Sciences. He is involved in teaching English as well as research in language policy, learner strategies and distance education. E-mail: nshomoossi@yahoo.com

Socioeconomic Status and Class Perception

Reza Ghafar Samar, Hadi Azimi, and Babak Dadvand
Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

Socioeconomic status has been a pivotal element of interaction in any society. Literature witnesses many research on different aspects of social classes and their interactions from this perspective. Nevertheless, what can actually be observed is the mere numerical study of social and economic accounts of people. At the same time, perceptual dimension of interlocutors has received very little attention in the field. Among the imperative aspects of social affairs, one might mention the sort of perception that different socioeconomic classes, i.e. Lower Class (LC), Middle Class (MC), Upper Class (UC) exhibit in regard to each other. The fact that people can distinguish speakers from another socioeconomic class, being exposed to their speech is interestingly ignored in the field. Thus, this study was conducted to fill this gap. Therefore, based on the previous research and considering the current social and economic situation, five criteria were assigned to a pool of 50 participants out of which 9 were selected, 3 for each class. All 9 participants were interviewed exercising the similar topics of interest to elicit their typical manners of speaking. Recording of the interviews resulted in 50 minutes speech. In the next phase, 30 new participants were asked to listen to the recordings and answer related items on a class attitude questionnaire. The results revealed that there is a kind of '*upward assimilation*' between each two adjacent groups in the society.

Key Words: Class Difference; Language Perception; Socioeconomic Status

1. Introduction

Language as one of the distinguishing phenomenon between humans and animals has been long center of attention among scholars. History has witnessed differentiation and discrimination among human beings, even based on the language they utilize to speak to their peers. It is so widespread that even in different branches of art, actors and in fact authors make some interesting comments on it. "Why cannot the English [people] teach their children how to speak? ... This verbal class [referring to Eliza's speech] by now should be antique ...

An English way of speaking absolutely classifies him ...” Said Professor Henry Higgins in movie “My Fair Lady” (1964). Instances of such lingual concerns are not limited. Meanwhile, language is considered as a tool to classify human beings, too. Whatever conditions it might be, speaking a specific language and as a result a specific variety of one language is supposed to be better or loftier than any or all other ones. Prof. Henry Higgin then goes further and claims that “[speech] fills up “the deepest gap that separates class from class and soul from soul.”

This classification, however, is not restricted only to their languages. Various factors are combined or are separately implemented to meet this end. “Various kinds of differences between speakers have been widely and exhaustively studied...including region of origin, or of present home, socioeconomic status, sex, and age...” (Hudson, 1980:17). These differences are used to identify the class level of the speakers, as well. Hudson (1980), then, clarifies that based on the “theory of acts of identity” these elements have effects on people’s way of speaking as far as they represent speakers’ social group. Needless to say these elements and their likely effects have been subject to much sociolinguistic research. Labov (1966, 1972, 2001), Trudgil (1974), Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley (1968), Milroy (1980), and Jahangiri (1989) (cited in Warhaugh, 2002) are simply some of the names who worked on the relationship between language and these effective factors.

All other elements aside, one of the influential elements on the language spoken by people in the society is their socioeconomic status of language speakers. People’s economical level is believed to be effective in identifying their level of social standing (Milroy, 1981; Labov, 1972; Williams, 1992; Montgomery, 1995; Verma, 1998; Stockwell, 2002; Chambers, 2002; Milroy and Milroy, 1992). Montgomery (1995), for instance, claims that accents and dialects have come to serve as indicators not only of the kind of connection between one and a locality, but also of one’s socioeconomic class position.

All these clarify the point that language and social class – and particularly socioeconomic position the speakers hold – are bound to each other. On the other hand, what and how people think of each other is not apart from this verity. Some may feel that the way a person from the upper class speaks is different from /better/worse than that of middle class or low class members. This, accordingly, will lead to different perceptions from different socioeconomic classes in the society. But it is not still known that people can and do think differently of the other class members’ language or not. Having clear insight on this, we may have a novel powerful piece of equipment to understand people’s decision making and further

to predict their likely reflections in specific circumstances. It will also hopefully shed light on a better understanding of conversational discourse analysis.

This study aims at finding out three main socioeconomic classes' members' perceptions of the language members of the other socioeconomic classes speak. This needs a closer look at the definition of socioeconomic class, and looking for the answer of the question 'what are the main classes in a society differing in their economic position?' The goal of this study is to prove the claim that speakers of a language differentiate other speakers' socioeconomic class being exposed to their speech.

2. Literature Review

Studies of social class and its relevance to difference among people have enjoyed a good number of works. Among all works in the archive of this area, we encounter various subjects and sometimes interestingly – but not necessarily – dissimilar results. Social class, reasons for its existence and as it is important here, individuals' economic statuses are among topics about which interesting studies can be found. As stated by Whardhaugh (2002) "Sociologists use a number of different scales for classifying people when they attempt to place individuals somewhere within a social system" including an occupational scale, an educational scale, income level as well as sources of income, where people live and even the type of housing and its location. (p. 145-150)

Macaulary (1994) defines Social Class Differences as the variation that is related to the vertical axis of a socially stratified society. In fact, "...individuals create their linguistic systems so as to resemble those of the group or groups they wish from time to time to be identified with, or so as to distinguish themselves from or those they wish to distance themselves from." (Le Page, 1997:29). And Giles, Bouthis and Taylor (1977) believe that "Social class is the degree of esteem a linguistic group affords itself." (p. 370). They confirm, that economic status is "the degree of control a language group has over the economic life of its nation, region or community." This clarifies the point that how these concepts are interwoven and their relationships can be traced. As Williams (1992) puts "Language appears to be a marker of social class." (p.119). In fact, the answer to the question "Does social class really affect language?" is yes (Thomas and Wareing, 1999:122).

One of the first leaders of this argument whose name is inevitably attached to social studies is William Labov. He mostly worked on linguistic variation and more precisely his major study was focused on linguistic variation in New York City

(Labov, 1966). The social stratification of 'r' in New York City Department Stores was the core of his studies (Thomas & Wareing, 1999). He claimed that different social classes demonstrate differently on their linguistic manifestation (Wardhaugh, 2002; Williams, 1992). To classify people into appropriate classes to work on, Labov (1966) chose three main criteria, namely "education, occupation, and income to set up ten social classes" (Wardhaugh, 2002: 141).

Labov (2001) in his recent book indicates the LCV study (Linguistic Change and Variation, announced in Philadelphia, 1980) which created three 6-category indices for *Occupation*, *Education*, and *Residence Value* (emphasis added). These categories are close, as he put, to those employed by Census (1970) who made use of the following categories: *Socioeconomic* (Income, Education, House value), *Occupation*, and *Ethnicity*. Yet he claimed that "the stability of SEC (Socio-economic Class) as a measure of social class goes beyond the data provided in Census's book." (Cited in Labov, 2001). Based on his findings, he claimed that "the lower classes seek to accrue status through imitating the upper class..." (Williams, 1992:72). His major focal point was, as the factors to be determinant reveal, subjects' financial standing. Albeit he himself did not confirm this, yet bases of his classification were yardsticks which connote one's socioeconomic status. Milroy (1981) put: "accounting to Labov's data in New York, data is sought by a few factors including" demonstrating co-variance between group scores and such social parameters as socioeconomic class (p.72-3). In this respect, Labov's study is not far from criticism.

Verma (1998) cited from Poulantzan (1975) that Labov's work on the relationship between speech variation and social class had its own criticism one of which was employing occupations merely on the basis for the discussion of social class. Although "there is a correlation between socioeconomic level and the use of the variables in Labov's study (Macaulary, 1994:70), occupations merely refer to the technical division of labor, making no reference to the social division of labor. Shuy, *et al.* (1968), too, worked on the same issue in Detroit. They utilized three sets of criteria to assign each of the informants to a social class: *amount of education*, *occupation*, and *place of residence*.

Peter Trudgill (1974) is the other aficionado of the social class variability. As Thomas and Wareing (1999) put Trudgill's major focus was on the social differentiation of English in Norwich. He distinguished five social classes: middle middle class (MMC), lower middle class (LMC), upper working class (UWC), middle working class (MWC), and lower working class (LWC). "He interviewed ten speakers from each of five electoral wards in Norwich plus ten-school age children

from two schools. These sixty informants were then classified on six factors, each of which was scored on a six-point scale (0-5): *occupation, education, income, type of housing, locality, and father's occupation.*" (Wardhaugh, 2002:142). Trudgill had an attempt to relate linguistic behavior to the subjects' social class, but he used linguistic behavior to assign membership to social class."

Milroy and Milroy (1992) seem to be on the same border. They put: "Of the social variables that are commonly used, two at least are composite (or complex) variables, in that they are calculated by references to be a number of indicators. Quantification measurements of social class depend on such indicators as income, trade, or profession, and educational level ..." (p. 54). There is almost no disagreement to say that "social dialects originate from social groups and depend on a variety of factors, the principle ones apparently being social class, religion, and ethnicity." (Wardhaugh, 2002:48-49). Although, as Wolfram and Fasold (1974:44) point out that "there are other objective approaches [to establish social groupings] not exclusively dependent on socioeconomic ranking..." such as church membership, leisure-time activities, community organizations, or 'life style' (cited in Wardhaugh, 2002:141), what is clear, most of the criteria to assign people into social classes imply economic knots. Now the questions which is given rise is that to what extent economic status can be reliably stand for social class differentiation in a society.

Speaking of the effective variables Warhaugh (2002) put occupation, place of residence, education, 'new; versus 'old' money, income... and so on among those factors to be related "directly" to how people speak. This is while "...people probably do not classify themselves as members of the groups defined by such criteria."...Of course in assigning individuals to social classes, "investigators may use any or all of the above criteria (and some others), and assign different weights to them." (p. 147). This is why the social class label given to any individual may be different from study to study. In all studies, based on the focal point of the study different weights are given to the factors involved to fit individuals in assigned classes, such as Upper Class (UC), Middle Class (MC), and Lower Class (LC).

As any similar classification index, this is not so reliable, as well. Difficulty to classify individuals implementing objective criteria which are intended to enumerate masses of people for statistical purposes is one of the pitfalls of using such classification. To give more evidence, any individual would place himself in a variety of classes at any moment regarding to different variety of criteria, while we are looking for, only, one of these yardsticks. One of the other problems in front of

us is the fact that making a distinction among social classes in complex modern urban societies is becoming more complicated, especially considering 'egalitarianism' (Wardhaugh, 2002).

Chambers (2002) is another believer in classifying society based on socioeconomic stats of the residents. The chief social classification in industrialized nations is between people who make their livings by "working with their hands" (working class) - sometimes called "blue collar workers" - and those who earn money by "pencil-work and services" (middle class) - sometimes "white class workers" - and those who are people with inherited "wealth and privilege" (upper class). In fact, he tries to show that It is almost so easy to say ones' "...social classes are perceived primarily as a function of occupation..." (p. 42). Then he offers a table of different classes based on occupations; 2 major classes and 6 minor ones with related jobs.

Middle Class (MC)	Upper (UMC)	Owners, directors, people with inherited wealth
	Middle (MMC)	Professionals, executive managers
	Lower (LMC)	Semi-professionals, lower managers
Working Class (WC)	Upper (UWC)	Clerks, skilled manual workers
	Middle (MWC)	Semi-skilled manual workers
	Lower (LWC)	Unskilled laborers, seasonal workers

Figure 1. Social class divisions with general occupational correlates (adapted from Chambers (2002, p. 43).

After assigning the class, selecting the samples, according to the Chambers (2002), has three dimensions: (1) Blue collar and white collar, (2) Judgment samples, and (3) Random samples. He further adds that "sociolinguistics often rely on their intuition in assigning social classes individuals in the sample population in their studies ... generally, it is a short cut that can be taken only when the sociolinguist is dealing with a restricted sample in well-defined settings." (P. 44). Sociolinguistic samples have varying degrees of randomness. Truly random samples...have proven to be both unmanageable and unnecessary and practically impossible in carrying out "fine-grained linguistic analysis" in sociolinguistic research. All in all, he too believes in "...occupation [as to be] the touchstone of social class membership." (p. 47). Meanwhile, Macaulay (1976) relied solely on occupation as a class indicator, and this reliance, as put by chambers (2002), turns out to be sufficient:

Class I	professional and managerial
Class IIa	white collar, intermediate non-manual

Class IIb	skilled manual
Class III	semi-skilled and unskilled manual

Apart from classification concern, it is also known that “the speech patterns of groups of individuals, whether these are social class, or regional or gender groupings, can be shown to vary systematically...” (Stockwell, 2002:106). He quotes Vickey Bristow who devised a class-room based experiment with two groups of 10-year-old boys, one from a ‘free-paying’ school (F) and one from a state school (S). She used the sensitivity to social status and readiness and ability to pay for education as an index of social class. She found that group F produced a sort of “meta-talk” on 33 occasions, compared to the 20 occurrences of group S. Group S used more pronouns than group F, and group S also used proper names 16 times, compared with only 1 direct nomination by group F.

Restricted Code and Elaborated Code are another term to call different linguistic features of groups of individuals. Basil (1971), for instance, observed the differences in educational attainment by middle-class and lower-working class school children. He set out to establish a connection between their school experience and their characteristic language usage. He distinguished two types of linguistic patterns used by school children: restricted code and elaborated code.

Restricted Code features	Elaborated Code features
1. Unfinished & short sentences	Accurate grammatical order
2. Simple clauses	Complex sentences
3. Commands and questions	Frequent use of prepositions
4. Categorical statements	Impersonal pronouns
5. Hesitancy	Positive construction
6. Sympathetic circularity (‘you know’)	Unusual adjectives and adverbs

Figure 2. Restricted versus elaborated code features (adapted from Chambers, 2002 p. 43).

Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998) proposed another model based on different range of occupations starting from Major professionals, executives of large concern and ending in Unskilled workers.

To the same extent, it is said that different class members show different linguistic behavior, one superior and the other, consequently, inferior to the degrees. As an instance, Williams (1992) quotes Fishman (1968) who claims that linguistic homogeneity tends to characterize states that are economically more developed,

educationally more advanced, politically more modernized, and ideologically-politically more developed tranquil and stable.” (p. 60) (emphasis added). This can prove that how difference in economical situation can lead to difference in linguistic behavior.

Literature, to say a little about the differences, has some documents to confirm. Chambers (2002), as an example, pays attention to the relative strength of the ties among people in the groups that “people in the middle of the class hierarchy maintain looser network ties than WC people or, for that matter, upper-class people. Both WC and UC people tend to cluster in neighborhoods...” (p. 89). Labov (1972), also, believed that one cannot find the same local ties between the lower class and the highest class. He points at

Lower middle class’ “regular hyper-correcting” which appears to be this group’s linguistic insecurity which is shown by very wide range of stylistic variation. As the difference between MC and WC, Montgomery (1995) put “It has been claimed, for instance, members of the middle class have access to ways of organizing their speech that are fundamentally different from the ways habitually adopted by the working class.” (p. 122). It can be logically concluded that ‘looser ties’ and ‘stronger ties’ will affect individuals’ speech, as well, since the existence and maintenance of linguistic indices are not apart from these factors.

To give another instance, it can be said that all utterances, and speakers, are constantly subjected to classification by those who hear them. Such classifications or judgments tend to be mediated through expectations about class. They emerge as judgments about qualities of intelligence, character, etc., but they are almost invariably shaped by class assumption (Hodge and Kress, 1993). Elsewhere, they bring another evidence that “In her introduction to the transcription of Freda’s language, Sue Shrapnel is very positive about the virtues of working-class she is looking at. She clearly rejects the view, associated with Bernstein that working-class speakers have deficient resources of language or thought.” in their opinion (p. 67). WC speech is even superior in some cases that in contrast to Bernstein who believes working-class speakers use restricted code which has inherent difficulties with generalizations and abstractions, and do have problem with shifts of role within the speech situation, she claims for the speakers and describes a great readiness to move between the personal and impersonal, and the ability to make careful distinctions between the general and the merely particular.

Apart from the importance of the social class comparing to the other likely human factor in using a language and the specific use of a language, – which is the third step in the 9-step ladder of the hierarchy (Macaulary, 1994:61-2) – one of the crucial aspect of the relationships between individuals in the society is each individual's perception toward the language the other individual uses to communicate. Macaulary (1994) is one of the rare examples who spoke out about this fact:

“The importance of attitudes toward language is considerable. In any situations, such as the first meeting with a stranger, in an interview for a job and even in the classroom, the way children speak may affect the teacher's view of their intelligence and ability. (p. 76)

As a novel idea, literature lacks ample examples on investigating and scrutinizing individuals' perception of the way other individuals speak. More particularly, almost no study has been conducted on clarifying whether it's possible for individuals to tell others' socioeconomic class only if they are exposed to the language they produce or not and if so what would be their possible excuses. Were it probable to say this, we would be able give aid to different branches related to the linguistics such as, Forensics. This study, aims at solving this dilemma with an emphasis on individuals' socioeconomic status as a determinant factor in our every day phenomena.

3. METHOD

3.1. Participants

For the sake of this study, 9 male Tehrani speakers were asked to take part. All participants were almost of the same age (Between 40 and 50). Decision was made to select 3 participants for each socioeconomic class authors liked to have namely, Lower Class, Middle Class, and Upper Class.

As it was stated in literature part, based on the emphasis researchers liked to put on special criteria of people in the society in order to differentiate their social class, in this study a number of yardsticks were appointed and different weights were allocated to each. Figure 3 summarizes this.

Scores to the Criteria	
I. Income	6: Up to/above 50'000'000 Rls. 5: Up to 20'000'000 Rls. 4: Up to 8'000'000 Rls. 3: Up to 4'000'000 Rls. 2: Up to 2'000'000 Rls. 1: Below 1'500'000 Rls
II. Occupation	6 : Major professionals, executives of large concern 5 : Lesser professionals, executives of medium-sized concern 4 : Semi- professionals, administrators of small businesses 3 : Technicians, owners of very small business and Skilled workers 2 : Semi-skilled workers 1 : Unskilled workers
III. Housing & Neighborhood	5 : More than 3 villas and flats 4 : One villa or flat 3 : Mortgaged flat 2 : Rental flat 1 : Rental room 0 : Others
IV. Education	3 : MSs and above 2 : Diploma 1 : Junior High school License 0 : Illiterate
V. Transportation	4 : More than 3 cars 3 : One car 2 : Taxi 1 : Bus 0 : Others

Figure 3. Criteria implemented and the weights allocated.

According to this chart, we classify Tehrani people's socioeconomic classes into three levels:

1. Upper class (UC):	Above 20
2. Middle class (MC):	14 to 20
3. Lower class (LC):	Below 14

Figure 4. Three socioeconomic classes and their scores.

After assigning the criteria, more than 30 participants were invited and asked regarding their possession of the above criteria. Therefore, 9 participants were distinguished to fit our three level classification chart. From among 9 participants, 3 were chosen to be from HC, 3 MC and 3 for LC.

3.2. Instrumentation and Procedure

All participants were interviewed twice. In the first round, they were told that we were looking for different views and comments regarding some abstract as well as concrete concepts such as soccer, politics, happiness, family and the same. They were free to choose any of the cited topics to speak about so that they reveal their unconscious structures and mode of speaking without any special attention to the form. The interviewer did not interfere as long as the participant was in the right line and the chosen topic. The entire interviews – about 30 minutes recordings – was recorded and kept for further analysis.

To achieve the stated goal for this study, those parts of the participants' conversations which were continuous and with the least concentration on the form were chosen and detached from the whole stream of the interview. Then, as the second round, all participants were asked to listen to these selected parts and answer a questionnaire. The questionnaire which was used in this study composed of 12 items all of which were measured on a Likert-type scale of 1 (disagree completely) to 4 (agree completely) (See Appendix). The items included in this questionnaire came from a previous phase of the study. In the earlier phase, open ended interviews were performed with 50 randomly selected participants, male mostly. The interviewees were asked to answer the following question freely:

1. *What criteria do you think one can use to differentiate people's socioeconomic status?*

Answers to this question provided us with the items for the questionnaire. All comments were analyzed and 10 themes were located.

4. Data Analysis

After the interview was conducted, the recorded comments were transcribed and analyzed. Ultimately 10 themes were elicited which are as follows:

1. Higher Education,
2. Power,
3. Social power,
4. Confidence,

5. Eloquence,
6. Religious beliefs,
7. Fiscal power,
8. Profitable job,
9. Expensive Neighborhood,
10. Possession of expensive cars.

To check the reliability of the participants' answer three other criteria were added to the list namely (11) *Having diploma*, and (12) *High mundane beliefs*. Interestingly our five criteria were among these twelve themes, so attempt was made to adjust these results into a questionnaire. Needless to mention, the main focus was on our established yardsticks, nevertheless a subsidiary attention was also paid to other factors, as well. The questionnaire was then administered and the raw data was inserted in SPSS columns. In the next step, in order to analyze the data, Kruskal-Wallis One-Way ANOVA Test method (Dickinson Gibbons and Charkraborti, 1992) was used as a one-way analysis of variance ($\alpha = 0:05$). The result of the data analysis in this phase showed that from among the cited twelve factors only five showed significant difference. Figure 5 illustrates these factors.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Diploma	Between Groups	21.667	2	10.833	16.908	.000
Eloquence	Between Groups	10.400	2	5.200	9.818	.001
Religious	Between Groups	5.067	2	2.533	3.821	.035
Fiscalp	Between Groups	6.867	2	3.433	6.393	.005
Profitjob	Between Groups	6.467	2	3.233	3.437	.047

Figure 5. Five factors showing acceptable significant level.

The *Sig. (2-tailed)* column in figure 5 displays the proper sig. values for five factors: diploma, eloquence, religious, fiscal power, and profitable job. Others factors did not exhibit sig. value to show significant difference, but after Scheffe test 'Social power' showed sig. deference at one point (Figure 6).

Dependent Variable	(I) Groups	(J) Groups	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Social p	LC	MC	1.000	.418	.075
		HC	.600	.418	.371
	MC	LC	-1.000	.418	.075
		HC	-.400	.418	.638
	HC	LC	-.600	.418	.371
		MC	.400	.418	.638

Figure 6. Scheffe test for Social p.

As it was already mentioned, the tape-recorded speeches of all three socioeconomic classes were exposed to other class members and then the participants were asked to answer the questionnaire. After administrating the questionnaire, we had three bunches of data: (1) LC checking the speech belonging to MC and HC; (2) MC checking the speech belonging to LC and HC; and (3) HC checking the speech belonging to LC and MC. The next step was to give proper values to the Likert scale on the questionnaire. Decision was made to set the default toward the positive answer. It means that, for instance, for 'HigherEd' four values were assigned to 1 on the Likert scale and one value to 4. On the other hand, in order to balance the logic and the proper value, one value were assigned to 1 and four values to 4 in 'Diploma' and 'Religious beliefs'. Then, the values allocated to each item in each questionnaire were added up to obtain a single score for each single sheet. The means of all clusters of 5 (consisting of 6 bunches of 5) were calculated and illustrated in figure 6.

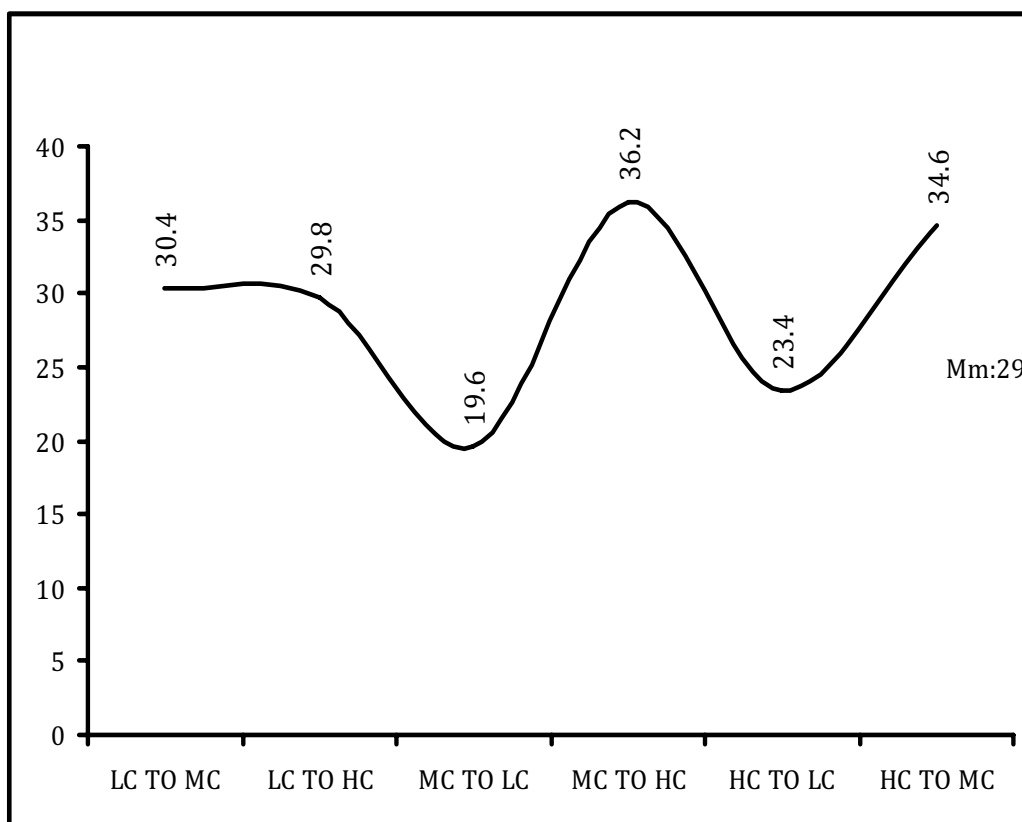


Figure 7. Means Comparison

5. Discussion

As it is manifested (figure 6) there is a fairly regular upward increasing leaning of the means. Generally speaking, it can be inferred that LC displays almost similar average perception towards both MC and HC (30.4 and 29.8). But this is not the case for the MC and HC. In fact both of them hold relatively low negative perception towards LC, though not analogous. It seems necessary to discuss these points in details. While asked to give their opinion of MC, LC participants gave an average point of 30.4 which is a little bit more than the overall average of 29. Their average score for HC was almost the same. In fact, Lower Class holds fairly similar perceptions regarding the other two classes. This might be because in society the position in which LC is engaged is not so considerable and they feel a great distance between themselves and members of the other classes. On the other hand, it may be concluded that members of this class try not to give proper values to the way the members of the other classes speak in order to underestimate them. Religious and cultural considerations may explain some of their reasons for doing so. At any rate, they gave scores more than the mean (Point A).

The radical class, as it could be speculated, is the Middle Class. They almost went to the extremes when they were asked to score LC and HC. In fact, the lowest and the highest scores were given by the participants of this group. The average score they gave to LC speeches was 19.6 and 36.2 to those of HC. Labov's *change from below* (1972) can be one proof to think that MC desires to detach its proximity from LC and tries to unite HC links, and exactly because of this reason it underestimates the speech belonging to LC and overestimates HC speech. The inclination towards the upper class is apparent (Point B). The same situation seems to be repeated for HC this time, however, moderated. The average point HC assigned to LC is closer to the overall average line (23.4). This shows that HC holds fairly realistic views concerning the attributes belonging to LC. Their realistic views can be seen in their perception of MC, as well. Although they think positively of MC, this doesn't make them go to the extremes. Yet, they gave a high average score to MC (34.6). It means that as the level of the socioeconomic class goes up, HC gives more values (Point C).

If we juxtapose points A, B, and C, we can observe a kind of speech preference shift from the lower point towards the upper. In other words, MC assimilates its level with that of the HC and HC prefers to assimilate MC rather than LC to its features, but not the other way around. This feature might be called '*upward assimilation*'. The data obtained for this study didn't allow us to include LC in this feature. The results might be applied in any socioeconomic considerations. In fact, researchers

may use these findings in making logical conclusions in their studies. Other applications can take in forensic cases, courts, and etc.

6. Further Research

This study may be replicated with more participants and participants from different cultural, religious background. Among other variables which can be controlled age can be a determining one. Age differences might account for these findings or it may change them all. One of the limitations of this study was the obligatory control of gender. Because of some social considerations, women rejected to be interviewed. We couldn't find any female participant to accept our request to record her voice. Since women are more likely influential in language changes, it is recommended to conduct another study and with participants of both genders. The results can be interesting.

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AUTHOR NOTE:

Reza Ghafar Samar is an assistant professor in English Department, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran. His fields of interest include: sociolinguistics, bilingual education and contrastive analysis. E-mail: rgsamar@modares.ac.ir

Hadi Azimi has received his BA in English Language and Literature from IAU, Rasht branch. His MA in TEFL is from Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran. His fields of interest include: critical pedagogy, teacher education, teaching literature and sociolinguistics. E-mail: azimi.ho@gmail.com

Babak Dadvand has received his BA in English Language and Literature from Razi University, Kermanshah. His MA in TEFL is from Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran. His fields of interest include: language policy and planning, teacher education, critical pedagogy and sociolinguistics. E-mail: babak.dadvand@gmail.com

Appendix

Socioeconomic Class Questionnaire

بسمه تعالی

پاسخگوی گرامی:
لطفاً پس از شنیدن صدای ضبط شده (بر اساس برداشت کلی خود) به پرسشهای زیر پاسخ دهید.

	خیلی مخالف		خیلی موافق	
۴	۳	۲	۱	۱. گوینده دارای تحصیلات دانشگاهی است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۲. گوینده دارای مدرک پایین تر از دیپلم است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۳. گوینده دارای قدرت زیادی است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۴. گوینده دارای قدرت اجتماعی زیادی است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۵. گوینده دارای اعتماد بنفس بالایی است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۶. گوینده دارای قدرت مصاحبت بالایی است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۷. گوینده دارای تفکر مادی است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۸. گوینده فردی مذهبی است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۹. گوینده دارای قدرت مالی بالایی است.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۱۰. گوینده دارای شغل درآمد زایی است. (بیشتر از ۵ میلیون)
۴	۳	۲	۱	۱۱. گوینده در یک محله بالای شهر سکونت دارد.
۴	۳	۲	۱	۱۲. گوینده دارای ماشین مدل بالا است. (گرانتر از ۱۰ میلیون)
				<input type="checkbox"/> مرد <input type="checkbox"/> زن

با تشکر

A contrastive study of the introduction section of English and Persian medical research articles

Avishan Mahzari, Academy of Persian Language and Literature
Parviz Maftoon, Iran University of Science and Technology

Genre Analysis has received considerable attention in recent years in ESP context. Genre has been taken as a property of text, which allows it to be described as a sequence of elements, or "moves". And each move serves as a part of the total communicative purpose of that genre. In this study, the introduction section of 200 medical research articles, 100 American-English and 100 Persian were analyzed according to Swales' (1990) model. Move analysis was performed to find the frequency of moves and steps in the introduction sections of English and Persian medical research articles. The results revealed that both in English and Persian, Introduction section of research articles are similar regarding their move frequency, but the realization of these three moves are radically different in these two languages. To solve the problem of academic isolation, syllabus designers must include genre awareness courses to sensitize the students to the features that make an academic text acceptable to the members of the discourse community. Findings of the study could be applied to alleviate the long-standing problem of bad writing amongst this discipline practitioners.

Keywords: Discourse Moves; Medical Texts; Writing Introductions; ESP; Genre Analysis

1. Introduction

It has been difficult to avoid the word genre in language education in recent years. Many studies have been carried out to investigate the effect of genre awareness on producing straightforward and sound types of research articles. University students need to both write and comprehend research articles. Within this text type, the introduction section of research article is a genre in itself (Swales 1990, and Bhatia 1993) as distinct from other sections of research articles. The introduction sections of research articles have been widely studied because, as Swales (1990) puts it, they are the most difficult part for writers, because they are forced with numerous options and decisions in this section: the amount of background knowledge, the

authoritative versus sincere tone, the winsomeness of the appeal to readers, and directness of the approach they should incorporate into their writing. This study is an attempt to investigate the introduction section genre of American-English and Persian medical research article. The study aims to find out whether there is any difference in the introduction sections of these two languages as far as the frequency of moves and steps are concerned.

2. Method

Swales' (1990) CARS model was utilized for the analysis. The model could effectively explain the introduction section genre of English and Persian medical research article. Swales (1990, p.141) posits a three move pattern for article introduction, as shown below.

MOVE 1: ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY	
Step 1	Claiming centrality and/or
Step 2	Making topic generalization
And/ or	Step 3 Reviewing items of previous research
MOVE 2: ESTABLISHING A NICHE	
Step 1A	Counter-claiming or
Step 1B	Indicating a gap or
Step 1C	Question- raising or
Step 1D	Continuing a tradition
MOVE 3: OCCUPYING THE NICHE	
Step 1A	Outlining purposes or
Step 1B	Announcing present research
Step 2	Announcing principal findings
Step3	Indicating RA structure

2.1. The Corpus

Two hundred introduction sections of research articles were randomly extracted from three English and three Persian medical journals, (100 per each language). The data obtained for analysis were drawn from the English journals namely, American Journal of Medicine, Pain, Medicine and the Persian Journals namely, Pazhoohande (Research Medical Journal of Shahid

Beheshti University), Research Medical Journal of Ahvaz University, Research Medical Journal of Kerman University.

2.2. Criteria for Article Selection

To choose the articles, the following criteria were taken into account. First due to dynamic nature of genre, the corpus was restricted to a period of seven years (1997-2003). Second, All English journal articles were published in the US and all writers assumed to be English native speakers as far as it could be inferred from their names, affiliations, and occasionally biographical notes attached to the articles, and their native-like command of English. On the other hand, the Persian articles were written by Iranians, so we expect Persian to be the writers' native language. It should be noted that there was no instance of translation in the Persian articles. Third, experts of this field (medicine) were consulted to choose journals with high importance, reputation, and readership. Their suggestions were of great help in deciding on the number of articles to be included in the study. For example, 57 articles were selected from one journal, but only 8 from another. Forth, to keep the naturalness of the sampling, the length of the introductions was not controlled. Fifth, the introduction sections were from articles which had the traditional Introduction, Method, Result, and Discussion (IMRD) sections.

2.3. The Identification of Moves

To find the communicative purpose of each sentence, the texts were meticulously read sentence by sentence, because sentences were considered to be the unit of analysis and communicative purpose was the identifying feature of each move. (Bhatia, 1993) The process of identification of moves involved focusing on formal clues such as explicit lexemes and expressions, verb forms, discourse conjuncts, etc. and focusing on function of sentences. Of course in some cases there were some instances of discrepancy between the two formal and functional approaches. In such cases, priority was given to the function of the fragment.

3. Results

Move and step frequency across the corpus were statistically analyzed. Then inter-rater and intra-rater reliability of the judgments were estimated.

3.1. Move and Step Frequency

The frequency of moves and their constituent steps were analyzed in the corpus. Tables 1 and 2 show the move and step frequencies in the corpus.

Table 1
Move Frequency of Introduction Section of Medical Research Articles

Moves	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3
English	155	109	104
Persian	153	102	96

Table 2
Step Frequency of Moves in the Introduction Section of Medical Research Articles

Steps	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1A	2.1B	2.1C	2.1D	3.1A	3.1B	3.2	3.3
English	87	133	116	11	98	0	3	41	93	12	4
Persian	94	169	140	24	81	9	2	51	83	2	0

Chi-squares showed no significant difference between introduction sections of English and Persian medical research articles as far as their move frequency were concerned. But the results of chi-square tests for step frequency showed that there is a significant difference between introduction section genre of English and Persian medical research articles concerning the frequency of steps. Tables 3 and 4 show the results.

Table 3
The Chi-square Indicating the Significant Difference of Move Frequency across the Corpus.

	Significance	df	χ^2 Value	χ^2 Critical
Moves	.05	2	.163	5.99

Table 4
The Chi-square Indicating the Significant Difference of Step Frequency in the Moves across the Corpus

	Significance	df	χ^2 Value	χ^2 Critical
Steps	.05	10	32.128	18.3070

The results showed that there is no significant difference between move frequency of introduction sections of English and Persian medical research articles, but there is a significant difference between their step frequencies. This means that both English and Persian writers utilized the three moves with similar frequencies, but the realization of these three moves was different in these two languages. In order to realize the three moves, both English and Persian writers utilized the Eleven steps, but with different frequencies. In order to gain a better understanding of the issue a review over the features of each move and its constituent steps along with examples from each language are presented here.

Move 1

Every research to be reported needs to create the general territory in which it operates. The analysis revealed that 100 percent of English and 100

percent of Persian RAs included move 1 in order to establish a territory. Percentage of occurrence of move 1 and its steps are summarized in the following table.

Table 5
Percentage of Occurrence of Move 1 and its Steps

Move 1: Establishing a Territory Steps	% of occurrence	
	English	Persian
Establishing a Territory	100	100
1) claiming centrality and/or	87	94
2) making topic generalizations	86	99
3) reviewing items of previous research	79	85

To establish a territory of the research to be reported, both English and Persian authors tried to assure the readers of the importance, relevance, and recency of their research project. To achieve this, they made centrality claims, topic generalizations, and reviewed items of previous research. The ultimate goal was to re-establish the significance of the research field for the discourse community.

Examples of steps of move 1 across the corpus

Step 1.1: Claiming Centrality

English RA. No. 85: Diagnostic and Interventional procedures using radiocontrast media are being performed with increasing frequency.

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۸۴: روغن ذرت یکی از موادی است که بطور روزافزون مورد استفاده مردم قرار می گیرد.

Step 1.2: Making topic generalization

English RA. No. 2: Because of the efficacy of multiagent combination chemo therapy, a significant proportion of patients are cured by current approaches.

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۳۱: امروزه معتقدند که علاوه بر علائم اصلی پنجگانه فوق، بیماری کلیوی نیز در سندروم باردت - بیدل یک گرفتاری تقریباً ثابت است که در ۱۵ تا ۵۵ درصد موارد، این درگیری شدید است.

Step 1.3: Reviewing items of previous research

English RA. No 76: Initial studies found that IL.1B produces hyperalgesia, following either peripheral or central administration. (Ferreira et al., 1988; Oka et al, 1993; Watkins et al., 1994)

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۱۵: برخی تحقیقات ارتباط بین ناخواسته بودن حاملگی را با میزان مرگ و میر نوزادان، اسکیزوفرنی در کودکان، سوء استفاده و آزار کودکان نشان داده اند. (دکتر علی رضا سینا، ۱۳۷۲ و دکتر مژگان مینایی، ۱۳۷۳)

Move 2

In move 2, there is a transition from the generally established context by focusing on inadequacy in previous research that needs new investigation. Percentage of occurrence of move 2 and its steps are presented in table 6.

Table 6.
Percentage of Occurrence of Move 2 and its Steps

Move 2: Establishing a niche Steps	% of occurrence	
	English	Persian
Establishing a Niche	79	72
1A) Counter-claiming	11	20
or 1B) Indicating a gap	73	58
or 1C) Question raising	0	9
or 1D) Continuing a tradition	3	2

As show in table 6, 79 percent of English and 72 percent of Persian authors established a niche for their study. To attain this objective, they resorted to one or combination of steps included in move 2. Considering both English and Persian RAs, indicating a gap (step 1B) was the most favorite step, while question raising (step 1C) for English RAs and continuing a tradition (step 1D) for Persian RAs were the least. A possible interpretation can be that the authors avoid direct, explicit, and strong challenges to previous research, and they try to state the necessity of current research indirectly. Twenty one percent of English and 28 percent of Persian RAs did not include move 2 at all. In other words, the authors of these RAs have not stated any negative attitude or challenge to the previous research because they did not feel any need.

Examples of steps of move 2 across the corpus

Step 2.1.A: Counter-claiming

English RA. No. 37: However, a cross-sectional PCR-based study reported a high prevalence of common respiratory viruses, which was not clearly related to the fatal attack.

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۶۴: اما در مورد نقش بالا رفتن سن بر ابعاد خفیه رحمی اختلاف نظر وجود دارد

Step 2.1B: Indicating a Gap

English RA. No. 19: Surprisingly, the effects of late life anemia have not received much research attention.

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۱۹: تا به امروز هیچ مطالعه تشخیصی با استفاده از مصاحبه مستقیم بر اساس DSM – IV انجام نشده است.

Step 2.1.C: Question-raising

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۱: بنابراین این سوال مطرح می شود که آیا نمونه گیری از خون مویرگی را می توان جانشین نمونه گیری از خون شریانی کرد؟

Step 2.1.D: Continuing a Tradition

English RA. No. 12: These analyses were necessary since psychological factors may be related to MFP and bruxism in the absence of disease.

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۷۸: این مطالعه به منظور تعیین نقش هلیکو باکتریلیوری و درمان آن در افراد مبتلا به NUD.

Move 3

After establishing a territory and niche which are achieved through move 1 and move 2, authors find themselves in a better position to occupy the niche. In fact, by using previous moves, authors pave the way for putting forward their own research. Now that the reader is convinced about the importance and necessity of the current research, he may wish to be informed briefly about the exact goals of the research, procedure and methodology of the research, principle outcomes, and the structure of the present research. The results showed that 97 percent of English and 91 percent of Persian writers included this move in the RAs. Table 7 shows the percentage of occurrence of move 3 and its steps.

Table 7.
Percentage of Occurrence of Move 3 and its Steps

Move 3: Occupying the niche Steps	% of occurrence	
	English	Persian
Occupying the niche	97	91
1A) Outlining Purposes or 1B) Announcing present research	37	51
or 1C) Announcing principle findings	82	81
or 1D) Indicating RA structure	12	2
	4	0

Move 3 is typically presented as the final move of the introduction section. In one English RA, this move appeared at the beginning of the introduction. In other words, the writer occupied the niche at the very beginning of the RA. To Swales (1990), this refers to the fact that the author of the RA does not worry about the appreciation of his/her product by the reader. This confidence could be because of the popularity of the author and well establishment of the importance and necessity of the research. In other words, the writer may be a well-known expert member who is reporting an issue which is very significant for other members.

Examples of steps of move 3 across the corpus

Step 3.1.A: Outlining purposes

English RA. No. 18: The aim of our study was to assess the long-term association of C-reactive protein levels with the risk of death, nonfatal myocardial infarction, and repeat revascularization after coronary angioplasty.

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۴۶: با توجه به موارد بالا، هدف اصلی این پژوهش، بررسی اثر عامل چاقی بر کمر درد است.

Step 3.1.B: Announcing present research

English RA. No. 7: We report the results of a cross-sectional analysis of the association between glycemic control and prevalent cardiovascular disease in patients with NIDDM.

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۴۵: در مطالعه حاضر اثر ورا پامیل روی رشد طولی استخوان های دراز در دوران رشد در موشهای صحرایی به طور تجربه ای مورد مطالعه قرار گرفت.

Step 3.2: Announcing principle findings

English RA. No. 5: We found no case in which *A.nidulans* was a pathogen in patient without CGD, despite the fact that the patient population at NIH is heavily weighted towards immunocompromised groups. These observations show that *A.nidulans* has distinct mechanisms of pathogenesis that are clinically important in patients with CGD.

مقاله پژوهشی شماره ۸: موردی از وجود باند آمینون در دهان و حلق جنین و بلع آن وجود نداشت.

Step 3.3: Indicating RA structure

English RA. No. 5: *Charactristic morphologic features of A.nidulans are shown in figure 1.*

3.2. Reliability

The next step was taking care of the reliability in order to avoid subjectivity in the analysis.

Intra-rater reliability

To this end, a sample of 60 articles (30 from each language) was extracted out of the corpus and was analyzed by the researcher two weeks after the first rating.

The results of spearman rank-order correlation showed that there was high correlation between the researcher's two counting of moves and steps. The details of the correlational analysis are presented in Appendix A.

Inter-rater reliability

In order to avoid subjectivity in the analysis of the data, a sample of 60 articles (30 from each language) were randomly extracted and were analyzed by an MA holder of TEFL, who was familiar with genre analysis (her own thesis was on genre analysis). The results of her analysis were correlated with those of the researcher. The results of spearman rank-order correlation showed that there was high correlation between the frequency of moves and steps counted by the researcher and the second rater. The details of the correlational analysis are presented in Appendix B.

4. Discussion

The results of this study shed some light on the generic organization of the Introduction section of medical research articles across English and Persian and showed that there is no significant difference between them as far as the move frequency is concerned. The results also showed that the frequency of steps in the introduction section of English and Persian medical research articles is radically different. The findings revealed that the introduction section of a journal article serves a set of communicative purposes which could be presented in a specific order:

Establishing a Territory, Establishing a Niche, Occupying the Niche.

Introductions are organized in such a structure to persuade the discourse community that the present research is something worthy of attention. In addition, the results obtained in the study show that the moves of the introduction section across the two languages are not of equal frequency. That is Move 1 appeared to be the most frequent moves across the corpus. Move 2 places second, while move 3 is the least frequent move to be presented in the corpus.

The findings also focuses on the linguistic features the writers utilize to serve their communicative purposes. For example, Move 2 usually includes some negative forms (negative or quasi-negative quantifiers, lexical negation, negation in the verb phrase) because the writers try to imply that the previous research suffer some limitations, that there is a problem that has not been dealt, and that a question remains unanswered.

Results of this study can help students to write research article introduction in a correct genre. University students need to both comprehend and

produce academic prose of various related disciplines. Genre analysis can be of great help to instructors to make learners well-aware of how genres differ from and within each other and how learners can go about discovering these difference. The findings of this study may also contribute to the field of syllabus design because to solve the problem of academic isolation, syllabus designers must also include genre awareness courses to sensitize the students to the features that make the text a good and standard product. Raising genre-consciousness is a key factor in solving the problems that are barriers for scholarly, academic communication.

In addition, there may be of great value if medicine practitioners tend to send the report of their research to medical journals and tend to know the generic organization of introduction section of their field.

5. Conclusion

In this study, the introduction section of 200 medical research articles, 100 American-English and 100 Persian were analyzed according to Swales' (1990) model to find the frequency of moves and steps in the introduction sections of English and Persian medical research articles. The results revealed that both in English and Persian, Introduction section of research articles are similar regarding their move frequency, but the realization of these three moves are radically different in these two languages. To solve the problem of academic isolation, syllabus designers must include genre awareness courses to sensitize the students to the features that make an academic text acceptable to the members of the discourse community. Findings of the study could be applied to alleviate the long-standing problem of bad writing amongst discipline practitioners.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A

Table 8.
Intra-rater correlation of English moves

English moves in first and	Significance	df	ρ Value	ρ Critical
second rating	.01	1	1	.99

Table 9.
Intra-rater correlation of English steps

English steps in first and	Significance	df	ρ Value	ρ Critical
second rating	.01	9	.99	.73

Table 10.
Intra-rater correlation of Persian moves

Persian moves in first and	Significance	df	ρ Value	ρ Critical
second rating	.01	1	1	.99

Table 11.
Intra-rater correlation of Persian steps

English steps in first and	Significance	df	ρ Value	ρ Critical
second rating	.01	9	.99	.73

Appendix B

Table 12.
Inter-rater correlation of English moves

English moves by second	Significance	df	ρ Value	ρ Critical
rater and researcher	.01	1	1	.99

Table 13.
Inter-rater correlation of English steps

English steps by second	Significance	df	ρ Value	ρ Critical
rater and researcher	.01	9	.98	.73

Table 14.
Inter-rater correlation of Persian moves

Persian moves by second	Significance	df	ρ Value	ρ Critical
rater and researcher	.01	1	1	.99

Table 15.
Inter-rater correlation of Persian steps

Persian steps by second	Significance	df	ρ Value	ρ Critical
rater and researcher	.01	9	.99	.73

AUTHORS' BIO:

Avishan Mahzari has received her BA in English Translation from University for Teacher Education, Iran. She has received her MA in Teaching English as a Foreign Language from Iran University of Science and Technology, Iran. She is currently affiliated with Academy of Persian Language and Literature as a researcher in linguistics.

Email: avishanmahzari@yahoo.com

Parviz Maftoon is professor of TEFL at Iran University of Science and Technology, Iran

Email: p_maftoon@yahoo.com

The effectiveness of narrative versus expository texts: Which one is more effective on the scores gained by TOEFL test-takers

Habibollah Mashhady, Zabol University, IRAN

The aim of this study was to determine the effects of the narrative versus expository texts on the TOEFL test-takers' scores. To this end, the data were obtained and gathered from students of Shaheed Rajaei University who were studying English as a foreign language, having the same background knowledge, including both males and females. The data seem to indicate that there is no significant difference in the scores gained by students on a standard TOEFL test between expository texts and narrative texts.

Keywords: Narration; Exposition; TOEFL; TEXT; Composition; EFL Writing

1. Introduction

There are several reasons for studying the differences between a narrative text and an expository one, based on students' performances on standard placement test of TOEFL. From a more scientific point of view, studies of this sort represent a rather new research frontier in this field. There is little known about how learners perceive different genres like expository and narrative, as they read a text. The extent to which learners' scores may vary on a standard placement test like the TOEFL, based on their knowledge of the genre styles has rarely been looked at from a more practical point of view. This factor will with little doubt have important consequences on the results of different sorts learners may obtain.

More detailed understanding of the difference between these two genres will help both test-designers to realize in which kind of genre students perform significantly better and teachers who will know which kind of texts are more comfortable and comprehensible for students. Having these considerations in mind, this study was designed to search about some students' performance on a standard placement test with respect to the different kinds of genres they were being tested, particularly wanting to know whether the students

performed better on narrative texts, as it is assumed by most researchers. This study was framed by one primary research question. The question specifically asked what is the relationship between narrative texts and expository texts based on scores gained by TOEFL test - takers? In order to answer this question the results obtained by a particular group of students on the TOEFL test was compared to see whether there existed any significant difference between the two genres.

There were several reasons for examining a narrative genre and an expository one. The first reason was that although this matter may have consequential implications, little research has been done on this topic particularly in Iran. The second reason was the ongoing debate about the fact that narrative discourse as opposed to informational discourse is more natural, accessible and learnable. With respect to the second point, it should be pointed out that although there is a rich literature on the powerful effect of the narrative discourse (Nino, 1988; Peterson and McCabe, 1983), there is lack of research regarding the comparison of this type of genre with others including the expository genre. It has been the case that most researchers and theorists in the field of genre analysis have claimed that narrative genres are innately more natural for students to learn than other types of genre (Bruner, 1986). Another reason why this research was chosen was that its results could possibly be generalized and thus have an impact on the types of texts students study in school. If it is proved that narrative texts are more comprehensible for learners, curriculum makers, especially in Iran, could begin thinking about some serious version in their work regarding the kind of genre they implement in students' textbooks.

2. Background

2.1. Writing as Product or Process

Most students, both in their native language and in the second language, have receive minimal or no instruction in learning how to write, or how to understand both the written and the oral texts. They receive feed-back-often unhelpful because it is incomprehensible to them (Cohen and Robbins, 1976)-on the product they have submitted for correction and grading but no one has led them through the process of generating ideas, organizing them into a coherent sequence, and putting them on paper.

What has been taken for instruction in composition has been effect, evaluation of a product. Recently, various writing specialists have proposed a distinction between the process of writing and the written product. Their contention is that if the teacher wants to improve the product. She must assist the students in ways that will enable them to improve the process they go through to produce that product. Murray (1980, P. 30) makes this point quite graphically by saying. "The process of making meaning with written language cannot be understood by looking backward from a finished page. Process cannot be inferred from product any more than a pig can be inferred from a sausage. It is possible however for us to follow the process forward from blank page to final draft and learn something of what happens."

As Donovan and McClelland (1980, P.X) so succinctly describe the situation, thinking of writing from the point of view of a process and a product "turns our attention from the experience of praising and blaming the writer to the more profound action of making the writer". They underscore the necessity of redirecting the orientation toward composition, saying:

Until the recently the field of composition has been sustained by attention to written product and to questions about the presentation of that product. But anomalies have become apparent: the weak correlation between grammar instruction and writing ability; ... the limitations of negative criticism and editorial marginalia; the frustrations of dedicated teachers, the alienation of students.

Zamel (1983, p. 165) supports this position when she states, "Having recognized that the investigation of students' written products, tells us very little about their instructional needs, researchers are now exploring writing behaviors, convinced that by studying and understanding the process of composing, we can gain insights into how to teach it." She stresses (p. 167) the need for such research, maintaining that "ESL writing continues to be taught as if form preconceived content, as if composing were a matter of adopting preconceived rhetorical frameworks, as if correct language usage took priority over the purposes for which language is used."

2.2. Various Views on Narrative V S. Expository Texts

Regarding the whole picture of both narrative and expository texts, we come to the idea that narrative writing asks students to tell a story or describe a

series of events. Narrative essays are almost always arranged in chronological order. Narrative essays may be written as a personal narrative in which the author tells about something experienced. However, expository writing asks students to give information, explain something, or define the meaning of something. Expository essay may be developed with facts and statistics, examples, cause and effect, and/or definitions. Usually, the expository essay is unemotional and written in the third person.

Dyson (1988) in the examination of the drawing, talking, and writing of kindergartners, first, and second-graders, focuses on children's growing awareness of text time and space as they develop as authors of fictional prose. Dyson questions the developmental appropriateness of traditional assumptions about embedded" and "disembedded" language and about "narrative" and expository" prose. Carey and Flower (1989) examine the composing process of experts writers working in expository genres. Taking a problem-solving perspective, they address the concept of creativity in writing as it is embedded in ordinary cognitive processes.

Dipardo (1989) also explores the schism between narrative and exposition and argues that instruction which fosters a "grand leap" away from narrative into the presumably more grown-up world of expository prose denies students the development of a complex way of knowing and seeing, robbing them of critical developmental experience with language. On the other hand, Kants (1989) connects recent research on expository writing with a discussion of common student problems in writing a term paper. She describes rhetorical strategies students can learn that will make their essays more interesting.

Newman (2002) describes the idea of creating a glove for each of the composition strategies for use with different text structures. He further notes that the gloves serve as a multisensory approach by providing visual clues through icons on each finger and the palm, and discusses three different gloves: the prereading glove, the narrative text structure glove. Freeman (1999) suggest that students in grades 4-12 can develop their ear for expository writing and improve their skills by having well-written expository pieces read to them regularly.

McCallum and Moore (1999) examine relationship between reported imagery and comprehension of main ideas in exposition. They find that

constrained imagery is positively associated with the comprehension with failure. They also suggest that imagery and comprehension are related to subject's background knowledge, so they conclude that imagery is not a precondition for comprehension.

In an attempt to address the role of prior knowledge in the comprehension of narrative and expository text, Gordon (1992) proposes two major categories of discourse, and gives insights into some of the differences in the essence of prior knowledge required to comprehend each text type. Vogt and Connet (1992) argue that teachers should apply the same techniques to teach expository writing in social studies textbooks as they do with teaching children's literature. McIntosh (1991) presents four forms of writing appropriate for the mathematics class: (1) logbooks; (2) journals; (3) expository writing; and (4) creative writing. Scharer, Lehman, and Peters (2001) investigate the nature of books discussions about expository and narrative texts in fourth and fifth-grade classrooms, and found that literary and informational topics are discussed most in both texts. They further claim that teachers' questions posed during the expository discussion are more literal than for the narrative text.

Kress (1982) defines a narrative text as the sequence of events which suggests its own sequential, linear structure to the child. She believes that in these types of texts, the presence of cohesive ties is mostly evident. However, in standard tests like TOEFL, instead of narrative texts, it is mostly expository texts which are used. But most genre researchers believe that the use of narrative texts should be employed more often in standardized tests. Kress points to several features of a narrative text that have a profound effect on how learners perceive them and also how students perform on such genres. Some of these characteristics include:

- these genres have cohesive ties
- these genres have sequence of events
- these genres have co-present clausal units
- these genres tend to be more on the subjective side
- these genres obey the natural order in which events take place
- the structures go unnoticed because they are part of the whole text.

The aim of the present study was to determine the effects of the narrative versus expository texts on the scores gained by TOEFL test-takers to get their relationship. To this end, it was designed to test the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis: there is no relationship between narrative and expository texts in the terms of the scores gained by TOEFL test-takers.

3. METHOD

3.1. Participants

The subjects were 30 males and female students of English, participating in a proficiency test. The subjects were studying English as a second or foreign language to get their B.A in teaching English at Rajae's Teachers' Training University in Iran in the fall of the year 1382.

3.2. Instruments

Determining whether students did better on narrative texts or expository texts, the following two measures were respectively used:

3.2.1. Students' scores on a narrative text and an expository text

Here the students answered 10 questions that followed every passage in the Reading Comprehension section of the TOEFL test. Overall, the students had to read five passages and answer up to 50 questions. However, among the five passages only two passages were chosen, each passage followed by 10 questions to be answered by the subjects. The passages that were chosen included the first passage which was a narrative text and the last passage which was an expository text.

3.2.2. The TOEFL Test

The test used in this study consisted of three sections: Listening Comprehension, Structure and Written Expression, and Reading Comprehension.

3.3. Procedure

In order to test the hypothesis of the study, the following statistical procedure was utilized:

1. The matched t-test procedure was used to find out whether there existed any significant difference in student's performance on expository and narrative texts. For conducting this study, an ex-post facto design was used.

4. Results

When the matched t-test was run to investigate the relationship between the results of the two tests, the following tables were obtained:

Table1.
Paired Sample Correlation

N	Correlation	Sig.
30	0.098	0.608

Table 1 indicates the paired sample correlation which demonstrates that there is almost 'no' correlation between the sets of scores.

Table2.
Paired Sample Test

Mean	SD	Std. Error of Mean	t	df	sig.	eta ²
6.6667	26.30	4.80	1.38	29	0.176	?

Table 2 suggests that there lies no statistically significant difference between the two measures obtained. Since this piece of information indicates that there is no statistically significant difference between the two sets of scores, the null hypothesis presented earlier in the paper cannot be rejected. Thus, the belief held by many researchers that narrative texts are more comprehensible for learners, is not justifiable and can seriously be challenged.

5. Discussion

When the performance of the students in the two passages was compared, a statistically significant difference was not found between the two sets of scores obtained by the students. Consequently, it was statistically proved that students do not necessarily perform better on narrative texts. These results suggest that at least in standardized tests like TOEFL it does not make a great difference whether it is a narrative or an expository genre that is employed.

Yet, there is a possibility that perhaps if the students were faced with questions following the text that were of a different nature, and reflected the type of genre that was implemented; the results could have been significantly different. There are occasions where a text may be very comprehensible to readers but the questions that advance it misguide the readers and force them make wrong decisions regarding the right answered.

Therefore, it would not be all to logical to conclude that just because a certain number of students achieved a particular score on a particular test, the problem is with the text they were being tested on. As much as the problem may be with the texts, it could also be because of the preceding questions or even with other factors like the students themselves. Thus, in order to come up with more definite results, more qualitative and quantitative research is needed to shed more light on this issue.

6. Conclusions and Pedagogical Implications

As the results obtained from this study were being analyzed to determine whether or not students performed better on narrative texts as it was claimed by many researchers, it was concluded that students did not do significantly better on narrative texts, as would have been expected, These results may have been due to the questions that followed the texts, which sometimes required the learners to do inferencing instead of becoming aware of the chronological time - order that existed in the text.

In the past the approach to communicative competence in writing was one off drill and skill. Teachers drilled the various grammar forms expecting students to develop the skill needed to communicative via written messages. Both teachers and students focused their attention while reading and/or writing on the correct use of the drilled grammar forms. All writing was directed to the teacher, and little interest or importance was attached to the content that was written (Atwell, 1985).

So, more detailed understanding of the difference between narrative and expository texts will help both test _ designer to realize in which kind of genre students perform significantly better and teachers who will know which kind of texts are more comfortable and comprehensible for students; therefore, these considerations should be kept in mind of all the authoritative people.

7. Suggestions for Further Research

Due to the generative nature of research, each study can arise a lot of questions. In the case of this project, there are some aspects which deserve further investigation:

1. The nature and complexity of prior knowledge as it relates to narration and exposition.
2. The interaction of text variable and prior knowledge that make narratives or expositions easy or difficult to comprehend.
3. The effects of such components of prior knowledge as different attitudes, beliefs, social affiliations, and communication conventions on comprehension of narrative and expository text.
4. The relative importance in comprehension of exposition and narration.
5. The role of prior knowledge in relation to top-down processing concerns such as schema selection, activation, maintenance, and utilization.
6. The differences in processing demands across the two genres.
7. The role of narrative and expository text in promoting conceptual change, and.
8. The role of personal involvement as a component of prior knowledge in the comprehensive of narrative and expository text.

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