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DESCRIPTION

Iranian Journal of Language Studies (IJLS) is devoted to all areas of language and linguistics. Its aim is to present work of current interest in all areas of language study. No particular linguistic theories or scientific trends are favored: scientific quality and scholarly standing are the only criteria applied in the selection of papers accepted for publication. *IJLS* publishes papers of any length, if justified, as well as review articles surveying developments in the various fields of language study (including Language Teaching, Language Testing, TESOL, ESP, Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, (Critical) Discourse Analysis, Curriculum Development, Politeness Research, Classroom Research, Language Policy, and so on). Also, a considerable number of pages in each issue are devoted to critical book reviews. *IJLS* commenced publication 2006 for people involved in language and linguistic studies.

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Lamnso' verbal extensions: An overview

Constantine Yuka, University of Benin, Nigeria

Apart from work on verb tone patterns (Grebe and Grebe's, 1975) and transitivity alternations (Yuka, forthcoming), the verbal structure in Lamnso' is virtually unstudied. The Lamnso' verbal system, unlike its noun class system does not readily lend itself to a straightforward analysis. Verbs exhibit an intricate morphology with verbal extensions that can occur with a wide range of radicals. Each combination derives a distinct semantic interpretation. A cursory look at these extensions seems to require a good understanding of verb argument structure and event distribution for adequate interpretation. As a preliminary study, this paper investigates the morpho-semantic denotation of Lamnso' verbal extensions. It illustrates basic changes that apply to the meaning of verbal stems when a given extension is attached. In doing this, verbal extensions that increase the argument structure of verbs are distinguished from those that alter aspect. This paper thus focuses on the contribution of verb meaning and extension meaning to event meaning.

Keywords: Verbal Extensions; Lamnso; Enclitics; Southern Bantoid; Niger-Congo

1. Preliminaries

Lamnso' is spoken in the greater part of Bui Division, which is 150 km from Bamenda, the capital of the North West Province of the Republic of Cameroon. It is also spoken in Nigeria, specifically in Taraba State, Sarduna Local Government Area. Lamnso' belongs to the Ring subgroup which is subsumed under the Grassfield branch of the Southern Bantoid languages. Kom, Oku, Aghem, Babanki and Noni are other languages of the subgroup (Welmers, 1973, p. 159). Lamnso' and Oku are closely related. Lamnso' does not have prominent dialectal variations (Grebe, 1984). The languages commonly referred to as Bantu are also classified as Southern Bantoid languages. They are considered to be Narrow Bantu, whereas Lamnso' and other Grassfield languages are non-Bantu (or Wide Bantu). Like Fula (Annot, 1970), Swahili (Mkude 1995; Welmers, 1973) and many other languages of the Wide Bantu

family, Lamnso' nouns and nominals fall under different classes on the basis of agreement operated by concord markers which vary from one class to another (Grebe and Grebe 1975; Eastman 1980; Yuka 1998, 1999). Orthographically, the name of the language has been represented in the literature as Lamnsoq, Lam Nso, Lamnso, Nso, Lamnsok and Lamnso?. Gradually, the last option has been preferred by most researchers because the variety of existing spelling stem from the struggle to appropriately represent the glottal stop [ʔ] which appears in every lexical position except as a C₁. For typographical reasons, this sound [ʔ] has come to be represented in the literature by [']. In this paper, therefore, Lamnso? is written simply as Lamnso'.

Lamnso' is a Southern Bantoid language which like many Niger-Congo languages has enclitics on virtually all verbs. These enclitics perform different functions in a sentence. Apart from signifying the morpho-syntactic relations existing between the verbs and the arguments, they indicate subject-verb agreement, case marking as well other grammatical relations that exist among clausal elements (McGarrity and Botne, 2002). An understanding of Lamnso' grammar largely depends on our understanding of its verbal system. Lamnso' verbs can easily be divided into two major groups: The simple verbs and the complex verbs. Morphologically, the simple verbs consist only of the verbal base. The complex verbs consist of the verbal base and an extension. The base and its affix are grammatically and phonologically interdependent. The verb has generally been treated as a unitary component ignoring the smaller morphological units existing within complex verbs. We demonstrate in 1 below that the verbal complex can be subjected to further morphological analysis (i.e., the base form + an extension). In each example, the relevant verbal extension appears in bold text.

1.	lem	lem kír	mày	màysì
	gbù	gbù kír	lum	lumsì
	Kav	kav nin	tav	tav ír
	toy	toy nin	nyom	nyom èr
	lum	lum rí	ga'	ga' ám
	kòy	kò ri	la'	la' ám

kuv	kuvsín	ghem	gheé me
way	waysín	rom	roò mè
nyá'	nyá'tí	sho'	sho' óy
la'	là'tì	mvə'	mvə' əy̆

The semantic interpretation of the highlighted affixes and the selectional restrictions they impose on argument distribution within the Lamnso' clause vary. We will be referring to these affixes in this paper as verbal extension (VEs). Such extensions encode the applicative, causative, iterative, reciprocal, etc. Doke (1943) provides one of the longest lists of verbal extensions that have been identified for Bantu languages. This paper draws freely from Doke's terminology to identify VEs in Lamnso'.

The structure of the paper is as follows: In section 2, I give a very brief overview of the Lamnso' tonal system. Section 3 describes the structure of verbal extensions in general terms. The remainder of the paper details examines the usage of individual extensions with emphasis on their form, syntactic restrictions and meaning. Section 4 contains the summary and concluding statements of the paper.

2. Tone in Lamnso'¹

Lamnso' has a fairly complex tone system. The language exhibits eight lexically significant tones. Such contrastive tones vary pitch which is semantically significant. Grebe and Grebe (1975) and Grebe (1984) have done an extensive study of tone in Lamnso'. The language has three level tones:

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------|-------|-------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2. | a | High tone | [´] | as in | kán 'monkey' | kún 'tail' |
| | b | Mid tone | [ˉ] | as in | way² 'market' | loŋ² 'horn' |
| | c | Low tone | [`] | as in | mbàm 'money' | làv 'thread' |

As a result of some tonological processes a sequence of (HL, LH etc) register contour tones are derived. The language has five glide tones:

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------|-------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| d) | Mid-High | [ˉ´] | as in | wum^{2.1} 'egg', | tinin^{2.1} 'cut' |
| e) | High-Mid | [ˉ `] | as in | nyoo^{1.2} 'vegetable' | wuy^{1.2} 'hair' |

¹ Some parts of the analysis presented in this section have appeared in Yuka (forthcoming) where I attempt an analysis of the role of tone in the derivation of basic tense and aspect marking in Lamnso'.

- f) High-Low [*] as in **rim**¹⁻³ ‘witch’ **saŋ**¹⁻³ ‘dry’
 g) Mid-Low [˘] as in **wu**²⁻³ ‘he/she’ **gon**²⁻³ ‘perennial illness’
 h) Mid-Low-High [˘˘] as in **yaa**^{2-3.1} ‘grand mother’ **ven**^{2-3.1} ‘you’

The mid tone is not marked in the in the language. The orthographic convention requires that only the low and the high tones be marked over the vowels within the syllables that bear them. In this paper we have indicated mid and contour tones on the vowels of the verbs to overtly represent a sequence of tones that we discern are relevant to our discussion.

Lamnsò' nouns fall into ten major classes as shown in 4 below. We follow the Bantu system of noun class numbering in 3.

3.	class	Affix		Gloss
	1	∅-	shwà'	‘a knife’
	2	à-	àshwà'	‘knives’
	3	-∅	wum	‘egg’
	5	∅	luŋ	‘a song’
	6	me-	mejíy	‘stars’
	7	ki-	kikun	‘a bed’
	8	vi-	vikun	‘beds’
	9	-∅	yo	‘a snake’
	10	-si	yosi	‘sneaks’
	19	shi-	shijíy	‘a star’

Classes 6, 7, 8 and 19 take CV prefixes while classes 1, 3, 5 and 9 have no affix on the noun. Class 2 is marked by a V suffix and 10 by a CV suffix. The contrastive tone is always on the nuclear syllable while the tone on the peripheral syllable is always mid-low. The high tone fluctuates freely with the mid-high while the low tone fluctuates with the mid-low. Structurally, the CV prefixes are akin to Lamnsò' verbal extensions. We however do not employ verbal extensions to classify Lamnsò' verbs in this paper.

Lamnsò' verbs are basically monosyllabic but when peripheral syllables that mark various grammatical phenomena are suffixed to the nuclei syllable, ‘complex’ verbs are derived. These verbs can be grouped into two lexical tone classes (the high and the high-low). Grebe and Grebe (1975: 6-7) have

observed that the verbs with a high tone (which we consider as Class I verbs) have minimal pairs, each bearing a high-low tone (which we consider as verbs of Class II). All class I and class II verbs in 4 below are represented in their infinitive forms.

4.	sáŋ	'write'	saŋ ^{1.3}	'dry'
	mé'	'come closer'	me ^{1.3}	'shake'
	kív	'break'	kiv ^{1.3}	'crack nuts'
	tó'	'break open'	to ^{1.3}	'bore'
	fór	'add seasoning'	for ^{1.3}	'crush'
	ká'	'clear farm'	ka ^{1.3}	'tell'/'promise'
	fér	'blow'	fer ^{1.3}	'make'
	bée	'slant'	bee ^{1.3}	'shelter'
	káŋ	'fry'	kaŋ ^{1.3}	'choose'
	yáv	'take'	yav ^{1.3}	'eat hastily'
	káy	'belittle'	kay ^{1.3}	'tie strongly'
	bú'	'beat'	bu ^{1.3}	'offer a person a gift'

The data in 4 shows that tone is not only contrastive in Lamnso', but is unpredictable in CV(C) roots as well.

There is another class of verbs that bears a high tone but unlike the verbs in 4, this class lacks minimal pairs and has a peculiar feature of long vowels. Again unlike Class I and Class II verbs that are in the majority, the Class III verbs below make up a very small portion of Lamnso' verbs.

5.	téem ²	'crooked'	kúuy ²	'gather'
	náa ²	'cook'	ghvéé ²	'loiter'
	tíim ²	'stand'	dzéer ²	'roll'
	léey ²	'watch'	kóom ²	'bear'

The verbs in 5 have long vowels. The two segments of this vowel can bear two contrastive tones; for instance *nàá* 'non-prog-cook', *kòóy* 'non-prog-happen'/'non-prog-chance upon'. Lamnso' is a language in which words acquire tones in specific contexts. This alone renders the description of the tonal system of the language very complex.

3. Verbal Extensions in Lamnso'

This section of the paper looks at the functions of VEs in Lamnso' and their semantic as well as syntactic restrictions within sentential derivation. Given

that the traditional labels in the literature may not adequately describe the semantic implications of VEs for Lamnso', it may be useful to describe their application within sensible contexts capable of distinguishing one VE category from the other. Our choice of nomenclature for each VE is motivated by the generalized meaning that can be abstracted from them by the native speaker. Apart from presenting our VEs in isolation, we equally represent them within basic sentences. This method of data presentation, (it is expected) should enable the non-native speaker to adequately interpret both the argument structure and the event structure of each VE category.

An adequate semantic interpretation of the verbs in 1 will reveal that, Lamnso' can alternate VEs to derive activity verbs that will otherwise be represented in English-type languages by distinct, morphologically unrelated lexical items. A stable verbal base relies on the VE to reflect the appropriate derivational argument structure and its aspectual specification. For instance:

6. nan 'lift'
 nanìn 'stand'(by oneself)
 nanrì 'progressive-lift, plus frequentative, minus ability of the
 theme to perform the action'
 nankìr 'progressive-rise, plus frequentative, plus ability of the
 theme to perform the action'

In the following sections of this paper, we identify each VE and examine the restrictions it imposes on argument distribution within the clause as well as the basic meaning changes that the VEs occasion.

3.1. The Reciprocal (RECIP)

Reciprocal action requires two participants who engage in an activity either on each other, with one another or for the benefit of both participants. The agents are at the same time mutual patients of their action (Schadeberg 2003:76). A plural noun can occupy the agent role. In such an instance, agreement is with the corresponding plural form. Where a single subject NP is the agent, its relevant parts in relation to one another can act reciprocally. It is otherwise referred in the literature as *Associative action*. In the data below, we present the verbal base without the VE and then the verbal base with the VE for ease of a comparative analysis.

7.	lem/lemnin	wound/wound one another
	tóy/tóynin	accuse/accuse one another
	kuù/kuùnin	insult/insult one another
	sòv/sòvnin	stab/stab one another
	yòṅ/yòṅnin	call/call one another
	bàn/bànin	dislike/dislike one another
	tar/tarnin	meet/meet one another
	kum/kumnin	touch/touch one another
	koṅ/koṅnin	love/love one another

Example 8a-d illustrate argument distribution within Lamnso' clauses.

8. a (i) wàn jaṅ fər fo sum
child prog-call brother from farm
'The child is calling the brother from the farm'
- (ii) wàn wun fər jaṅnin i sum
child and brother prog-RECIP-call in farm
'The child and the brother are calling each other in the farm'
- b (i) tàron tóy mu vishòṅ kisaṅ
your father prog-accuse me theft empty
'Your father is falsely accusing me of theft'
- (ii) wón jèmer yém me bvəⁿ kitem à tóynin sho
child sister mine sm non-prog calabash sm prog-RECIP-accuse
with
'My sisters children broke the calabash and are accusing each other (of the act)'
- c (i) wàn kuù yèwòv ki bír kitàr
child non-prog insult mother his it non-prog-anger the
father
'The child insulted the mother and angered the father'
- (ii) vikiy kuùnin fo kitu ké lumen
women prog-RECIP-insult from head of man
'The women are insulting each other over a man'
- d (i) tàron ban mu bi' mbàm sém
your father prog-hate me because money mine
'Your father hates me because of my money'
- (ii) vikiy banin fo kitu ké lumen
women prog-RECIP-hate from head of man
'The women hate each other over a man'

What is evident from 8 a-d, is that the subject arguments of the clauses with only the verbal base are in their singular forms while the addition of the VE (-*nin*) subcategorizes for multiple subject arguments. -*nin* denotes reciprocity

among or between these multiple arguments associated in an action. It expresses other aspects of association such as interaction, concerted action, interdependence or disassociation. It can rightly be said to be an argument structure VE. Notice that example 8d reflects the VE as *-in* rather than *-nin* which is the common morphological form in 7 above. We interpret *-in* in 8d as the surface form of *-nin* implying that underlyingly, the full form of the verb is *bannin*, but the voiceless nasal cluster conflates for phonological economy at the Phonetic Form level. What surfaces at the interval levels is *banin*. The tone of this VE is mid which is orthographically not marked in the language. The selectional argument restrictions of the VE-*nin* can summarily be represented as follows;

Sg. Arg-S + V- \emptyset + Arg-O

pl. Arg-S + V-RECIP + Arg-O

3.2. The Frequentative (FREQ)

Verbal affixes that express regularly repeated action are described as frequentative, also said to be iterative. Like *-nin*, *-kir* determines argument structure within the clause. It requires that the plural subject arguments possess the attributes to undergo or undertake the activity specified by the verb in addition to the action being iterative.

9.	túm/túmkír	drop/drop repeatedly
	kív/kívkír	break/break repeatedly
	gbù/gbùkír	fall/fall repeatedly
	run/runkír	fill/fill repeatedly
	lém/lémkír	wound/wound repeatedly
	nàn/nànkír	lift/lift repeatedly
	kò/kòkír	snore/snore repeatedly
	jòy/jòykír	sick/ repeatedly sick

The examples in 10 (i) below are control examples to 10 (ii). The 10 (ii) examples relate frequentative activities derived by the application of the appropriate VE (-kir).

10. a (i) wánle shikur lem e dzəə shikur
 young child school non-prog-wound on road school
 ‘A pupil got himself wounded on his/her way to school’
- (ii) wónle shikur i lémkír e dzəə shikur
 young children school sm FREQ-wound on road school
 ‘The students repeatedly got themselves wounded on their way to school’
- b (i) Kiven i gbù dzəə sùm kàŋ mò’ón
 Kiven sm non-prog-fallroad farm sig-time one
 ‘Kiven fell once on the way to the farm’
- (ii) Jesus i gbùkír sar kintam àkàŋ àtár
 Jesus sm FREQ-fall under cross pl-time three
 ‘Jesus fell under the cross three times’
- c (i) shwér woo yoóne e sho’ vitu vé lav Taàtá
 nán kijävndzə
 wind belong yesterday pst remove heads of house old man
 non-prog-lift morning
 ‘Yesterday’s wind removed the roof of the house and the old man raised them in the morning’
- (ii) shùy bàn àŋgwàsán i nànkír fó nsay
 sun non-prog-shine maize stems sm FREQ-rise from ground
 ‘The the sun shone, (and) the maize stems rose (in turns) from the ground’

10a-c shows the VE (*-kir*) describing an activity that is either regularly repeated or a progressive activity involving a multiplicity of subjects with each subject participating in the activity in its turn. The subject arguments must possess the ability to cause the action specified by the verb to happen. The major difference between the VEs, *-nin* and *-kír* is that unlike *-nin*, *-kir* does not require reciprocation either between the two subject NPs or between parts of a single subject NP. With the *-kir* extension, the tone of the base form is copied onto the extension. A summary of the selectional argument restriction for *-kir* is as follows:

sig Arg-S - ability +V- \emptyset +(PP) (Arg-O)

pl. Arg-S +ability +V-*kir* +(PP) (Arg-O)

-kir can thus be categorized as an argument determining VE that restricts the argument structure of the clause as well as denote the event structure that spells out the frequency of the activity.

3.3. The Iterative (ITR)

The VE (-ri) designates an action that recurs. The activity verb in question unfolds unceasingly. Examine the following contrastive examples showing the iterative verbal extension in Lamnso'.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------------------------------|
| 11. | tum/tumrí | send/send unceasingly |
| | fó/fóri | give/give unceasingly |
| | səŋ/səŋrí | draw/draw unceasingly |
| | kum/kumrí | touch/touch unceasingly |
| | nyeŋ/nyeŋrí | run/make short runs unceasingly |
| | waŋ/waŋrí | sprinkle/sprinkle unceasingly |
| | sə/sər í | collect/collect unceasingly |

Example 12 shows activity verbs with the -ri extension designating an unfolding action. The same example reveals the restriction of clausal arguments distribution by the same VE.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------|--|------------------|----------------|---------------|----------|-----------|--------|-------------|----|------|
| 12. | a | (i) | lùm | la | kikú' | ké | wan? | | | | | |
| | | | non-prog-bite | who | cocoyam | of | baby | | | | | |
| | | | 'Who has beaten (of) the baby's coco yam?' | | | | | | | | | |
| | | (ii) | lúmrí | la | kikú' | ké | wan? | | | | | |
| | | | ITR-prog-bite | who | cocoyam | of | baby | | | | | |
| | | | 'Who has (repeatedly) been biting (of) the baby's coco yam?' | | | | | | | | | |
| | b | (i) | Taàtá | kòy | bíy | kù' | i | ŋkém | | | | |
| | | | old man | non-prog-harvest | kola nut | non-prog | incubate | in basket | | | | |
| | | | 'The old man harvested kola nut and incubated it in a basket' | | | | | | | | | |
| | | (ii) | Taàtá | kòyri | bíy | kú' | e | ŋkém | | | | |
| | | | old man | ITR-prog-harvest | cola nut | prog-incubate | in | basket | | | | |
| | | | 'The old man is (repeatedly) harvesting cola nuts and incubating them in a basket' | | | | | | | | | |
| | c | (i) | Kila | a | kùm | shuu | lav | Ntásín | kàŋ | mò" | ón | wu |
| | | | mvə' | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Kila | pst | non-prog-knock | mouth | house | Ntasin | number | one | he | open |
| | | | 'Kila knocked once on Ntasin's door and he opened' | | | | | | | | | |
| | | (ii) | Kila | a | kùmri | shuu | lav | Ntásín | wu | tén | fo | mvə' |
| | | | Kila | pst | ITR-prog-knock | mouth | house | Ntásín | he | prog-refuse | to | open |
| | | | 'Kila (repeatedly) knocked on Ntasin's door and he refused to open' | | | | | | | | | |

There is obviously a semantic overlap between the *-kir* and *-rì* extensions. While we have interpreted *-kir* as frequentative, *-rì* is repetitive. The thin distinction between the two rests on the feature composition of the Arg-S. While the *-kir* extension requires that the element in subject position possesses the ability to undergo the activity specified by the verb, the *-rì* is causative since it contributes to the meaning of 'cause to' in addition to its basic repetitive connotation. This means that the intervals within which the activity is repeated is determined by the capacity of the subject to complete the act already engaged in. The frequentative affix gives the verb a cycle of an activity that needs to be completed before another cycle can commence. The *-rì* affix does not observe such a cycle. The activity is simply repeated. It is this progressive repetition of the activity that is represented by the high tone on the verb with the *-rì* extension. This tone is the progressive aspectual marker in Lamnso'. The low tone on each of the verbs without extensions in example 12 (i) a-c equally marks the non-progressive aspect. *-rì* inherently bears a low tone regardless of the tone of the base form. Once the verb takes the VE *-rì*. It encodes a frequentative interpretation of the event which is ongoing and therefore progressive. The selectional restrictions of the *-rì* extension is represented below.

$$\text{Agr-S} + \text{V-} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{prog} + \text{rì (ITR)} \\ \text{non-prog} + \emptyset \end{array} \right\} + \text{Agr-O}$$

In this language, the repetitive prefix is *ki/kfən*, glossed as 'do again'. For example;

cùrì/kin cùrì	pour/pour again
tom/kin tom	support/support again
sho'/kfən sho'	remove/remove again
dzəv/kfən dzəv	beat/beat again
ko'/kin ko'	climb/climb again

The alternation of *kin* and *kfən* has no semantic distinction. It is simply a variation in pronunciation. However, the native speaker can reduplicate the basic form of an activity verb to derive the urgency of an event.

cér/cércér	quick/quickly
le'/le'le'én	run/run faster or quickly
sho'/sho'sho'ón	remove/remove (it) faster

Reduplication frequently occurs with monosyllabic stems. This may be an indication of a preference for polysyllabic words in the language. Additional evidence to this preference can be drawn from the morphology of nouns that take CV nominal affixes described in example 3. It is a productive process in the language that merits a detailed investigation which can be the focus of another paper.

3.4. The Applicative (APPL)

The *-ti* verbal extension in Lamnso' indicates an action that is applied on behalf of, towards or with regards to some object. This form has been referred to in the literature as applicative, applied or prepositional (Lodhi, 2002). *-ti* in addition indicates an unfolding activity. For each of the following examples, we show the bare verbs and their corresponding extended verbs to illustrate the basic meaning change that applies to the stem when each suffix is attached.

13. là'/làtì	pay/pay continuously
nè'/nè'tì	take a portion/take a portion continuously
shó'/sho'tí	remove/remove continuously
gwàr/gwàtì	cut/cut continuously
sə'/sə'tí	connect/connect continuously
fòr/fòtì	crush/crush continuously
táv/táv'tí	persistent/ continuously persistent
wá'/wá'tí	break/break continuously

14a-c shows that the addition of the *-ti* VE requires that the Arg-O be in its plural form.

14. a (i)	Tomla a gwàr	kičí fo kov
	Tomla pst non-prog-cut tree from forest	

- ‘Tomla cut a tree from the forest’
- (ii) Tomla gwàtì vicí fo kov
 Tomla prog-APPL-cut trees from forest
 ‘Tomla is (continuously) cutting trees from the forest’
- b (i) Kíla fòr tu' e kiwuu kfə̀ki
 Kíla non-prog-smah potato with foot his sm
 ‘Kíla smashed a potato with his foot’
- (ii) Kíla fòtì ŋkaà tu' e kiwuu kfə̀ki
 Kíla prog-APPL-mash basket potatoes with foot his sm
 ‘Kíla is (continuously) smashing a basket of potatoes with his
 foot’
- c (ii) wàn bvə̀^ kitem kém e dzee ndzev
 child non-prog-break calabash mine on road stream
 ‘The child broke my calabash on his way to the stream.’
- (ii) wàn bvə̀̀tì vitem vém e dzee ndzev
 child prog-APPL-break calabashes mine on road stream
 ‘The child is (continuously) breaking my calabashes on his way
 to the stream’

In 14a-c the *-ti* extension participates both in event structure and in argument structure since it does not simply relate only an unfolding activity but requires that the object argument be in its plural form as well. The unfolding connotation which has been captured as progressive in our lexical translations is in fact repetitive. In 14a (ii), for instance, the act of cutting is continuous, as he cuts one tree and then proceeds to cut another. The activity is performed either at a given location or by employing a specific instrument. The VE copies the tone of the verbal base each time the verb takes it. We represent the selectional restrictions of the applicative VE *-ti* as follows;

$$\text{Arg-S} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{non-prog-V} + \emptyset \\ \text{prog} + \text{V} + \text{tì (APPL)} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Sig-Arg-O} + \text{PP} \\ + \text{Pl Arg-O} + \text{PP}$$

3.5. The Causative (CAUS)

The causative VE adds an object to the verb; it indicates that somebody or something is responsible for a certain result. It adds the meaning *cause to*, or

arrange for, or *make* (Arnott 1970: 346-347). It equally indicates ‘totality or completeness’ (Paster, 2005) of an activity in which either the subject or the object of the clause motivates. It indicates the natural termination of a process that has been in progress for some time. This extension can be suffixed to either a transitive or an intransitive verb. It requires that there be an additional argument to the syntactic frame of the basic verb (Shadeberg 2003). Such an additional argument syntactically functions as the subject. Its semantic role is ‘causee’ becomes evident in 16 when we compare intransitive verbs that take the VE and those that do not take the VE. The data in 15 is organised to reveal the semantic import of the causative in Lamnso’.

15.	mày/màysì	finish/cause to finish
	rán/ránsí	clean/cause to be clean
	lùm/lùmsì	warm/cause to be warm
	rún/rúnsí	fill/cause to be full

16 shows the argument structure of the causative VE in Lamnso’.

16.	a	(i)	Mbàm sém si mày ne sidzəm
			money mine sm non-prog-finish compl-part all
			‘All my money is finished’
		(ii)	Wánle wíy və̀n màysì ne mbàm sém
			si dzəm
			child girl this non-prog-CAUS-finish compl-part money
			mine sm all
			‘This girl has finished all my money’
	b	(i)	medzév mem me wùn me lùm ne
			water mine sm body sm non-prog-warm comple-part
			‘My bath water is warm’
		(ii)	Kila lùmsì ne medzév mem me wun
			Kila non-prog-CAUS-warm compl-part water mine sm
			body
			‘Kila has warmed my bath water is warm’

Observe that once the verbal base does not carry the causative extension, the clause remains in its passive form. The *-si* extension subcategorises for an active subject argument that performs the activity specified by the verb. *-si* and the completive particle (compl-part), *ne*, combine to give the verb a

connotation of totality. *-si* in Lamnso' thus participates to determine both event structure and argument structure. The following schema represents the selectional restrictions of the *-si* VE in Lamnso'.

- Arg-S + V- \emptyset +ne (compl-part) +Arg- O
 + Arg-S + V-si +ne (compl-par)t +Agr-O

3.6. The Contactive (CONT)

This VE indicates an action that has been carried out to completion. It is in part, a reflection of the causative VE discussed above, with the difference that *-sin* requires at least two arguments in subject position which must make either a fitting or disengaging contact. This fitting or disengaging contact is always understandably the culmination of a process. The term *tentive* is used to describe active elements in contact. *Tentive* is derived from a prototypical class of Latin verbs: *tenere/tentus* 'to hold' (Schadeberg 2003). Examine the following examples in 17.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|--|
| 17. | kúv/kúvsin | change/exchange |
| | sho'/sho'sín | remove/remove from one another |
| | kùm/kùmsin | touch/touch one another |
| | fí'/fí'sìn | measure/measure with one another |
| | jav/javsìn | separate (share)/separate from one another |
| | tov/tovsìn | mix/mix with one another |
| | way/waysín | put/put into one another |

18a-c below, are derivations that show the argument requirements of the contactive VE in the language.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------|---|----------------|-------|---------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--|
| 18. | a | (i) | lum | kùm | kibam | ke | wíy | və | e | way | |
| | | | husband | non-prog-touch | bag | of | wife | his | in | market | |
| | | | 'The husband touched the bag of his wife in the market' | | | | | | | | |
| | | (ii) | lum | wun | wíy | kùmsin | vibam | vév | i | way | |
| | | | husband | and | wife | non-prog-CONT-touch | bags | theirs | in | market | |
| | | | 'The husband and the wife touched their bags in the market' | | | | | | | | |
| | b | (i) | Taàtá | a | shò' | lábá' | boo | wáy | sə̀l̀à | | |

- Old man pst non-prog-remove shoe before prog-wear trouser
 ‘The old man removed the shoe before wearing the trousers’
- (ii) Taàtá a shòsín kiwoo kfə́ ʔo lábá’ boo a²
 way sə̀fà
 the old man pst non-prog- CONT foot his from shoe before
 prog wear trouser
 ‘The old man removed his foot from the shoe before wearing the
 trousers’
- c (i) Kíla fí’ kòfi i lav kìnỳò
 Kíla prog-measure coffee in house union
 ‘Kíla is measuring coffee in the society house’
- (ii) Kíla wun Tómla fí’sìn vitàáví
 Kíla and Tomla prog- CONT-measure strength
 ‘Kíla and Tomla are comparing strength’

The *-sin* VE seems to have a comparative connotation. The size, quality, strength etc of the subject arguments are placed under evaluation with each other, unlike the base form of the verb that simply designates the activity of the lone subject. A summary of this argument structure VE is as shown below.

Sing. ArgS + V- \emptyset + NP (PP)

Pl Arg-S + V-sin + NP (PP)

3.7. The Augmentative

This VE shares some features of the causative VE. It requires an agent with the capability of augmenting the features of its theme. It is realised as either *-er* or *-ir* as shown in the following examples.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------------|
| 19. | táv/távír | hard/harden |
| | nyòm/nyòmèr | sweet/sweeten |
| | bàŋ/bàŋèr | red/redden |
| | lùm/lùmèr | warm/make warm |
| | mày/màyìr | finish/make finish |
| | rán/ránír | clean/make clean |

We employ the verbs in 19 to derive the clauses in 20

² Progressive aspect

20. a (i) Taàron tàv lán féyì
Your father non-prog-strong today adequate
'Your father is very healthy this time around'
- (ii) shívsi tàvír taàron lán féyì
medicines non-prog-AUG-strong today adequate
'Medication has adequately strengthened your father'
- b (i) wórèn woo bànm lav nyóm muu vilu bèy
orange of behind house prog-sweet like honey like
'The oranges behind the house are as sweet as honey'
- (ii) Kila nyòmèr viyíkìr i vilu vi
Kila non-prog-AUG-sweet food with honey sm
'Kila sweetened food with honey'
- c (i) wàn tùm kilaà ke mbím wun mò'ón
child non-prog-cross bridge of mbím with alone
'The child crossed the Mbím bridge alone (without aid or company)'
- (ii) yèewàn tùmèr wán kilaà ke mbím
mother non-prog-AUG-cross child bridge of mbím
The child's mother aided the child across the Mbím bridge'
- d (i) Yaáyá tàn mbàm sàm shingwanj fó
ngàà wày
old woman non-prog-lack money non-prog-borrow salt
from owner trade
'The old woman lacked money and borrowed salt from the trader'
- (ii) ngàà wày sàmèr Yaáyá shingwanj
trader non-prog-AUG-lend old woman salt
'The trader lent the old woman salt'

In 19 a-d, tone of the VE copies the tone of the verbal base. While the low tone marks non-progressive events, the high tone marks ongoing activities. The VE augments the qualities of its object complement. Where the subject complement is not material, this augmentation is realized in the form of aid to the insufficient abilities of the Arg-O. As with the causative VE, the Arg-S possesses an upper hand, with the capability of altering the deficient features of the Arg-O.

3.8. The Extensive (EXT)

The *-é* VE participates in elongating the activity specified by the verbal base. It indicates that the action is either extended in time and space or extensively repeated. This stretching is achieved through lengthening of the nuclei vowel

of the verbal base and the addition of the *-e* VE. The vowel of the VE copies the preceding tone of the verbal base. Such extension has sometimes been referred to as *durative* which is semantically very similar to the *intensive* VE which we will consider below.

21.	ghem/ghéémé	open/open widely
	rom/roòmè	point/point extensively
	tom/toómé	support/lean on for support
	wam/waámé	shout/scream
	ran/raáné	clean/brighter
	sən/səéné	black/dark

The following examples illustrate the semantic changes the extensive VE conveys to the uninflected verb form.

22. a (i) Kila kàm dzəy mendzə́v me túmkír fó fo
 Kila non-prog-quiz cloth water sm prog-REQ-fall
 from it
 ‘Kila quizzed cloth and water was dropping from it’
- (ii) Kila kaámé ndzəy á mendzə́v me túmkír
 fo fo
 Kila prog-EXT-squiz cloth prog water sm prog-FREQ-
 fall from it
 ‘Kila twisted cloths and water was dropping out of it’
- b (i) wíy ròm taàlav və i kíngàn ki
 woman non-prog-point husband hers to visitor sm
 ‘The woman pointed her husband to the visitor’
- (ii) vikiy vee la' a bà'tí á roòmè
 rím
 women of compound sm non-prog-APPL-gather prog
 EXT-point witch
 ‘The women of the compound gathered and were pointing
 (accusingly) at the witch’
- c (i) ŋgwàsáŋ wom nyòm shaà wò
 maize mine non-prog-sweet pass yours
 ‘my maize is sweeter than yours’
- (ii) ŋgwàsáŋ vən nyoómè mu yèwon yò' vilu
 sho bèy
 corn this prog-EXT-sweet as your mother rub
 honey in it as

- ‘This maize is sweet as if your mother rubbed honey on it’
- d (i) wàn tòn lábá' i vèy
 child non-prog-burn shoe in fire
 ‘The child burnt the shoe in the fire’
- (ii) Á yii toónè kifu, á wày vifaveyi sho
 they do prog-sterilize they non-prog-put food in it
 ‘When a leaf is sterilized, food is put in it’

This VE designates a gradual change of the direction of activity. *tòn*, for instance means ‘to burn’, while *toónè*, means to hold over the fire and rotate gradually with the intension of sterilizing using the flame. Durative activities are usually methodically progressive. This VE selectionally restricts the event structure of the clause within which it occurs and conceptually stretches the semantic import of the verb in question (the English past participle of sweet; sweeten is a good semantic reference)

3.9. The Intensive (INT)

This VE signifies intensity, completeness, severity, quickness etc of the action. This intensifying extension portrays the characteristics of the causative extension examined above with the difference that it designates the degree of the activity.

23.	sho'/sho'óy	remove/dislodge
	mvè'/mvè'əy	open/open widely
	wa'/wa'ám	crack/split
	ga'/gá'ám	unfitting/sit unfittingly
	ghe'/ghé'éy	burn/burn glowingly
	lá'/lá'ám	float/perch
	tó'/tó'óm	pierce/bust
	bé'/bé'éy	carry/carry completely

The following examples attest to our interpretation.

24. a (i) shòŋ shò' kikum fo wun boo jèr kilè'
 thief non-prog-remove shirt from body before dart run
 ‘The thief removed his shirt before darting away’
- (ii) shòŋ tsə̀y shuu lav i kitu ki shò'óy

- thief non-prog-hit mouth house with head sm non-prog-INT- remove
 ‘The thief hit the door and yanked it off (its hinges)’
- b (i) Kila mvə˘ shuu lav i kiwuu ki
 Kila non-prog-open door house with foot sm
 ‘Kila opened the door with the foot’
- (ii) kitóm kee shuu lav ki mvə˘èy ne
 pillar of mouth house sm non-prog-INT-open compl
 ‘The door pillar has dislodged’
- c (i) wàn bò˘ yèwov i ngòy kun ye bi
 child non-prog- cheat her mother with seedlings beans of bad
 ‘The child cheated her mother with bad bean seedlings’
- (ii) wàn bò˘òy yèwov i ngòy kun ye bi
 child non-prog-INT-cheat her mother with seedlings beans of bad
 ‘The child (heavily) cheated her mother with bad bean seedlings’

What the above examples do not immediately reveal to the non-native speaker is the underlying comparative attributes of the intensive extension. Underlyingly, the intensity of the activity of the verb with the VE and that without the VE are under comparison. The examples in 25 below show alternative adjectives that specify different degrees of the same action that the intensive VE seeks to portray.

25. a tíím stand ta’ám stand with legs astride
 b bé˘ carry bé˘èy carry completely
 c tó˘ bust tó˘óm bust completely
 d ghé˘ glow ghé˘èy burn glowingly
 e dzə˘èm sit gú˘úm sit provocatively on an undeserved position
 f sè˘ fissure sé˘ém crack
 g wa˘ crack wá˘ám break open

The intensive VE in Lamnso˘ is ideophonic. The sounds of ideophonic verbs tend to reflect a vivid representation of the idea they convey (Doke

1934:118). The manner or state of intensity can be detected from the VE that follows the glottal stop. These verbs are often referred to in the literature as *Deideophonic Verbs*.

There is another set of two syllable verbs in Lamnso' whose last syllable is morphologically similar to the intensive VE above. However, their semantic interpretation does not permit them to be classified with the verbs in 25.

26.	bà'àr	make way for	make way for
	r'é'ór	tilt	tilt
	lú'úr	place at a dislodging point	place at a dislodging point
	bú'úr	pretend not to notice	pretend not to notice

The verbs in 26 portray activities in transient positions. The Arg-S is understood to be on the move from one position to another. Unlike the verbs in 25 which reflect either the condition of Arg-S or that of Arg-O, the verbs in 26 reflect temporary positions. The examples in 27 each shows that a prepositional phrase usually follows the verb phrase. The prepositional phrase indicates the direction of movement either from or to the temporary position.

27.	a	Kila	shá'àr	ndzøy	fó	kikun	
		Kila	prog-remove	clothes	from	bed	
		Kila	prog-remove	clothes	from	bed	
		'Kila is removing clothes from the bed'					
	b	M	bà'àr	ŋgaywìr	i	dzəə	sum
		I	make way	elder	on	road	farm
		'I bypassed the elder on the farm path'					

Notice that unlike the verbs in 23 which take an Intensive VE with comparative attributes, the verbs in 26 are whole lexical units that cannot be analyzed as morphologically exhibiting a base and a VE. The deletion of the second syllable from any of the verbs in 26 derives a distinct lexical unit, semantically unrelated to the original verb. For instance;

bà'àr	make way for	bà'	'pack'
r'é'ór	tilt	rè'	'loiter'
lú'úr	place at a dislodging point	bú'	'beat'

4. Conclusion

In this short paper, I set out to provide a preliminary description of Lamnso' verbal extensions. A morpho-semantic analysis of the denotations of these extensions has led us to identify and distinguish the role of each verbal extension in the language. The paper recognises two broad categories: extensions that restrict argument structure within sentential derivations and those that determine and restrict event meaning. Unlike Lamnso' nominal affixes which fall into neat semantic classes, it is evident that Lamnso' verbal extensions fail to form neither a neat semantic nor a neat syntactic class. For instance, a semantic interpretation of the causative extension in Lamnso', presents interesting analytical challenges since it appears to manifest itself differently with slight changes in event meaning and argument structure. The Causative VE, manifests itself productively. This productive manifestation derives the Augmentative VE, the Intensive VE etc. I have however capitalized on native speaker distinctive interpretations to isolate the basic differences between these VEs.

Apart from investigating the productive manifestations of Lamnso' VEs, it should be interesting to examine how Lamnso' VEs contribute to tonal changes and influence the functioning constituents within the Lamnso' inflection node (such as tense and aspect). Such work, I assume, may lead us closer to a comprehensive classification of Lamnso' verbs which will be a vital step in the study of Lamnso' syntax and a major contribution to the morpho-semantic analysis of Bantu verbs.

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Appendix A: Summary

Appendix B attempts a brief summary of the various VEs identifies and examined in this paper. We distinguish between the VEs that contribute to event extension and those that contribute to the restriction of argument structure within basic sentences in Lamnso'.

Extension	Category of VE	Contribution to verb meaning and or Extension of event meaning	Contribution Argument Structure
-kir	Frequentative	the verb must specify a regularly repeated activity. The subjects must possess the ability to action to happen in a cycle. One completes before another begins.	requires a plural Arg-S with the ability to perform the action specified by the verb
-nin	Reciprocal	The two or more subjects engage in an activity either on each other, with one Another, or for the benefit of both participants. Their actions are either interdependent or disassociative activity specified by the verb is progressive and repetitive	requires a plural Arg-S the agents are mutual participants in the action. In case the Ar-S is singular, its relevant parts P perform the action reciprocally on themselves.
-ri	Iterative	activity specified by the verb is progressive and repetitive	can accommodate a plural or singular Arg-S or Arg-O
-ti	Applicative	relates an unfolding activity	Arg-O must be in its plural form
-si	Causative	indicates the natural termination of a process. It connotes a sense of completeness or termination	can accommodate a plural or singular Arg-S
-sin	Contactive	describes active elements in contact. The activity involves a fitting or a disengaging contact	requires a plural Arg-S
-iv	Augmentative	must possess the ability to augment the deficient capabilities, qualities or features of the theme within the sentence	can accommodate a plural or singular Arg-S
-mèr	Extensive	This VE encodes the elongation of activity specified within time and space	can accommodate a plural or singular Theme
-óy, -áy, -ám	Intensive	Signifies intensity, severity completeness, swiftness, etc	can accommodate a plural or singular theme, as well as plural or singular Arg-S and Arg-O

Appendix B: Abbreviations

prog	progressive
non-prog	non-progressive
prog-a	progressive particle
part	particle
compl	completive
x'	high
x`	low
x ²	mid
x ^{2.1}	mid-high
x ^{21.2}	high-mid
x ^{1.3}	high-low
x ^{2.3}	mid-low
x ^{2.3.1}	mid-low-high
sm	subject marker
sig	singular
pl	plural
rad	radical
Arg-S	subject argument
Arg-O	object argument
pst	past
RECIP	reciprocal
FREQ	frequentative
ITR	iterative
APPL	applicative
EXT	extensive
INT	intensive
CAU	causative
VE	verbal extension

Appendix C: Key to phonetic symbols used in the paper

[ʔ] Glottal Stop

[ʔ̥] Simplified representation of the glottal stop

[ə] Schwa

[ŋ] Nasal velar

Authenticity within the EIL Paradigm

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This article is intended to examine the relevance of authenticity to the expanding context of English as an International Language (EIL). Through two parallel arguments, we arrive at the conclusion that authenticity should be considered cautiously in the EIL context: (1) Within EIL, while conforming to the native speaker norms in phonology and grammar is necessary, extralinguistic elements can be adapted to the EIL situation; and (2) authenticity is a pragmatic factor rather than a textual feature. Authenticity within the EIL paradigm needs to be considered as the pragmatic appropriateness: appropriate and relevant materials to be included in courses which meet the needs of the learners, whose proficiency levels and attitudes are taken into account by material developers; teachers are another aspect with their empowering input and authenticating abilities. In general, authenticity under the shadow of EIL requires the interaction of language, learners, teachers and all contextual factors. While native speakers can contribute to the EIL material development, their norms seem not to be vital for the authentication process. The outcome will be expected to be powerful learners with a good command of English who can manage EIL situations with mutual understanding at cross-cultural levels.

Key Words: English as an International Language (EIL); Authenticity; Appropriateness; Pragmatics; Cross-cultural.

1. Introduction

The rise of English as an international language (EIL) and the resultant status of English as a medium for global communication has been a new challenge to the natives-speaker dominated profession of English Language Teaching (ELT) in the sense that some of the already dominant concepts, aims and objectives require reconsideration (McKay, 2002). 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 EILL; English as an International Auxiliary Language or EIAL; English as a World Language or EWL; English as a lingua franca (ELF) versus English as a native language (ENL); English as an Intercultural Language or EicL among others (Ketabi & Shomoossi, 2007). It has also opened new directions for research in ELT and has been focus of research for the last two decades. Many journals, magazines, and newspapers now 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). All in all, NNS-produced materials outnumber those written by native speakers (NSs), who are now a minority within the community of English speakers; even estimates of up to 80% of communication in English between NNSs are reported (Prodromou, 1988).

2. Native speaker norms

As a consequence of the emergence of EIL, many fresh outlooks emerge from the NNS community who are the majority English users and speakers. For instance, the ownership of English has been 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. Such questions brought forth such claims 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 and should not be taught as an inner circle language' (For the metaphorical idea of concentric circles, see Kachru & Nelson, 1996). 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 since 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. Radical views also were expressed casting doubt on the necessity of international tests such as the IELTS and TOEFL. In the next subheadings, some aspects of the NS norms are reviewed in relation to the new paradigm in ELT.

2.1. Native speaker grammar

Cook (1999) questions why the attested language use of a NS community should be a model for learners of EIL. ELT is 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). Willis (1999) argues that we should place a very low premium on conformity to NS grammatical norms. In an extensive study, Timmis (2002) investigates the conformity to NS norms from the viewpoints of students and teachers. Despite views favoring the NS model of grammar and pronunciation, opposite views came from teachers in the study that the NS spoken grammar, influenced by the NS culture, was too complex for students unless they were living in English speaking countries; NNSs may 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 NNSs and its appropriateness to the context of EIL. Contrary to EIL expectations, Kuo (2006) favors the NS model and states that such a model serves as a complete and convenient starting point, particularly due to its sociocultural richness (p. 220). But Kuo's (2006) judgment, while worthy of consideration, seems to be 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 sociocultural load of this language that communication stops in both NNS-NNS and NS-NNS interactions.

2.2. Native speaker phonology

In her introduction to *The Phonology of English as an International Language*, Jenkins (2000) argues that English *is* the international language at present; so rather than arguing in terms of 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 (p. 4). She identifies pronunciation 'as the area of greatest prejudice' and 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 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 is an attempt to keep sounds as close as possible to spelling. For instance, 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. Therefore, it 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 the 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, the NS prejudice disagrees with minimizing English to Jenkins' *LFC*; a humane approach may suggest learners to struggle in order to master English rather than to simplify it (Ketabi & Shomoossi, 2007). Kuo (2006) also contends that while the NS 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).

2.3. Native speaker pragmatics

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.

However, Jenkins (2000) reminds us that intelligibility is determined by the receiver and is not necessarily reciprocal, and that what NSs and NNSs find intelligible would 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 involves a NNS interacting with a NS. That is probably 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 probably be more tolerant of the eccentric varieties than before precisely because the number and variety of English speakers are 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. The 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' (Seidlhofer, 2001). The final version of such an international lingua franca would be 'inaccurate but intelligible' pronunciation such as 'I think /sɪŋk/' (Jenkins, 2002).

3. Teaching EIL

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. A governing NS model is, therefore, undoubtedly required and essential. So far we have 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 global understanding and mutual comprehension. The point which remains is that English is not merely syntax and phonology; rather, the advantage of the NS 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.

Ketabi and Shomoossi (2007) argue that EIL is characterized with the diversity of users and contexts; and it is not an easily manageable area with clear boundaries. 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 (Ketabi & Shomoossi, 2007). 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 short, 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. But this does not only imply that NNSs require training on English grammar and phonology, but also they need to raise consciousness on cross-cultural sociopragmatics.

Therefore, such views voice the appearance, and perhaps the importance, of non-western traditions in teaching and learning this western language—English. In other words, now that EIL users are somewhat liberated from the NS norms by the excuses of mutual comprehensibility, many fundamental concepts have to change. One of the central issues within the NS norms is the question of authenticity. It seems that the term has been so widely and frequently used that little thought is often given to its intrinsic meaning and application. However, if the term is reconsidered in detail and regarded in terms of its components, the picture may seem different. The next section will focus on the multidimensional nature of authenticity as one of the controversial and determining factors in providing classroom interaction.

4. Authenticity

The terms *authenticity* and *authentic* are often used to describe language samples—both oral and written—that reflect the naturalness of form, and appropriateness of cultural and situational context (Rogers & Medley, 1988). The term *authentic materials* may mean different things for different people. For some, materials generated *by* native speakers and *for* native speakers are considered authentic. However, the traditional definition adopted for such materials was "those [materials] which have been produced for purposes other than to teach language" (Nunan, 1988, p. 99). In order to amend to this narrow perspective on authenticity as a binary concept—either authentic or inauthentic—as well as a concept which merely refers to the input, corrective reactions emerged. For instance, Oxford (2001) suggests the whole language, cooperative learning, task-based learning, and content-based learning or multiple intelligences as examples of practice leading to *authentic interaction*

in the class. As a proponent of the integrative approach, McDonald (2005) believes that relying solely on one aspect of authenticity would not be sufficient for communicative purposes. McDonald contends, further, that authenticity of competence, or learners' waiting for a native-like competence, can lead to a reduction in learners' performance and thereby to the poverty of communication. Introducing other dimensions to the discussion, Rogers and Medley (1988) argue that the criteria for identifying the authenticity of materials should include the quality, appropriateness and naturalness of the language rather than the source and purpose of the sample. Challenges to the dichotomous definition of authenticity led to major revisions in this regard.

4.1. Authenticity as a situational construct

As major concerns about authenticity start with the authenticity of texts, Lee (1995) contends that teaching materials are usually regarded as textually authentic if they are not written for teaching purposes, but for a real-life communicative purpose. Chavez (1998), on the other hand, claims that this definition is too broad and perhaps even immaterial to language teaching. Widdowson (1998) believes that original texts possess 'genuineness'—a characteristic of the text or the material itself. He distinguishes between 'genuineness' and 'authenticity' which refers to the 'uses' to which texts are put. In other words, a certain kind of authenticity is created through the interaction of the users, situations and the texts (Lee, 1995). That kind of authenticity is determined mostly by the authenticity of situation in which the language is produced as well as by the source of the sample and the purpose of the speakers.

4.2. Authenticity of learners

Breen (1985) subdivides authenticity of language into authenticity of the texts used as input data for learners, and authenticity of the learners' interpretation of the texts. The former is restricted to the tasks conducive to language learning, and the latter refers to the authenticity of the actual social situation of the language classroom. Taylor (1994) summarizes some of the inconsistent views surrounding authenticity claiming that in many discussions it is not clear whether we are dealing with authenticity of *language*, authenticity of *task*, or authenticity of *situation*. He goes on, then, to remark that the general confusion about 'authenticity' and 'genuineness' is compounded by the idea of *naturalness*. Finally, he concludes that one should

concentrate on the use and interpretation of texts. However, he refuses to accept an abstract concept of authenticity to be defined once and for all. Instead, he acknowledges that authenticity is a function not only of the language but also of the participants, the use to which the language is put, the setting, the nature of the interaction, and the interpretation that the participants bring to both the setting and the activity.

Further elaboration on the critical role of the participants comes from Lee (1995) who adds *learner authenticity* to the discussion. For Lee, learner authenticity is possible only if learners feel positive about materials and react to them as pedagogically intended. She cautions that learners should not automatically like materials just because they are 'real' or 'authentic' – the materials need to have communicative potential (i.e. they bring about a negotiation of meaning in the context of teaching), be relevant to learner's experiences, as well as a host of other factors. Echoing this concern, Ommagio (2003) contends that unmodified authentic discourse may prove to be impractical particularly for low-proficient learners. Moreover, Guariento and Morley (2001) contend that authentic materials can be frustrating, confusing and demotivating if they are too difficult for lower level learners to comprehend, and if there is a mismatch as far as the goals and interests of the learners are concerned. Thus, the question is not whether authentic texts – *found* texts or *unscripted* texts in Dunkel's (1995) words – should be used, but *when* and *how* they should be introduced (Guariento & Morley, 2001) or, as Cardew (2006) puts it, "just because the materials are authentic, it is no guarantee that the lesson will be successful". However, two key questions still remain: Will the materials be taught well by the teacher? Will the learners respond positively to the materials?

4.3. Realness and learners

Realness, reality and real life form still another aspect of the authenticity complication. Those raised in the CLT tradition have been led to believe that real-life is 'out there in the outside world' (Tatsuki, 2006) and that reality is something to be imported into classrooms. However, Chavez (1998) argues that any text that has been taken out of its original context and away from its intended audience automatically becomes 'inauthentic'. Even the 'realia' that we import into the classroom is 'inauthentic'. In other words, the world outside the classroom is not intrinsically more 'real' and it is the quality of our social interaction inside the classroom that may seem 'unreal' when

compared with the outside world (Chavez, 1998, p. 282). Also, Bacon (1989) believes that *real language* must be 'intelligible, informative, truthful, relevant and sociolinguistically appropriate' (p. 545).

4.4. Degrees of authenticity

The *relative* notion of authenticity was popularized in the 1980s and many scholars started to identify various degrees of authenticity. For instance, Dunkel (1995) cites Rings' (1986) 16-level semantic differential scale, ranging from (highly authentic) *native speakers' spontaneous conversations* produced for their own purposes to (relatively less authentic) *composed conversations* printed in textbooks. An additional aspect suggested by Brown and Menasche (2005) is the distinction between *input authenticity* and *task authenticity*. Rather than considering authenticity as a binary concept (authentic or not authentic), they argue for degrees of authenticity. For them, materials that are not authentic in different ways are more than just useful; they are essential in language learning. Non-authentic materials are as valuable as authentic materials. Indeed, there are some situations in which authentic materials could be useless – especially when the learners' receptive proficiency is low. They go on to propose five levels for input from *genuine input authenticity*, *altered input authenticity*, *adapted input authenticity*, through *simulated input authenticity* to *inauthenticity* while noting that no one type is better than the others. They also note that there is probably no such thing as 'real task authenticity' since classrooms are, by nature, artificial. The only genuine *task authenticity* for language learning could probably be the total immersion in the target language environment without an instructor.

4.5. Pragmatic appropriateness

Authentic materials (in the narrow sense of the term) seem not to work for EIL. For current practice, however, pragmatic and pedagogic appropriateness should be the primary consideration in syllabus design (Shomoossi & Ketabi, 2007). People and the context in which they are communicating can certainly contribute more to authenticity than textbooks (Widdowson, 1998). Materials designers need to consider the effects or outcomes of *what* is said to *whom*, *when* and *how* in terms of complying with the demand of being 'real', in a sense that materials presented are perceived as 'real' examples of communication in the classroom setting. If coursebooks are to survive in the future, they will need to find ways of responding to the global needs of EIL

learners; a new dimension in the teaching of English will be added in interactions between two speakers of different first languages in unpredictable contexts, and in situations where speakers need to manage cross-cultural communication. Therefore, new approaches to materials development will need to avoid culturally loaded formulas once borrowed from the NS variety of English because the shared knowledge between interlocutors is not necessarily a copy of the NS norms. Rather, new approaches are likely to focus more on materials where the context is created immediately by the human participants in interaction, the key role being assigned to the teacher – whether native speaker or nonnative speaker. Ultimately, the best resource of genuine materials could be the learners themselves, and in particular those who have been exposed to real-life situations and tasks. Therefore, appropriateness in terms of language, activities, and tasks (Day, 2004), learners' level of proficiency (Chastain, 1988) and all contextual factors need to be taken into account to achieve *pragmatic appropriateness* – which could be considered as the real meaning of authenticity in a global context. Authenticity is, in fact, the result of pragmatic variation, and implications for teaching and materials development have to be considered for the future. In short, as a pragmatic phenomenon influenced by contextual factors, teachers' active and authenticating role, and students' interaction with language, authenticity requires revisiting as well as re-materialization in our textbooks and classrooms.

5. Conclusion

This article was intended to re-examine the relationship between English as an International Language and the adoption of the NS norms on the one hand and the relevance or dominance of the NS norms over the concept of authenticity, on the other. A review of the literature on EIL revealed that it was characterized with the diversity of users and contexts, and that it is not an easily manageable area with clear borderlines as ESL and EFL were. However, contrary to 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 could bring about diversity and communication failure in the long run. It is reasonably arguable if EIL users adopt the NS norms as far as the linguistic

features are concerned. However, as various sociocultural bearings emerge in EIL due to its widespread speakers, the extralinguistic or pragmatic aspects of teaching and learning for global communication can no longer rely solely on NS norms. Prodromou (1988) finds this type of the NS norms irrelevant to NNSs. This is also revealed in Timmis' (2002) study where teachers expressed the view that the native speakers' *spoken grammar*, influenced by the NS culture, might be too complex for students and NNSs do not use this type of language when communicating with each other.

A parallel discussion, in this article, was the overview of the authenticity which led us to adopt a pragmatic definition of the concept. We came to the conclusion that the term is not merely to be applied for texts. Rather, in addition to being genuine and authentic, texts must be relevant and potentially communicative; learners must feel positive to tasks and activities to help an authentic interaction emerge; their interpretations of the teaching materials rely mostly on teacher's oral input and authenticating efforts; appropriateness in terms of language, activities, tasks (Day, 2004), learners' level of proficiency and all contextual factors are to be taken into account to achieve *pragmatic appropriateness* – which is the real sense of authenticity within the EIL paradigm. Therefore, both types of material produced by NSs and NNSs can potentially help us achieve authenticity but it is not to be dictated solely by NSs; they can contribute to EIL practice but cannot impose their interpretations onto the diverse EIL contexts.

Thus far we have tried to argue that EIL, as a specific domain distinct from ESL and EFL, is expected to conform to the native speakers' linguistic features but not necessarily to their sociopragmatic values as the latter may stop the communication at the EIL level. Also, we have argued that authenticity is not a single-value concept to be dictated by the NSs. The overall conclusion bears implications for both NSs and NNSs, who are either teachers or material developers. They 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 the materialization of authenticity. But as Brown and Menasche (2005) caution us, we need to think of authenticity as multifaceted and applicable to different phases of language classroom processes. To do that, teaching cross-cultural pragmatics and teacher professionalism should be put at the heart of an educational and curricular revolution – the core of this revolution being the efforts to empower EIL teachers the world over. In short, as a pragmatic

phenomenon under the influence of EIL paradigm, authenticity requires revisiting as well as re-materialization in our textbooks and classrooms.

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Conversational strategies in Farsi complaints: the case of Iranian complainers

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In a study of the effects of complainers' sex, age, perceived situational seriousness, and social class on the use of conversational strategies in their response to complaining behavior of complainers, 465 subjects of varying age, sex, and social class were observed and tape recorded in spontaneous conversation by 25 field workers. The field workers also filled out a checklist that provided the data of the study, which were then input into two nonparametric tests: (a) Mann-Whitney U Test, and (b) Kruskal Wallis H Test. The results of data analysis showed that sex and social class caused the differential use of two conversational strategies whereas perceived situational seriousness caused the differential use of only one strategy. The results also indicated that age resulted in the differential use of none of the conversational strategies in questions.

Key words: Speech act theory; Face-threatening acts; Gripping; Politeness; Troubles-telling; Whinging; Complaining

1. Introduction

Direct complaint (DC) is a face-threatening act through which a speaker makes complaints about someone or something that is present in the speech act scene (Murphy and Neu, 1996; Olshtain and Weinbach, 1993). Indirect complaint (IC) or Gripping, on the other hand, can be described as a non-face-threatening speech act in which the responsible party or object of the complaint is not present during the interaction within which the speech act is performed (D'Amico-Reisner, 1985). Both direct and indirect complaints have the potential of leading to lengthy interactions between speaker and addressee; however, it is usually in the indirect complaint or gripping that one finds conversational material upon which shared beliefs and attitudes may be expressed (Tatsuki, 2000). As such, the indirect complaint (IC) becomes a solidarity-building device since it freely invokes the listener to engage in a series of commiserative responses to demonstrate attention and concern, or to maintain intimacy and stable social relationships.

Closely related to the concept of griping is what in Australian English is called whinging. Using Natural Semantic Approach, Wirezbicka (1991, pp.181-2) defines whinging as:

- a) I say something bad is happening to me
- b) I feel something bad because of this
- c) I can't do anything because of this
- d) I want someone to know this
- e) I want someone to do something because of this
- f) I think no one wants to do anything because of this
- g) I want to say this many times because of this

Wierzbicka (1991) compared her own definition of whinge with the definitions of complaints (direct and indirect) to highlight the range of meanings a word can have with respect to the culture in which it is a part.

According to both Tannen (1990) and Michand & Warner (1997), indirect complaints frequently serve as back-channels or evaluative responses in an extended structure of discourse exchanges; they may invoke expressions like "Oh, that's horrible!", "Yeah, I know what you mean", and "That's too bad."

2. Background

Brown and Levinson's (1978) definition of the notion of face created interest in the study speech acts that had to do with face. One such speech act is complaining. The earliest attempts at studying complaints were made in the 1980s. Jefferson and Lee (1981) and Jefferson (1984a, 1984b) studied 'troubles-telling' encounters from a conversation analysis point of view. Katriel (1985) conducted a research on griping. Katriel examined the ritual gripings among Israelis. All of these studies referred to the potential of establishing solidarity through griping.

In a study on Turkish commiserative responses, Bayraktaroglu (1992) found that griping was a common speech act among friends and intimates. He said:

When one of the speakers informs the other speaker of the existence of a personal problem, the subsequent talk revolves around this trouble for a number of exchanges, forming a unit in the conversation where trouble is the focal point ..., [involving] the speaker who initiates it by

making his or her trouble in public, the trouble-teller, and the speaker who is on the receiving end, the 'trouble-recipient.

(Bayraktaroglu, 1992, p. 319)

Bayraktaroglu also distinguished griping from troubles-talking in that the latter is a type of oral narrative which is initiated by the former.

Indirect complaint (IC) refers to the expression of dissatisfaction to an interlocutor about someone or something that is not present. An indirect complaint is defined as a negative evaluation wherein the addressee is neither held responsible for the perceived offense nor capable of remedying the perceived offense. Native English speakers usually use indirect complaints as a positive strategy for establishing points of commonality; they frequently employ indirect complaints (ICs) in an attempt to establish rapport or solidarity between themselves and their interlocutors. One of the early attempts at studying ICs was made by Boxer (1993a). In Boxer's study, 295 interlocutors produced 533 indirect complaints. Boxer identified three different types of IC themes (personal, impersonal, and trivial), and six types of IC responses (nothing or topic switch, question, contradiction, joke/teasing, advice/lecture, and commiseration). The study focused mainly on the role of gender, social status, social distance, and theme in connection to ICs. Since half of interlocutors in Boxer's study were Jewish, it was possible to investigate ethnicity. Boxer found that Jews complain more. She also found that approximately 25% of griping sequences served to distance the interlocutors from one another while 75% of the gripings were found to be rapport-inspiring by a group of ten native English-speaking raters. Boxer's study found that speakers of English often employed gripings in sequential interaction in an attempt to establish solidarity. It was also found that women mostly commiserated with ICs, while men contradicted or gave advice. Boxer noticed that ESL textbooks, with respect to gender, did not include ICs or included them but did not treat them as ICs. The study, therefore, suggested that non-native speakers (NNSs) should know that commiserating with complaints is important in that it signals to the speaker (S) that the hearer (H) is supportive; this builds solidarity.

In another study by Boxer (1993b), indirect complaints as well as commiseration in conversations between Japanese ESL learners and their E1 peers were studied. Boxer used spontaneous speech or field notes. In this

study, 295 interlocutors were recorded in spontaneous conversation (195 women and 100 men). The issue that emerged was that of how to respond to an indirect complaint. The results showed that natives used (a) joking/teasing, (b) nonsubstantive reply ("hmn"), (c) question, (d) advice/lecture, (e) contradiction, and (f) commiseration. With NSs most responses were commiseration with some questioning. For NNSs, the major category was nonsubstantive, sometimes accompanied by some questioning and some commiseration. The study concluded that the Japanese ESL learners were missing out on opportunities for conversation by not engaging in the interaction more fully; they did not utilize talk in the same way as NSs did.

In a study in 1993 by Frescura, eighty three subjects provided the tape-recorded role-play data on reactions to complaints (mostly apologies). The subjects of the study belonged in four different groups: (a) native Italian speakers in Italy, (b) native English speakers in Canada, (c) Italians residing in Canada, and (d) English-Canadian learners of Italian. The respondents, after being tape-recorded in six role-play interactions, were asked to listen to all six recordings and to provide retrospective verbal report on:

- (a) how close to real life they felt their performance to be;
- (b) how dominant they felt their interlocutor was;
- (c) their sensitivity to the severity of the offense and to the tone of the complaint; and
- (d) their possible linguistic difficulties (for Italians in Canada and Canadian learners of Italian).

The data were coded according to a taxonomy comprising seven semantic formulas in two categories: (a) hearer-supportive (including formulas providing gratification and support for the "face" of the complainers), and (b) self-supportive (including formulas uttered by the speakers to defend and protect their own "face"). Performance was measured according to the three dimensions of (1) production (total output of formulas, including repetitions), (2) selection (types of formulas used, excluding repetitions), and (3) intensity of formulas produced. The results, after data analysis, revealed that native speakers of Italian had an overall preference for the self-supportive category of formulas; native speakers of English, however, had a preference for the hearer-supportive category. Moreover, Canadian learners of Italian did not indicate any preference; by way of contrast, Italian-Canadian speakers, though diverging some from the native norm, gave indication of language

maintenance as well. Frescura had used verbal report which helped her establish, among other things, that the learners of Italian tended to think in English first before responding to the role plays.

According to Du (1995), in Chinese culture face is not only socially-oriented but also reciprocal. Some method of maintaining 'face balance' is therefore required. Depending on (a) the relationship between the interlocutors and (b) the nature of the message, the act of 'giving bad news' may in some cases be face-saving. However, 'complaining' and 'disagreeing' are in most cases, clearly face-threatening. The former indicates that the person's behavior is not approved or accepted by other social members and the latter indicates a contradiction or negative evaluation of a person's face. These acts, therefore, require some strategy for preserving the face of both interlocutors. Du (1995) conducted a study with thirty students (male and female) from Beijing Normal University ranging from 19 to 30 years old. The study gave a definition of these three face-threatening acts—complaining, giving bad news, and disagreeing. Du also discussed the illocutionary verbs which denote these acts and the semantics of face in Chinese culture. Du used a 19-item questionnaire that described face-threatening situations and asked each subject to contemplate the situation and write his or her response. The results of Du's study showed that strategy choice varied according to (a) the referential goal and (b) the nature of the interlocutor relationship. Du also noticed a general pattern: face-threatening acts in Chinese tend to be performed in a cooperative rather than confrontational manner. Attention is paid to both participants face by emphasizing common ground and constructive problem solutions.

Morrow (1995) studied twenty students enrolled in two spoken English classes in an intensive ESL program in the United States. Morrow used a three-hour intervention using model dialogues, prescribed speech-act formulae, and various types of performance activities (games and role playing) about refusals and complaints. Oral data were collected in three phases: (a) prior to the intervention, (b) immediately following the intervention, and (c) six months after the intervention. Morrow collected the oral data by means of seven semi-structured role-play tasks which prompted subjects to perform three direct complaints and four refusals with peer interlocutors. The data were analyzed in two ways: (a) using holistic ratings of clarity and politeness, and (b) comparing the pretest and posttest

distributions of discourse features with those of native English speaking controls ($N=14$). T-tests were conducted to compare the pooled pretest and posttest holistic scores. The t-tests, which were significant at $p<.0005$, revealed improvements in subjects' levels of clarity and politeness; however, similar comparisons of the posttest from phase two of the study, and delayed posttest scores from phase three of the study, did not attain statistical significance. The refusal analysis of discourse features (semantic formulae) revealed increases in the use of politeness strategies, especially of negative politeness strategies. Frequently these developmental changes appeared pragmatically appropriate even when they failed to converge toward the native speaker frequencies. Morrow reported that analysis of propositions and modifiers in the complaint data revealed gains in pragmatic competence. These pragmatic gains were indicated by such changes as (a) increased indirectness, (b) more complete explanations, and (c) fewer explicit statements of dissatisfaction. Morrow's results, which corroborated the findings from the holistic ratings, suggested that speech act instruction helped the subjects to perform complaints and refusals which were clearer, more polite, and, to a limited extent, more native-like. Additional intra-task comparisons found that higher levels of pragmatic competence were achieved when the interlocutor's level of social distance was lower (i.e., friends as opposed to acquaintances).

The study conducted by Murphy and Neu (1996) had two objectives: (1) to compare components of the speech act of complaining produced by American native speakers and Korean non-native speakers of English, and (2) to ascertain how this speech act was judged by native speakers based on a number of factors (such as whether the act was aggressive, respectful, credible, appropriate, and similar to what a native would use). As such, the study had two parts: (a) the productive part, and (b) the receptive part. For the productive part of the study, the subjects were fourteen male American and fourteen male Korean graduate students from Penn State University. Twenty-three undergraduate and four graduate students (for a total of twenty seven) participated in the receptive part of the study, who judged the acceptability of the speech acts.

The speech act data were collected by means of an oral discourse completion task (DCT). A hypothetical situation was presented in which the subject was placed in the position of a student whose paper had been unfairly marked and

the subjects were directed to "go speak to the professor." Then, the subjects' responses were tape-recorded. The instrument in the acceptability judgment part of the study was a questionnaire with 10 yes-no questions and one open-ended question. Five of the yes-no questions were "distractor items" and the other 5 were designed to measure the native speakers' perceptions about the speech act acceptability. The open-ended question asked, "If you were the student in this situation, would your approach be different from the student you've just heard? Please explain your answer for both speaker-student 1 and speaker-student 2." Each subject was alone during the DCT and his or her data were later transcribed into written form. The speech data elicited for the first part of the study were examined using Cohen and Olshtain's (1981) definition of speech act set. A .05 alpha level of significance was set for a Chi-square analysis of the American students' responses to the five yes-no questions (which were not distractors) and the Yate's Correction for Continuity was used to analyze all differences between responses.

Murphy and Neu (1996) found that, when expressing disapproval about a grade received on a paper to a professor, most American native speakers of English would produce a complaint speech act set, while most Korean non-native speakers (11 out of 14) would not; both native and non-native speakers used an "explanation of purpose" to begin the speech act set in similar ways. The native speakers then produced a complaint only after the explanation of purpose. This complaint appeared to be what most of these native speakers felt was the most socially appropriate option for expressing disapproval. The act involved: acceptance of responsibility, depersonalization of the problem, questioning techniques that used modals "would" and/or "could," use of mitigators, and use of the pronoun "we." The 11 non-native speakers who did not use a complaint form employed what was perceived by native speakers as a form of criticism instead which: served to abdicate responsibility, personalized the problem (placed blame), and involved using the modal "should." This represented a serious deviation from the native speakers' speech data. Both the native and non-native speakers then used similar types of "justifications" in their speech act sets, referring to amount of time, effort, and/or work put into the paper. Finally all of the native and most (12 out of 14) of the non-native speakers included a candidate solution: a request form in the speech act set in order to propose an option that would politely remedy the situation (such as reconsidering the grade, discussing the paper, or editing the paper further for an improved grade). As a result of the

"criticism" form used by the many of the Korean non-native speakers, native speakers judged the non-native speakers' speech act sets to be more aggressive, less respectful, less credible, and less appropriate than the common "complaint" speech act sets offered by native speakers.

In a cross-linguistic study of the speech act of complaining, Nakabachi (1996) compared complaints produced by Japanese L1 speakers and Japanese EFL speakers. The study looked at whether Japanese EFL learners changed their strategies of complaint when they spoke in English, and if so, what factors caused the change. The subjects of the study were thirty nine undergraduate students with an intermediate level of proficiency in English who had no experience of living in English speaking countries. A discourse completion test (DCT) including eight situations was used for data collection. Nakabachi (1996) found that almost half of the subjects changed their speech strategies in English; they used more severe expressions than natives did. This was interpreted as over-accommodation to the target language norms, and seemed to suggest the risk involved with attempting to adapt to the local sociocultural norms.

The study conducted by Arent (1996) is an exploratory research that compares the relative frequency of the performance and avoidance of oral complaints by twenty two Chinese learners and twelve native speakers of American English. The subjects of the study were asked to respond to three problematic situations that were set in the same university housing complex. Three sets of data were obtained: (a) audiotaped roleplays, (b) interview data on perceived situational seriousness, and (c) verbal report data. The respondents were allowed to opt out; in addition, the effects of social distance, power, and type of social contract were controlled for. Arent found that sociopragmatic decision making for Chinese learners and NSs of American English appeared to be associated with (a) individual perceptions of situational seriousness and (b) with culturally-conditioned perceptions of the flexibility of explicit social contracts.

Boxer (1996) endorsed ethnographic interviewing as a way of tapping the norms of the communities (a) in research on speech act usage among native speakers in particular languages and (b) in research on non-native speaker pragmatic transfer. She discussed the results of two sets of interviews (one structured and another open-ended) which were designed to evaluate "troubles-telling" in a group of native speakers. Troubles-telling is defined as

'indirect complaining' designed for sharing mutual sentiment between speakers and hearers. Boxer's goal in the studies was to tap not only sociolinguistic knowledge that was explicit, but knowledge that was tacit in the "naive" respondents. There were ten informants who were students, staff, faculty members, or alumni at a large university in the northeastern US, all of Jewish background. The spontaneous speech data consisted of 533 troubles-telling exchanges that were tape recorded or recorded in field notes. Six major categories of responses emerged as ways in which this speech community responded to indirect complaints: (1) response or topic switch, (2) questions, (3) contradiction, (4) joke/teasing, (5) advice/lecture, and (6) agreement/commiseration.

Boxer found that troubles-telling in this community was used (a) to further conversation, (b) build relationships, and (c) establish solidarity. She also found that using the same questions with each of the subjects, as was done with the structured interview, was not the best idea because it inherently limited the depth of the subjects' responses. In the second (open-ended) interview, Boxer used a more open format, which allowed for expansion of ideas and greater flexibility of responses. It was easier to obtain more information about the assumptions and perceptions, which shaped the respondents' answers and ideas about troubles sharing. She described the factors that made for a more ideal ethnographic interview, such as (a) rapport with the subjects, (b) having subjects who feel comfortable doing much of the talking, and (c) following the lead of the subjects' narratives. Her findings revealed that in terms of troubles sharing, most respondents felt that while direct complaints qualify as "complaints," indirect complaints were not seen so much as complaining but rather a positive way of sharing mutual information and building relationships. She also found (a) that more women participated in troubles-talk than men and (b) that women were recipients of more indirect complaints because they were seen as more supportive in general than men. Boxer claimed that, while the explicit assumption about complaining was that it constitutes negative speech behavior, tacit assumptions proved otherwise.

The subjects of Molloy and Shimura's (2003) study were 304 Japanese university students aged 18-21. They were students at five universities in the Kanto area. To collect the data, a discourse completion instrument (DCT) with twelve complaint situations was used. The DCT was meant to assess EFL

complaints. The respondents were allowed to opt out or to give a non-verbal response as well. The respondents tallied two things: (a) the strategies used and (b) the combinations of interactions. Molloy and Shimura found that the two most common strategies were (a) to notify and (b) to seek redress.

Holmes (2003) reports on the Victoria University of Wellington Language in the Workplace (LWP) Project findings regarding talk in the workplace. The corpus had at the time over 2,000 interactions recorded. The focus of the study was on what was necessary for fitting in and becoming an integrated member of the workplace as a community of practice. Holmes's paper examines the positive discourse strategies of small talk and humor; it also illustrates how these provide a challenge for workers with an intellectual disability. Then the analysis turns to the more negatively affective area of workplace whinges and complaints. Holmes specifically examines how whinges and complaints may present difficulties to those from non-English-speaking backgrounds. The study provides a basis for developing useful teaching materials for those entering workplaces for the first time.

Drawing on Politeness Theory and the Community of Practice model, Holmes, Newton, and Stubbe (2004) examined the uses and functions of the expletive 'fuck' in interaction between workers in a New Zealand soap factory work team. They extensively recorded the factory team in their daily interactions to obtain a corpus of thirty five hours of authentic workplace talk from which they selected a small number of paradigmatic interactions for discussion in their paper. Particular attention was given to the way in which the expletive fuck was used in two face threatening speech acts, (a) direct complaints and refusals, and (b) its contrasting function in the speech act of whinging. The analysis focused on the complex socio-pragmatic functions of fuck and its role as an indicator of membership in a specific community of practice. Holmes, Newton, and Stubbe (2004) demonstrate how the speech act is accomplished over a series of different turns. They illustrated the slippery nature of the concept of politeness, in that they found the expletive fuck to serve as a positive politeness or solidarity marker when confined to members of a particular team within this factory.

Kumagai (2004) defined complaint conversations as conversations that involve two parties with distinct communicative orientations: (a) the complainer and (b) the complaine. She distinguished complaint conversations from quarrels in that the former involves an effort by the

complainee to minimize the confrontation while, with the latter, the two confront each other on a par. She took the two conversations she used for her study from a corpus she had collected earlier in 1991. In the first conversation the complainer was a male shopkeeper in downtown Tokyo and the complainee a male university student attempting to conduct a survey. The complainer's mother and wife also participated in an effort to keep the peace when the shopkeeper returned to the shop to find the student there after he had told him he could not do his survey there. In the second conversation, one teenage girl was accusing the other of being late for their appointment. Kumagai (2004) focused on these two complaint conversations and discussed how the repetition of utterances within such conversations could function as a conversational strategy to:

- (1) express emotions (complainer expresses negative feelings and disapproval, and complainee expresses regret and disagreement);
- (2) deal with the complaint situation effectively as a complainer or a complainee (complainer: intensification of reproach, maintaining stance by adding utterances, sarcasm using complainee's words; complainee: repeating apologies, stalling or diverting the complaint);
- (3) provide rhetoric for argument (complainer: holding the floor by speaking fluently and adding utterances, controlling the topic of the complaint; complainee: reorienting the conversation to a solution, closing the conversation); and
- (4) manipulate the conversational development.

In particular she focused on uses of repetition, both exact repetition as well as modified repetition or paraphrase, of utterances made earlier in the same conversation. Kumagai's results supported Tannen's (1990) claim that repetition is a major means for creating speaker involvement and not merely a matter of redundancy.

Molloy and Shimura (2004) looked at responses to complaints in up to twelve situations out of a sample of 259 Japanese university students (80% women). They performed a rigorous statistical analysis and found wide idiosyncratic variation in response patterns. Some respondents were more fine-tuned in their selection of speech acts relevant to the situation in question while

others were less so. Molloy and Shimura raised numerous questions as to why this was the case, but they did not provide any preferred explanation.

To sum up, the review of the literature related to complaints (whether direct(DC) or indirect (IC), and whether followed by troubles telling or not) revealed three major areas that had previously been studied: (a) functions of complaints, (b) responses to complaints, and (c) conversational strategies used by complainers and complainees for complaining or troubles-telling. According to literature, the functions of complaints are threefold: (a) to further conversation, (b) to build relationships, and (c) to establish solidarity (Boxer, 1993; Boxer 1996). Six responses to complaints have been identified in the literature: (a) no response, nonsubstantive response, or topic switch; (b) questions; (c) contradiction; (d) joke/teasing; (e) advice/lecture; and (f) agreement/commiseration (Boxer, 1993; Boxer, 1996). In addition, there were four conversational strategies which were used by complainers and complainees: (a) expressing emotions, (b) dealing with complaint situation, (c) providing rhetoric for argument, and (d) manipulating conversational development (Kumagai, 2004).

3. Aim of the study

The literature reviewed in the previous section clearly shows the importance of the study of complaints. To date, no study has addressed this speech act in Farsi. As such, the present study was an attempt at describing the salient conversational strategies that are used in the speech act of complaining in Farsi (See Appendix A for a summary of conversational strategies used in complaints). The study specifically focused on the role of complainees' sex, age, perceived situational seriousness, and social class in relation to their responses to complaining behavior.

4. METHOD

4.1. Subjects

A total of 465 subjects (all of them complainers in their spontaneous conversations) comprised the sample of the study. They belonged to different age groups, social classes, and sexes. Table 1 represents the frequency analysis for the subjects of the study.

Table 1
Frequency Analysis for Subjects of the Study

		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Sex	Male	233	50.1%	50.1%	50.1
	Female	232	49.9%	49.9%	100.0
Age Group	Teen	110	23.7%	23.7%	23.7
	Young	117	25.2%	25.2%	48.8
	Adult	120	25.8%	25.8%	74.6
	Old	118	25.4%	25.4%	100.0
Social Class	Low	152	32.7%	32.7%	32.7
	Mid	159	34.2%	34.2%	66.9
	High	154	33.1%	33.1%	100.0
TOTAL		465	100%	100%	

From the subjects of the study, 233 were male (50.1%) and 232 female (49.9%). As for the age groups, 110 subjects (23.7%) were teenagers (between 13 and 19), 117 subjects (or 25.2%) were young (between 19 and 35), 120 (or 25.8%) were adult (between 35 and 50), and 118 (or 25.4%) were old (50+). 152 of the subjects (32.7%) belonged in the low social class, 159 (34.2%) came from the mid social class, and 154 (33.1%) were members of the high social class. The social class of subjects was identified by such factors, as total monthly income, neighborhood of residence, brand of private car, possession of private cellphones, and possession and type of private house.

4.2. Instruments and procedures

The data for the present study were collected by 25 field workers who observed and tape-recorded the subjects in spontaneous conversation. The field workers were all master's students majoring in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) who had already passed their sociolinguistics and discourse analysis courses. They used hidden tape-recorders to record the spontaneous conversations of the subjects. They were instructed to tell the truth about the recordings to the subjects after they had been recorded, and to ask their permission for using the tape scripts in the study. Those subjects who did not permit the use of their recorded conversations were discarded from the study, and the respective tape scripts were erased. The field workers assigned each tape script a unique reference number and filled out a checklist

(one for each tape script) that provided the data for the study (See Appendix B). The field workers also indicated their evaluation of the degree to which they thought the complainers perceived the situation to be serious, and provided any comments that could make the coding of the data easier.

The data collected in this way were then submitted to the SPSS 13.0 for Windows (SPSS, Inc., 2004). Three different statistics were used: (a) Frequency analysis, (b) Mann-Whitney U Test, and (c) Kruskal Wallis H Test. Frequency analysis was conducted to identify the proportion and percentage of subjects in the different subgroups of the sample (See table 1 above). The Mann-Whitney U Test (which is the non-parametric counterpart for independent samples t-test) was used to measure the effect of subjects sex on their use of conversational strategies in their responses to the speech act of complaining. The Kruskal Wallis H Test (which is the nonparametric alternative to a one-way between-groups ANOVA) was also performed to analyze the effects of subjects' social class, age, and perceived situational seriousness on their use of conversational strategies in their responses to the speech act of complaining.

5. Results and discussion

To identify the frequency of strategies and substrategies which had been used by the complainers, I conducted a frequency analysis. The results of this analysis are presented in table 2 below.

Table 2
Frequency and Percentage of Strategies and Substrategies

		f	%
Strategy 1	Expressing regret	269	57.8%
	Expressing disagreement	196	42.2%
Strategy 2	Repeating apologies	143	30.8%
	Stalling the complaint	176	37.8%
	Diverting the complaint	146	31.4%
Strategy 3	Reorienting conversation to a solution	245	52.7%
	Closing the conversation	220	47.3%
Strategy 4	Minimizing the confrontation	196	42.2%
	Confronting the complainer on a par	269	57.8%

The strategies identified with numbers 1 through 4 in table 2 above, and in all the tables that follow, refer to "expressing emotions," "dealing with the complaint situation," "providing rhetoric for argument," and "manipulating development of conversation" respectively.

The first question addressed by the study was "Do male and female complainers differ in terms of their use of conversational strategies in their responses to complaints?" Figure 1 illustrates the mean rank comparisons for males and females.

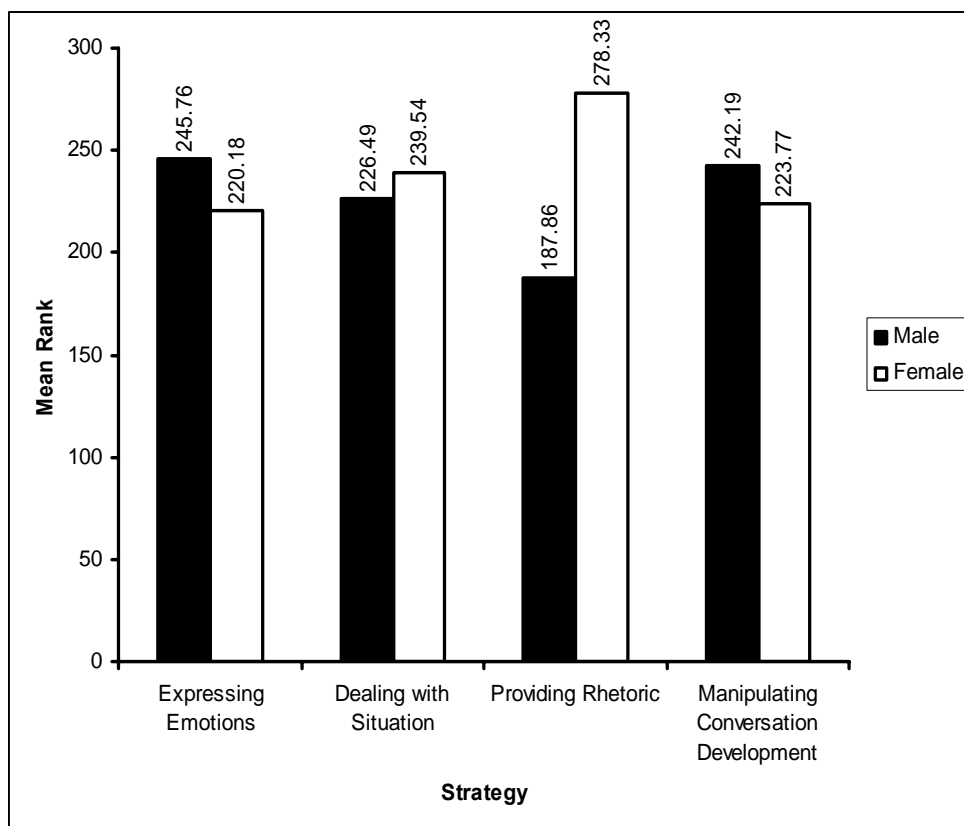


Figure 1. Comparison of mean ranks for strategy use by males and females.

To answer this question, the data were analyzed by means of the Mann-Whitney U Test. Table 3 represents the results of the Mann-Whitney U Test for the four conversational strategies commonly used in complaints (See Appendixes A and B).

Table 3
Mann-Whitney U test for Sex as the Grouping Variable

	STRATEGY 1	STRATEGY 2	STRATEGY 3	STRATEGY 4
Mann-Whitney U	24054.500	25510.500	16510.500	24886.500
Wilcoxon W	51082.500	52771.500	43771.500	51914.500
Z	-2.400	-1.113	-8.394	-1.728
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.016(*)	.266	.000(*)	.084

The four strategies under study were: (1) expressing emotions, (2) dealing with complaint situation, (3) providing rhetoric for argument, and (4) manipulating development of conversation. As for strategy 1 (i.e., expressing emotions), male and female complainers were different in their use of the strategy ($Z = -2.4$, $p = .016$). Male and female complainers were also different in their use of the third ($Z = -8.394$, $p = .000$). The statistical difference between male and female subjects in their use of the second strategy ($Z = -1.113$, $p = .266$) and fourth strategy ($Z = -1.728$, $p = .084$), however, was not significant.

The second question addressed by the study was whether there was a significant difference in the complainers' use of conversational strategies across different social class groups. To answer this question, the data were analyzed by means of a Kruskal Wallis H Test (which is the nonparametric alternative to a one-way between-groups analysis of variance). Table 4 manifests the results of this analysis.

Table 4
Kruskal-Wallis H test for Social Class as the Grouping Variable

	STRATEGY 1	STRATEGY 2	STRATEGY 3	STRATEGY 4
Chi-Square	40.718	4.028	.545	18.499
df	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000(*)	.133	.761	.000(*)

As it can be understood from table 4, complainers' social class related to their use of the first (Chi-Square = 40.718, $df = 2$, and $p = .000$) and the fourth (Chi-Square = 18.499, $df = 2$, and $p = .000$) conversational strategies in a

statistically significant way. Subjects' social class did not seem to affect their use of the second (Chi-Square = 4.028, $df = 2$, $p = .133$) and third (Chi-Square = .545, $df = 2$, $p = .761$) strategies in a statistically significant way.

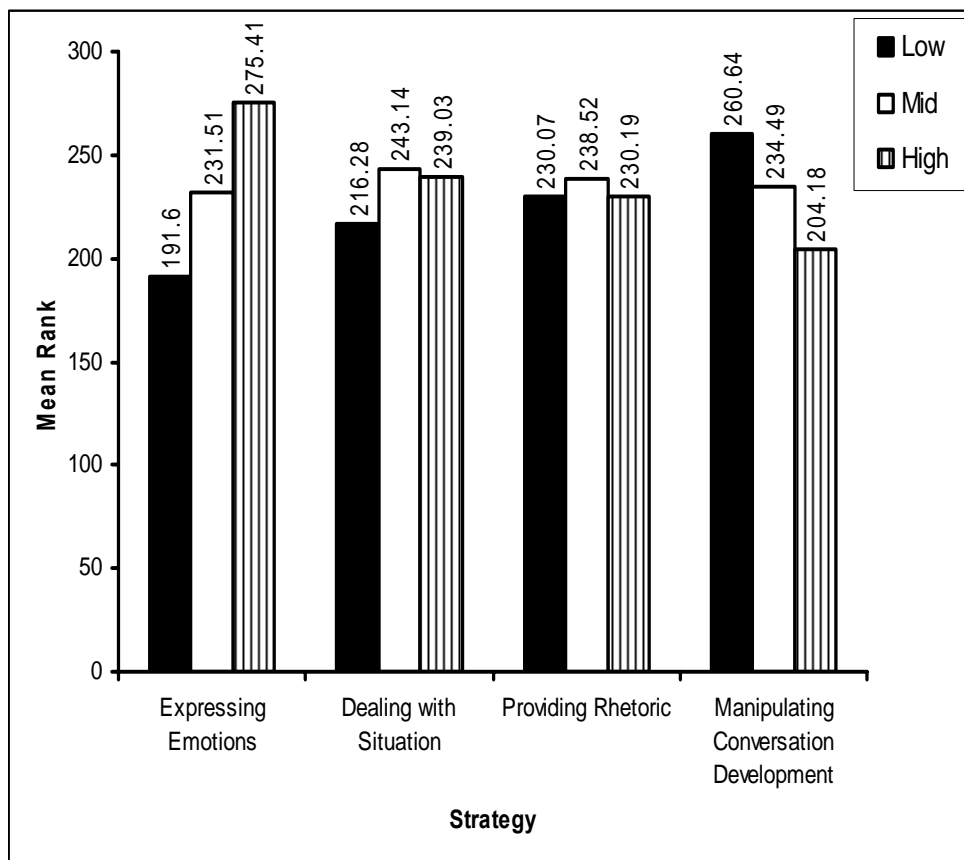


Figure 2. Comparison of mean ranks for strategy use by subjects across social classes.

Yet another question addressed by the present study was whether there was any statistically significant difference between subjects' use of conversational strategies across different age groups. Here again, a Kruskal Wallis H Test was performed. The results of this analysis are tabulated in table 5 below. In this case, age group was not a factor in relation to any of the conversational strategies. In other words, age did not affect the way subjects handled complaints.

Table 5
Kruskal-Wallis H test for Age as the Grouping Variable

	STRATEGY 1	STRATEGY 2	STRATEGY 3	STRATEGY 4
Chi-Square	.932	1.024	1.172	1.528
df	3	3	3	3
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.818	.795	.760	.676

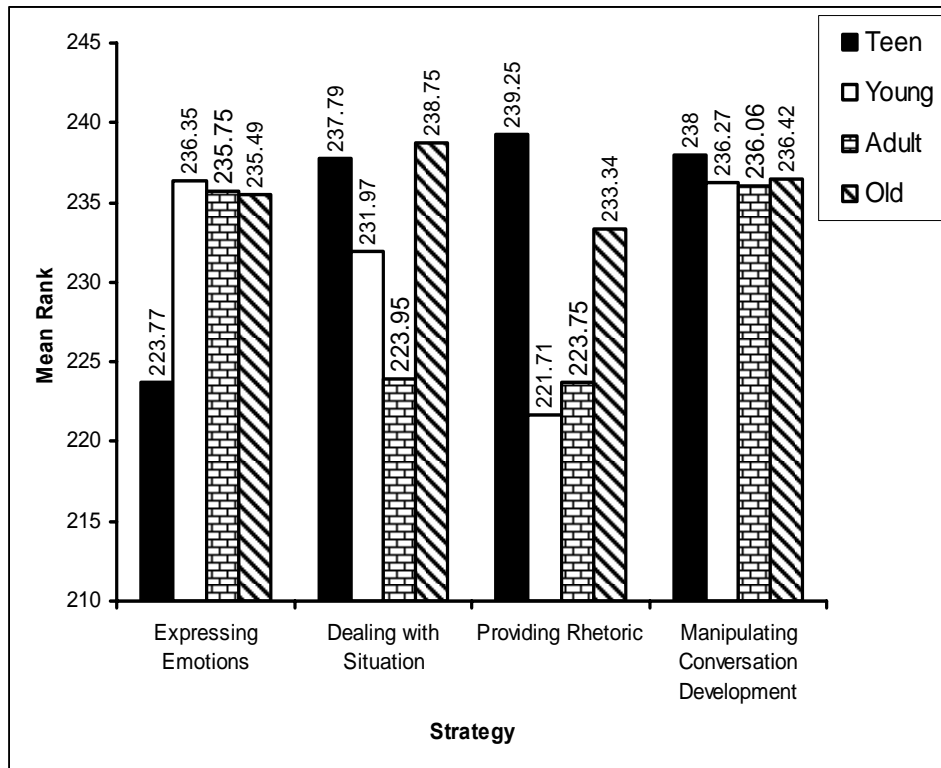


Figure 3. Comparison of mean ranks for strategy use by subjects across age groups.

The last question addressed by the present study was whether complainers' perceived situational seriousness affected their use of conversational strategies in any significant way. One again, a Kruskal Wallis H Test was performed. The results of the Kruskal Wallis H Test are presented in table 6 below.

Table 6
Kruskal-Wallis H test for Perceived Situational Seriousness as the Grouping Variable

	STRATEGY 1	STRATEGY 2	STRATEGY 3	STRATEGY 4
Chi-Square	.085	.122	3.078	18.453
df	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.959	.941	.215	.000(*)

The results of data analysis indicated that perceived situational seriousness was a factor only in relation to the last conversational strategy [i.e., performers' manipulation of the development of conversation (Chi-Square = 18.453, df = 2, and $p = .000$)]. Perceived situational seriousness was not a factor in relation to the other conversational strategies.

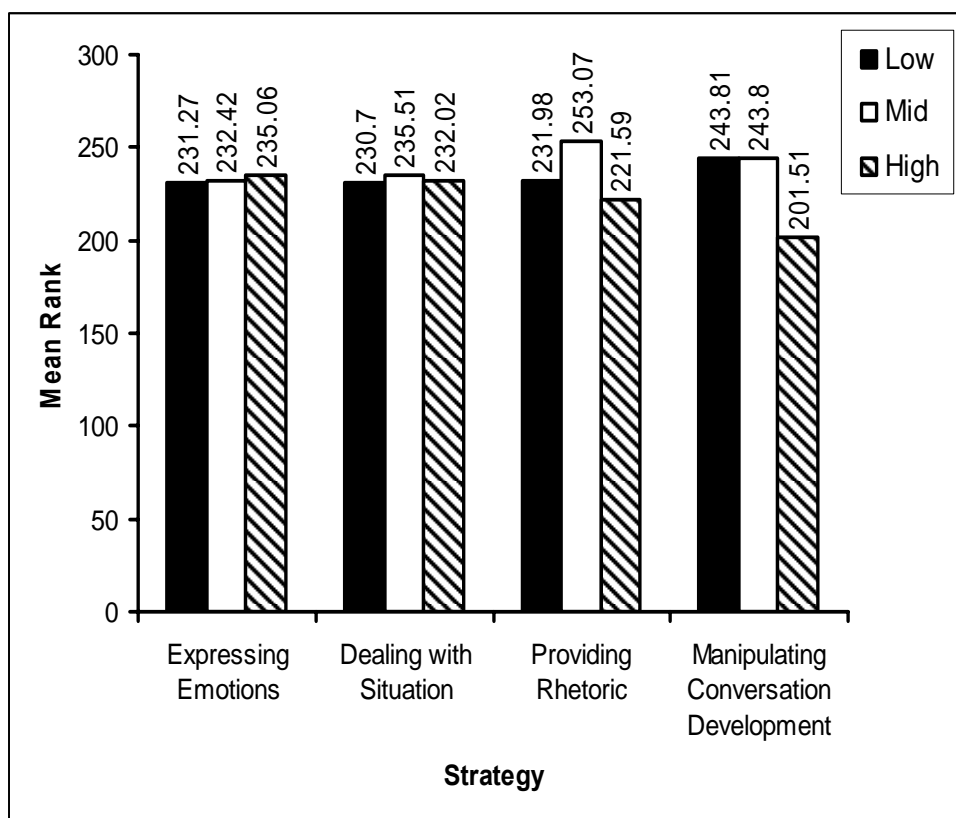


Figure 4. Comparison of mean ranks for strategy use by subjects in relation to perceived situational seriousness.

To identify the relationship between subjects' sex and the type of sub-strategy they used, the percentage for each substrategy in each sex group was calculated. The results of this analysis are presented in table 7 below.

Table 7
Percentage of Strategies across Different Sexes

		MALE %	FEMALE %
Strategy 1	Expressing regret	52.4%	63.4%
	Expressing disagreement	47.6%	36.6%
Strategy 2	Repeating apologies	34.3%	27.2%
	Stalling the complaint	34.8%	40.9%
	Diverting the complaint	30.9%	31.9%
Strategy 3	Reorienting conversation to a solution	72.1%	33.2%
	Closing the conversation	27.9%	66.8%
Strategy 4	Minimizing the confrontation	38.2%	61.8%
	Confronting the complainer on a par	46.1%	53.9%

In their emotional reaction to complaints, more male than female subjects expressed disagreement whereas more female than male subjects expressed regret. As for the second strategy (i.e., dealing with the complaint situation), stalling and diverting were female rather than male strategies while repeating was a male strategy. The third strategy had to do with the way subjects provided rhetoric for argumentation. Male subjects preferred to reorient the conversation or complaint to a solution whereas female subjects preferred to close the conversation. As for manipulating the development of the conversation, which is the fourth strategy, males preferred to confront the complainer on a par where as females preferred to minimize the confrontation. Compare the percentages for male and female strategies in table 7 above.

To identify the relationship between subjects' social class and the type of sub-strategy they used, the percentage for each substrategy in each status group was calculated. The percentages presented in table 8 below indicate that there is a trade-off between subjects' social class and their expression of regret in reaction to complaints that are directed towards them. Low-class

subjects expressed regret more than mid-class subjects; mid-class subjects, in turn, expressed regret more than high class subjects. This may have to do with power. High class people are assumed to be more powerful in the community and, as a result, do not degrade themselves by the expression of regret. The comparison of percentages for expressing disagreement across social classes further illustrate the importance of power in the choice of strategy. As for the second strategy, the percentages indicated that high class subjects preferred to stall the complaint. The preferred strategy for low class subjects was repetition (of the apology); the mid class subjects, however, preferred to divert the complaint. In the case of the third strategy, subjects across all social classes preferred to reorient the complaint to a solution. Finally, the high class subjects tried to minimize the confrontation between the complainers and themselves while both the low class and the mid class subjects preferred to confront the complainers on a par. The results of this analysis are presented in table 8 below.

Table 8
Percentage of Strategies across Different Sexes

		LOW %	MID %	HIGH %
Strategy 1	Expressing regret	75.7%	58.5%	39.6%
	Expressing disagreement	24.3%	41.5%	60.4%
Strategy 2	Repeating apologies	44.7%	33.3%	14.3%
	Stalling the complaint	20.4%	26.4%	66.9%
	Diverting the complaint	34.9%	40.3%	18.8%
Strategy 3	Reorienting conversation to a solution	53.9%	50.3%	53.9%
	Closing the conversation	46.1%	49.7%	46.1%
Strategy 4	Minimizing the confrontation	30.3%	41.5%	54.5%
	Confronting the complainer on a par	69.7%	58.5%	45.5%

Another factor that was studied in connection to subjects' use of strategies was their age. It was argued above that the differences in subjects' use of strategies across age groups were not statistically significant. In order to see how age related to subjects use of strategies, the percentage for each substrategy in each age group was calculated. The results of this calculation are presented in table 9 below. As for the first strategy, expressing emotions, the preferred substrategy across all age groups was the expression of regret. In connection to the second strategy, the percentages show that subjects

across all age groups preferred to stall the complaint more than they resorted to repeating apologies or diverting the complaint. As for the third strategy, teenagers did not show any preference for either reorienting the complaint to a solution or closing the conversation. Subjects across the remaining age groups, however, had a preference for reorienting the conversation to a solution. The last strategy, manipulating development of conversation, was also studied through the comparison of percentages. Subjects across all age groups preferred to confront the complainer on a par. Compare the percentages for age-group strategies in table 9 below.

Table 9
Percentage of Strategies across Different Age Groups

		TEEN %	YOUNG %	ADULT %	OLD %
Strategy 1	Expressing regret	61.8%	56.4%	56.7%	56.8%
	Expressing disagreement	38.2%	43.6%	43.3%	43.2%
Strategy 2	Repeating apologies	29.1%	31.6%	33.3%	28.8%
	Stalling the complaint	38.2%	36.8%	38.3%	38.1%
	Diverting the complaint	32.7%	31.6%	28.3%	33.1%
Strategy 3	Reorienting conversation to solution	50.0%	51.3%	56.7%	52.5%
	Closing the conversation	50.0%	48.7%	43.3%	47.5%
Strategy 4	Minimizing the confrontation	40.0%	47.0%	40.8%	40.7%
	Confronting the complainer on a par	60.0%	53.0%	59.2%	59.3%

To identify the relationship between subjects' perceived level of situational seriousness and the type of sub-strategy they used, the percentage for each substrategy at each level was calculated. The results indicated that the expression of regret was preferred over the expression of disagreement by all subjects when they wanted to react to the complaint emotionally. When subjects perceived that the situational seriousness of the complaint was low or medium, they preferred to stall the conversation. However, when they perceived a high level of situational seriousness, they resorted either to repeating their apologies or to diverting the complaint. In addition, complaints with low or high levels of perceived situational seriousness very often resulted in subjects' attempts at reorienting the conversation to a solution; however, complaints with a medium level of perceived situational seriousness often a preference for attempts at closing the conversation. Finally, complaints with low or medium levels of perceived situational seriousness motivated the complainees to confront the complainers on a par

whereas complaints with high levels of perceived situational seriousness caused the complainers to try to minimize confrontation with the complainers. The results of this analysis are presented in table 10 below.

Table 10

Percentage of Strategies across Different Levels of Perceived Situational Seriousness

		LOW %	MID %	HIGH %
Strategy 1	Expressing regret	58.6%	58.1%	57.0%
	Expressing disagreement	41.4%	41.9%	43.0%
Strategy 2	Repeating apologies	30.5%	27.4%	34.8%
	Stalling the complaint	39.8%	43.0%	30.4%
	Diverting the complaint	29.7%	29.6%	34.8%
Strategy 3	Reorienting conversation to a solution	53.1%	48.0%	57.6%
	Closing the conversation	46.9%	52.0%	42.4%
Strategy 4	Minimizing the confrontation	37.5%	33.5%	55.7%
	Confronting the complainer on a par	62.5%	66.5%	44.3%

6. Conclusion

Based on the findings of the study, a cline of significance can be suggested for each of the independent variables in question. Such a cline might look something like the following illustration where the order of strategies (from left to right) identifies the degree to which they are affected by the independent variable to the left of them, and where the symbol (*) represents statistical significance. As it is indicated by the cline, sex and social class are the variables that cause the differential use of two conversational strategies whereas perceived situational seriousness causes the differential use of only one conversational strategy. Age resulted in the differential use of none of the conversational strategies.

	most important		least important	
SEX	strategy 3(*)	strategy 1(*)	strategy 4	strategy 2
SOCIAL STATUS	strategy 1(*)	strategy 4(*)	strategy 2	strategy 3
AGE	strategy 4	strategy 3	strategy 2	strategy 1
SITUATIONAL SERIOUSNESS	strategy 4(*)	strategy 3	strategy 2	strategy 1

The present study only focused on the conversational strategies that were used by Iranian complainers. Similar studies can be designed to research the use of conversational strategies by complainers in other languages.

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APPENDIX A: Summary of Conversational Strategies Used in Complaints

STRATEGIES	COMPLAINER	COMPLAINEE
1) Expressing emotions	a) Expressing negative feelings b) Expressing disapproval	a) Expressing regret b) Expressing disagreement
2) Dealing with complaint situation	a) Intensification of reproach b) Maintaining stance by adding utterances c) Sarcasm (and insulting) d) Using complaine'e's words humorously	a) Repeating apologies b) Stalling the complaint c) Diverting the complaint
3) Providing rhetoric for argument	Holding the floor a) by speaking fluently b) by adding utterances c) by controlling complaint topic	a) Reorienting the conversation to a solution b) Closing the conversation
4) Manipulating development of conversation	a) Continuing the complaint 1. by exact repetition 2. by modified repetition or paraphrase b) Avoiding continuation of complaint	a) Minimizing the confrontation b) Confronting the complainer on a par

APPENDIX B: Checklist to be filled out by the observer/interviewee

INTERVIEWEE'S/OBSERVER'S CHECKLIST	
TAPE SCRIPT NUMBER: _____	
COMPLAINEE DETAILS:	
Sex: Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>	
Social Class: Low <input type="checkbox"/> Mid <input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/>	
Age: Teen <input type="checkbox"/> Young <input type="checkbox"/> Adult <input type="checkbox"/> Old <input type="checkbox"/>	
SITUATIONAL SERIOUSNESS: Low <input type="checkbox"/> Mid <input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/>	
CONVERSATIONAL STRATEGIES	COMPLAINEE'S BEHAVIOUR
Expressing emotions (Strategy 1)	a) Expressing regret <input type="checkbox"/> b) Expressing disagreement <input type="checkbox"/>
Dealing with complaint situation (Strategy 2)	a) Repeating apologies <input type="checkbox"/> b) Stalling the complaint <input type="checkbox"/> c) Diverting the complaint <input type="checkbox"/>
Providing rhetoric for argument (Strategy 3)	a) Reorienting the conversation to a solution <input type="checkbox"/> b) Closing the conversation <input type="checkbox"/>
Manipulating development of conversation (Strategy 4)	a) Minimizing the confrontation <input type="checkbox"/> b) Confronting the complainer on a par <input type="checkbox"/>
INTERVIEWEE'S/OBSERVER'S COMMENTS:	

Question strategies in testing reading comprehension: A comparative study of pre-questioning, post-questioning, and infixing

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Reading comprehension tests have always been a difficult area to language learners. This difficulty may partly stem from lack of effective strategies in dealing with reading comprehension questions at an effective time. Therefore, this study aimed at comparing three strategies relevant to reading comprehension questions: Pre-questioning, post-questioning and infixing. To conduct the study, forty-two high-school students were randomly selected. Then nine narrative passages, each three devoted to one strategy, formed the materials. Time was also carefully measured. Students met three sessions with a time span of eight days between each two sessions, and each session they were given three passages at random. Following the test, the researchers conducted an unstructured interview with the students and their teachers. Results proved that infixing questions can lead to better performance in reading comprehension tests. The study can bear both theoretical and practical implications in teaching and testing reading comprehension.

Keywords: Infixing; pre-questioning; post-questioning; glossing

1. Introduction

For many language learners reading is ranked first among the academic skills that they wish to gain mastery over (Grabe & Stoller, 2001; Richards and Renandya, 2002). This comes from the growing number of countries moving toward giving English instruction importance from a younger age (Ediger, 2001). It is believed that consolidating and extending one's knowledge of language and gaining wide general information (world knowledge) as well as improving a skill like writing can take place by means of reading (Harmer, 2000; Rivers, 1981). Besides, it is reported that 10 to 15 percent of students experience difficulty in reading (Mercer, 2001). Reading is viewed to be

understanding an unobservable internal and mental process (Ur, 1996; Vacca, Vacca and Gove; 2000). The problem doubles when the skill is taken to be difficult to measure directly.

When we take a test, we are being tested on two things: First, how much we know about the subject and the second point addresses test taking strategies to which reading comprehension test – taking strategies are not an exception. Moreover, testing has been found to be among the causes of stress for students. Inaccurate conception on how to prepare for an exam is reported by Wesner and Zellers (2005) to be one reason to this fear. Students seem to receive less support on tests, and instruction on test- taking is not commonly included in the school curriculum (Mousavi, 1999; Nuttall, 1998)—if not all the schools. Alderson (1996) argues that students frequently receive support from their teachers on the exercises they do rather than the strategies they need for test taking. This lack of strategy instruction is in contrast to today's trends that assessment is viewed to be the continuation of the flow of teaching (Huerta-Maci'as, 2002; Koosha and Khalaji, 2004, and Nuttall, 1998).

When sitting for a reading comprehension test, students are advised to take either of these strategies as test-wiseness strategies: Post – questioning (they read the given text prior to setting out for the posed questions) or pre-questioning (they are led to survey the questions and then read the given text). The former strategy is supported by Cohen (2001), Nuttall (1998), Pressley (2001), and Wesner and Zellers (2005). The latter strategy is advocated by Abisamra (2003), Cohen (1998), Lunenfeld and Lunenfeld (1992), Muislewhite (2006), Retorta (2001), Thompson (2004) and Ur (1996). These strategies have been widely discussed at some length, but rarely have they been investigated in a quantitative way. The problem that arises here concerns the effective time that reading comprehension questions can be raised. Researchers seem to adhere to only two strategies in dealing with reading comprehension questions without ever breaking the mold and thinking of other ways of handling the questions.

However, reading the whole text prior to looking at the questions, as Thompson (2004) warns, is time-consuming and students' attention is drawn to details or additional facts which have not been included in the test questions. Besides this, as Thompson (2004) reminds us, in situations of this type the most important practice is finding the correct answer to the questions in his mind, and this can be done by reading the text first. In a sharp

contrast to this, Wesner and Zellers (2005) take advocates of pre-questions to task and call pre-questions time consuming.

It is, therefore, the aim of this study to seek answers to the most effective time of dealing with the questions that accompany a text in a reading comprehension test. That is, a comparison needs to be made between the above two and a third strategy- infixing wherein the text is split into two parts and questions are inserted in the two halves of the text- following Widdowson (1985), in order to find out which strategy works best in helping language learners work out the answers to the comprehension questions irrespective of the type of questions involved. More particularly, this study pursued answers to the following questions:

1. Is there any difference between readers' performance and the strategy they employ in dealing with the text questions?
2. Is it reasonable for readers to interrupt their flow of reading and set out for the questions of the text in the course of reading?
3. Does the employment of question strategies affect students' performance on their reading comprehension tests?

These research questions were converted into the following null hypothesis:

(H0): Employing whatever question strategy—prior surveying questions, infixing questions (during reading the text) or post reading questions—does not affect one's results on reading comprehension tests.

2. METHOD

2.1. Participants

To select a representative sample of participants, three boy high schools in Ahvaz (the capital city of Khuzestan in south west of Iran) which were available to the researchers were selected. From each school, the third graders physics and mathematics classes were focused on. This was due to the group's willingness to participate in the study. Students of the other fields, humanities and experimental sciences, showed reluctance to take part in the study and because of their egregiously low number they were excluded from the study. On the other hand, the trend in Iran is that the above-average students pursue their studies in high schools in physics and mathematics

because they believe that they will have better prospects and job opportunities. Therefore, these participants were only representative of the male physics and mathematics students. The data collection took place in the 2005-2006 academic year of Iran.

In order to select the participants, the researchers attended all the third graders classes of the schools (physics and mathematics, humanities and natural sciences classes) and discussed the purpose and the procedures designed in performing the study and asked who could voluntarily take part in the research. Their relevant teachers also agreed to credit points to the volunteers. Overall, forty-two students agreed to cooperate in the study. The research design was intra-group measure; one group underwent three different situations.

2.2. Materials

The materials employed in conducting this study consisted of nine reading comprehension passages as the battery of tests. These stories were randomly extracted from Elementary anecdotes in American English (Hill, 1981) and A first book in comprehension, précis and composition (Alexander, 1972).

In order to prevent the candidates' resorting to their own experiences or general knowledge in responding the questions and to make sure that they read the texts to answer the questions, narrative texts were chosen. The decision on narrative genre also catered for control and construct validity of our test. Since a test as such resembles an achievement test, Following Alderson (1996), the content of the test had to be bound to the content of the instruction that the candidates had undergone in their class. According to Brown (2004), establishment of the content validity of an achievement procedure is promoted through the text genre given to students. So since most of the texts of the students' course books were of the narrative genre, assessment of the candidates' abilities had to address texts including series of events. Besides, considerations were taken in the assessment of reading ability among which are the skills and strategies mentioned below. These micro and macro skills include a wide range of abilities. Surveying the course books, we figured out that objectives like the following are wished to be owned by students:

1. Retaining chunks of language of different lengths in short-term memory,

2. Inferring links and connections between events, deduction of causes and effects, and detection of relations such as main idea, new information, given information and exemplification from events and ideas,
3. Distinguishing between literal and implied meanings,
4. Skimming the text for the gist and for main ideas,
5. Scanning the text for specific information,
6. Making use of silent reading techniques for rapid processing.

As a result, in posing the questions for the present study, effort was made to include tasks by which the above-mentioned abilities could be evaluated in the candidates to assure construct validity. Moreover, we noticed that students were mostly evaluated in their reading comprehension in their three-year high-school courses via multiple-choice, short answer and true/false questions. To minimize performance by chance, the last technique was brushed aside.

The rationale for selecting the above passages was their suitability in vocabulary, structure, and length to third grade high school students. The average length of the passages was between 200 – 220 words, but this by itself, could not be the touchstone in calculating readability of the texts. Due to the shortcomings of the formulas as accurate measures of readability of texts (e.g. Paulston and Bruder, 1976), Nuttall's (1998) suggestion was taken according to which teachers were asked to judge whether a text matched the learners' language proficiency. Nuttall (1998) argues that this is right because the teacher knows both the structures and vocabulary that students have learned in their curriculum. Moreover, care was exercised not to choose texts too culturally laden as this could seriously affect comprehensibility of the texts. Enjoyability of the passages was also taken among the criteria as all the stories were amusing and could make their readers laugh.

Some adaptations were also made on the texts especially on the diction and wording. For example, some words were replaced by their synonyms or were translated in Persian in the margins of the page as prompting glossaries. Some unfamiliar structures were also simplified. Simplification was of course restricted to those structures that were believed to block comprehension. In order to account for the authenticity of the texts, a near native speaker, besides the researchers, read the passages and agreement was made on the texts linguistic appropriateness (See Appendix for sample texts).

For every text, four questions were posed, (following the rubrics rendered by Harris, 1969; Hughes, 2003; Madsen, 1983, and Weir, 1993): two short answer questions and two multiple choice questions. Care was also exercised in choosing and crafting short answer questions that called for less writing on the respondents' side. For the short-answer questions, we set limits on the answers by asking students not to write more than three words for each answer. Students were told that even in cases where two or more answers were possible, their answers would be considered if only they observed the word limit. This way we could quantify responses and minimize variations in the students' answers.

The multiple choice question stems were periodic in their format, i.e. the slots were not placed in the beginning of the stems but shifted to the end of the stem. Some of the questions were the blueprint of those following the texts in the books themselves. The rest were designed based on the mind-mapping technique - forming a consensus framework of the main ideas and important details a reader is expected to extract from a text (Weir, 1997)—and the checklist of operations in reading for global and local comprehension proposed by Vincent (1997). The questions were at literal and inferential levels of comprehension. The objectivity of these questions and the students' familiarity with this format of testing through their practice with their school books were the reasons behind the selection of the form of the questions (See Appendix for a sample passage and the questions).

In order to rectify the probable drawbacks of the materials on the one hand, and determine the time needed to read each passage, on the other hand, the passages were piloted. This pilot testing was performed on additional 15 boy-students in grade three majoring in physics and mathematics or experimental sciences.

Moreover, to make the main participants familiar with the norms of the tests, for the three strategies, three texts from the same sources were chosen to serve as the pretest.

2.3. Procedures

To conduct the research, the students attended four sessions in four days with the span of eight days between each two sessions. The first session was specified for a practice test (pilot) to make students familiar with the strategies as well as determine the time needed to read the passages. They

were given three sample texts each representing one of the strategies under study and for each passage the allocated time was ten minutes. Later in the main phase of the study we reduced time to seven minutes in order to minimize the effect of time on their performance. As a result of piloting, some stems were modified and some distracters were replaced. This was followed by the main phase of the study.

The procedures applied in conducting the research were as follows: In the post-questioning condition one text was given to the participants and they were given about seven minutes to study. After that they received the questions on a separate paper. The second format was exactly the opposite of the former. The text questions were given to the candidates in advance of the text itself to be surveyed for about two minutes. Then they were provided with the text to read and answer the questions in seven minutes of time span. By presenting the questions proceeding or preceding the texts separately we led students to focus on the questions first or last. The third condition was in the form of what the research aimed to focus on. The text was divided into more or less two halves with the questions infixed within them, typed in larger size boldface format. In order to be convinced that test takers would really attend to the questions in the middle of the act of reading, we copied the second part of reading on the back of the page, and as they were engaged in answering the questions we simply reminded them about seeing the rest of the text on the back.

The questions covered the content of the two halves of the text and this led students to meet all the questions before they were through with the text. The testees were asked to read the first half as well as the questions and answer those questions whose responses were found in that very half and after that scan the responses of the remaining questions in the second part. All the answers were mirrored in the answer sheets.

Every text was accompanied by four questions and since three texts were presented to the students in a single attendance, this made twelve questions in every session totally.

Determining which text to be treated with which of the intended strategies and also the order of testing these passages and the order of the questions for each of the texts, were randomly decided.

As regards the short-answers, the testees were told previously that they would not be penalized on their mechanical errors (spelling, grammar, or punctuation) as much as their answers would not be read or interpreted otherwise. The criterion here was their readability and so long as their suggested answers could be easily read it would be acceptable. Since the questions were objective in form, there was no need to calculate inter-rater reliability for scoring the papers.

Following the test, the researchers gained support for their study from observing and conducting an unstructured interview with students and three of their teachers. It addressed their feelings regarding the proposed strategies through verbal self-report. Most of the candidates as well as the three teachers ranked the texts within which the questions had been inserted the most satisfying. Question insertion was new to teachers, who used to expect questions before or after a text.

3. Results

Initially, the descriptive statistics were calculated for the three types of strategies in focus. Results indicated that learners' performance using the infixing strategy excelled the other two strategies. That is, the mean score of the former group was greater than that of the other two groups. This is shown in table 1.

Table 1.
Mean, SD, Max, and Min Values for the Scores

Variables	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Total Q	42	3.5	12	8.23	2.44
Total P	42	2.5	12	8.36	2.73
Total I	42	5.5	12	9.47	1.74

Q: pre – questions

P: post – questions

I: infixing

However, in order to test the hypothesis fully, multivariate analyses were used to investigate whether the difference between these intra-group means was due to chance or the learners' performance. The observed value was 10.239 and when compared with the critical value 3.23 at .05 level of significance, we rejected the null hypothesis. Therefore, statistically, there

was a significant difference between the means of the three strategies in focus. Table 2 displays the results of the statistical operations.

Table 2.

Multivariate Analyses with Repeated Measure (MANOVA)

Effect		V-value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
F1	Pilla'S Trace	.33	10.23	2	40	.001
	Wilks' Lambda	.66	10.23	2	40	.001
	Hotelling's Trace	.51	10.23	2	40	.001
	Roy's Largest Root	.51	10.23	2	40	.001

In order to account for the possible influence of the strategies on one another, Within-Subjects Effects tests were administered. Once again, the null hypothesis was rejected at .05 level of significance which indicated that the difference was due to the type of strategy and not because of the interaction of the strategies with one another. Moreover, F test was also employed for co-efficiency of insurance. The observed F was 11.23 and with the critical F between 3.23 to 4.08, we were led into the conclusion that the mean difference was significant. The results of this test indicated that if the study was to be repeated under the same conditions, results would be the same.

Table 3.

Within-subject Effect Tests

Source	Type III Sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
FACTOR1SphericityAssumed	39.02	2	19.51	11.23	.001
GreenHouse-Geisser	39.02	1.86	20.92	11.23	.001
Huynh-feldt	39.02	1.95	20.00	11.23	.001
Lower-bound	39.02	1.00	39.02	11.23	.002

Next, Pairwise Comparisons were run to find the most effective strategy. For this purpose, the means were compared in pairs. First the mean of pre-questioning strategy was compared with the mean of post-questioning one. As table 4 indicates, there was .635 probability that the means of both tests were equal ($X_p = X_q$). Results showed that there was no significant difference in students' performance using either of the strategies.

Table 4.
Pairwise Comparisons

(I) FACTOR1 (J)FACTOR1	Mean Difference (I-J)	Sig.
Q P	-.125	.635
I	-1.238*	.001
Q P	.125	.635
I	-1.113*	.001
Q I	1.238*	.001
P	1.113*	.001

Note: I, P, and Q stand for infixing, post-questions and pre-questions.

Comparing infixing with post-reading strategies at .05 level of significance showed that with infixing students performance improved significantly.

In general, results of the statistical analysis proved that infixing was a more successful strategy in reading comprehension questions in comparison to the other two strategies. On the other hand, no significant difference was observed between pre – questioning and post – questioning strategies.

4. Discussion

The results of the study made clear the fact that introducing reading comprehension questions in the middle of the reading process can lead to better performance in comparison to post questioning and prior questioning in reading comprehension tests. The results of the study can be supported following a number of reasons.

One factor can be short-term memory. In either initial reading the text or surveying the questions first, candidates are loaded with information to be taken into their minds for some time. Research has shown that the short-term memory lasts less than thirty seconds (Aichert, 2000). We, as ordinary people, do not read the text and/or keep the questions and retain the information in this time span. Therefore, as Cook (2001) argues, if students are put in a situation in which they are asked to remember content for a period longer than some seconds, then what is being tested is their memory ability rather than and prior to anything else.

Another view relating to short term-memory (regardless of time span) is the ability of the testees in keeping the questions in their mind as an amount of information. Thompson (2004) claims that second language learners' ability

(especially in the initial stages) in keeping questions in their mind is limited to two questions at a time. Suppose that the length of a text is about 300 words and based on the given standards the number of questions is about twelve. It seems highly unlikely that the reader can maintain this amount of information in mind. On the other hand, if he decides to read the questions first, then this is not in line with the memory capacity in both time span and the amount of information he can place in his mind.

When the questions are inserted in the middle of the text, the reader skims over the first half of the text and its questions. If he retains the information, he can answer some of the questions. But if not, he scans that half to provide answers to the questions. Scanning the rest of the text is the next practice in providing answers to the other questions here. In reading a passage first, the reader skims over the text wholly. Questions are then responded if information is present in the learners' mind. If not, scanning is resorted to. The practice is performed in relation to each of the questions until all of the questions are answered. That the reader has to keep so much information in his mind can be a factor to poor performance in taking both pre-questioning and post-questioning strategies.

Although initial reading the questions is a shortcut and less demanding, this simplicity has not led to the best performance. It seems that since the movement is from unknown (the questions) to known (the passage), the strategy does not work well.

The study has added approval to Widdowson's (1985) idea that reading comprehension questions had better be inserted within a text not before or after it. He believes that the practice lets the reader pause and have a check on what has been figured out from the text, up to the time reading is stopped. The device of this self - monitoring of comprehension is the comprehension questions. This in fact works as a means on checking reading. In Widdowson's (1985) words, infixing functions as 'interpretation checks'(p. 106). This checking is conducted immediately and somehow retrospectively in case the reader does not remember the needed information. In retrospective reading, interpretation is done through referring back to expressions mentioned previously.

Another point relating to the infixing strategy is the readers' recognition of the expressions which have the value of 'pass slowly through' (Widdowson,

1985, p. 108). Examples of this slow pass are words and phrases whose synonyms or antonyms are asked as well as the usage reference questions (the learner's attention is directed to a particular sentence in contrast to inferential questions that refer to gist and upshot of the text).

Insertion of the questions, as Widdowson (1985) argues, upgrades learner's active participation. The test taker reads the first half of the text. Thereby, he can gain the main idea if it is expressed in that half and establish the background. Now to make himself sure of his understanding and what is expected of him, he refers to the questions working as signpost in keeping him alert. He answers some of the questions and then reads the rest of the text selectively (based on what the questions demand). All this enhances the reader's participation in taking the test.

However, there are a number of differences between this study and Widdowson's insertion strategy. In looking for the best method of testing comprehension, he considered true/false items as the most suitable. This insertion, as Widdowson hopes, can prevent students' running through such questions unthinkingly to guess the answer without referring to the text (1985).

When engaged in reading long texts, readers are advised to have a look at the title, priming-word study, the pictures and whatever can activate their schemata besides reading the first and the last paragraphs. This lets readers get the gist of the passage. It seems that reading the questions in the middle of the act of reading the text can also do the same function.

5. Conclusion

The present study sought to find out when readers should refer to the text-based questions in reading comprehension tests by comparing three strategies: reading the text prior to the questions, surveying the questions before reading the given text, and infixing the questions in the middle of the text.

Each strategy was tested three times. Results of the statistical calculations and verbal report substantiated the effectiveness of the infixing strategy. This can have a number of implications in the language teaching contexts.

Theoretically, it is held that the function of reading comprehension questions determines the position of these questions (Widdowson, 1985). If it is taken

as a rubric, as Widdowson argues, then it is expected that questions referring back to details and local comprehension can be inserted within the text. These questions are in contrast to 'gist' and 'upshot' questions (Widdowson, 1984, p. 46) which seem to be better situated at the end or before the text.

Theoretically speaking, application of the strategy of inserting the questions has a number of implications. That the strategy was more successful in comparison with other strategies implies that the theories behind each of them are collapsed. In pre-questions, just coping with the questions was the departure and focal point, which turned to be unreachable in testing as a strategy.

In reading the text prior to the questions, reading is defined as reciting and understanding the details of the text, which may or may not be addressed in the questions. Therefore, the way these strategies define reading comprehension is under question. On the other hand, the way these strategies wish to check reading comprehension is not that comprehensive and in harmony with human memory. To impose on the mind some questions in the foreign language or a lot of details relating to the text which are not known to the test taker whether they are of importance in the test or not, have led to the failure of the theories. Another point is related to the text length and the number of questions. It seems that if the text is shorter and the number of the questions is reduced, the application of these two strategies can be reviewed.

Infixing, as supported by the findings of this study, entails the merits of both of the strategies. Beginning to gain the needed information and background through reading the first part of the text embraces those cogent theories behind post – questions. Departing to questions in the second step supports some of what is behind pre – questions, and the reader gains familiarity with what and how he is supposed to perform. Meanwhile, he goes a step upper than each of these strategies. He answers the questions to check his understanding and takes a measure toward his own success to gain a better score.

6. Pedagogical implications

The results of the present study can have a number of practical implications. Teachers can print the questions in different positions of the text (before, after or within the text) to enhance their students' participation depending on the purpose for which the text is read. If they want their students to skim or

scan the text, then it seems infixing works best. That is, if the type of questions determines infixing or not, then we need to consider two points: a) usage reference questions should be inserted, b) questions aiming at global comprehension should come at the end of the passage.

This study focused on the selection of appropriate reading comprehension strategies. However, it suffered from a number of drawbacks. The texts used in this study were of narrative genre and this made conclusions less generalizable to other genres. Another limitation was the function and form of the questions which were only at literal and inference level with the multiple choice and short answer forms. Other forms and functions of reading comprehension questions were not included. And finally we conducted this study with only a sample of male high-school third graders majoring physics and mathematics in Iran. More studies are needed to be carried out with other groups of students at different levels. Until this is done, valid generalizations are very difficult to make.

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Appendix : Reading Comprehension Passages

Read the passage for seven minutes.

A motorist saw two men walking along a lonely country road very early in the morning. They were carrying heavy bags, so he at once called the police. A day before the police had told people, via the radio, TV, and newspapers, to help by giving information to catch the two thieves who had stolen bags of money in a train coming to the city. The police hurriedly arrived on the scene and caught them soon. They questioned the men but they could not speak English in reply.

They were taken to the police station. The men tried hard all the way to the station and kept shouting loudly and angrily at the police and but there was no use in that. When they arrived there, both men refused to say anything about the money they were looking for and simply pointed at their bags. The police opened them and then realized that they had made a terrible mistake. The men were French onion – sellers and their bags were full of onions to sell to the people of a nearby village! After that mistake, the police apologized and the men were free immediately.

haml kardan حمل کردن

Now answer the following questions. Write no more than three words for each answer.

1. What was there in the men's bags?
2. What was taken away of the train?

Choose the best answer.

3. The two men were taken to the station by
 - a. the motorist
 - b. the police
 - c. two Frenchmen
 - d. people of the village
4. The men were going to the village
 - a. on foot
 - b. by a motorbike
 - c. by the police car
 - d. by train

Survey the following questions for two minutes. Write no more than three words for each answer.

1. What made the road crowded?
2. Why didn't they enjoy the farm?

Choose the best answer.

3. To have a rest, they sat
 - a. in the car
 - b. at home
 - c. near the road
 - d. at the hill foot
4. Last August the weather was
 - a. hot
 - b. interesting
 - c. rainy
 - d. crowded

Now read the text for about seven minutes.

Nobody likes staying at home on a public holiday-especially if the weather is fine. Last August we decided to spend the day in the country, somewhat far away from our crowded city. The only difficulty was that millions of other people had exactly the same idea like ours. We moved out of the city slowly behind a long line of cars, but at last we came to a quiet road.

After some time, we stopped at a farm. We saw it the best place to be there. We brought plenty of food with us and we got it out of the car. Now everything was ready so we sat down near a path at the foot of a hill. It was very interesting to be in the cool grass-until after a short time we heard bells ringing at the top of the hill. What we saw made us pick up

our things and run back to the car as quickly as possible. There were about two hundred sheep coming towards us down the path!

gu:sfand

گوسفند

Read and answer the questions inserted in the middle of the passage.

My neighbor's children love playing hide-and-seek as all children do, but no one expected that a game they played last week would be reported in the newspaper.

One afternoon, they were playing in the street just outside the post-office. George, who was only five years old, found the best place to hide. His sister, Catty, had closed her

Write no more than three words for each answer.

1. Why did the boy go into the box?
2. How did the boy feel when he was in the box?

Choose the best answer.

3. When the boy went into the box his sister was
 - a. at home
 - b. in the post-office
 - c. playing hide-and-seek
 - d. buying a stamp
4. George was found by.
 - a. the post-man
 - b. the newspaper
 - c. the boy in the box
 - d. his sister

George climbed into the letter-box and pulled the door from inside so hard that it locked. Soon he realized what he had done, so he became very frightened and started crying. Catty was looking for him everywhere but could not find him. She was near the letter-box and heard her brother's cries. She immediately ran to tell the postman. George was now free, but

could not stop crying. The postman soon found a way of making him laugh again. He told him that next time when he wanted to be in the box, he should remember to stick a stamp on himself!

qayem 'bashak قایم باشک

Language planning for the Malay language in Malaysia since independence

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Language planning consists of corpus planning and status planning. Many post-colonial nations have undertaken some sort of language planning to ensure their national or official language is capable of meeting the challenges of the modern world. Malaysia is no exception. It has taken many steps to plan its national language, Malay, since independence. This paper attempts to look at these steps and fit them in Haugen's Revised Model for language planning. Using this model it was discovered that Malay went through the stages of Selection, Codification, Implementation and Elaboration since independence in 1957 until today but in no certain order. Language planning for Malay was not done in vacuum but was responsive to the political, economic and social climate of the nation as seen in the two phases of Nationalism and Pragmatism. Malaysia has also had to make concessions for English to access knowledge and to connect with the world. This calls for rethinking the roles of both Malay and English in Malaysia so both languages are used for the nation's benefit.

Keywords: Malaysia; Malay; language planning; corpus planning; status planning

1. Introduction

This paper attempts to look at language planning for the Malay language in Malaysia since independence in the two phases of Nationalism and Pragmatism (Gill, 2002) and see the steps taken via corpus planning and status planning to develop Malay during these phases.

Fishman et al. (1971, p. 293) defined language policy as the decisions taken by constituted organizations with respect to the functional allocation of codes within a speech community. In Malaysia such decisions are taken by the government that created language policies since independence in 1957. Before independence Malaysia had English as its official language. It was a privileged language and a domain of the educated few centered in urban areas. This made the bulk of people ignorant of English save as the language of the colonial masters and the elite as well as of economic and social mobility because it opened the door to better jobs and status in society. Malaysia

consisted of many ethnic groups that used different languages and interethnic interaction was more often in Malay than in English as it was the language of the largest ethnic group, the Malays (Asmah, 2004 & 1993).

Malaysia's language policies evolved in time via Nationalism and Pragmatism. These policies concern language planning that Kloss (Cited in Cobarrubias, 1983, p. 42) divided into corpus planning and status planning. Corpus planning is an internal function about creating new forms, modifying old forms or selecting alternative forms of a language be it in phonology, morphology, syntax or lexis (Cooper, 1989) while status planning is an external function about authoritative decisions to maintain, extend or restrict the range of uses of a language (Cooper, 1989). Both corpus planning and status planning are intertwined as seen in Haugen's (1983) Revised Model [See Table 1]. It consists of four steps that are "not necessarily successive, but may be simultaneous and cyclical" (Haugen, 1983, p. 270). This means that each step can be repeated and is used when the need arises.

Table 1:
Haugen's Revised Model (From Haugen, 1983)

	Form (Policy Planning)	Functions (Language Cultivation)
Society (Status Planning)	1. Selection (Decision Procedures)	3. Implementation (Educational Spread)
Language (Corpus Planning)	2. Codification (Standardization Procedures)	4. Elaboration (Functional Development)

Selection entails deciding which dialect or language is to be used while Codification gives explicit form to the selected dialect or language selected with graphization, grammaticalization and lexicalization (Haugen, 1983, pp. 270-272). Implementation concerns adopting and spreading the dialect or language selected and codified by individuals, institutions or governments and Elaboration is the continued implementation of norms to meet the functions of the modern world (Haugen, 1983, pp. 272-273).

2. Nationalism

This phase can be divided into two halves of 1957 to 1969 and 1970 to 2002 as done by Gill (2004). Nationalism with regards to language establishes the native language to enhance feelings of patriotism while decreasing the

importance of foreign languages (Gill, 2002, p. 37) and is common in newly independent nations (Gill, 2002).

2.1. The first half

This deals with the period from independence in 1957 until the racial riots of 1969.

Malaysia early on faced questions of language. Following Haugen's (1983) Revised Model, the first aspect the government considered was Selection. This disadvantaged English as it was not widely spoken and was directly linked to colonialism. To build and unite the nation, the vernacular language played an important role and had to be institutionalized (Safran, 2005). Malay was chosen because it was more practical as it would be easier to mobilize the masses through Malay that was the majority native language. The multiracial nature of Malaysia also motivated the government to institutionalize Malay to reduce the Malay's insecurities and avoid their marginalization as the Malays were not as economically advanced as the Chinese and Indians. Although it was selected as the official language, it was a language with many varieties. There was no standard Malay as Malaysia had never been under continuous or united native rule to foster it. That Johore-Riau Malay was chosen was not due to any inherent superiority or intrinsic features (Asmah, 2004) but due to historical and literary reasons that made it the most prestigious variety of Malay. Johore-Riau Malay was the language of the last Malay empire of Johore-Riau and was used for many great literary works (Asmah, 2004, p. 57). If the government wanted to do the same through English, it would first need to spread English and that would have consumed a lot of resources besides nationalist opposition.

Language policies were dictated from top to bottom or by the government to the people and were overtly manifest in the Constitution and the National Language Act. The Constitution (Part XII- Article 152) made Malay the national language but legislated English as an official language with Malay for 10 years after independence for Parliament, courts and official purposes. It proves the government wanted to ensure Malay's corpus and status were strong enough before it could replace English. These ten years would be exploited to increase the prestige of Malay via many steps in corpus planning and status planning. Malaysia doted on Malay as its economy was mostly dependent on agriculture and mining. Besides prices, these economic

activities depended on internal factors and insulated Malaysia from the world. These internal factors included people that need not use English for the economy to flourish as they were trading with commodities like tin ore or palm oil. As such there was minimal need for most Malaysians to communicate with the world that reduced to need for English. The Communist Insurgency and Emergency from 1948-1960 also favored Malay as a tool for national integration to increase nationalism against the communist menace while Malaysia's membership in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) distanced it from either capitalist or communist blocks. In this sheltered environment distance from English did not hamper the nation and was suitable to bolster the prestige of Malay.

Haugen's Implementation step was seen in the education system in the 1956 Razak Report, the 1960 Rahman Report and the 1961 Education Act as Malay became the medium of instruction (MOI) and English a subject in Malay, Mandarin and Tamil medium schools. The 1961 Education Act went further to dictate that Malay was to be used in tertiary education and be used as a language of science and technology. This went ahead of time as terminology creation was in its infancy and Malay was not able to take on more roles as it was a language of agriculture, literature and religion that was not yet ready for modern needs and wants.

Codification was important as Malay had two writing systems, different spelling rules and lacked modern vocabulary. Earlier British and Dutch enthusiasts had codified the language but now Malay was charged with the task of representing a new nation and its roles had increased. Even before independence, three Malay language congresses were held between 1952 and 1956 to reform and standardize Malay (Asmah, 1993) although it was short on results. Za'ba modified Wilkinson's 1904 Spelling System in 1924 that lasted until a new one was implemented in 1972. Article 6 of the 1959 'Treaty of Friendship Between the Federation of Malaya and the Republic of Indonesia' stipulated closer ties regarding language resulting in the 1959 Melindo Spelling but the Indonesian Confrontation of 1963-1966 disabled further development (Asmah, 2004).

Besides that, the decision to write Malay with Arabic script or Roman script in the end saw the Roman script adopted as it was more modern, easier to be learnt by non-Malays and paved the way to write Malay in the sciences (Asmah, 2004 & 1993). It also bolstered the prestige of Malay by making it

ready for the 20th century. Codification was fortified with the creation of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Institute of Language and Literature, DBP) in 1956 with the 1956 DBP Act, whose stated aims included corpus planning (Encourage right use, uniform pronunciation and spelling, create terminology) and status planning (Encourage wide use, build and enrich the national language) (DBP, 2007). Here, corpus planning was not separated from status planning, showing that early on the government realized one could not exist without the other. As a result, terminology creation was more structured with the birth of DBP's Terminology Guide to help coin new terms, mostly in the sciences, moving to Haugen's Elaboration step. However, around this time, there were two other terminology creation guides- General Guide to Create Malay Terminology and University Malaya's Terminology Guide (Asmah, 2004).

2.2. The second half

This deals with the period from the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1970 until a language policy shift in 2002.

The racial riots in 1969 inspired the NEP that aimed to eradicate poverty and restructure the economy, hence narrowing the economic and social gaps between the different ethnic groups in Malaysia. During this period industrialization boomed and the economy was boisterous with GDP above 6% save during economic slumps (EPU, 2002). Between 1980 and 2002, the economy saw a shift towards manufacturing and the services while the traditional engines of the Malaysian economy, agriculture and mining took a back seat (EPU, 2002). It was the time of Proton Saga, the national car (1985), Vision 2020, the national development aim (1991) and Measat, the national satellite (1996). This feel-good environment contributed to strengthen the language policies of the earlier period. Amendments were made to the Constitution and Sedition Act in 1971 to avoid questioning "sensitive" issues including language that disabled citizens from questioning language policies. This gave the government more leverage to dictate language policies towards the promotion of Malay. At the same time, Malay was a shadow figure in the private sector where legislation dared not venture, fearing investors would be turned away. As Nair-Venugopal (In Gill, 2005, p. 12) wrote, English was very much the "language of corporate business and industry, banking and finance". Malay was not a major language in the private sector, especially business and commerce. Being dominated by the British and Chinese before independence,

English or Chinese languages were more often used in this sector. This means that in this sector Malay's prestige was low while English's prestige was high despite nearly two decades of language planning.

Haugen's Implementation step was used to increase Malay's prestige in the 1970 New Education Policy to bolster Malay's place in the education system (Asmah, 2005). As a result, between 1970 and 1983 the education system was slowly converted to Malay with the exception of Chinese and Tamil medium primary schools (Pennycook, 1994). Notable also was the founding of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (National University of Malaysia, UKM) in 1970 that aimed to safeguard the sovereignty of Malay (UKM, 2008) by making it a language capable of shouldering the demands of tertiary education. However, Malaysia wanted to be a developed nation by 2020. Translation to Malay could not catch up with the output of knowledge in English notably in the sciences (Gill, 2002). To increase easier access to knowledge the government in 1993 decreed using English as MOI for 'science, engineering and medical courses in universities and colleges' (Gill, 2002, p. 110). This was followed in 1996 by amendments to the Education Act providing English as MOI for 'technical areas in post secondary courses' and amendments to the Private Higher Education Institutions Act providing English as MOI for 'courses which were provided through twinning arrangements with overseas institutions as well as offshore campuses' (Gill, 2002, p. 114). English conspicuously increased its prestige in the private education sector while in the public education sector Malay held sway, further bifurcating the nation's private sector into English dominant and the public sector into Malay dominant blocks.

Codification and Elaboration reached new heights with the birth of the Indonesian-Malaysian Language Council (MBIM) in 1972 that became the Brunei-Indonesian-Malaysian Language Council (MABBIM) in 1985. Among its triumphs was the 1972 New Malay Roman Spelling System to streamline Malay spelling in Indonesia and Malaysia, later adopted by Brunei and Singapore (Asmah, 2004). MABBIM also came up with a common framework for creating terminology called the 1975 General Guide to Create Terminology as well as the Specific Guide to Form Terminology for fields like the sciences (Asmah, 2004). Other MABBIM firsts was the Malay Dictionary for Brunei Malay/Indonesian/Malaysian Malay (Kamus Ungkapan Am Bahasa Melayu Brunei/Bahasa Indonesia/Bahasa Melayu Malaysia) in 1994 and numerous

glossaries and guides towards standardizing Malay in South East Asia. Within Malaysia, DBP published its famous Dewan Dictionary (Kamu Dewan) in 1970 and Dewan Grammar (Tatabahasa Dewan) in 1983, the golden references for Malay having three editions by 2002 and two editions by 1993 respectively. These steps strengthened Malay's prestige in Malaysia as it could now stand equal to English. More roles were demanded of it, notably with rampant modernization and the efforts in corpus planning made it seem capable to do so.

3. Pragmatism

This deals with the implementation of English for teaching and learning the sciences and mathematics in the education system in 2003 until the present. Pragmatism with regards to language is using a language to explain Malaysia's stand on various issues, showcase its abilities and products and to establish political, economic and social links with the world (Gill, 2002, p. 40)

When former Prime Minister Tun Mahathir Mohamed announced that from 2003 onwards the sciences and mathematics would be taught and learnt in English, it received many responses. Besides clearly increasing English's prestige it also divided many people into those who wanted to retain Malay and those who wanted to change to English for these subjects. As before, this was a language policy that was dictated from above. It differed in that it came directly from the Prime Minister and was quickly decided and implemented. It was ironic as it returned English as the medium of instruction (MOI) in the education system after it had been phased out during the Nationalism phase. Sudden changes are needed if the nation is to remain competitive and develop. As Gill (2002) writes, isolationist and protectionist policies would not have benefitted Malaysia. The rapid development of the sciences, primarily expressed in English meant Malay tried to play catch up with English during the last 50 years. It also saw ideology and language policy existing "at odds with the demands of economic and politics" (Pennycook, 2000, p. 49) because national ideology enthroned and defended Malay as the language for Malaysia but economic demands saw a growing need for English instead. During the earlier phase, politics would have won but globalization coupled with pragmatism meant that it was time for an honest reevaluation of language policy. It was also meant to repair the gap between the ethnic groups as the Malay dominant public sector used mostly Malay while the non-Malay dominant private sector used mostly English. The change to English for

the sciences and mathematics meant Malaysians in the future would be able to master English and avoid further economic disparities that the NEP tried hard to overcome. The nature of globalization meant equipping a nation with new competencies so it can meet new challenges (Gill, 2002). The Malaysian Industrial Development Authority (MIDA) claims:

The next 10 years will see a greater emphasis on human resource enhancement as availability of skilled and knowledge workers is a major prerequisite to transform Malaysia from a production-based into a knowledge-based economy.

A knowledge-based economy was connected to the world and the world was mostly connected in English. In Malaysia this meant viewing English in a new light. It was no longer the colonial and oppressive language but a natural and neutral tool for self-empowerment that need not cannibalize Malay or other native languages (Pennycook, 2000). The corpus planning and status planning since 1957 contributed to narrowing the gap between English and Malay. As seen above Malay had been modernized since independence and could enter the domains English dominated earlier. Yet Malay was not a global language and Malaysia needed one if it wanted to link itself with the world. It needed a paradigm shift that Fishman (In Phillipson, 2000, p. 101) called a reconceptualization, from “being an imperialist tool to being a multinational tool”. It was about using English’s global prestige for national benefit. At the same time, some saw this as linguistic imperialism where English had become the dominant language in the world and would endanger other languages. It was not so in the Malaysian case. The solution proposed here is akin to the views of Safran (2005) and Graddol (1997). They saw English as the language for international communication with Malay and native languages for regional and interethnic communication. Such “functional differentiation” (Safran, 2005, p. 12) was what Malaysia followed, using Malay for internal, national purposes and English for external, international purposes. This was seen with Malay used for the public sector and in the Malay Archipelago and English from the ASEAN level upwards.

Regarding corpus planning and status planning for English, Malaysia inherited British English and it was seen as the golden standard. There was thus no need for Haugen’s Selection and Codification steps as the language was taken as it is. Local changes in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis resulted in Malaysian English that ranges along a continuum from standard to

non-standard forms (See Baskaran, 2005). From 2003 onwards, English as MOI for the sciences and mathematics fit Haugen's Implementation step while Elaboration was seen in the creation of materials for teaching and learning, (re)training teachers and evaluating the change. From 2003 students in the first year of primary and secondary schools began learning the sciences and mathematics in English (Gill, 2002, p. 118). Status planning for English was not done- it was superfluous as its position was recognized. Corpus planning went so far as to localize content and familiarize teachers and students with the new MOI. For Malay, corpus planning continued, albeit at a slower rate. The fourth edition of Kamus Dewan was published in 2006 and MABBIM summits continue. During the 2002 summit, it was noted that despite their hard work, only 35% of terminology was similar between Indonesian and Malay (Brunei and Malaysian) (Asmah, 2004, p. 160). Malay as a regional language was MABBIM's aim but Asmah (2004, p. 168) notes that standardization can only happen at the formal level of language while the informal level of language would always be suspect to local contexts in the three nations. Despite this, Asmah (2004, p. 170) claims mutual intelligibility between the varieties in Brunei, Indonesia and Malaysia is high- up to 70%.

4. Conclusion

It is clear that Malaysia's language planning is not monolithic. It has been responsive to political, economic and social considerations. Using Haugen's (1983) Revised Model, it is noted that each step was encountered in the two phases but in no particular order. Each was used when the need was there. This Revised Model is apt for the Malaysian scenario as it proves corpus planning and status planning are linked and cannot be separated from each other as said by Cooper (1989).

Table 2:

Haugen's (1983) Revised Model's Steps in Relation to the Periods of Malaysia's Language Policy

Period	Haugen's Steps
Nationalism- 1 st Half	1, 2, 3
Nationalism- 2 nd Half	2, 3, 4
Pragmatism	3, 4

Besides that, Malay has received more corpus planning and status planning as it was in a low position while English was in a high position. To reverse this diglossia more attention was spent on Malay. It must also be remembered that English already had a reputable corpus and status inherited from the British so Malaysia had no pressing need to work on it although it has been and is being nativized. Both English and Malay must be seen in new light and both must be used for the improvement of the nation. Of note also are the top-down methods for language policy implementation in Malaysia. This trend does not seem to change. Despite this it is the citizens who experience the results of language policies in their daily lives. The corpus planning and status planning present in the two phases affected them most. Each has contributed to the state of languages in Malaysia's linguistic field today.

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Acquisition of grammar through comprehensible input versus explicit instruction

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This paper examines the significance of acquired grammar through comprehensible input and the value of learned grammar through explicit instruction. Acquisition of grammar through listening and reading will enable learners to apply it intuitively in the actual language use without paying conscious attention to forms of the language. Learning grammar through explicit instruction will take up massive amounts of students' time and mental energy and they may not be able to apply the learned rules in the actual performance. The data, collected through a test on grammar and through discussions, revealed that performance of the learners in the test was on a par with their exposure to aural and written input and their acquired competence. Therefore, it is suggested that if the time spend on learning conscious rules is used for acquiring language through input, learners can acquire a great deal of language and they can incidentally acquire grammar while they are exposed to repetitive comprehensible input.

Keywords: Language acquisition; Explicit instruction; Comprehension hypothesis; Acquired knowledge; Acquired competence.

1. Introduction

Second language learners acquire grammar incidentally, when they are engaged in language acquisition through aural and written comprehensible input. If they concentrate more on the meaning of what they are learning, they can acquire a great deal of language and instead if they engage more with forms of the language, they will get only little experience with language acquisition. Acquisition, in contrast to learning, of grammar through comprehensible input enables learners to apply it intuitively in the actual performance and in grammar tests but consciously learned grammar through explicit instruction has a very limited contribution in the actual language use and in a test-like performance.

2. Acquisition of grammar

Several studies in second language confirm that grammar can be acquired through comprehensible aural and written input. The comprehension hypothesis of Krashen (2004) claims that knowledge of grammar and vocabulary is acquired through listening and reading. The writing style and the spelling competence are the result of reading. Murphy and Hastings (2006) claim that learning conscious rules of grammar will take up massive amounts of students' time and mental energy. Therefore, the natural process, for which the human brain is adapted through ages of evolution, is the only practical way for them to gain proficiency. Rodrigo (2006) experimented grammar can be acquired incidentally, if learners are given exposure to input through listening and reading. Ray (2005) claims that language structures can be acquired through repetitive exposure to comprehensible input. Therefore, learners need to be given a great deal of input for acquiring a language. Generally, students learning a second language, get rare opportunities to use the language outside classrooms. In such a context, teachers may inculcate in the learners the habit of reading books, watching films and comic strips and listening to stories outside classrooms. This will give them confidence to acquire the language autonomously. If they become autonomous acquirers, they will understand that language acquisition comes from a great deal of comprehensible input and they will learn that they can acquire the knowledge of grammar incidentally while being exposed to input. The acquisition of grammar through comprehensible input is a pleasurable experience than learning grammar through instruction. It will also create a long-term effect on learners.

3. METHOD

The study is based on the hypothesis that second language learners acquire grammar incidentally when they are exposed to considerable amounts of comprehensible input in the target language. Acquired, as opposed to learned, grammar will produce superior results in the actual language use and while taking grammar tests.

3.1. Participants

The data was collected from a heterogeneous group of first year undergraduate students from different disciplines of an Engineering college affiliated to Anna University, India through a test on grammar and through

formal and informal discussions on their learning experience in ESL classes. The participants were intermediate students who had learnt conscious rules of grammar through explicit instruction for eight years. The students were divided into three categories based on the input they received in the target language.

- Category 1** This category of students had the habit of reading books in the target language. They had their education through English medium schools.
- Category 2** These students studied in English medium schools but they did not have reading habit.
- Category 3** This category of students studied their subjects in the native language. They had chances of learning English as a second language only in the English hours.

The subjects of the first category had considerable exposure to aural and written comprehensible input in the target language. They could present their thoughts in English, if asked to perform on a task. As they have reading habit, they become autonomous acquires of the target language. The second category of students received less input when compared with the first. Since they studied their subjects in English, they got chances of learning the language for five hours a day on all working days. The third category had little exposure to input and they had only little experience with language acquisition.

3.2. The data

The students were asked to take a test on grammar concerning the application of rules of grammar. Table 1 displays the results.

Table 1.
The Data Obtained from the Test for Three Student Categories

	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
N	15	29	16
Score range	67.5-95	40 - 70	12.5 - 40
Mean	77.50	57.93	26.09
SD	7.79	10.02	29.57

3.3. Findings and inferences

The first category of the students scored between 67.5% and 95% of marks. Two-thirds of the students from this category read stories, novels and comic books. One-third of them had a great deal of interest in their studies and they spent massive amounts of their time in reading prescribed texts. When asked, if they used the rules of grammar while taking this test. Only four students said they rarely thought of rules when answering a few questions. Others responded that they did not apply rules. Here, the students intuitively used the acquired knowledge of grammar while taking the test and not the explicit rules of grammar.

Subjects of the second category scored between 40% and 70% correct on this test. The students said they applied rules while taking this test. Even if they said they applied conscious rules of grammar, their performance in this test was on a par with their acquired competence or grammar and their exposure to comprehensible input in the target language.

Students of the third category scored only between 12.5% and 40% of marks. These students had little chance to acquire the language through comprehensible input. They learnt the language only one hour a day, that is, in ESL classes, at school. Most of the time in these classes, they listened to lectures of teachers in their native language. They memorize chunks of ideas to get through the examination. They rote learn rules of grammar and they use keywords to answer questions on grammar in test. For example, if words such as tomorrow, next week, next month etc., occur in a sentence, they are instructed to use future tense. This type of instruction has misguided them. One-fourth of these students said that they did not apply rules. It is both because they have not acquired enough language to apply rules and because they do not know the meaning of the rules they have memorized.

The performance of the three categories of the students was on a par with their comprehensible input they received during their school days but not on the explicit instruction of the rules of grammar, they received at schools. The students who responded that they applied rules did not excel in this test.

4. Difficulties in applying conscious rules of grammar

Instructed rules of grammar will benefit learners only when they use them in actual language use. If second language performers find it difficult to appeal

to conscious knowledge of rules while taking grammar tests then they may not be able to appeal to them when they are engaged in reading and writing. Any learned rules of grammar can be used while performing only when learners take conscious effort. Generally, students focus on meaning of what they are conveying and not on forms of the language while speaking and writing. They think about the forms only when they are taking a grammar test. Application of rules even when taking grammar tests has several limitations. Students do not have an understanding of the terminology of rules of grammar and eventually they memorize rules without knowing the meaning in the real sense. The explicit grammar instruction given to students does not focus on making them learn all the rules of grammar. Students do not learn all the instructed rules and they do not recollect and apply all of them even when they are taking grammar tests. The students who feel that they apply rules in a test-like performance are not aware of the fact that they learn only the simplified rules that do not explain complex structures of a language.

Hastings and Murphy claim (2006) that there are many drawbacks of the content in the grammar textbooks prescribed to the students learning English as a second language. The textbooks used for teaching grammar attempt to make the material simple enough to be teachable. If the students learn such rules and apply them in their writings, they will eventually produce incorrect forms and if textbooks attempt to explain the rules of grammar completely, learning the concepts and terminology of grammar will take up a lot of students' time and learning will become more complex and tedious.

In spite of the difficulties in learning rules of grammar and applying the learned rules during the production of the language, why does the delusion of learning a second language through explicit grammar instruction continue to exist? The reasons are:

- To fulfill the requirements of the education system, students learn the rules of grammar. Grammar is given undue importance in ESL syllabus and consequently, students are forced to learn conscious rules to get through the examinations.
- Teaching is focused on to make learners understand the structures of different types of sentences through explicit grammar instruction

despite the fact that students could not use them in their actual performances.

- Learners are trained to learn rules of grammar to make them acquire language in a short span of time in spite of the fact that language acquisition is a long-term process.
- The practice of learning grammar is an entrenched habit accepted by the students and the teachers. The natural approach of teaching and learning a language with little or no grammar is a suspect. (Murphy & Hastings, 2006).

5. Consciously learned grammar for monitoring and error corrections

Despite the limitations of learning explicit rules of grammar, learning and teaching of grammar is not a forbidden one. Learning grammar through explicit instruction can be used for monitoring and editing the output of the acquired language. Krashen (1981) claims “utterances are initiated by the acquired system. Our fluency in production is based on what we have ‘picked up’ through active communication. Our ‘formal’ knowledge of the second language, our conscious learning may be used to alter the output of the acquired system, sometimes before and sometimes after the utterance is produced”. Therefore, if explicit grammar instruction is given to the beginners and the intermediate learners, who have not acquired enough language, they cannot use the learned rules in the actual performances. If the rules are taught to the advanced learners who have already acquired a great deal of language, they can use the rules to alter the output of the acquired language. However, they must be given procedural training to evaluate and to alter the output of the language through error correction exercises and through communicative practice. This will enable learners to internalize the conscious knowledge of the rules to fill the gaps of the output of the acquired language and not for acquiring language. If they do not internalize the explicitly learned rules through procedural training, they may not be able to use the rules for monitoring and error corrections.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, learning grammar through explicit instruction cannot beat the natural process of acquiring grammar through comprehensible input.

Acquired, as opposed to learned, grammar will enable learners to apply it intuitively in the actual performance without paying conscious attention to forms. Therefore, learners need to spend a great deal of time in listening and reading rather than spending more time on learning explicit rules of grammar. Learners can acquire the knowledge of grammar through comprehensible input.

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