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linguisticsj@yahoo.com

Editors: Dr. Paul Robertson and Dr. Joseph Jung
Senior Associate Editor: Dr. John Adamson
Production Editor: Darren Lingley

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Foreword

Welcome to the first edition of *The Linguistics Journal*. It is our pleasure to publish four articles which have gone through a vigorous editorial procedure. I would like to thank those authors and editors who have in the last few months worked hard together to attain a standard of which we are proud. I especially use the word "together" because there is a strong ethos in this Journal of editors and authors working together in collaboration. This has been the policy at *Asian EFL Journal* and will continue to be so at *The Linguistics Journal*.

The opening op.ed. article published in this first edition has been written by Dr. Roger Nunn, from The Petroleum Institute in the UAE, an insightful study of the practical use of pragmatics in the EFL classroom. This is an essential reminder of the "applied" nature of much of linguistics. The second article comes from Drs. Jamshidiha and Marefat from the University of Tehran who look at first language attrition among Persian speakers of English, comparing Persian monolinguals with early and late bilinguals. The third article is from Dr. Farood Sepassi and Mr. Marzban at Azad University, Shiraz who present a fascinating quantitative study of anaphor resolution. Finally, Mr. Hamid Allami from Yazd University, Iran, investigates the concept of "griping" among Iranian students.

I hope you enjoy these first four studies in *The Linguistics Journal*. We look forward to any feedback you may have and hope you will view the site as a valuable academic source. Your own contributions are always welcome.

John Adamson, Ed.D.
Senior Associate Editor

The Pragmatics of Cooperation and Relevance for Teaching and Learning

Roger Nunn

Petroleum Institute, UAE

Education draws on such a broad range of theories and practices that important pragmatic theories based on the philosophy of language such as Grice's theory of cooperation (1975) and Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory (1995) have not always been considered essential even for language teachers. McCarthy (1991, p. 2), for example, in his introduction to discourse analysis for language teachers, finds no place for Grice, classifying Gricean pragmatics as intrinsically interesting, but "of little practical adaptability to the language teaching context", adding that, over a ten-year period, he has "never met an occasion where the maxims could be usefully applied." In contrast, as a teacher of languages for over thirty years in many different countries and contexts, I have come to see pragmatics, including Gricean pragmatics, as *an* essential if not *the* essential discipline for teachers to understand both what they are teaching and what is happening in their classrooms. As a discipline concerned, "not with language as a system or product *per se*, but rather with the interrelationship between language form, (communicated) messages and language users" (Oatey and Zegarac in Schmitt, 2002, p. 74), it is difficult to see pragmatics as irrelevant to a profession so centrally and essentially concerned with people, language and language use. Teaching and learning are always mediated through language, so theories of communication, precisely expressed by those trained philosophers who have turned their attention to the practical use of language, could arguably be of intrinsic interest to all teachers. For *language* teachers, however, they are of relevance not only for insights into the process of teaching and learning through communication but also for a consideration of what is being taught.

This discussion, instead of asking whether such important theories of communicative practice are applicable, will directly address *how* they are applicable. It will be necessary to adopt a dual approach considering both what is taught in language lessons and how language is taught through classroom communication.

Pragmatics is doubly applicable to language teaching, because classroom language teaching is an occupation which essentially uses language in a social context to promote the learning and teaching of language for use in social contexts. As the discipline par excellence which considers why communication often fails and how it can be more successful, pragmatics is a central competence to teach students who will use language outside the classroom *and* to teach teachers who will mediate its use for learning inside the classroom. English language teaching must now increasingly consider the ever-increasing variety of contexts in which speakers across the globe are learning and using English. Theories of practice that shed light on how language is used in context and how people negotiate understanding, however different they may be in ability, culture and status are essential to our professional understanding.

Theories of communication can always be put to double use by language teachers. During the so-called communicative era, communicative theory sometimes tended to be applied only to the content of language lessons, to what teachers taught and students learnt. But, retrospectively, we can now see that the language teaching profession could usefully have made more use of this theory to examine its own process. Hymes' theory of communication always had two potential applications to language teaching. Hymes' (1971) work on communicative competence was cited in influential papers on the communicative approach, such as the collection of papers edited by Brumfit and Johnson, (1979) This was influential, in theory at least, in changing the emphasis of what we teach, from teaching language as a self-contained grammatical system towards teaching language for use in social contexts. Hymes' ethnolinguistic essays on language and education (1980), although less frequently cited, were potentially just as relevant as they applied the theory of communication to innovation and interaction in the language classroom, which is itself a social context. Paradoxically, by applying the theory of communication itself to classroom analysis, Hymes' theory can easily be used to support ethnolinguistic studies which indicate that a so-called communicative approach is not suited to all contexts (see Nunn, 1999, for example).

Similarly, in spite of the increase in interest in pragmatics, we should not see the discipline merely as another dimension of competence for linguistics educators to teach and test. Pragmatics has much, possibly more, to tell us about communication

in the educational contexts where so many of us spend so much of our lives communicating and where communication is of the essence. In this brief discussion, I shall consider Gricean pragmatics and relevance theory in relation to pedagogical communication in general and not just to language teaching.

Grice's maxims, which were never intended to be seen as a set of rules to be obeyed, could arguably still serve as useful guiding principles for teachers. Teachers, or students, as normal human beings, deliberately flout them, or unwittingly violate them, but it is still useful to have them there as a point of reference. If we draw on our experience as students ourselves, as classroom researchers/observers and especially as practitioners in our own classrooms, the following table could form a useful checklist for much of what can go wrong in classroom communication. Deliberate and frequent flouting of the maxim of quality, through, for example, a teacher's sarcasm, may become a norm which helps to define the maxim of quality in a particular situation. Experienced teachers could usefully make conscious attempts to self-observe, applying Grice's maxims to their spoken communication with students and might also want to consider them as means of making written communication more efficient. This brief editorial opinion paper will not attempt to provide an exhaustive list of applications, but to name but a few obvious applications that could have wide-reaching consequences, teachers' language use when giving instruction or their contributions to classroom interaction can easily be considered in terms of the maxims of quantity and manner. The maxim of quality is very pertinent to teachers' attempts to provide spontaneous explanations of grammar in that such explanations tend to "lack adequate evidence".

Conversational Maxims (Grice 1975, p. 45)

Quantity	Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange). Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
Quality	Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
Relation	Be relevant
Manner	Be perspicuous. Avoid obscurity of expression.

	Avoid ambiguity. Be brief. (Avoid unnecessary prolixity). Be orderly.
--	---

The full potential of theories of implicature to both the content of teaching and the process of communicating with students in ELT has yet to be fully exploited, but there is evidence of a growing awareness of the practical applications of pragmatics to ELT. Gabrielatos (2002, cited online), for example, draws on Gricean maxims to propose general solutions to problems common to the classroom. For learners who “may communicate unintended messages through being over/under-explicit or using the wrong register, although they are grammatically accurate” he suggests:

- Avoiding asking learners to be (over) explicit at all times.
- Training learners in understanding the amount of information the listener/reader needs or expects.

White (2001) provides a detailed description of a course design based on Gricean maxims, showing how the maxims of *spoken* interaction can be applied to the teaching of *writing*. The qualities White refers to - clarity, brevity, relevance and sincerity - are arguably usefully considered by any writers, even if maxims are made to be flouted by skilled users. This is an interesting application, because writing often tends to be more efficient than speech and Grice’s theory as well as relevance theory might seem to be almost more suited to issues of efficient written communication. Brown and Yule’s distinction between transactional and interactional language (1983, pp. 2-3) is of interest here. Transactional language is used to convey “factual or propositional information” and has the primary purpose of “the efficient transference of information”. They use “primarily” to imply that there are multiple purposes in communication. Interactional language, by contrast, is used “to establish and maintain social relationships”. As Brown and Yule point out, “It is clearly the case that a great deal of everyday human interaction is characterised by the primarily interpersonal rather than the primarily transactional use of language.”

The emphasis on “cooperation” clearly signals the relevance of Gricean pragmatics to classroom learning. The communication between students and teachers involves

both transactional and interpersonal language, the latter being particularly important with regard to establishing the kind of interpersonal relationship that will enable educational transactions to take place in an atmosphere of cooperation and motivation. Grice's (1989, p. 26) characterization of "cooperation" – "each participant recognizes in them [talk exchanges], to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction" – could be seen as an essential requirement of classroom discourse. The wording of the principle of cooperation is sufficiently flexible to be applicable to different genres of communication, including classroom communication:

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. (Grice 1975, p. 45)

However, useful the maxims may appear as a set of "rules" of good conduct, it is vital to keep reminding ourselves that Grice's maxims are not rules and are only part of a much broader theory about the inferential process. They are subordinated to the principle of cooperation which is itself only one constituent of a theory which is essentially about implicature in an inferential process. This process requires consideration of the following:

(1) the conventional meaning of the words used, together with the identity of any references that may be involved; (2) the Co-operative Principle and its maxims, (3) the context, linguistic and otherwise, of the utterance; (4) other items of background knowledge; and (5) the fact (or supposed fact) that all relevant items falling under the previous headings are available to both participants and both participants know or assume this to be the case. (1989, p. 31).

Just like in other contexts, maxims of varying kinds applied to the relationship between a teacher and students exist in a complex relationship with each other and are all subordinated to the broadly defined principle of co-operation and influence the process of conversational implicature, the way interlocutors achieve or don't achieve understanding. Further maxims related to social harmony such as "be polite" are accepted by Grice. They conflict with the four maxims associated with the efficient transfer of information, such as the maxims of quality or relevance. When the preservation of social relationships conflicts with the maxims of quality, quantity or manner, which make transactional communication more efficient, this does not discredit the co-operative paradigm. Such clashes can be seen as essential and normal

features of the communication process leading to useful and necessary inferences, requiring us to balance efficiency with social skill. A teacher who is merely an efficient communicator is unlikely to be a successful motivator of students, just as a teacher who emphasizes social skills alone is unlikely to inspire real achievement.

In the following sample of classroom discourse recorded in a secondary school English class in the Middle East, the teacher (T) uses multiple elicitations, a very common feature of his classroom contributions. This leads to a chorus of bids to contribute from students (SS). The local teacher was criticised for this in post lesson analysis by a western teacher trainer.

T Why?
Why did he send this letter to Farouk Mousa?

SS (teacher teacher)

T Yes, Raad?

S To help his son.

T To help his son, very good, to help his son.
With what?
What does his son need?
What does he need?
(teacher...teacher)
Come on.
The rest. What does he need?
What does Jim need?

Yes? Yes?
He needs...

S some money

T some money. Very good.

Who can tell me again? Telex no 1
What's the main point in telex no 1?
Some of the main points?

Er what have you got from telex no 1 again?
What have you got from telex ...what is it about, telex no 1?
Ha? Telex no 1 ... what is it about?

An analysis of this technique of multiple elicitation, often delivered during this lesson in a declamatory style, can be considered in terms of Grice's maxims of quantity and manner and it is all too easy for an outsider to conclude that there is too much "teacher talk" and repetition and that the teacher could usefully consider the maxim of manner "be brief". But quantity and manner also need to be considered in terms of Grice's Principle to which the maxims are subordinated. Considering the wording of the principle, which refers to making contributions "such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange" might lead to a different conclusion. The "accepted purpose" is difficult to assess but is deducible from the observed effect in the discourse, which is eager crescendos of bidding from the students and very broad participation from all corners of a very large class. Grice also requires us to consider "context, linguistic and otherwise" and other features of the background situation, including the cultural context in which the discourse is embedded. At this "stage in the discourse" the teacher is observably trying to obtain broader participation. This was a mixed ability class of more than forty students, so there might be other pedagogical reasons in the context that require the teacher to override an outsider's view of appropriate quantity and brevity. The declamatory style was also arguably appropriate to the cultural context. However, this is not to say that this teacher might not usefully be asked to consider his own discourse non-judgementally in terms of the principle and its maxims. Further research with other teachers in the same context indicated that this teachers' elicitation style, in terms of both quantity and manner, was atypical. Grice's maxims are not rules to follow blindly, but they do provide the reflective teacher with a useful means of critically examining his or her own interactive behaviour. All teachers can benefit from an external means of re-assessing something that is such an essential component of their daily practice.

While "cooperation" will always be a useful concept for educators, Sperber and Wilson (1995) consider that the maxim of "relevance" is not given enough importance and promote it to a superordinate concept. This focus sometimes appears too narrow, and requires us to acquire a number of concepts which at first sight seem to favour rather opaque jargon, such as "mutual manifest assumptions" or "ostension". But relevance theory is well worth the "processing effort", because it is about much more than "relevance". It contains many insights into the necessary conditions for acquiring

knowledge through communication, which are central to the teaching-learning process.

Sperber and Wilson (1995, p. vii) suggest that “individuals must focus their attention on what seems to them to be the most relevant information available”. This is necessary to be as efficient as possible using the smallest possible processing effort. The most efficient communication produces maximum effects with the least possible processing effort. To ensure that classroom communication responds to the requirements of relevance, teachers need to make assumptions about their students’ present state of knowledge. Teachers always feel that what they are teaching is ‘relevant’, but students may perceive the processing effort as too large. This not just a question of “effort” in terms of motivation and commitment. It is also a question of a student’s conceptual and psychological readiness to take on new assumptions. When new assumptions are presented, they need to be perceived as relevant. In terms of relevance theory, teachers perform acts of ‘ostension’, making new knowledge or assumptions ‘manifest’ to students. Acts of ‘ostension’ provide new information not previously available but intended to be optimally relevant.

Relevance theory is a theory of practice and admits what most teachers instinctively know. Making something available or ‘manifest’ does not guarantee it will be learnt by students. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) “a phenomenon is relevant to an individual if and only if one or more of the assumptions it makes manifest is relevant to him.” To be relevant, ‘new’ information or assumptions have to combine with known information or assumptions to produce “contextual effects” (1995, p. 108). Importantly a ‘context’ for Sperber and Wilson (1995) is “a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer’s assumptions about the world.” If students perceive no relevant link, even the most motivated and willing students are not able to learn. The student needs to believe that the teacher has not been obscure. New information, if perceived as relevant, may have two effects: it may lead students to modify or even abandon old assumptions. However, new information may also support and therefore strengthen old assumptions.

The “degree of confidence” we have in our assumptions influence our learning behaviour. ‘Assumptions’ are defined by Sperber and Wilson (1995, p. 2) as

“thoughts treated by the individual as representations of the actual world”. Perception is not directly connected to an objectively determined actual state of the world but to assumptions about the world. Education has the obvious aim of developing and improving these assumptions. Providing teachers and students reach a level of communication which meets mutual perceptions of relevance, the real business of educational improvement may begin.

Improvements in our representation of the world can be achieved not only by adding justified new assumptions to it, but also by appropriately raising or lowering our degree of confidence in them, the degree to which we take them to be confirmed. (p. 76)

Teachers are often aware that students place too much confidence in underdeveloped assumptions. An important implication of relevance theory is that the teacher needs to improve awareness about the students’ starting assumptions.

While what appears above might seem mainly theoretical, Grice’s maxims and relevance theory can be built into educational activities of all kinds in a very practical way. (For detailed discussion, see Nunn, 2003 which outlines an instructional procedure for practising and analysing intercultural negotiation, in simulated situations in which high level of awareness of assumptions about common knowledge are of central importance to performance.)

A brief example of how to build in relevance checks into an offshoot of the traditional lecture adapted to content-based language teaching, in the form of a mini-lecture is provided below. Grice’s maxims can be applied quite naturally to the delivery of a lecture. The collaborative note-taking print (Nunn and Lingley, 2004) in the table below illustrates one means of checking its relevance. Students use the print to consolidate lecture material with a partner, but the teacher also collects the prints to assess the relevance of the overall lecture. Relevance in this case includes but is not limited to comprehension. Applying Grice’s broader theory of implicature and the aspects of relevance theory discussed above also require us to consider other important variables embodied in the inferential process that underlie the delivery and reception of (mini)lectures in addition to the issue of student perception/understanding of lectures, such as the lecture’s awareness and adaptation to students’ L1 culture of

learning/teaching, student expectations and what the students bring to the class themselves.

Collaborative Note-taking Print (adapted from Nunn and Lingley, 2004)

You	Your Partner
Mini-Lecture title:	Mini-Lecture title:
Main points of the lecture:	Main points of the lecture:
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
New information:	New information:
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Questions/comments:	Questions/comments:
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Self-assessment:	Self-assessment:
General ability to understand the lecture	General ability to understand the lecture
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Relevance;	Relevance;
Which information was the most relevant?	Which information was the most relevant?
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Was any information irrelevant to you?	Was any information irrelevant to you?
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

This brief paper has considered the applications of just one theory based on the philosophy of language. Teachers can benefit from the precision and rigour provided by trained philosophers such as Grice or Sperber and Wilson as an aid to understanding and operationalizing key concepts such as “relevance” and “cooperation” that are commonly used but rarely precisely defined. As Lowe (2004) points out, theory that informs practice based on the philosophy of language provides a useful tool for the reflective language teacher, and is currently an underexploited resource. This brief discussion has attempted to outline the relevance of pragmatic theory to educational discourse, suggesting that it encourages educators to pay greater attention to the educational process as an essentially cooperative activity, “cooperation” in this sense being rigorously defined in terms of transactional maxims and interactional principles.

While it might be argued that it is obvious that teachers need to be “relevant”, and all teachers are aware of this, “relevance” is defined in pragmatics well beyond the conventional “lay sense” of the term. It is an abstract concept and a difficult one to pin down and operationalize. A detailed awareness of the pragmatic meaning of relevance precisely defined within a coherent theory of communication can provide important insights into how to provide the kind of classroom activities and tasks that are both of practical interest and based on a sound theory of communicative practice. Whereas theories of communication have commonly been applied to the content of language courses, they have less commonly been applied to the process of education, which is always mediated through language.

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L1 Persian Attrition

Hamideh Jamshidiha & Hamideh Marefat

University of Tehran, Iran

Abstract

This study aims at investigating first language attrition in Persian speakers of English as L2. Three groups are compared: Persian monolinguals, early bilinguals and late bilinguals. An acceptability judgment test is used in which the test sentences consist of pairs of sentences each of which follow either the English structure or the Persian structure in three syntactic areas of relative clause, adverb position and pro-dropping which constitute three main areas of syntactic differences between Persian and English. The results revealed that the type and degree of L1 attrition that early bilingual speakers undergo is different compared to late bilinguals and the degree of L1 education conditions attrition. The implication is that age of L2 acquisition has a major influence on how bilinguals represent their L1: late bilinguals often retain a large amount of underlying competence in their first language while early bilinguals lose it more quickly.

Introduction

The notion of language attrition has been a topic of investigation for more than three decades. It attracted the attention of language researchers in the late 1970's and subsequently the inaugural conference on *Attrition of Language Skills* at the University of Pennsylvania (Upenn) in 1980 was a turning point for research in this field. Before the conference, 'language loss' was used to refer to pathological disorders such as aphasia, or language disorders caused by tumors, strokes, or traumas to the head (Smith & Wilson, 1979, Yağmur, 2004). This conference was a starting point for further research and conferences that probed into the process of language loss as a non-pathological disorder from many other perspectives.

From a non-pathological perspective, the idea of language loss first rose with reference to foreign language students who had spent an enormous amount of time learning a second language but subsequently lost it as time passed. The study of first language attrition began in the early 1980's with Richard D. Lambert's interest in language loss. As one of the organizers of the inaugural UPenn conference and co-editor of the following conference volume by Lambert & Freed (1982), Lambert was a pioneer in steering attention to the language loss that happens so often among

bilinguals or those who have knowledge of more than two languages. Lambert & Freed's publication shed light on many issues regarding first and second language loss from different perspectives. It probed into issues such as language shift, language death, pathological language loss, social and political influential factors as well as methodological issues. It served as a guideline for further research.

Fascinated with the UPenn conference, many other scholars contributed to the field of language loss. At the turn of the millennium, workshops on L1 attrition were organized at international conferences at the Second Language Research Forum 2000 in Madison, Wisconsin by Dorit Kaufman in addition to the third International Symposium on Bilingualism in Bristol, 2001, by Agnes Bolonyai.

Papers and publications on language attrition and the divergent methods of data collection, sampling and instrumentation called for a framework that was distinct from language learning. The efforts paved the way for a taxonomical framework proposed by Van Els (1986) within which language attrition research would be conducted. The framework was established in terms of the language that is lost (L1 & L2) and the environment (L1 & L2). The taxonomy is as follows:

L1 loss in L1 environment (aging, dialect loss)

L1 loss in L2 environment (loss of L1 by immigrants)

L2 loss in L1 environment (loss of L2)

L2 loss in L2 environment (loss of L2 by aging immigrants)

Attrition from different perspectives

The notion of attrition has been defined by scholars from a variety of perspectives in fields such as linguistics, psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics or sociolinguistics. Depending on their perspective, researchers study patterns of language loss in various populations including aphasia, dementia, healthy aging, bilingual and multilingual speakers. Attrition was primarily studied from a pathological perspective in people with aphasia but later the term was extended to cover the non-pathological cases of language loss. From a non-pathological perspective, primary language attrition refers to the loss of language abilities of non-disordered individuals in an L2 environment (Altenberg & Vago, 2004).

Language attrition has been used in the study of language loss in the context of bilingualism (Goral, 2004). Accordingly, certain components of language are more vulnerable to loss than others (Lambert & Freed, 1982, Seliger & Vago, 1991). In a bilingual setting language loss can be manifested as L1 or L2 loss. Some researchers view attrition in the light of a reduction in individual's abilities, usually measured expressively in his/her L1 (Kaufman & Aronoff, 1991; Turian & Altenberg, 1991; Anderson, 1999) and associate it with non-use or lack of contact with the primary language. Seliger (1996) argues that L1 attrition occurs as a natural outcome of acquiring another language but this does not mean that this process is an automatic consequence of acquiring another language. Furthermore, L1 attrition is not a process that leads to total loss of L1 knowledge but rather as a convergence towards an L2 whereby attriters take up L2 structures in some aspects of grammar (Pavlenko, 2002).

Regression hypothesis

As one of the earliest linguistic frameworks, Regression Hypothesis deals with the processes of learning and forgetting. This theory initially proposed by Jakobson (1941, cited in Köpke, 2004) for aphasia is based on the assumption that language loss in aphasia mirrors language development in children. It was later adapted to attrition by de Bot and Weltens (1991) in that language components might be lost in the reverse order in which they were acquired. It rapidly became evident that this hypothesis does not hold with respect to aphasia, since this disorder is generally not progressive in nature and affects only parts of linguistic competence, depending not on internal linguistic factors, but on external factors related to brain injury.

There exist two versions of the theory; one that is based on chronology (order) which states that the order in which attrition occurs is opposite to the order in which language was acquired; and one that is based on reinforcement (Köpke & Schmid, 2004) which is also called inverse relation hypothesis (Yoshitomi, 1994, cited in McCormack, 2004) which states that what has been learned best, i.e. most often used/reinforced, will be most resistant to loss.

While an important body of research (Jordens, de Bot, Van Os, & Schumans, 1986; Jordens, de Bot & Trapman, 1989; Kuhberg, 1992; Olshtain, 1989; Schmid, 2002, cited in Köpke, 2004) has been conducted within Regression Hypothesis framework

and several studies demonstrated the power of regression hypothesis (Hansen & Chen, 2001 as cited in Goral, 2004), it has been accepted that Regression Hypothesis can not account for all cases of observed language decline (Caramazza & Zurif, 1978; Hyltenstam & Viberg, 1993) and does not hold with respect to aphasia (Caramazza & Zurif, 1978).

Universal Grammar

There have been a number of studies conducted within the UG framework such “as the use of null vs. overt pronoun in Italian or Greek vs. English (Bouba et al., 2002; Sorace, 2000) in Turkish vs. English (Gürel, 2004) and Japanese vs. English (McCormack 2004) or the compounding parameter in Spanish vs. English (Cuza, 2002)” (p. 18).

The controversy as to whether parameters can be reset in L2 acquisition and the role of markedness has interested many researchers (Clashen & Muysken, 1989). It has been suggested that a marked parameter in L1 might be reset to an unmarked value in L2. The principle underlying this notion is the Redundancy Reduction Principle (Seliger, 1996). The simple idea behind this theory is that “when two languages come into contact within the same psycholinguistic environment, the speaker is forced to solve the duplication of rules and functions in two languages and simplify the cognitive overload” (p. 616). Based on UG framework, attrition is not random forgetting but is guided by principles for arriving at the most effective grammar that can serve both languages. Accordingly the bilingual creates a new rule for L1 in those areas of grammar where the L2 rule is simple or less marked. Those forms that are less marked in L2 are more likely to replace more marked forms in L1, thus the less marked forms in L1 seem to be more resistant to attrition.

While within the UG framework the process of attrition is guided by the Redundancy Reduction Principle, it is also motivated by learning principles that determine the learnability of structures in L1 acquisition namely Uniqueness Principle and Subset Principle. According to the Uniqueness Principle, for any semantic concept there will be only one syntactic or morphological realization. In the case of bilingualism a semantic concept may be realized in two different grammars. In the

process of primary language attrition the two languages of the bilingual have a semantic concept or function in common which is expressed in two different ways, but only one of these realizations that are available to the speaker will survive (Seliger, 1996).

Based on the subset principle, given two possible grammatical versions of the same concept, that which is most restrictive and present in the input will be preferred. In other words, in the process of L1 attrition when the input data in the L2 contains a comparable grammatical feature that is more universal and less marked than the competing grammar in the primary language, that form in the L2 will be favored. Therefore, the Uniqueness Principle and the Subset Principle guide the reduction of redundancy between combined L1 and L2 grammars.

Linguistic feature hypothesis

Another linguistic theory which accounts for the process of attrition is Andersen's (1982) linguistic feature hypothesis. This hypothesis accounts for the fact that an item in the attriting language similar to the corresponding structure in the other language will be more likely to be retained than a dissimilar one. He explained this hypothesis along with the Regression Hypothesis and elaborated that these hypotheses focus on two major areas. First, these hypotheses state that the nature of the linguistic elements themselves, such as whether they are of high or low frequency, and whether they are marked or unmarked, will be important in determining if they are lost. Second, these hypotheses propose that the relationship between the corresponding structures in the dominant and attriting language is a factor; moreover the amount of contrast between the structures in the two languages will help determine what will be vulnerable to attrition.

Psycholinguistic perspective

Psycholinguistic aspects of attrition have received little attention until recently, but the evidence available suggests that attrition may be psycholinguistic in nature (de Bot, 2002).

Activation Threshold hypothesis

The Activation Threshold Hypothesis (ATH) was initially proposed by Paradis (1985, 1993) to account for differential recovery in polyglot aphasia and only recently has the theory been applied to the study of language attrition (Köpke, 2002). It specifies the relation between the frequency of use of a linguistic item and its activation and availability to the language user. Accordingly it is assumed that linguistic items have thresholds that change on the basis of frequency and recency of use. Low activation thresholds yield faster and easier access than higher thresholds.

Activation and inhibition mechanisms appear to account for the control of multiple languages in the brain (Green, 1986; Paradis, 1993) as well as for changing dominance patterns. ATH assumes that items (or languages) that are more frequently activated need less stimulation to be reactivated than items (or languages) that are less frequently activated (Paradis, 1985, 1993). In other words, when a particular linguistic item has a high activation threshold, more activating impulses are needed to reactivate it (Paradis, 1997, cited in Gürel, 2004). Within this framework, attrition is predicted in the form of reduced accessibility as a natural consequence of lack of language use (Köpke & Schmid, 2004).

Applying this notion to the context of bilingual memory, when one language is selected, the other language is simultaneously inhibited. This means that the activation threshold of the unselected language is raised (Paradis, 1989, cited in Gürel, 2004). Thus language attrition occurs as a result of long-term absence of stimulation of one of the languages of the bilingual. It should be noted that this does not mean that the linguistic system of the bilingual is completely lost due to inhibition or a high activation threshold (Green, 1986). Depending on the frequency of use, different linguistic items within the same language might require various degrees of stimulation in order to become activated (Paradis, 1997).

Critical Period Hypothesis

One of the areas related to psycholinguistic aspect of attrition is age. As Kaufman (2001) points out “attrition of L1 among older children and adults differs from the L1 attrition process among pre-puberty children” (p. 19). Since attrition and acquisition are tightly linked, it is assumed that attrition is influenced by the same factors which

have led to the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) which assumes that due to brain maturation constraints L2 learning becomes more difficult after a certain age. Since no consensus has been reached so far with respect to existence and age limits of critical period, a 'sensitive period' was suggested which implies that younger children are better L2 learners due to maturational constraints and consequently more readily forget their L1 (Ventureyra & Pallier, 2004).

Studies indicate that the age of the onset of bilingualism and the age of the onset of attrition are important (Montrul, 2002). There is converging evidence that an L1 system can indeed be eroded to a quite dramatic degree if the attrition process sets in well before puberty (Isurin, 2000; Kaufman & Aronoff, 1991; Nicoladis & Grabois, 2002; Schmitt, 2004; Seliger, 1989, 1991; Turian & Altenberg, 1991; Vago, 1991). Similar findings were obtained for L2 attrition among children (Berman & Olshtain, 1983; Kuhberg, 1992; Olshtain, 1986). Preliminary results from a recent study even point towards the L1 being lost to an extent that psycho-neurolinguistic methods can detect no trace of it any more (Ventureyra & Pallier, 2004). Köpke (2004) points out that attrition in children is much more severe than in adults. All studies dealing with L1 attrition in young children relate substantial restructuring of the children's linguistic competence beyond anything that has been observed in adult L1 attrition. Studies investigating adopted children (Ventureyra & Pallier, 2004) suggest that in such extreme cases L1 is forgotten at a very quick rate (Isurin, 2000; Nicoladis & Grabois, 2002). Others have found that the younger the children and the lower the language proficiency, the faster the attrition process (Bahrack, 1984; Hansen, 1999; Kaufman & Aronoff, 1991).

Some studies involving subjects for whom the onset of attrition was after puberty found no age effect (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1989) regardless of the languages involved or the means of data elicitation. The dramatic attrition effect found in children is not compatible with findings with respect to adults. In most cases attrition was mild considering the amount of time spent in an L2 environment, even after many decades (Köpke, 2004). Köpke reports that de Bot & Clyne (1994) and Jordens et al. (1989) found little or no attrition in first generation immigrants and in many studies communication in L1 did not appear to be severely disrupted by attrition.

Competence vs. Performance

Sharwood Smith (1983a & 1983b) is among the first scholars who drew attention to the distinction between competence and performance. As he says, attrition at the level of competence is concerned with underlying linguistic competence and entails a restructuring of what is known about the language. Attrition at competence level is reflected in the inability to make grammaticality judgments or to perform tasks such as paradigmatic conjugations or declensions done by native speaker monolinguals.

As Seliger and Vago (1991) pointed out “the languages spoken by the bilingual may be said, metaphorically, to coexist in a state of competition for a finite amount of memory and processing space in the mind of the speaker” (p. 5). Seliger (1996, p. 606) states that attrition in competence and can express itself as:

- 1) the ability to recall a meaning shared by both the L1 and the L2 but only being able to retrieve the L2 lexical item;
- 2) rule reordering or simplification in the morphophonemics of the L1 or the inability to inflect in accordance with previously acquired morphology, or not being aware that incorrectly inflected morphology is deviant where previously the speaker inflected in accordance with the L1 grammar;
- 3) the acceptance of syntactically deviant sentences and the correction of syntactically grammatical sentences.

At the level of performance attrition results in difficulties in controlling knowledge (Ammerlaan, 2001) which results in two types of phenomena: Lexical retrieval or word finding problems (Goral, 2004; Köpke, 2004; Seliger, 1996) and processing difficulties which are in close relation with the cognitive demands of the tasks used for data collection (Dussias, 2002).

In the case of a reversal of dominance patterns, with L2 gradually becoming the stronger language, bilinguals may reach a point where “(a) processing of L1 is not only slowing down but also becoming more and more influenced by L2; (b) and where lack of speed and/or accuracy may eventually lead to difficulties” (Köpke, 2004, p. 6). It is at this point that attrition starts to be manifested.

The clearest demonstration of this disorder can be found in Ammerlaan et al. (2001) whose studies are based on a “psycholinguistic design allowing a differentiation between productive and receptive language skills with respect to lexicon” (p. 21). Both use a picture naming task to test lexical retrieval and a picture-word-matching task for testing lexical access. The results show that accessibility of the lexicon is clearly reduced as evidenced by difficulties in the picture-naming task, whereas receptive skills measured in the matching task are less impaired.

Sharwood Smith (1983a) suggests that competence/performance distinction reveals itself in three distinct stages:

- 1) Systematic deviation in performance while competence remains stable.
- 2) Transitional period where the bilingual is in possession of a new externally conditioned variety of his/her language, but preserves the ability to switch back to the standard version of the language when required by the circumstances.
- 3) Emergence of a new competence characterized by a decrease in structures available to the speaker.

While such restructured linguistic systems have not yet been described for late attriters, they have repeatedly been observed in children (Kaufman & Aronoff, 1991; Seliger, 1989, 1991). Regarding late bilinguals, the evidence suggests that attrition is in most cases restricted to performance deviations as in stage 1 above. In some cases (whether under specific external conditions or regarding particular linguistic features or domains) it might be possible to observe the coexistence of two varieties as described in stage 2 above which Major (1992) observed for phonetics.

Level of education in L1

In the context of bilingualism, proficiency level is influential for bilinguals who have completed their L1 acquisition before attrition. But this may not be the case for bilinguals who have begun losing their L1 before its acquisition has been completed (Köpke, 2002; Turian & Altenberg, 1991). Jaspaert and Kroon’s (1989, cited in Köpke & Schmid, 2004) pilot study on attrition among 30 Italian immigrants in the Netherlands measured by scores on various language tests (vocabulary, text editing, sentence correction, and general comprehension measured by a picture sentence matching task) showed education level to be the most strongly significant factor in the tests where there was evidence for attrition, namely text editing and vocabulary tests.

Length of stay

Some studies have pointed towards a link between the time that an immigrant has been exposed to another language and the degree of attrition in L1 (Waas, 1996; Soesman, 1997; Hutz, 2004), eventually leading to a change in the language dominance (Magiste, 1979; Köpke & Schmid, 2004), while others have suggested that time factor may only have a limited effect (de Bot & Clyne, 1994; de Bot, Gommans, & Rossing, 1991; Hutz, 2004). Despite the controversy over the time factor, an 8-year stay is believed to be a baseline (De Bot, Gommans, & Rossing 1991; Jordens, de Bot, & Trapman, 1989).

This study

This study attempts to make a contribution to the field of primary language attrition in the second language environment. It investigates Persian-English language pair and studies the influence of English as a second language on Persian as the first language of speakers. It aims to illustrate traces of attrition in the syntactic domain namely relative clause, adverb position, and pro-drop. It particularly focuses on those who have completed acquisition of their L1 before moving into an L2 environment. Specifically speaking, this study attempts to see if there is a difference between Persian monolinguals and bilinguals on their preference for L1 and L2 relative clause structure, adverb position and pro-drop parameter.

Participants

The participants in this study included both Persian monolinguals and Persian bilinguals with English as their L2. The first group included 30 native speakers of Persian with little knowledge of English with ages ranging between 16 and 17. This group was selected for two reasons. First, they had already attained ultimate attainment in their L1. Second, they had not started their higher education in which case a good command of L2 could have affected their L1. The second group included 35 native speakers of Persian with English as their L2. The criterion for inclusion was a minimum of an 8-year stay in an English speaking country. This is an accepted baseline reported in attrition studies (see above).

Some of the participants were selected from the International School in Tehran where students who have just come back from an L2 environment and have linguistic

difficulty adapting to the L1 environment study. Most of them left Iran when they were in primary school and were exposed to English at the age of 7-10. In other words, they had learned their L1 before being exposed to the L2. They came back to Iran quite recently and were between 16 and 18 years of age. Out of 50 students who filled out the questionnaire only 20 enjoyed the criterion of living in an English speaking country for at least 8 years. These 20 participants were given the test booklet but only 9 of them were selected for further analysis. A deeper and more precise examination of the questionnaires revealed that 11 of these students were born in an English speaking country and it was decided that this could intervene with purposes of research because we needed to include those who had already acquired their L1. This group of participants constituted the early bilingual group, because they started learning their L2 at an early age, i.e., between 7 and 10 years old. The participants from the International School were all girls.

A second group of the bilingual participants were adults who had left Iran after they finished guidance school and were exposed to English at the age of 16 to 20 and lived in an English speaking country for more than eight years. While living there, they were using English rather than Persian quite often (data about these details were gathered through a questionnaire). These participants were identified by the researchers' colleagues in Canada and England. This group of participants aged between 24 and 32 constituted the late bilingual group because they started learning their L2 at a later age. Both monolingual and bilingual groups were naïve to the purposes of study. The following table shows the distribution of participants whose data were chosen for statistical analysis.

Table 1. Distribution of subjects

	N	Age range	Gender	First exposure to L2	
Monolinguals	35	16 – 17	35F	–	–
Early bilinguals	9	16 – 18	9F	–	7 – 10
Late bilinguals	15	24 – 32	4F	11M	16 – 20

Materials

The materials in this study included a questionnaire and a test. The questionnaire had three sections. The first section elicited personal information including the

participants' name, sex, telephone and e-mail address, date and place of birth, occupation as well as highest level of schooling. The second section provided linguistic information about the subjects' mother tongue, language of education at different levels of primary school, guidance school, high school, and university, the degree of using English and Persian which was elicited indirectly by asking them about their language of communication at home, work and social encounters. The third section was concerned with data regarding the age of first exposure to English, age of arrival to Iran and length of stay in an English speaking country.

The test sentences used in this study, which were in Persian, were designed by the researchers. They were checked and rechecked for naturalness by three other Persian native speakers. Since the early bilinguals had limited knowledge of Persian, attempt was made to choose simple sentences. Any vague or difficult word was avoided so that it would not affect the subjects' performance and consequently the test results. The test included 50 pairs of sentences in Persian (30 pairs made up the test sentences and 20 pairs the fillers). The sentences belonged to three categories including relative clause, adverb position, and pro drop. For each category there were 10 sentence pairs. In each pair, one sentence followed the Persian structure and the other followed the rules of English. Each pair was sequenced randomly. Below you see examples for each category.

Structure	Examples:	English	Persian
Relative clause	This is the instrument that you had ordered it.	Wrong	Correct
	This is the instrument that you had ordered.	Correct	Correct
Adverb position	Mary angrily ate her breakfast.	Wrong	Correct
	Mary ate her breakfast angrily.	Correct	Correct
Pro-drop	The test was so difficult that failed.	Wrong	Correct
	The test was so difficult that I failed.	Correct	Correct

It is worth mentioning that in each pair both sentences are possible in Persian, though except for the case of adverb position (where the two structures are equally acceptable) one is considered as more acceptable (prescriptively speaking, see Gholam-ali-zadeh, 1998/1377). But based on the English structure, only one is accurate. Throughout this study, the structure which is ungrammatical in English will be referred to as the Persian structure.

Results

The design of the study is 2×3 . There are two independent variables in this study: group with two levels including monolinguals and bilinguals and the syntactic structure with three levels including relative clause, adverb position and pro-drop. The participants' score on the test is the dependent variable.

Persian monolinguals' performance

The Persian monolinguals' performance on each of the three syntactic structures is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for the Persian monolinguals' preferences for the three structures (N = 30)

		Mean	SD
Relative Clause	English	4.13	2.08
	Persian	5.86	2.08
Adverb Position	English	5.50	1.99
	Persian	4.50	1.99
Pro-drop	English	2.06	1.76
	Persian	7.83	1.94

Based on the mean scores of relative clause structure, the monolinguals prefer the Persian structure. The mean score for Persian structure is 5.86 while the mean score for English structure is 4.13.

Regarding the Adverb position, the results show that the monolinguals' mean score for the English structure is 5.50 and their mean score for the Persian structure is 4.50. This result could be explained by the fact that in Persian both positions are equally acceptable.

Considering the Pro-drop parameter, the mean score suggests that the monolinguals have an inclination towards the Persian setting; they have a mean score of 7.83 for

Persian structure and a mean of 2.06 for the English structure. The monolingual group's performance provides a baseline against which the bilinguals' performance will be compared.

To see if there is any significant difference between the monolinguals' preferences for the English and the Persian structures in each structure type, paired sample t-tests were conducted. Table 3 below shows the results:

Table 3. Results of paired t-tests for the difference between Persian monolinguals' preferences for the three structures in English and Persian

	t	df	Sig.
Relative Clause (English vs. Persian)	-2.282	29	.030
Adverb Position (English vs. Persian)	1.372	29	.181
Pro-drop (English vs. Persian)	-8.598	29	.000

Comparisons conducted through t-test revealed that in relative clause the difference in English and Persian structure is significant ($t_{29} = -2.28, p < .05$) and this shows that monolingual native speakers have a high preference for Persian structure in relative clauses.

Concerning adverb position, the difference is not significant ($t_{29} = 1.372, p > .05$); it means that to a native speaker of Persian the two adverb positions, i.e., before the object and between the object and the verb, are equally acceptable. However, the difference is significant regarding the Pro-drop in English and Persian structure ($t_{29} = -8.598, p < .05$). The monolingual native speakers have a high preference for Persian pro-drop structure. The results for the monolingual group is used as a yardstick to find out whether the bilinguals perform differently from the monolinguals and whether there is any divergence which could indicate attrition.

Persian bilinguals' performance

Descriptive statistics was calculated for the bilinguals' performance in the three structures. The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for the Persian bilinguals' preferences for the three structures (N = 24)

		Mean	SD
Relative Clause	English	5.58	.416
	Persian	4.66	.419
Adverb Position	English	5.33	.419
	Persian	4.75	.409
Pro-drop	English	3.83	.627
	Persian	6.54	.637

Considering the mean scores for each syntactic category, it can easily be noticed that in relative clause, the bilinguals have a tendency towards the English structure by having a mean of 5.58 which is different from their score on Persian structure, i.e., a mean of 4.66. Regarding the adverb position, the bilinguals preferred English structure by gaining a score of 5.33.

While the bilingual subjects showed deviation from the Persian structure and a preference for English structure in relative clause and adverb position, their performance in Pro-drop was quite different. The results show that the bilinguals have not yet lost their preference for the Persian structure. The mean score for Persian structure is 6.54 while that for the English one is 3.83. Paired sample t-tests were conducted to find out whether these differences are significant or not. Table 5 shows the results.

Table 5. Results of paired t-tests for the difference between Persian bilinguals' preferences for the three structures in English and Persian

	t	df	Sig.
Relative Clause (English vs. Persian)	1.126	23	.272
Adverb Position (English vs. Persian)	.717	23	.481
Pro-drop (English vs. Persian)	-1.923	23	.048

Based on the planned comparisons, it can be inferred that despite the difference in mean scores of the relative clause of Persian and English structures, this difference is not statistically significant ($t_{23} = 1.126, p > .05$).

Regarding the adverb position, the same results were obtained. The mean scores show a difference in performance but statistical analysis indicates that this difference is not significant ($t_{23} = .717, p > .05$).

However, regarding pro-drop parameter in English and Persian structure the difference is significant ($t_{23} = -1.923, p < .05$). It indicates that the bilinguals have not yet lost their preference for Persian structure. This supports the Regression Hypothesis (Jakobson, 1941, cited in Köpke, 2004) which states that language components might be lost in the reverse order in which they were acquired. Pro-drop parameter is among the first areas of language acquired by children and based on the Regression Hypothesis it is the most resistant to loss. The available results provide support for this argument.

Since age of L2 acquisition has always played a role in learners' performance, the researchers decided to categorize the bilinguals into two groups of early and late based on their first exposure to L2. It might be the case that early bilinguals undergo attrition because their L1 acquisition has not been completed. But if it is found that the pattern of attrition is the same for both early and late bilinguals, it will be concluded that level of education in L1 is not a determining factor in attrition, while Jaspaert and Kroon's (1989, cited in Köpke & Schmid, 2004) study showed that education level is a significant factor. Based on this justification, those participants who left Iran for an English speaking country before the age of 10 were considered as early bilinguals and those who left here after the age of 16 were considered as late bilinguals.

Early bilinguals' performance

Table 6 illustrates descriptive statistics for the performance of early bilinguals.

Table 6. Descriptive statistics for the Persian early bilinguals' preferences for the three structures (N = 9)

		Mean	SD
Relative Clause	English	6.44	2.29
	Persian	3.55	2.29
Adverb Position	English	6.11	2.75
	Persian	3.88	2.75
Pro-drop	English	7.33	2.06
	Persian	2.66	2.06

As you will remember, the monolinguals had a preference for Persian structure in relative clause, but as Table 6 shows, the early bilinguals have a different preference. The mean score for English structure is 6.44 which is very different from the mean score for Persian structure, i.e., 3.55. Based on this preliminary result it can be inferred that the early bilingual group has diverted from their monolingual peers.

Regarding adverb position, the descriptive statistics shows that the early bilinguals have a preference for the English structure by having a mean score of 6.11 as opposed to 3.88 for Persian structure. In other words, the early bilinguals are not satisfied with sentences that have the adverb between object and verb.

Furthermore, the English structure of Pro-drop was preferred at a higher rate by the early bilingual group. The mean score for English structure is 7.33 in comparison to the Persian structure which is 2.66. Although the descriptive statistics have provided an outlook of the early bilinguals' preference, in order to determine the precise amount of their divergence from the monolingual group, comparisons using t-test are conducted. The results are illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7. Results of paired t-tests for the difference between Persian early bilinguals' preferences for the three structures in English and Persian

	t	df	Sig.
Relative Clause (English vs. Persian)	1.886	8	.096
Adverb Position (English vs. Persian)	1.208	8	.261
Pro-drop (English vs. Persian)	3.395	8	.009

Despite the apparent difference in the mean score between English and Persian relative clause structures, the comparisons revealed that the difference is not statistically significant ($t_8 = 1.886, p > .05$). Although the difference is not significant, the P value is .096 which is very close to .05. It could be interpreted that a majority of the early bilinguals preferred the English structure but still another majority preferred the Persian structure. Even this result is enough to conclude that the early bilinguals perform differently from the monolingual group and have developed a divergence which could provide support for attrition.

As for the adverb position, the difference between English and Persian structure is not statistically significant in the early bilinguals performance ($t_8 = 1.208, p > .05$). Early bilingual, quite like the monolinguals, opt for both positions for adverbs.

With respect to the pro-drop, comparisons illustrated that the difference is significant ($t_8 = 3.395, p < .05$). The early bilinguals have lost their preference for the Persian structure and recognize the English structure as more natural. This supports the claim that attrition has occurred in the early bilingual group. The inclination towards English structure in pro-drop for early bilinguals can be explained in this way. When two languages come into contact, the bilingual has to reduce the duplication of rules and functions in two languages and simplify the cognitive overload. The less marked rules of L2 will therefore replace the more marked rules of L1. Applying this concept to attrition in pro-drop in early bilinguals, it could be suggested that being young and less proficient in their L1, the early bilinguals have replaced the Persian structure with English structure. The finding refutes the Regression Hypothesis which predicts that features that are acquired early in children are least vulnerable to loss.

Late bilinguals' performance

Regarding the late bilinguals, a similar descriptive analysis was conducted and the results are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Descriptive statistics for the Persian late bilinguals' preferences for the three structures (N = 15)

		Mean	SD
Relative Clause	English	5.066	1.751
	Persian	5.333	1.633
Adverb Position	English	4.866	1.407
	Persian	5.266	1.222
Pro-drop	English	1.733	.703
	Persian	8.400	.632

The late bilinguals' performance is quite different from the early bilinguals which could suggest that the age of exposure to an L2 and level of proficiency in L1 affect bilinguals' performance. With regard to relative clause, the late bilinguals have a preference for both structures. The means are 5.066 and 5.333. The late bilinguals treat both structures similarly and the mean score obtained is hardly any different. Contrary to the early bilinguals who had a higher preference for the English relative clause structure, although not to a significant degree, late bilinguals make no distinction between the two structures. At any rate, late bilinguals' performance is different from the monolinguals because monolinguals preferred the Persian relative clause structure. So there are traces of attrition both in the early bilingual and late bilingual groups: both differ from Persian monolinguals.

Concerning adverb position, the late bilinguals have an inclination towards the Persian structure by scoring a mean of 5.26. Nevertheless, it can be interpreted that the late bilinguals' performance is not different from that of monolinguals. Their preference is rated higher for Persian structure.

Interesting to notice is that the late bilinguals' performance on pro-drop was very different from that of early bilinguals. The late bilinguals have not yet lost their preference for the Persian structure despite the amount of time they have spent in an L2 environment. They have a mean score of 8.4 for Persian structure as opposed to the early bilinguals who scored 2.66. The results imply that the late bilinguals are more resistant to attrition and language loss than the early bilinguals. Further statistical analyses were conducted with t-test. Table 9 below shows the results.

Table 9. Results of paired t-tests for the difference between Persian late bilinguals' preferences for the three structures in English and Persian

	t	df	Sig.
Relative Clause (English vs. Persian)	-.326	14	.750
Adverb Position (English vs. Persian)	-.634	14	.536
Pro-drop (English vs. Persian)	-26.453	14	.000

Results show that the late bilinguals' preference for English and Persian relative clause structure is not statistically significant. This is also true for adverb position.

Regarding the pro-drop parameter, the difference is statistically significant. That is, their preference for Persian structure is at a higher rate than English. This can be explained through the Regression Hypothesis. The language components that are learnt first are more resistant to attrition. Moreover, since level of education affects the extent of attrition, it can be argued that the more the bilinguals are proficient in their L1, the more they are resistant to attrition.

Up to now, each syntactic category was examined within each group separately, and now we have a clear picture of each group's performance. Another planned comparison was conducted to observe the differences across groups. The results are illustrated in Table 10.

Table 10. Means for the three groups' preference for the three structures

	RC		Adverb position		Pro-drop	
	English	Persian	English	Persian	English	Persian
Monolinguals	4.13	5.86	5.5	4.5	2.06	7.83
Early Bilinguals	6.44	3.55	6.11	3.88	7.33	2.66
Late Bilinguals	5.06	5.33	4.86	5.26	1.73	8.4

Based on this table, it can be inferred that with regard to the relative clause, the monolinguals gained the lowest mean score for the English structure and the early bilinguals performed at a higher rate than the late bilinguals.

Considering adverb position, the late bilinguals had a lower mean score than the monolingual group for English structure and thus the early bilinguals scored the lowest for Persian structure.

Regarding the pro-drop parameter again the late bilinguals had the lowest mean score while the early bilinguals obtained the highest mean score for English structure. The findings are graphically represented in Figure 1 below.

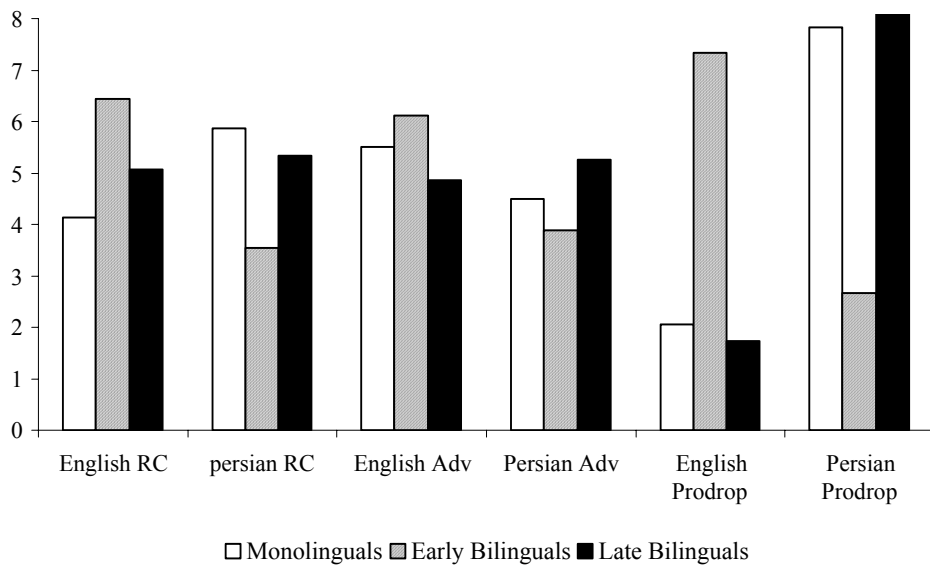


Figure 1. Three groups' preference for the three structures

As the above figure illustrates, the monolingual group scored higher for Persian relative clause than the English counterpart. Meanwhile the early bilinguals scored higher for the English relative clause structure than the Persian structure and the late bilinguals did not show a great difference in their choice of preference for either of the structures in relative clause. Therefore with regard to the English relative clause structure the early bilinguals score the highest followed by the late bilinguals and the monolinguals for the English structure. The pattern for the other structures can be found from the figure.

Now, in order to see if the groups differed in their preference for the English vs. the Persian structure in each of the three categories, separate one-way ANOVAs were conducted. Thus addressing question number 1 of this study, the following null hypothesis was tested; "there is no difference between Persian monolinguals and

bilinguals as far as their performance on L1 and L2 relative clause structures is concerned”. The following table shows results.

Table 11. Results of ANOVA for the three groups’ preferences for the English relative clause structure

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	38.711	2	19.356	4.687	.014
Within Groups	210.622	51	4.130		
Total	249.333	53			

The results show that the groups differ ($F_{(2, 51)} = 4.687, p < .05$). The post-hoc Scheffe test results showed that only the difference between monolinguals and early bilinguals was significant ($p = .016$). This means that early bilinguals have undergone attrition; their L1 is more like their L2.

Next, the following null hypothesis was tested: “there is no difference between Persian monolinguals and bilinguals as far as their performance on L1 and L2 adverb position is concerned.” The following table shows the results of ANOVA for the comparison of the three groups for their preference for English adverb position.

Table 12. Results of ANOVA for three groups’ preferences for the English adverb position structure

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	9.081	2	4.541	1.135	.330
Within Groups	204.122	51	4.002		
Total	213.204	53			

As the table shows, the difference across groups for adverb position is not significant. This means that the three groups’ preference of the English type of adverb position is equally the same. This is predictable because Persian allows the adverb to appear in every position.

Finally, the following null hypothesis was tested: “there is no difference between Persian monolinguals and bilinguals as far as their performance on L1 and L2 pro-drop parameter is concerned”. The following table shows the results.

Table 13. Results of ANOVA for the three groups’ preference for the pro-drop structure in English

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	218.015	2	109.007	42.503	.000
Within Groups	130.800	51	2.565		
Total	348.815	53			

The difference across groups was significant for pro-drop. The post-hoc Scheffe test results suggest that early bilinguals scored higher than the two other groups in English structure. In other words, test results showed that while monolinguals and late bilinguals’ preference is the same (the Persian structure), the early bilinguals significantly differ from both groups and opt for the English structure.

Generally speaking, the results demonstrated that regarding relative clause and pro drop, the difference between monolinguals and early bilinguals was significant. This means that, the early bilinguals have diverged from the Persian structure and rated a higher preference for the English structure. This can be taken as a sign of attrition.

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that the bilingual group has diverged from the monolingual group in their choice of preference. The preliminary findings indicated that the late bilingual group had not lost their preference for pro-drop Persian structure despite the amount of time they had lived in an English speaking country. This provides support for the Regression Hypothesis (Jakobson, 1941, cited in Köpke, 2004) which states that language components might be lost in the reverse order in which they were acquired. Pro-drop parameter is among the first areas of language acquired by children and based on the Regression Hypothesis it is the last and most resistant to loss.

However, by dividing the bilingual group into early and late groups based on the age of exposure to an L2, further findings were drawn. It became apparent that the early bilingual group's preference was very different from the late bilingual group; the early bilingual group had lost their preference for Persian structure in pro drop and the available data refuted the Regression Hypothesis. This supports the hypothesis that age of exposure to L2 and level of education in L1 significantly affect the bilinguals' preferences. This difference was particularly evident in pro-drop parameter. The early bilingual group had high inclination towards the English structure while the late bilinguals preferred the Persian structure.

Theoretical and pedagogical implications

The findings of this study shed light on the Regression Hypothesis theory. It appears that age plays a role in the process of attrition. This hypothesis does not apply to early and late bilinguals in the same way.

Studies on attrition that focus on L2 attrition in L1 environment can have countless direct pedagogical implications. But this study concerned itself with L1 attrition and the way L2 affects this attrition. Thus, although the results cannot have direct pedagogical implications, they do provide researchers in the field of applied linguistics with fruitful implications. As an example, this study could show that there is a certain age at which bits of linguistic knowledge are immune to forgetting, which can be very helpful for those involved in language policy and curriculum design.

Suggestions for further research

This study was carried out in the field of Persian language attrition, an area where very little research has been conducted. As explained above, this study dealt with syntax and studied attrition from a linguistic point of view. It did not take into account the influence of motivation and other sociolinguistic aspects of language. It will be useful if further study examines attrition from a sociolinguistic point of view.

Another area that needs further research is whether the rate of attrition is the same across all the language components. For further research it will be fruitful if attrition is examined in different domains i.e., lexicon, semantics, and morphology as well.

Moreover, this study examined L1 attrition. But attrition in L2 is also another worthy area of research. Finally, using different elicitation techniques and tasks for eliciting data, one can see whether these results are corroborated or not. For example on-line instruments can be used since they will give a more precise account of brain processes.

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Anaphor Resolution in Implicit and Explicit Causality Structures of the Active and Passive Types

Forood Sepassi, Ph.D. and Amin Marzban, M.A

Azad University, Shiraz, Iran

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1. Introduction

1.1. Basic notions and terminology

The etymology of the word *anaphora* dates back to ancient Greek. The word is a compound word made up of *ana*-back, upstream, back in an upward direction and *phora* meaning the act of carrying. Thus, the whole compound means the act of carrying upstream (Mitkov, 1998).

Halliday and Hasan (1976) have provided a definition which is based on the notions of cohesion: anaphora is cohesion (pre-supposition) which points back to some previous item. Hence, the “pointing back”(reference) is called anaphor and the entity to which it refers is its so-called antecedent.

The process of determining the antecedent of an anaphor is called anaphor resolution. Given that the antecedent and the anaphor refer to the same referent, they are referred to as co-referential. As an example, consider:

1. *My brother is late but he should be here any minute.*

The noun phrase *my brother* is the antecedent for the anaphor *he*. In processing this structure if the parser correctly relates *he* to *my brother*, it is said that the process of anaphor resolution has occurred.

1.2. Cues affecting anaphor resolution

Most of the anaphor resolution processes deal with resolution of anaphors that have noun phrases as their antecedents because anaphor resolution with verb phrases,

clauses, and sentences as antecedents is a very complicated task. Normally, all noun phrases (NPs) preceding an anaphor are regarded as potential candidates for the correct identification of the antecedent of the anaphors. These factors are outlined below.

1.2.1. Grammatical role cues

In anaphor resolution the grammatical positions occupied by the potential antecedents serve as cues to the parser in identifying the correct antecedent. For example in the following structure:

2. John blamed Bill because he didn't really like Bill.

The word John occupies the grammatical subject position while Bill occupies the grammatical object position. The parser is predicted to interpret the referentially ambiguous pronoun as being coreferential with the grammatical subject.

It is also noteworthy to mention that the character occupying the grammatical subject is also the first mentioned noun. This so-called 'advantage of first mention' has been noted by Gerbacher (1989) to enjoy a privileged position in the parser's discourse mode. It is believed that the preference for the first mentioned noun is due to the ease with which the character is accessed by the parser throughout the course of parsing (McDonald & MacWhinney, 1995).

1.2.2. Gender cues

In addition to grammatical position information, gender cues may also facilitate the process of anaphor resolution; consider, for example, the following structures:

3. John blamed Mary because she broke the windows.

4. John blamed Mary because he was angry.

The gender differentiation in the above structures serves as a very strong cue as to which NP the pronouns refer to.

1.2.3. Semantic cues

A particularly strong semantic cue known as ‘implicit causality’ (Garvey & Garmazda, 1974) can also facilitate anaphor resolution. The concept of implicit causality is a property associated with certain verbs and it manifests its influence by building a bias either towards NP1 or NP2 (Stewart, *et al.* 2000). For example, the verb *fascinate* in the structure:

5. *John fascinated Bill because he was so clever.*

is referred to as implicit causality information since the pertinent biasing verb is located in the main clause. Sometimes, however, the information found in the subordinate clause can serve as an important disambiguating cue. Such cues are called explicit cause information. For instance, in the structure:

6. *John blamed Bill because he didn't really like Bill.*

The fragment *didn't really like Bill* indicates that the pronoun should be interpreted in a manner consistent with NP2 biasing implicit causality verb. It has been reported that anaphor resolution requires a longer period of time when the explicit and implicit causes are at conflict than when they are consistent (McDonald & MacWhinney, 1995).

Stewart, *et al.* (2000) refers to verbs of the first type as ‘Stimulus-Experiencer’ (S-E), and those of the latter type as ‘Experiencer-Stimulus’ (E-S).

Hence, the cues available for the identification of a pronoun's referent include order of mention, gender, implicit causes (i.e., NP1 biasing verbs), and explicit causes (i.e., NP2 biasing verbs).

1.3. Objectives of the study

The present study seeks to examine the processing of two types of causality structures, namely S-E and E-S types. Moreover, the processing of each type of structure will be examined in the active and passive voices. Thus, the study poses the

following questions:

1. Which type of the structures (i.e., S-E vs. E.S) is more facilitative of anaphor resolution? And,

2. Which type of voice (i.e., active vs. passive) is more accommodating of anaphor resolution?

1.4. Hypotheses

Regarding the type of voice, the listener's processing mechanism would be less strained with active structures. The reason for this lower activation load is simply the smaller number of cues impinging on the system. Thus, one may conclude that with active structures the process of anaphor resolution is more easily attainable with respect to the processing of S-E structures of the active voice. This hypothesis gains further support in the light of the principle of 'advantage of first mention' characteristic of S-E structures. Hence, it is anticipated that the processing mechanism will be under less strain than with the passive counterparts of the same type of structure. As a result, the following directional hypothesis may be envisaged for the S-E structures:

$$\text{H1: } X_{\text{active}} > X_{\text{passive}}$$

With regard to the E-S causality structures, however, the argument is somewhat more complicated. On the one hand, in the active form, the advantage of first mention is no longer a factor because if correctly processed the second NP will be identified as the subject of the second clause. Yet, due to the minimal distance between the second NP and the pronoun, it may well be that it is more efficiently retained in the parser's memory for resolution purposes. Furthermore, in the passive voice, in spite of the greater number of cues exerting their influence on the perceptual channel, the first NP is endowed with the advantage of first mention. Thus, it is not quite clear whether the processing system will be under more pressure in the active or passive voice. Hence, a non-directional hypothesis seems more appropriate for the E-S type of structures:

$$\text{H1': } X_{\text{active}} \# X_{\text{passive}}$$

1.5. Significance of the study

The findings of the present study would not only shed light on the routes of L2 processing by EFL learners, but would also aid the practitioners in the ordering of the presentation of causality structures. More specifically, the results of the study could serve as a guide to material developers and teachers in the selection, ordering, and presentation of causal verb types as well as in selecting the type of voice that would most optimally make use of the learner's processing mechanisms and strategies.

2. Method

2.1. The participants

The participants of the study consisted of 80 EFL learners of advanced standing enrolled in levels 11 and 12 of the 'Iran Language Institute', Shiraz branch. The justification for choosing the said participants was that at the time of the experiment, they had passed 14 levels of formal instruction in L2 and were deemed of advanced standing in accordance with ACTFL's criteria for determining the proficiency level of EFL learners. Thus, it stood to reason that the participants would be well familiar with the vocabulary and the structures presented to them via the sentences of the task. There were 35 female and 45 male participants of equi-distant socio-cultural backgrounds.

2.2. The stimuli

The stimuli consisted of 32 sentences. Half of the structures, 16, were of the S-E main clause types and the other half, 16, consisted of the E-S main clause types. Of the 16 structures of each type, 8 structures were constructed in the active voice and the other 8 in the passive.

The main clauses were conjoined to the subordinate clause by using the word *because*. The slot representing the pronoun in the subordinate clause was blanked to be filled out by the participants. The NPs appearing in the main clause consisted of a proper male and a proper female noun. The ordering of the NPs was cross-balanced in order to neutralize any effect of first appearance related to gender.

The following structures are representative of this design:

S-E Type: 7. *Cindy amused Harry because _____ was so entertaining.*

8. *Linda was amused by Peter because _____ was so entertaining.*

E-S Type: 9. *Charlie admired Betty because _____ was so intelligent.*

10. *Jack was admired by Jane because _____ was so intelligent.*

2.3. Procedure

The 32 structures were audio-taped and played back one by one to the participants. After the termination of each sentence, three seconds were allowed before the next sentence was played. The reason for implementing such a short time span between the sentences was to enhance the possibility of automatic rather than analytic processing by the participants. This was deemed a necessary step since the aim of the study was to determine how processing takes place in natural environments where the processing mechanism is deprived of the luxury of having time enough to analyze the structure it is exposed to.

The task of pronoun resolution was operationalized by providing the participants with answer sheets to record the pronoun they considered as the referent of the NP in the main clause. Given that the NPs were of different genders, the participant's identification of the referent of the NP was signaled by his choice of the pronouns *he* or *she*.

3. Results and discussion

First, the statistics pertaining to S-E (i.e., NP1 biasing) structures will be reported. Next, the results for E-S (i.e., NP2 biasing) structures will be presented.

3.1. Participants preference for NP1 vs. NP2 in S-E structures

As will be recalled, S-E structures were made of certain verbs that caused the parser to pick NP1 as the referent of the pronoun rather than NP2. Furthermore, the participants preference for either NP1 or NP2 was operationalized through the

implementation of gender-differentiated pronouns (i.e., he vs. she).

3.1.1 Participants preference for NP1 vs. NP2 in S-E structures of the active voice

In the active voice, the two cues of ‘NP1 bias’ and ‘advantage of first mention’, as illustrated in structure 7 above, converge to hint at the first NP of the main clause as the referent of the pronoun. This rather strong coalition of cues is well vouched for through the participants' high preference for NP1, 6.80, as opposed to their weak preference for NP2 in the active S-E structures. As table1 below indicates, this difference was significant at the .01 probability level.

3.1.2. Participants preference for NP1 vs. NP2 in S-E structures of the passive voice

In the passive voice, as structure 8 above illustrates, S-E structures are deprived of the so-called ‘advantage of first mention’ due to the movement caused by passivization. Thus, one could argue that in the S-E structures of the passive voice, the two cues of ‘NP1 bias’ and ‘advantage of first mention’ are competing against one another in directing the parser’s attention to the referent of the pronoun.

The participants’ performance on the passive voice of S-E structures indicated a mean of 2.15 for NP1 and one of 5.85 for NP2 (See table 1).

Table1. Comparison of mean instances of preference for NP1 vs. NP2 as the referents in the active and passive S-E structures

Voice type	Variable	Mean (Max=8)	# of pairs	SD	t-value	Sig.
Active	NP1	6.80	80	0.649	4.95	p<0.01
	NP2	1.20		0.670		
Passive	NP1	2.15	80	0.743	3.93	p<0.01
	NP2	5.85		0.751		

With respect to testing the hypothesis pertaining to S-E structures of the active and passive voice (i.e., mean of active > mean of passive) another paired t-test was run.

The results are reported in the following table:

Table 2. Comparison of mean instances for choosing NP1 as the referent of the pronoun in S-E structures of active and passive voices

Voice type	Variable	Mean	# of pairs	t-value	Sig.
Active	NP1	6.80	80	4.23	p<0.01
Passive	NP2	2.15			

Thus, the evidence quite unambiguously upholds the directional hypothesis posited for S-E structures. More simply stated, the participants preferred NP1 over NP2 as the referent of the anaphor in the active voice of S-E structures; and chose NP2 in the passive voice.

3.2. Participants preference for NP1 vs. NP2 in E-S structures

The E-S structures contained the type of verbs that were either NP2 biasing in nature or the information in the subordinate clause biased the verb toward NP2. Again, the participants' preference for NP1 vs. NP2 was operationalized through their choice of *he* or *she* as the referent of the pronoun.

3.2.1. Participants preference for NP1 vs. NP2 in E-S structures of the active voice

The participants performance on E-S structures of the active voice revealed a definite verb-motivated strategy in pronoun resolution. The mean for choosing NP1 stood at 2.30, while the mean registered for NP2 was 5.70. This difference was statistically significant as indicated in table 3 below.

3.2.2. Participants preference for NP1 vs. NP2 in E-S structures of the passive voice

In the passive voice, the positions occupied by NP1 and NP2 were reversed; and in the light of the fact that ES structures are NP2 biasing to begin with, in their passive form their NP1 benefits from both verb bias and advantage of first mention. The following table illustrates that this difference was statistically significant.

Table 3. Comparison of mean instances of preference for NP1 vs. NP2 as the referents in the active and passive E-S structures

As will be recalled, the hypothesis for the active and passive voices of the E-S structures was of the non-directional type because it was not clear which factor (i.e., verb type or advantage of first mention) would have the greater impact on the parser's perceptual channel. To test the null hypothesis (H0: mean of active=mean of passive) another paired t-test needed to be run. The results are reported in the following table:

Table 4. Comparison of mean instances for choosing NP1 as the referent of the pronoun in E-S structures of active and passive voices

Voice type	variable	mean	# of pairs	SD	t-value	Sig.
Active	NP1	2.30	80	0.470	4.35	p<0.01
Passive	NP1	6.85		0.612		

Hence, one may assert that there exists enough statistical evidence to reject the null hypothesis, and to claim that in the E-S structures, the participants were more inclined to choose NP1 in the passive voice than in the active.

4. Conclusion and implications

The results of the study indicated that out of the three independent variables

Voice type	variable	mean	# of pairs	SD	t-value	Sig.
Active	NP1	2.30	80	.0.470	3.75	p<0.01
	NP2	5.70		0.664		
Passive	NP1	6.85	80	0.612	4.99	p<0.01
	NP2	1.15		0.649		

investigated, namely a) verb type, b) voice type, and c) advantage of first mention, only the first (i.e., verb type) resulted in any statistically significant preference for anaphor resolution. The following table summarizes these findings:

Table 5. Comparison of the effects of verb type, voice type and advantage of first mention in anaphor resolution

Verb type	Voice type	Advantage of 1st mention	Preference for NP1	Preference for NP2
S-E (NP1 Biasing)	Active	Yes	6.80	1.20
	Passive	No	2.15	5.58
E-S(NP2 Biasing)	Active	No	2.30	5.70
	Passive	Yes	6.85	1.15

As the table indicates, the participants' preference for NP1 as the referent of the pronoun in contrast to their preference for NP2 was strongly influenced by the variable of verb type. In all different instances (i.e., active vs. passive and whether or not the pronoun's referent exhibited advantage of first mention), the participants of this study chose the NP that was biased by the verb as the referent of the pronoun.

Thus, to conclude, one might assert that the participants' choice for the referent of the pronoun was primarily determined by the variable of verb type (i.e., where the verb was biased either towards NP1 or NP2). This conclusion may be regarded as still another piece of evidence for the fundamental role attributed to the verb as the most important constituent of the structure in assigning semantic roles to other components within the structure. Amongst the most influential theories of grammar that are based on the primacy of the verb in assigning theta roles such as Goal, Agent, and Patient roles is the 'VP-Internal Hypothesis' put forth by Koopman and Sportiche (1988). According to this hypothesis all thematic roles are assigned by the verb, and more importantly for the purposes of the present study, the subject of the sentence is base generated inside the VP. In other words, rather than the traditional view that the subject NP node is governed by the S node, under the tenets of the VP-Internal Hypothesis, the subject NP is governed by the VP node. In this light, the findings of this study (i.e., the verb influences pronoun resolution) lend empirical support to the validity of those theories of grammar that attribute a foundational role to the verb of structure.

With respect to the implications of the study, the findings suggest that both the teacher and the material developer must be aware of the importance of the role of the verb in processing anaphor resolution, and that this importance must be highlighted in practice in L2 classes. The teacher for his part could instill in the learners a state of awareness (i.e., consciousness raising) about the fundamental role of the verb in structures requiring anaphor resolution.

As for the material developer, one may argue that the contents of courses requiring anaphor resolution should be centered on the type of the verb and the bias that the verb type results in. Hence, it would be quite logical to introduce S-E structures before E-S ones since their NP1 biasing verbs exert a relatively lighter load on EFL learners perceptual channel when processing such structures. To aid the material developer in this connection, some of the more frequent verbs of both types together with some structures in which they are configured are listed below:

I. S-E Structures (NP1 Biasing Verbs)

11. Helen **deceived** Carl because she was so intelligent.
12. Brian **inspired** Shirley because he was so enthusiastic.
13. Kathryn **disappointed** George because she was so hard hearted.
14. David **frightened** Helen because he was so unpredictable.
15. Peter **bored** Jane because he was so repetitious.

II. E-S Structures (NP2 Biasing Verbs)

16. Charles **feared** Linda because she was so aggressive.
17. John **pitied** Jill because she was so uncomfortable.
18. Barbara **hated** Bob because he was so manipulative.
19. Lisa **trusted** Tom because he was so persuasive.
20. Sheila **noticed** George because he was so over-dressed.

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A Sociopragmatic Analysis of Griping: The Case of Iranian Students

Hamid Allami
Yadz University, Iran

Abstract

Unlike direct complaint, “gripping” is a non-face-threatening speech act in which the party or object of complaint is not present. The present study is an attempt to investigate the responses provided for gripping in terms of six major categories: 1) topic switch/blank reply, 2) question, 3) contradiction, 4) joking/teasing, 5) advice, 6) agreement/ commiseration. The data has been collected through a ‘Discourse Completion Task’ (DCT) to set up the necessary conditions for the speech act to occur. The findings reveal that in response to gripping, Iranian students, most of the time, feel obliged to further conversation and maintain solidarity through the use of the supportive speech act of commiseration. However, they do not support Boxer’s finding that women participate more in troubles-talks than men, or that women mostly commiserate with gripping while men contradict or give advice.

Key words: sociolinguistics, pragmatics, speech act theory, non-face-threatening act, gripping

Introduction

Unlike direct complaint which is a face-threatening act (Sauer, 2000; Murphy & Neu, 1996; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1987) through which a speaker makes complaints about someone or something that is present in the speech act event, griping 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). Although both direct and indirect complaints have the potential of leading to lengthy interactions between speaker and addressee, it is usually in the indirect complaint or griping that one finds conversational material upon which shared beliefs and attitudes may be expressed (Tatsuki, 2000). As such, the indirect complaint 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.

In Australian English, the speech act known as 'whinging' seems to be closely related to 'griping' and also 'nagging'. The definition using the Natural Semantic Approach is as follows (Wierzbicka, 1991, p. 181-2):

Whinge:

- (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) deliberately juxtaposes the definitions of 'complain' as mentioned earlier, and 'whinge' so as to highlight the range of meaning a word, here a verb, can have with respect to the culture in which it has become a part.

According to both Tannen (1990) and Michand & Warner (1997), such commiserative responses frequently serve as back-channels or evaluative responses in

an extended structure of discourse exchanges and might invoke expressions like “Oh, that’s horrible!”, “Yeah, I know what you mean”, and “That’s too bad.”

The present study aims to ascertain whether responses to griping by Iranians are in accord with the findings of the current research on griping. This may serve as further evidence to contribute to the universality of the function of griping, or provide evidence to indicate its non-universality.

Review of Related Literature

There is already an extensive literature on the speech act of complaint (Kasper, 1981; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1991; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Laforest, 2002 to cite a few). Searle (1976), in his typology of speech acts, distinguishes between apology and complaint as expressive speech acts, where the former is made to threaten the addressee’s positive-face want (See Brown & Levinson, 1987). Complaint has also been classified as a particular speech act - in reaction to a ‘socially unacceptable act’ - to imply severity or directness (Brown & Levinson, 1987). It has been further defined as a speech act to give the speaker a way to express ‘displeasure or annoyance’ as a reaction to a past or on-going action the consequences of which are perceived by the speaker as affecting him unfavorably (Olshtain and Weinbach, 1993).

While direct complaint, as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987), is a face-threatening act, it has been claimed that griping carries no face threat. Furthermore, unlike direct complaint, which is used to call for negotiation, griping is used as a means to invoke commiseration (Edmondson, 1981).

The earliest study on griping (as cited in Boxer, 1993a) was carried out by Katriel (1985) who examined the ritual samples of griping among Israelis. Jefferson & Lee (1981) and Jefferson (1984) studied ‘troubles-telling’ encounters from a conversation analysis point of view. These studies refer to the potential of establishing solidarity through griping.

Bayraktaroglu (1992) in a study on Turkish commiserative responses found griping a common speech act among friends and intimates. He defined it in the following manner:

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' (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.

Boxer (1993a) refers to her previous research in 1991 that showed that griping does not always function as rapport-inspiring speech interactions. She found that approximately 25% of griping sequences serve to distance the interlocutors from one another while 75% of the samples of griping were found to be rapport-inspiring by a group of 10 native English-speaking raters. The study found that speakers of English often employed griping in sequential interaction in an attempt to establish solidarity. Moreover, in this type of negotiation, which brought the interlocutors closer to each other by opening up a more personal side to the relationship, it was found to be a predominantly female phenomenon in the native speaker study.

In a further study, Boxer (1993b) investigated griping in conversations between Japanese learners of English as an L2 and their L1 peers. She found that natives use griping as a positive strategy for establishing points of commonality. She refers to Yamada's (1989) findings that depict Americans as having a positive orientation towards talk, where talk is seen as a way of better understanding of one another, and resolving problems and difficulties; whereas the Japanese have a negative orientation towards talk where talk is seen as a kind of problem-maker itself. Therefore, the Japanese verbal and nonverbal back channeling behavior seems to be an attempt to avoid the possibility of face-threatening behavior. Further, she mentions that as negative evaluations of the type are frequently employed by Americans to establish solidarity, and in at least some U. S. speech communities they have the potential to open and support conversation, interactions and even relationships. If the Japanese transfer their rules of speaking to English and initially respond to griping with non-

commiserative replies, they may well miss the opportunities that can lead to further interaction. She concludes that from what appears in her research, it may be very difficult for Japanese learners of English to establish fertile ground for interaction.

In another study, Boxer (1996) used ethnographic interviews as a way of tapping into the norms of both L1 and L2 communities. She found troubles-telling to be used to further conversation, build relationships, and establish solidarity. She classified the responses to griping into six categories: 1) topic switch, 2) questions, 3) contradiction, 4) joking/teasing, 5) advice/lecture, and 6) commiseration. In that study, Boxer used two sets of interviews, one of which was structured and the other open-ended, to elicit responses to gripings. Her findings reveal that gripings were seen more as a positive way of sharing mutual information and building relationships. She also found that women participated more in troubles-talks than men and were recipients of more indirect complaints because they were seen as more supportive in general than men.

Significance of the Present Research

The present research is an attempt to study the replies Iranian university students make to griping on different personal and interpersonal issues in terms of the six categories mentioned earlier. It is different from the previous studies in that this study tries to discover whether or not the responses on different issues all serve to establish commiseration.

Methodology

Subjects: The subjects in this study comprised 50 university students - 25 male and 25 female - with a median age of 21 at Shahreza University, Iran. They were randomly selected from an original group of 40 female and 27 male students most of whom were majoring in 'English Translation'.

Instrument: A DCT questionnaire of twenty items was devised to serve the purposes of the study. The stem of each item provided a griping situation, demanding a reply from the subjects. Each item included six responses (x1, x2, x3, x4, x5, x6) in line with the six categories of griping responses [1) topic switch, 2) questions, 3) contradiction, 4) joking/teasing, 5) advice/lecture and 6) commiseration]. For example:

You meet a classmate at the university. He grumbles;” Did you see what a terrible exam Mr...(a very strict teacher) gave us again?” You say:

- a) *When is our next exam?*
- b) *What do you think your score will be?*
- c) *It was not a hard exam at all.*
- d) *Couldn’t be easier than that!*
- e) *You should have studied harder!*
- f) *Yeah, it was awful!*

Five items (1,4,14,15,19) were griping on different subject matters among friends, five items (3,5,10,12,16) among family members, another five (2,6,7,18,20) on casual matters among strangers and the last five (8, 9, 11, 13, 17) on deeper, more challenging matters (e.g. political) among strangers.

Any student coming into my office would receive the questionnaire and would be requested to fill it out right away (if he were not in a hurry), or take it with him, complete it and bring it back later.

Data analysis: The data obtained was submitted to a 2 by 6 ANOVA. Gender was the first variable to observe as a between-subject factor (gender: 1= male, 2= female). The second variable, griping, was observed as a within-group factor (griping: x1, x2, x3, x4, x5, x6). The result of ANOVA indicates griping to be significant ($F_{5, 190} = 21.09, 0.009$) while gender does not seem to play any significant role ($F < 1$). (see table 1)

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Griping (1=Male, 2=Female)

	GENDER	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Topic Switch	1.00	2.1500	2.30046	20
	2.00	2.3000	2.81163	20
	Total	2.2250	2.53678	40
Questions	1.00	3.1000	2.14966	20
	2.00	4.7500	3.22613	20

	Total	3.9250	2.83194	40
Contradiction	1.00	2.7500	3.32257	20
	2.00	3.1500	4.23364	20
	Total	2.9500	3.76182	40
Joking/Teasing	1.00	3.6000	1.93037	20
	2.00	.9000	1.20961	20
	Total	2.2500	2.09701	40
Advice/Lecture	1.00	3.8500	3.01357	20
	2.00	4.7500	4.81090	20
	Total	4.3000	3.98844	40
Commiseration	1.00	9.5500	3.63427	20
	2.00	9.1500	5.31408	20
	Total	9.3500	4.49815	40

In order to find which of the griping categories were preferred by the participants, a *post hoc* test (LSD) was run. (table 2)

Table 2. Post hoc Pair-wise Comparisons among Different Categories of Griping

(I) GRIPING	(J) GRIPING	Mean Difference (I- J)	Std. Error	Sig.(a)	95% Confidence Interval for Difference(a)	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	2	-1.700(*)	.612	.008	-2.940	-.460
	3	-.725	.802	.372	-2.348	.898
	4	-.025	.551	.964	-1.141	1.091
	5	-2.075(*)	.841	.018	-3.778	-.372
	6	-7.125(*)	.813	.000	-8.771	-5.479
2	1	1.700(*)	.612	.008	.460	2.940
	3	.975	.769	.213	-.582	2.532
	4	1.675(*)	.518	.003	.627	2.723
	5	-.375	.807	.645	-2.009	1.259
	6	-5.425(*)	.971	.000	-7.390	-3.460
3	1	.725	.802	.372	-.898	2.348
	2	-.975	.769	.213	-2.532	.582
	4	.700	.682	.311	-.680	2.080
	5	-1.350	.998	.184	-3.371	.671
	6	-6.400(*)	1.085	.000	-8.596	-4.204
4	1	.025	.551	.964	-1.091	1.141
	2	-1.675(*)	.518	.003	-2.723	-.627
	3	-.700	.682	.311	-2.080	.680
	5	-2.050(*)	.627	.002	-3.320	-.780
	6	-7.100(*)	.812	.000	-8.744	-5.456
5	1	2.075(*)	.841	.018	.372	3.778
	2	.375	.807	.645	-1.259	2.009
	3	1.350	.998	.184	-.671	3.371
	4	2.050(*)	.627	.002	.780	3.320
	6	-5.050(*)	1.170	.000	-7.419	-2.681

6	1	7.125(*)	.813	.000	5.479	8.771
	2	5.425(*)	.971	.000	3.460	7.390
	3	6.400(*)	1.085	.000	4.204	8.596
	4	7.100(*)	.812	.000	5.456	8.744
	5	5.050(*)	1.170	.000	2.681	7.419

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

The results indicate that category (x6) is more significant than others (figure, 1).

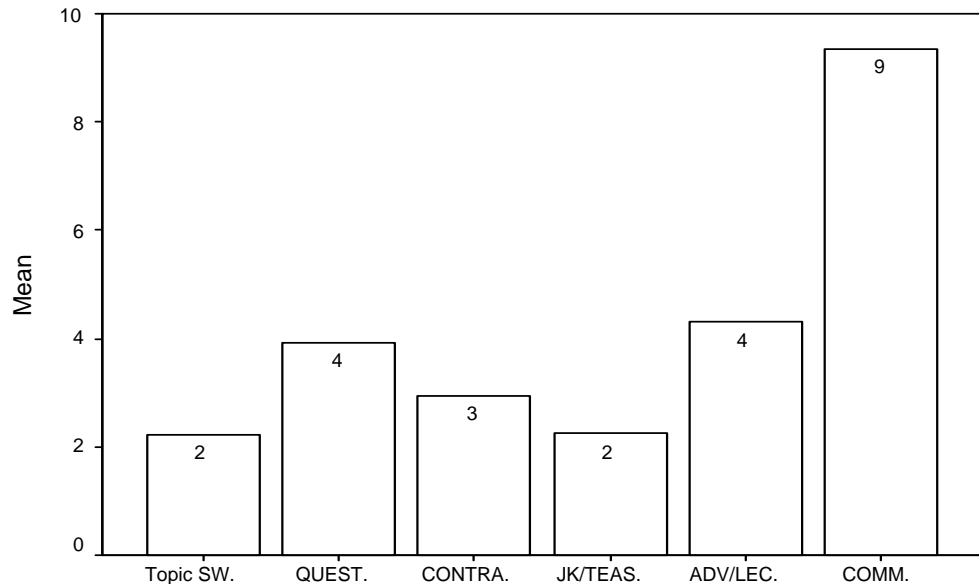


Figure 1. Participants' preferences for griping categories

A further analysis of the summed pairs (x1.x2, x3.x5, x4.x6) also indicates that griping is significant ($F_{2, 76}=12.123, P=0.002$) whereas the interaction of gender is again insignificant (see table, 3).

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Griping Categories Combined

	GENDER	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Topic Switch & Questions	1.00	5.2500	2.80741	20
	2.00	7.0500	4.31003	20
	Total	6.1500	3.70412	40
Contradiction &	1.00	6.6000	3.60409	20

Advice/Lecture	2.00	7.9000	5.44736	20
	Total	7.2500	4.60629	40
	1.00	13.1500	3.81514	20
Joking/Teasing & Commiseration	2.00	10.0500	5.09360	20
	Total	11.6000	4.71114	40

Figure 2 simply shows that category pair (x4.x6) is more significant than other pairs.

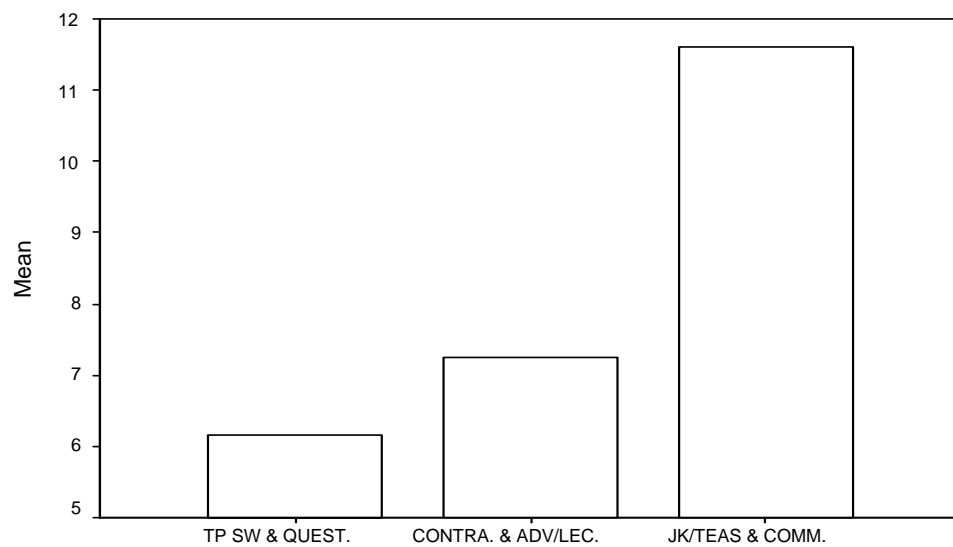


Figure 2. Bargraphs for category pairs

To gain more insight into the nature of griping, the questions were grouped into four categories in terms of types of conversation such as those between friends, between family members, on casual matters between strangers and on serious matters (e.g. political) between strangers. The results indicate a significant difference between griping categories ($F_{5, 180}=21.309$, $P=0.001$). However, the interaction between griping and question types was not significant ($F_{15, 180}= 1.351$, $P=0.176$), (see table 4).

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics for Categories with regard to Question Types (QTYPE)

	QTYPE	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Topic Switch	1.00	1.4000	1.34990	10
	2.00	1.1000	1.19722	10

	3.00	1.6000	2.01108	10
	4.00	4.8000	3.25918	10
	Total	2.2250	2.53678	40
Questions	1.00	4.1000	2.60128	10
	2.00	4.3000	3.68330	10
	3.00	3.1000	1.59513	10
	4.00	4.2000	3.29309	10
	Total	3.9250	2.83194	40
Contradiction	1.00	3.3000	2.21359	10
	2.00	3.2000	5.59365	10
	3.00	3.3000	4.02906	10
	4.00	2.0000	2.74874	10
	Total	2.9500	3.76182	40
Joking/Teasing	1.00	1.5000	1.50923	10
	2.00	3.4000	2.31900	10
	3.00	2.1000	2.23358	10
	4.00	2.0000	2.05480	10
	Total	2.2500	2.09701	40
Advice/Lecture	1.00	3.0000	2.16025	10
	2.00	4.5000	4.08928	10
	3.00	4.8000	2.93636	10
	4.00	4.9000	6.02679	10
	Total	4.3000	3.98844	40
Commiseration	1.00	11.7000	2.35938	10
	2.00	8.5000	5.29675	10
	3.00	10.1000	4.53260	10
	4.00	7.1000	4.50802	10
	Total	9.3500	4.49815	40

Discussion

Complaint, by definition, is an expression of dissatisfaction made by one individual to another concerning the behavior of the other, in case of direct complaint, or that of a third party in the case of griping. While the illocutionary force of griping can be said to establish solidarity, its perlocutionary effect may not meet the complainer's purpose.

The findings of this study suggest a significant difference between replies to griping, indicating that griping is mainly employed for commiseration and less for other purposes such as advice, joking and contradiction. This is in line with Boxer's claim that griping principally aims at commiseration. The findings reveal that in response to griping, Iranian students, most of the time, feel obliged to make further conversation and maintain solidarity through the supportive speech act of commiseration.

Compared with findings of research on direct complaint (e.g. Kasper, 1981; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1991; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Laforest, 2002), this study, by implication, can serve as a piece of evidence in support of Brown and Levinson's assumptions that, indeed, there are speech acts, such as griping, that are not only non-face-threatening but rather support seeking.

The findings, however, do not support Boxer's finding that women participate more in troubles-talks than men, or that women mostly commiserate with griping, but men contradict or give advice. The equal attention paid to griping strategies, by both female and male groups under study with regard to furthering this act, serves to show a strong similarity between them and illustrates how both sexes have mutually assumed at least within certain limits the same reply foremost for maintaining this non-face threatening act.

The findings also indicate that the commiserative response to griping occurs not only within friendly groups but also between strangers to establish, at least, a momentary solidarity based on presumed negative evaluation.

Final Remarks

There are numerous studies investigating the speech act performance of native speakers of different languages. It has become evident in such studies and comparative studies that although the typology of speech acts appears to be universal, their conceptualization and verbalization can vary to a great extent across cultures (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989, among others). In other words, speakers of different languages can have access to the same range of speech acts and realization strategies, but they can differ in the strategies they choose. Cross-cultural miscommunication is, thus, a result, not of poor linguistic competency, but a lack of understanding of cultural differences. In this respect, studies within the fields of pragmatics and sociolinguistics can have a tremendous impact on highlighting the potential areas one must look for in order to find out the similarities and differences between language behaviors of peoples from different cultural/linguistic backgrounds. As a result, L2 learners must be aware of L2 sociocultural constraints on speech acts in order to be pragmatically competent.

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Appendix

بنام خدا
 دانشجوی گرامی: خواهشمند است در پاسخگویی به سوالات ذیل
 نهایت دقت را بنمایید .
 سن : جنسیت :

1. یکی از همکلاسی هایتان را در دانشگاه می بینید . با حالت اعتراض می گوید : " دیدی آقای (یکی از استادان سختگیر) دوباره چه امتحان سختی گرفت ؟ " شما می گوئید :
 الف) راستی پس فردا هم امتحان دیگری داریم .
 ب) فکر می کنی نمره ات چند شود ؟
 ج) فکر نمی کنم امتحان سختی بود .
 د) امتحان از این که ساده تر نمی شد .
 ه) باید قبلا فکرش را می کردید .
 و) آره ! پدر همه را در آورد .
2. همراه چند مسافر دیگر در تاکسی نشسته اید . اتوموبیل جلوی شما که راننده اش زن است بد رانندگی می کند . راننده تاکسی

- (الف) آقا مسير بعدي شما كجاست
 (ب) مگر چكار مي كند؟
 (ج) آقايمان هم رانندگان خوبي نيستند .
 (د) عجب دست فرماني دارد .
 (ه) بايد همه در رانندگي مواظب باشند .
 (و) آره ، نمي دانم كي به زنها گواهينامه مي دهد

3. بعد از مهماني منزل يكي از اقوام ، برادر شما مي گويد :
 " عجب شام افتضاحي دادند . " شما مي گوييد :
 (الف) راستي سريال نقطه چين ساعت چند شروع مي شود ؟
 (ب) فكر مي كني چه قدر خرج کرده بودند ؟
 (ج) تازه بر عكس همان غذايي بود كه من دوست داشتم .
 (د) اما نوشابه اش خيلي خوشمزه بود .
 (ه) كمی هم قدر شناس باش .
 (و) واقعا مزخرف بود .

4. در مركز اينترنت دانشگاه هستيد اما سرعت آن پايين است.
 دوست شما مي گويد: " اين خط اينترنت هم به درد نمي خورد. " شما
 مي گوييد
 (الف) مي آيي برويم تريا نوشيدني بخوريم؟
 (ب) سرعت اينترنت دانشگاه چقدر است؟
 (ج) سرعت از اين بالاتر مي خواهي ؟
 (د) نه ، سرعتش زياد هم هست.
 (ه) بعد از ظهرها سرعت آن زياد است.
 (و) آره تا اين صفحه بيايد مي توانيم شام هم بخوريم .

- 5 . مشغول تماشايشي مسابقه فوتبال بين تيم ملي ايران و تيم
 ديگري مي باشيد. يكي از بازيكنان تيم ملي در كنار دروازه
 حريف توپ را به اشتباه به خارج مي زند . دوست شما عصباني مي
 شود و مي گويد : " اين هم هيچ وقت بازيكن نمي شود . " شما مي
 گوييد:

- (الف) اين قدر تند تند تخمه نشكن .
 (ب) فكر مي كني نتيجه چند چند شود ؟
 (ج) نه بابا ، زمين خراب است.
 (د) تقصير تير دروازه بود.
 (ه) تا آخر بازي را بايد ببينيم .
 (و) آره عجب شوت مسخره اي زد .

6. جهت نقد كردن چكي به بانك مراجعه مي كنيد . عليرغم
 ازدحام مشتريان در پشت باجه ، متصدي مربوطه مشغول صحبت خصوصي
 با همكارش هست. يكي از مراجعه كنندگان كنار شما مي گويد :
 " نگاه كن ! به جاي اين كه به مشتريان بپردازند به كارهاي شخصي
 خودشان مشغول اند . " شما مي گوييد :
 (الف) راستي قرعه كشي بانك كي است ؟
 (ب) شما هم براي نقد كردن چك آمده ايد ؟
 (ج) اتفاقا اين آقا خيلي سريع به مشتريان رسيدگي مي كند .
 (د) خوب ، صحبت هاي خصوصي جايش همين جاست .

ه) لطفا خونسردی خودتان را حفظ کنید .
و) اصلاً نمی بیند که چه ازدحامی شده است.

7. در صف نسبتاً طولانی نانوایی ایستاده اید شخصی بدون رعایت نوبت از نانوایی نان می گیرد و می رود. فردکنار شما می گوید :
" خجالت نمی کشد این همه آدم ایستاده اند آن وقت بدون نوبت نان می گیرد ." شما می گوید :
الف) امروز هوا گرمتر شده است .
ب) شما چند تا نان می خواهید ؟
ج) شاید قبلاً نوبت گرفته است.
د) فکر کنم نانوا از سبیلش ترسید.
ه) البته نمی شود زود قضاوت کرد .
و) رو که نبود !

8. یکی از بستگان شما با همسرش اختلاف دارد به شما برخورد می کند و می گوید که همسرش بنای ناسازگاری گذاشته است. شما می گوید :

الف) هنوز هم جمعه ها کوه می روی ؟
ب) فکر می کنی تقصیر با کیست ؟
ج) من مطمئنم که تو مقصری .
د) شما هم که همیشه مثل سگ و گربه هستید .
ه) باید خیلی بیشتر هوای همدیگر را داشته باشید .
و) آره این مردها / زنها همه سرو ته یک کرباسن.

9. در اتوبوس واحد می باشید . یکی از مسافرین رو به شما کرده می گوید : " دیگر نمی شود اتومبیل شخصی بیرون آورد . سی تومانی به بنزین اضافه کرده اند دوزار به حقوق ها ؟ " شما می گوید :

الف) (فقط نگاه می کنید و چیزی نمی گوید .)
ب) چه قدر به حقوق ها اضافه شده است .
ج) در مقایسه با خارج هنوز بنزین خیلی ارزان است .
د) آخر این بنزین ها با آن بنزین ها فرق می کند .
ه) من فکر می کنم استفاده از وسایل نقلیه عمومی برای همه بهتر است.
و) فقط بنزین که نیست. همه چیز را گران کرده اند.

10. با خانواده مشغول تماشای فیلم سینمایی می باشید اما برای بار دوم فیلم سینمایی قطع شده و آگهی بازگانی آن هم به مدت حدود ده دقیقه پخش شد . یکی از اعضای خانواده تان می گوید: " مردم را مسخره کرده اند با این فیلم نشان دادنشان ." شما می گوید :

الف) مسابقه فوتبال ساعت چند است ؟
ب) چند دقیقه است که پیام بازگانی پخش می کنند؟
ج) تو هم چه قدر فیلم سینمایی نگاه می کنی؟!
د) آخر پیام های بازگانی از فیلم سینمایی قشنگ تر است .
ه) پیام ها همه یا فقط درباره پفک است یا ماکارونی.
و) به نظر من این پیام ها مهمتر از فیلم سینمایی است .

11. در دكان قصابي فردي رو به شما مي كند و مي گويد : " هنوز عيد نشده ، قيمت همه چيز را گران کرده اند . ولي ، پول ما معلم ها را هي امروز و فردا مي كنند و آخرش هم نمي دهند . نمي دانم تا كي قرار است ما را مسخره كنند؟" شما مي گوييد :

الف) (فقط نگاه مي كنيد و چيزي نمي گوييد)
 ب) قرار است چقدر به حقوق ها اضافه شود ؟
 ج) فكر نمي كنم حقوق شما كم باشد .
 د) مگر قرار است كه به شما پول ديگري هم بدهند ؟
 ه) معلم ها هم بايد قناعت كنند .
 و) حالا حالا ها بايد دنبال پول بدويد .

12. پدر شما به خانه بر مي گردد . او كه چند كيلو مرغ در دست دارد رو به شما کرده مي گويد : " از اين به بعد مرغ هم نمي شود خريد . نمي دانم اين گراني تا كي ادامه خواهد داشت ؟" شما مي گوييد :

- الف) امشب همه به پارک برويم .
 ب) مرغ ها پاك کرده هستند ؟
 ج) فكر نمي كنم آن قدرها هم گران باشد .
 د) مرغ ها هم مرغهاي قديم .
 ه) خوب به جاي مرغ چيز ديگري مي خريديد .
 و) تا پدر همه در نيابد گراني همچنان خواهد بود .

13. در مغازه عينك فروشي يكي از مشتريان رو به شما کرده و مي گويد : " ديديد آقايي (يكي از مديران برجسته كه به جرم اختلاس دستگير شده است) هم كه همه اش سنگ ملت را به سینه مي زنند ، دزد از آب درآمد . پول ما بدبخت هاست؟" شما مي گوييد :

- الف) فقط نگاه مي كنيد و چيزي نمي گوييد .
 ب) مبلغ اختلاس چه قدر بوده است ؟
 ج) اين ها همه بازي سياسي است .
 د) بابا چيز زيادي كه نبوده .
 ه) آقا لطفا بحث سياسي نكنيد .
 و) به خاطر همين آدمهاست كه ما بدبختيم .

14. در رستوران دانشگاه يكي از دوستانتان رو به شما کرده مي گويد : " نگاه كن چه غذايي است؟ اين همه پول از ما مي گيرند و به ما چي مي دهند؟" شما مي گوييد :

- الف) ژتون غذايي هفته آينده را گرفته ايد؟
 ب) مبلغ هر وعده غذا چه قدر است؟
 ج) اين پولي كه از ما مي گيرند چندان زياد نيست .
 د) توكه پول از خودت نيست .
 ه) پس سعي كن با خوب درس خواندن تلافي اش را در بياوري .
 و) اصلا فكر نمي كنند كه ما هم آدمييم .

15. يكي از دوستانتان كه جهت انتقال به دانشگاه ديگري اقدام نموده است قبل از كلاس شما را مي بيند و مي گويد اين آقاي (يكي از مسئولان دانشگاه) هم كه اصلا به فكر مشكلات ما نيست . بعد از مدتها سر دواندن امروز گفت كه انتقال ممكن نيست . شما مي گوييد :

- (الف) عجله کن که کلاس دیر می شود.
 (ب) آیا همه کارهای انتقالی را درست انجام دادی؟
 (ج) مطمئناً علت انتقالی ات موجه نبوده است.
 (د) تا تو باشی که به فکر انتقالی نیفتی.
 (ه) به جای انتقالی سعی کن درسهایت را خوب بخوانی نه این که به فکر فرار باشی.
 (و) تاحالا به فکر کدام دانشجو بوده که به فکر تو باشد.

16. از دانشگاه به خانه باز می گردید و می بینید خواهر کوچکتان کتاب برادرتان را کاملاً پاره کرده و به خانه عمویتان رفته است. او با عصبانیت رو به شما کرده و می گوید " اگر دستم به (خواهرتان) برسد او را می کشم " شما می گوئید:
 (الف) بنشین تا برایم بگویم امروز در دانشگاه چه اتفاقی افتاده است.

- (ب) حالا کدام کتابت بود؟
 (ج) تقصیر خودت است باید وسایلت را جمع می کردی.
 (د) حالا مگر چه شده است بیا کتاب مرا بردار.
 (ه) خوب کاری کرد. تو که اصلاً کتاب خوان نیستی!
 (و) تصویر مادر است که او را خیلی لوس کرده است.

17. شخصی را می بینید که در خیابان رو به شما کرده و با فریاد می گوید: " عجب مملکتی است. روز روشن جیبم را زده اند و جناب پلیس هم فقط می گوید باید مواظب جیبت بودی تا دزد جیبت را نزنند. " شما می گوئید:
 (الف) نگاه می کنید و چیزی نمی گوئید

- (ب) چقدر دزدیده است؟
 (ج) حق با پلیس است.
 (د) شانس آوردید که خودتان را نزدیده است.
 (ه) باید در این جای شلوغ مواظب جیب برها باشیند.
 (و) پلیس هم که به درد مردم نمی خورد.

18. همسایه را در کوچه می بیند. وی که از دست همسایه روبرویی عصبانی است به شما می گوید: این آقای/خانم..... هم اصلاً ملاحظه نمی کند. هر شب یا صد تا مهمان دارد یا صدای تلویزیونشان آدم را کر می کند شما می گوئید:
 (الف) راستی حال همسر آقا / خانم - چه طور است؟

- (ب) مگه امشب هم مهمان دارند؟
 (ج) فکر نمی کنم آدمهای مردم آزاری باشند.
 (د) شاید تلویزیون جدیدی خریده اند!
 (ه) هر کس اختیار خانه اش را دارد.
 (و) بله، باید یک جوری بهشان تذکر داد.

19. در قرائت خانه دانشگاه همراه دوستان مشغول مطالعه هستید

. چند دانشجوی دیگر در میز کناری با صدای بلند مشغول صحبت هستند. دوستان به شما می گوید: " نمی دانم اینجا قرائت خانه است یا قهوه خانه؟ خجالت هم نمی کشند. " شما می گوئید:
 (الف) نگاه کن آقای/ خانم..... هم دارد می آید این جا.

- (ب) حالا در باره چی حرف میزنند؟
 (ج) ما هم اگر آقای/ خانم..... بود همین کار را می کردیم.

- د) بهتر از این جا کجا می شود راحت حرف زد ؟
- ه) درست را بخوان ؟
- و) رو که نیست !

20. چند دقیقه ایست که در ازدحام ایستگاه اتوبوس ایستاده اید . چند اتوبوس می آیند و می روند ولی به علت ازدحام بیش از حد هنوز نوبت شما نشده است . شخص پشت سر شما با عصبانیت می گوید : " آن وقت می گویند با وسایل نقلیه عمومی رفت و آمد کنید . نمی دانم چرا تعداد اتوبوس ها را زیاد نمی کنند . " شما می گویند :

- الف) (فقط نگاه می کنید و چیزی نمی گویند)
- ب) فکر می کنید چند دقیقه دیگر باید منتظر باشیم ؟
- ج) تعداد اتوبوس ها که زیاد است ؟
- د) این تقصیر تاکسی هاست که فقط در بست می روند .
- ه) الان اتوبوس بعدی می رسد .
- و) واقعا که ؟ چه قدر دیگر باید این جا بایستیم .