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Foreword

It's our pleasure to publish seven articles in this 2011 edition of *The Linguistics Journal*. We were sadly unable to publish any editions in 2010 due to difficulties. Our apologies are extended to those waiting for their work to be reviewed and published. With the relaunch of the journal, I would like to welcome back many former editors and to welcome on board some new editors. You may note that the format of the journal now includes shorter 'research notes', as well as the normal full research papers.

The first research paper in this edition is by Bader S. Dweik and Mariam M. Abu Shakra. Their study - *Problems in Translating Collocations in Religious Texts from Arabic into English* – investigates translations issues with the Holy Quran, the Hadith and the Bible and reminds translators to be aware of the disparities between Western and Arabic concepts and beliefs. The second paper by Fengjuan Zhang - *Prototype Theory and the Categorization of the English Tense System* – addresses prototypicality in cognitive studies on English tense system categorization. Following this is an extensive contribution by Arthur S. Firkins - *The Aboriginal Practitioner as Communication Mediator in Intercultural Bureaucratic Encounters* - which shows how Aboriginal practitioners in Australian government positions use communication strategies to mediate between the bureaucracy and their communities. Muneera Yahya Ali Muftah and Wong Bee Eng's paper - *English Verb Movement Parameter in the Interlanguage of L1 Arabic Speakers* - investigates the acquisition of English verb placement by L1 Arabic speakers of L2 English. The final research paper by Taweel, Abeer Q., Saidat, Emad M., Rafayah, Hussein A., and Saidat, Ahmad M. - *Hedging in Political Discourse* – uses a corpus from televised interviews to analyze the discourse of Arab politicians and leaders during the third Gulf War.

The new research notes section opens with John Esposito's *A Critical Approach to the Analysis of Advertisements* which connects second language acquisition to critical thinking and introduces a multidimensional approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. The final research note of the edition is contributed by Kamisah Ariffin and Misyana Susanti Husin - *Code-switching and Code-mixing of English and Bahasa Malaysia in Content-Based Classrooms: Frequency and Attitudes*. This paper investigates the realities of the Malaysian policy of English-medium content instruction and how code-switching ensues at the local classroom level.

We hope you enjoy this collection of articles and look forward to your continued support of the journal.

John Adamson, Ed.D.
Senior Associate Editor



Problems in Translating Collocations in Religious Texts from Arabic into English

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Abstract

This study aims at investigating the most serious problems that translators face when rendering cultural collocations in three religious texts namely, the Holy Quran, the Hadith and the Bible. It is postulated that collocations present a major hurdle for MA students majoring in translation particularly when translating collocations in religious texts. To achieve the goals of the study, the researchers selected a purposive sample that comprised 35 students enrolled in the M.A translation programs at the universities of Petra, Yarmouk and the University of Jordan. The researchers also constructed a translation test that consisted of 45 contextual short sentences randomly selected from the above-mentioned three religious texts and assigned 15 sentences for each religious text. The tests were ensured for validity and reliability by a panel of three university professors. In conclusion, the results of the study revealed that (i) translators encountered difficulties in lexical and semantic collocations (ii) translators of religious texts should be deeply aware of the nature of lexical and metaphoric collocations, should realize the disparities between Arabic concepts and beliefs and Western ones, and should always avoid literal translation by taking the context into consideration.

Keywords: problems, translating, culture, religious collocations, Arabic, English.

Introduction

Collocation is essentially a lexical relation between words that are likely to combine regularly with certain other words to form one semantic unit. However, this combination of words is not subject to rules but to certain constraints that determine the way they can be combined to convey meaning. The meaning resulting from collocation is not simply a matter of associations of ideas but, according to Palmer (1986, p.79), is "idiosyncratic" and cannot be predictable from the meaning of the associated words. Palmer gives the example of "blond" as an adjective referring to color. It is highly restricted in its distribution. "Blond" is associated with hair and not with door even if the color of the door is blond. Therefore, there is blond hair but not blond door.

The importance of collocations in language as well as in translation is considered paramount. Linguists' interest in the translation of collocations emerges from collocations' vital role in language. On the one hand, the ability to use and produce acceptable and appropriate collocations indicates language proficiency and on the other, their association plays a vital role organizing the relations within a text. Hence, they are "crucial to the interpretations of a text" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 287).

This significant role played by collocation in language as well as in translation has been acknowledged by linguists like Newmark (1988) and Abu-Ssyadeh, (2007). In this respect, Newmark (1988) considers collocations as the "nerves of the text...and lexis is the flesh" (p.213). Similarly, Abu-Ssyadeh (2007) indicates that the "interest" and "awareness" of research in the area of collocation is due to the significant role played by collocations as "central to the process of foreign language learning and translation" (p.70).

Despite their importance, collocations in general and Arabic collocations in

particular, pose a tremendous challenge to translators. Linguists (e.g. Newmark, 1988; Baker, 1992; Bahumaid, 2006) have revealed that translators would be faced by various problems in rendering collocations. Newmark (1988) has affirmed that the translator will have to deal with various problems of different sorts in rendering collocations.

Baker (1992) like others relates these problems to the relative variations of the cultural and linguistic collocability between the SL and the TL. That is to say, lexemes differ in their collocability from one language to another and what collocates in one language does not necessarily collocate in another. Furthermore, certain patterns of collocations reflect preference of the specific language. Baker (1992) gives the example of the verb "drink" whereby, in English it collocates naturally with liquids like "juice and milk", but does not collocate with "soup". Yet, what collocates with "soup" in Arabic is the verb "drink". It is then "yashrabual- as ?a" "يشرب الحساء", but not "يأكل "ya?kulual- as ?a" (p. 52)¹.

Moreover, the collocational range of words may be different in the SL and TL. Bahumaid (2006) gives the example of the verb catch. He indicates that collocational range of the verb "catch" differs when it collocates with nouns in Arabic from that in English. It collocates with "fish" / "يصاد سمكة" "ya du samakatan", "cold" / "يصاب" "yu bu bi nazlati bardin" and with "train" / "يلحق بالقطار" "yal aqu bil-qiri".

Collocations have the features of being "largely arbitrary and independent of meaning" (Baker, 1992, p. 48). The most important point about collocational meaning is that each lexeme makes an independent contribution to the meaning of the whole collocation. This recognizes the fact that lexemes have meanings that range from

¹ *Transcription adapted from Al-Arabiyya see (appendix, 1)*

normal to special or from restricted to idiomatic. For example, the central and most frequent meaning for the adjective "white" is found in "white snow" or "white paint". Clearly, "white lie" ("harmless") or "white night" ("sleepless"), are far remote from the central meaning of "white". Consequently, collocations could pose a tremendous challenge in translation, particularly if the translator lacks the ability to identify and recognize such collocational patterns, with their "figurative and unique meanings as different from the sum of meaning of individual words" (Baker, 1992, p. 53).

The difficult task of translating Arabic collocations into English is further aggravated when the translation of collocations deals with religious texts. Most of the problems encountered are due to the specificity of certain lexical items, which are rooted in the structure of the language and are deeply immersed in Arabic culture. Consequently, they reflect the cultural setting in which they occur. Farghal & Shunnaq (1999) believe that most collocations in religious texts such as collocations in the Holy Quran, the Hadith and the Bible carry unique linguistic and semantic features that are culturally specific, yet so comprehensive in meaning that equivalents in TL do not exist. Hence, they are untranslatable. Farghal & Shunnaq (1999) refer to " al t il-?stikh rah" " صلاة الاستخاره" and "attayammum" "التيمم" as evident examples to show that translators may confront difficulties in translating certain concepts that do not simply exist in the English –speaking culture.

Research question

The aim of the study was to point out the difficulties and problems that translators encounter when translating semantic and lexical contextualized collocations in three Arabic religious texts. As a result, the present study has attempted to answer the

following question:

"What problems do graduate students majoring in translation encounter when translating collocations in religious texts?"

Hypothesis of the Study

In this study, the researchers tried to find answers for the question raised. For this purpose, the researchers formulated the following hypothesis:

M.A students majoring in translation at private and public Jordanian universities encounter some serious problems when they translate religious collocations from Arabic into English texts due to the disparities between Arabic concepts and beliefs and the western ones and because the lexical and semantic contexts are not taken into consideration due to literal translation.

Significance of the Study

Dealing with collocations in religious texts is significant because studies that were previously conducted had been mostly concerned with investigating (EFL) learners' proficiency in rendering English collocations into Arabic. However, dealing with collocations in three religious texts, adds to what previous scholars did on the topic of collocations, yet it is different. For to the best of our knowledge, research in this area is quite limited and therefore this study may fill a gap in literature.

Limitations of the Study

- 1-This study is limited to two types of collocations: the lexical and the semantic.
- 2-Results cannot be generalized beyond the selected sample, which is composed of

students in the M.A translation program in three Jordanian universities.

3-The generalization of results are limited only to the test that was constructed by the researchers.

Review of literature

Theoretical Studies

Although a considerable amount of material on collocation has been written in English yet by contrast, studies on Arabic collocations and their relation to translation have been regarded as quite limited. Moreover, some of the available literature on collocation is derived from linguistic research. Bahumaid (2006) has stated, "the relatively few recent studies on collocations attempted by Arab researchers tend to utilize the conceptual framework developed in English lexical studies" (p. 136).

The concept of collocation adopted by Arab linguists such as El-Hassan (1982) and Ghazala (1994) was structured on Firth's² definition (1957) of the term collocation. Firth suggested that "meaning by collocation "is a lexical meaning" at the syntagmatic level" (Firth, 1957, p. 196). Since then, the concept of collocation became well known as part of the technical terminology of linguistics. Other British linguists and Arab linguists' conceptualization of collocation was almost a replica of Firth's definitions. However, they expanded it. Leech's (1974) "collocative meaning" consists of "the associations a word acquires on account of the meaning of words which tend to occur in its environment" (p. 20). Palmer (1986) focused on sense restrictions that are based wholly on the meaning of the collocated items. Similarly El-Hassan's (1982) "semantic compatibility" (p. 270) between lexical items that are combined according to rules that

² *The British linguist*

restrict their selections. This selection is based wholly on the semantic relation between them, as in the two Arabic adjectives "sh hiq" and " aw l". It is said, "rajulun aw lun" and not "rajulun sh hiqun" and "jabalun shahiqun" and not "jabalun aw lun". With regard to lexical collocations, our study ties in well with El-Hassan findings on semantic compatibility. However, with regard to semantic collocations; we tend to agree with Ghazala's findings who emphasized the challenges created by metaphoric collocations in religious texts (explained below).

Collocation in translation in religious texts particularly in the Holy Quran was the subject of investigation by (Abdelwali 2002; Ghazala 2004; Abdul-Raof, 2007).

Abdelwali (2002) has attributed the problems in translating the Holy Quran to the fact that "Quranic features are alien to the linguistic norms of other languages"(p.4). The combinations of semantic, rhetorical, phonetic and cultural features are not only distinct from the TL but also "distinct from other types of Arabic prose" (p. 3). On the syntactic level, there are features employed for semantic requirements and communicative goals. For example, among the linguistic features that are Quranic specific, is the frequent use of shift in personal pronouns from third person to second person and then back to first person in the same verse. This "linguistic mechanism" (p.4) that is quite common in the Quranic discourse, cannot even be "paraphrased" (p. 7). He further added that the "Quranic lexemes and styles were not captured in most of the English versions of the Quran" (p. 1).

Ghazala (2004, p.1) in his two-part study on collocations, has proposed certain classifications of collocations based on their grammatical and lexical structure and rhetorical function. While focusing on the problems that translators may face in rendering each type of collocations, has acknowledged that "Quranic expressions in

general and metaphoric collocations in particular create a tremendous challenge to translators who often fail to capture the "idiosyncrasies and cultural features of the Quranic discourse" (p. 26).

Similarly, Abdul-Raof (2007) argued, "the liturgical, emotive and cultural associations of expressions found in the Holy Quran pose the greatest obstacle to translator" (p. 12). Moreover, "Stylistic variation is one of the intriguing linguistic problems of Quranic discourse" (p. 1). On the lexical level only, stylistic variation is directly influenced by the context. He added that each lexical item has a set of intrinsic semantic features that condition their selectional restrictions. However, in the Holy Quran, for stylistic and rhetorical function, some lexical items violate the selectional restriction rule as in the example: "fa-bashshirhum bi aḏ bin ʿalīmin" "فَبَشِّرْهُمْ بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ" (Al-Inshiq q, 84). In this verse, the verb "bashshara" signifies [+ positive news], has collocated with the noun phrase " aḏ bin ʿalīmin" which signifies [- positive news]. Stylistically, however, the verb bashshara has violated the selectional restriction rule in order to achieve the rhetorical purpose of sarcasm and irony.

In the translation of the Bible and despite the enormous amount of studies found on translating the Bible, collocations as a separate topic were not researched. However, Nida (1964) discussed the complications of translating compound phrases, idioms and metaphoric phrases literally. He further emphasized that compound phrases and idioms that are culturally bound are extremely difficult to translate when "source and receptor languages represent very different cultures"(p. 168).

Empirical Studies

Most empirical studies conducted on collocations have mainly focused on the problems of translation among EFL learners. Zughoul & Abdul-Fattah (2003) aimed at investigating the competence of EFL university learners at both graduate and undergraduate levels, in rendering into English the Arabic verb "kasara" "broke". They conducted their study on two groups of EFL university students, from the Department of English at Yarmouk University. The study revealed that the overall performance of the subjects in the target collocations was far from satisfactory. The researchers concluded that the area of lexical collocations in translation is of prime importance. Therefore, EFL learners should gain direct teaching and exercises aimed at rising awareness of collocation.

On the other hand, Al-Ali (2004) investigated how MA students majoring in translation at two Jordanian universities interpret lexical items, words and phrases, which are familiar in everyday life but intended to convey opposite meaning in specific Quranic contexts. He used a corpus of twenty Quranic excerpts that were selected from different suras and students were asked to translate these from Arabic into English. The study concluded that students had encountered "overt" and "covert field specific knowledge problems" (p. 143). Analysis of results confirmed that only 12.5% of the translation of lexical items was rendered correctly while 64% revealed overt problems which eventually led to either literal translation or non-translation of items. The remaining 23.5% showed covert knowledge problem whereby the participants rendered one interpretation of an item that is familiar to them and failed to render the opposite intended meaning of the same item. His findings suggested that more attention should be paid to con-textual clues in order to detect the intended

meaning of familiar lexical items when they occur in unfamiliar contexts.

Collocational errors committed by advanced Arabic university students majoring in English were collected from students' free writings then classified and analyzed by Mahmoud (2005). 420 collocations were found in 42 essays, 80% of these were lexical collocations as opposed to 20% grammatical ones. The empirical study verified the informal observation and theoretical assertion that EFL learners produce "unnatural" or "strange" (p. 2) word combinations whereby 61% of the incorrect combinations whether grammatical or lexical were due to negative "interlingual transfer" (p. 8) from Arabic.

Bahumaid (2006) aimed at finding out the types of collocations that are particularly problematic to the translator. The results of test that was administered to four Arab university instructors who taught translation and did translation work for different periods of time showed that participants' overall performance was considerably low. The two-part translation test consisted of 30 sentences on contextualized collocations of different types. The sentences contained 15 English collocations and 11 Arabic ones in addition to 4 Arabic phrases within their contexts. Some of the collocations selected for the test were of the general type as "to make noise" while others were associated with specific register as "dull highlights" (p. 136) which relates to photography. The results showed that participants' overall performance in the two parts of test was considerably low. A detailed analysis of the problem showed that rendering "Arabic collocations, particularly culture-bound ones, posed a great challenge to translators" (p. 141) even for qualified and experienced translators.

Methods and Procedures of the Study

The Sample

The research undertaken for this study has focused on a sample of 35 M.A students majoring in translation at three different Jordanian universities, namely, Petra, Yarmouk and the University of Jordan for the academic year 2007/08. The participants had studied English for eight years at schools, had BA degrees in English and have completed most of the requirements in their M.A translation program. Most of those students belong to the category of working people. Hence, some have had the experience of working in translation.

The sample was purposively selected from the above-mentioned universities. Since the aim of the study was to investigate errors encountered by translators when rendering collocations in religious texts, a purposive sample of graduate students majoring in translation would fulfill this aim. Thus, the University of Jordan and Yarmouk University were selected as two major public universities that have a reputation of being the best and largest universities in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. In addition, they attract students from all over the country. They both offer master degrees in translation where competition is high over a limited number of seats in both universities. As expected, this competitiveness was reflected on the enthusiasm and efficiency of public universities' students when taking the translation test. However, Petra University represents the private sector where the students who enroll in it are of wider age range. The sample selected from Petra university included students who were much older, 30-49, than the students enrolled in the two public universities previously mentioned above 21-30. In addition, the sample selected from Petra University included students who had a working experience background in translation that made them slightly different from the previously mentioned universities. The information about the respondents' general background such as age, gender, level of education, first language and

translation experience was obtained by means of a demographic questionnaire³ The sample consisted of 35 students including 7 males and 28 females. Age ranged from 21 to 49 years. All the students were Moslems in addition to being native speakers of Arabic. Twenty-five students out of 35 had translation work experience before while 10 students did not have any. The following table illustrates the sample:

Table 1: The Background of the participants

Age	Gender		Religion		Level of Education		First Language		Work Experience	
	M	F	Mos.	Christ.	MA	BA	Arab.	Eng.	Yes	No
21-29	5	22	27	0	27	0	27	0	20	7
30-39	1	4	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0
40-49	1	2	3	0	3	0	3	0	1	2
Total	7	28	35		35		35		26	9
	35		35							

Table (1): Key: Male (M), Female (F), Moslems (Mos), Christians (Christ), Master Degree Candidates (MA), Bachelor Degree (BA), Arabic (Arab.), English (Eng).

Instrument of the Study

In this study, a translation test (1)⁴ was used as an instrument to find out the problems encountered by M.A translation students when translating collocations in religious texts from Arabic into English. The translation test consisted of 45 relatively short sentences that included enough contextual information for students to be able to render the intended collocations. The primary data source was randomly selected from the three

³ Demographic questionnaire (see appendix, 2).

^{iv} Translation test (1) (see appendix 3)

religious texts namely, the Holy Quran for part (A) of the test. Part (B) of the test (the Hadith) was gathered from two books of Hadith; one is the An-Nawawis: Forty Hadiths (1990) and the other book is The Blessing of Islam (1997). As for Part (C) (the Bible), the test was constructed from collocations from the Bible. The test was divided into three parts; in each part, there were 15 collocations, within their context.

The selection of collocation was restricted to two types of collocations:

(1) Lexical selection, which was based on the semantic restrictiveness between the two constituents of the collocation. In other words, one element of lexical collocation is restricted in its selection of its other collocate due to the semantic restriction. Lexical collocations selected consisted mostly of (i) verb + noun (ii) verb + verb (iii) noun + noun (iv) noun + adjective. For example, the verb "kashafa" in the collocation, "kashafa a urra" selects certain nouns to collocate with such as; "al ađ b " "a ur " " ass ?".

(2) Semantic selection. This is the other type of collocations that was selected for the test and it was based, metaphoric and stylistic collocations. In such collocations, there was a semantic message that could only be rendered through the comprehension of the metaphor or the euphemism employed in such collocations as in the example taken from the Bible: (Matthew, 5:45, p.13) "يشرق بشمسه على الأشرار والصالحين" - "yushriqu bishamsihi

The sun indicates here indicates "light / warmth". The connotation of this collocation is that Christ spreads warmth and happiness over the good and the bad. Moreover, the light he radiates could be his inner soul. In any case, received translations missed the metaphoric message.

In designing the test, the researchers did two things:

1-Special care was taken to ensure that the sentences used in the test contained sufficient context clues that would assist the subjects in distinguishing the various types of collocations and help them in their translations.

2- The researchers purposively concealed the sources of the different collocations used in the translation test so that answers would not be easily accessible to the sample. In the Holy Quran, the name of the Surah and number of Ayas were not provided for the sample. This was also applied to the Hadith and the Bible. However, the various sources of collocations are provided in test (2)⁵.

Validity of the Test

A panel of three university professors who have a teaching experience in translation and linguistics ensured the validity of the test. They were asked to determine the face and content validity of the collocations selected and were requested to provide their comments, and recommendations. The professors were responsive and suggested reducing the number of collocations from 60 to 45 due to the nature of religious collocations, which required deep comprehension and deliberation.

Reliability of the Test

The reliability was achieved by means of a test-retest. The translation pretest was administered to a group of four professional translators who were purposively selected due to their long years of experience in the translation field. Those professional participants were not part of the sample. Their feedback provided beneficial and constructive comments. They acknowledged the intensity of religious collocations and

⁵ Translation test (2) (see appendix ,4)

realized that translation of such collocations would require deep comprehension. Therefore, participants were allowed a week time to finish the test as a homework assignment.

Analysis of the Study

The following procedures were taken in analyzing the test:

- 1- After administering the test, the researchers analyzed students' responses after they were tabulated on computer sheets and a program was run to calculate frequencies and percentages of collocational errors committed by students.
- 2- Further analysis for each category of the test, whether lexical or semantic, was tabulated and computed to find out the highest percentage of type of errors.

Results, Analysis and Discussion

The results of the study were presented with respect to the research question: "what problems do graduate students majoring in translation encounter when translating collocations in religious texts?"

- 1- The criteria for what is acceptable or unacceptable were based on producing what seemed necessary for an acceptable translation to produce that is the same ,or at least similar, effects on the TL readers as those created by the original work on its readers. If participants fail to recognize and perceive the connotations carried by metaphoric collocations within their context, and opted for literal translation, then the connotations are likely not to be transferred as a result of the translator's failure to acknowledge them. They will be entirely lost to the majority of the TL readers; consequently, the translation will be ineffective.

2- In lexical collocations, the criteria for incorrect rendering relied mostly on the various strategies opted for by translators in rendering intended collocations. The two most prominent strategies employed by the students were synonymy and deletion. When students select certain synonyms for lexical constituents that would result in a collocational clash, then students have demonstrated their lack of knowledge of collocational restrictions.

In addition, certain lexical collocational constituents that are so culture-specific and comprehensive in meaning such as "attayammum" "التيمم" or "salimat yad k" "سلمت يداك", have no precise equivalent in the TL. If students have failed to select from synonymous items the closest equivalent synonymy that have the same or similar meaning in the TL, then certainly the translation will sound unnatural and nonsensical to the TL. Deletion and leaving collocational constituents untranslated were another criteria that demonstrated students' lack of knowledge of lexical collocations.

3- Acceptable renditions were the ones that conveyed the connotative message in semantic collocations. However, in lexical collocations, paraphrase, which combined most synonyms for certain lexical items, was acceptable, using the nearest synonymy that made sense to the TL was also acceptable.

4- In order to identify the appropriate meaning of intended collocations, the researchers consulted prominent exegetical works such as the Books of Tafseer by Ibn-Katheer (1986) and Al-Zamakhshari (2002) as well as the interpretation of Pickthall (1930), *The meaning of the Glorious Quran*. In addition, researchers referred to bilingual dictionaries such as Al-Mawrid, Arabic-English (1998); *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, (1974) and *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, (3rd ed., 1974; 4th ed., 1989).

Table (2) below indicates that the total number of translated items for 15 collocations was 525 out of which, 491 (93.6%) collocations were incorrectly rendered. Category (i) includes 223 frequencies (42.5%) errors of lexical type, whereby the students failed to find the precise equivalent of certain lexical constituents due to the specificity in meaning. Moreover, category (i) shows that 194 frequencies (37%) out of 525 are semantic errors committed by the students. These errors were a consequence of students' inability to recognize and identify collocations that are employed for specific purposes and thus carry certain semantic messages. Category (ii) presents the deleted items accounting for 74 frequencies (14.1%). In many cases, students tended to delete certain items due to negligence or difficulty in translation. With regard to acceptable correct responses in category (iii), the table shows that students' performance was very low with 34 frequencies and (6.4%).

**Table 2: Frequencies & Percentages of Collocational Errors for 35 Students:
Part (A) the Holy Quran (N=15)**

Category (iii)		Category (ii)		Category (i)				Collocations of part (1) Holy Quran (No=15)
Correct		Deletion		Semantic		Lexical		
%	Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr.	
-----	-----	17.1%	6	82.9%	29	----	----	حَتَّمَ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ
---	----	20%	7	80%	28	----	----	أَبْصَرَهُمْ غَشَاوَةً
20%	7	----	----	80%	28	-----	----	وَأَبْيَضَّتْ عَيْنَاهُ
-----	----	-----	----	----	----	100%	35	شَيْطَانٍ رَجِيمٍ
20%	7	20%	7	-----	-----	60%	21	أَسْتَرْقُ السَّمْعَ
11.42%	4	14.28%	5	74.3%	26	-----	-----	فَضَرَبْنَا عَلَى آذَانِهِمْ
8.6%	3	8.6%	3	82.8%	29	-----	----	وَهَنَ الْعَظْمُ مِنِّي
2.9%	1	11.4%	4	85.7%	30	-----	----	وَأَشْتَعَلَ الرَّأْسُ شَيْبًا
		20%	7			80%	28	وَكَشَفْنَا مَا بِهِمْ مِنْ ضُرِّ
--	---	31.42	11	68.6	24	-----	-----	ظُلًّا وَجْهَهُ مُسْوَدًّا
20%	7	20%	7	-----	-----	60%	21	فَصَنَعَتْ وَجْهَهَا
14.3%	5	11.4%	4	-----	-----	74.3%	26	عَجُوزٌ عَقِيمٌ
---	-----	11.4%	4	-----	-----	88.6%	31	
-----	----	14.2%	5	-----	-----	85.7	30	الْيَتِيمِ فَلَا تَقْهَرْ
-----	----	11.4%	4	-----	-----	88.6%	31	السَّائِلِ فَلَا تَنْهَرْ
correct		Deletion		semantic		Lexical		Total collocations for 35 students
%	total	%	total	%	total	%	total	
6.4%	34	14.1%	74	37%	194	42.5%	223	

Based on the students' translation, two types of errors were observed with regard to the two types of collocations:

(i) Errors of lexical type

It would be informative to list some collocations (as table 2 shows) with the highest erroneous frequencies and percentages to show why rendering collocations of religious

nature proved to be a difficult task.

The table shows that restricted lexical collocations created problems for the subjects of the study. The difficulty is attributed to the lack of precise equivalent of certain lexical constituents of the collocational patterns that reflect an area where intercultural equivalence does not exist in the target language. In addition, the inherent difficulty involved in the comprehensive and specific meaning of theological collocational constituents is irreplaceable by any other synonymous lexical items even if they share the same semantic field. These two points are applicable to the three examples given. In the noun +adjective collocational pattern, "شَيْطَانٌ رَّجِيمٌ" "shay nun raj m" inadequate responses accounted for 35 frequencies (100%). Different responses have been received, whereby none of the responses can separately be considered an equivalent to the two constituents of the collocation. The reason behind this is the fact that this collocation has a much wider scope of semantic meaning than the ones received. Each lexical item received such as "outcast, damned, stoned , cursed and disgraced" neither replaces the collocant "رَّجِيمٌ" "raj m", nor can be considered an equivalent to it. Consequently, when "cursed" is selected to collocate with "devil", the meaning indicated by the outcome "cursed devil" is redundant. Since "devil" means, "a personal supreme spirit of evil represented in Jewish and Christian beliefs as the tempter of mankind" (Webster's Dictionary, 1979, p. 309), while "cursed" indicates, "someone or something being under a curse-to bring great evil upon/ damnable" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 1974, p. 212). Since "devil's" evil is inherent, then to bring evil upon evil renders only one constituent of the intended collocation, thus eliminating the collocation "شَيْطَانٌ رَّجِيمٌ" "shay nun raj m" to one element only.

Another noun-verb collocational pattern that created a challenge to translators was

the noun-verb collocation "السائل فلا تنهر" "assa?ila fal tanhar".. It accounted for 31 frequencies (88.6%) errors. The meaning of the constituent "السائل" "assa?ila. was more comprehensive than any of the received renditions; "pauper" "one who receives aid from public poor funds" Webster's (p. 834), "beggar" "a person who lives by begging others' charities i.e. money, food. (Oxford, p. 73) and "mendicant" "a person who is making a living as a beggar" (Webster, p.711). All were able to convey one shade of the meaning of " " "assa?il" which is related to material needs such as money/food / home/. However, there is another embedded meaning to the term " " "assa?il" that was missing in the students' translations. "Assa?il" literally "is a term that denotes anyone who asks for help in a difficult situation whether physical, moral or material". Therefore, the term is so semantically inclusive to even include students who are in need of more knowledge, can be called " " "assa?il" (Al-Zamakhshari , 2002, p. 757).

Similarly, the verb+noun collocational pattern "wa kashafn m bihim min urr" "كشفتنا ما بهم من ضر", was problematic to translators. It accounted for 28 frequencies (80%) inadequate renditions. Such inadequacy demonstrated students' lack of knowledge of collocational restrictions of the verb +noun collocation when they mistakenly selected the wrong constituent of the collocation, which led to a collocational clash. Received translations were "removed the distress", "relieved them of the harm afflicting them". The clash occurred when the students collocated the verb "remove" with "distress" which collocates easily with "relieve, avoid, alleviate and ease" but not remove.

(ii) Semantic Errors

Most semantic errors committed by students are due to students' failure in recognizing the unusual combination of words that carry certain semantic messages and are employed in religious texts for stylistic and rhetorical functions to create "images". It is what Baker (1992) called "marked collocations" (p. 61). Such collocations have in addition to their denotative and referential meaning another more comprehensive connotative metaphorical sense, which often involves implicit messages. Consequently, selectional restrictions are violated and constituents of this type do not follow the semantic restrictions that other common collocations follow. Nevertheless, "elements of metaphoric collocations are uniquely restricted to each other". (Baker, 1992, p. 61). Most collocational patterns in the Holy Quran are considered to be unusual; such as: "اشتعل الرأس شيباً" "ishta alar-ra?su shayb " "أسود وجهه" "?isswadda wajhuhu " "صكت وجهها" " akkat wajhah "

In table (2), the total number of received translations with regard to semantic patterns of collocations was 194 frequencies (37%) out of 525. Students were confronted with problems in translating these collocations due to their failure of conveying the message intended.

For example, the collocation, "خَتَمَ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ" "khatamal-l hu al qul bihim", which had a frequency of 29 (82.9%) incorrect responses was rendered as "God sealed off their hearts" and "Allah has stamped their hearts". In such renditions, students failed to convey the implicit message embedded in this collocations. According to Al-Zamakhshari (2002, p. 57) and Ibn Katheer (1986, p. 45), the verb " " "khatama" in "khatamal-l hu al qul bihim", is used metaphorically to describe the unbelievers who refuse to listen, hear and perceive the truth as if their hearts and senses are sealed

off by a seal

Another example that created a problem in translation was the collocation "أشتعل" "ʾishta alar-raʿsu shayb". Students failed to recognize the selectional restrictions of the verb "ʾishta ala" when it is used with "shaybu raʿsu". Errors accounted for 30 frequencies (85.7%). Inadequate lexical items were 'glistens', "shines", "glows" all of which belong to one semantic field that conveys a sense of brightness which in fact cannot be applicable here and do not express the meaning of "ʾishta ala" in this verse. The metaphor used here indicates that grey hair has covered all of the head so there is no black hair left just like the burning process where the fire eats up everything so there is nothing left.

Similarly, the collocation "فاأرأبنا أأنا أأنا" "fa arābna al-ʾaḍniḥim" was incorrectly rendered accounting for 26 frequencies (74.3%) of semantic errors. Received translations such as; "struck their ears", "sealed up their hearing" and "smote their ears", could never be equivalent to the message intended. It is true that the verb "arāba" can be used to express several meanings in Arabic, but here, "fa arābna al-ʾaḍniḥim", is metaphorically used to imply according to Al-Zamakhshari (p. 677) and Ibn Katheer (p. 73) that "they fell into deep sleep where sounds had no effect on them".

Table 3: Frequencies & Percentages of Collocational Errors for 35 Students: Part (B) the Hadith (N=15)

Correct		Deletion		Semantic		Lexical		Collocations
%	Fr.	%	Fr.	---	---	%	Fr.	
----	----	77%	27	---	---	23%	8	
57.1%	20	17.1%	6	---	---	25.7%	9	وإيتاء الزكاة
62.9%	22	37.1%	13	---	---	----	----	
5.7%	2	45.7%	16	---	---	48.6%	17	وحج البيت
57.1%	20	34.3%	12	---	---	8.6%	3	
20%	7	34.3%	12	---	---	45.7%	16	
14.3%	5	40%	14	---	---	45.7%	16	
---	---	37.1%	13	---	---	62.9%	22	.
8.6%	3	28.6%	10	---	---	62.9%	22	
---	---	11.4%	4	---	---	88.6%	31	وعقوق الوالدين
31.4%	11	22.6%	8	---	---	45.7%	16	وشهادة الزور
---	---	42.9%	15	---	---	57.1%	20	وسويت به صدورها
20%	7	----	----	----	---	80%	28	
20%	7	2.6%	1	---	---	27%	27	وعودوا المريض
42.9%	15	11.4%	4	---	---	16%	16	عابر سبيل
Correct		Deletion		Semantic		Lexical		
%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	Responses Summary
22.7%	119	29.5%	155	--	--	47.8%	251	525

Table (3) shows that the total number of collocations received were 525 collocations. Lexical errors accounted for 251 frequencies (47.8%) of the total number of collocations received. Deleted items registered 155 frequencies (29.5 %) and the correct answers received were 119 (22.7%).

Despite the fact that certain collocational patterns such as "iq matu - al h " " إيتاء الزكاة " ? t ?uz-zak h" " awmu rama n" " " ajjul-bayt " " _____ البيت are all religious concepts shared by non-Muslims and assumingly equivalent terms in English are easily found, yet finding equivalents to the lexical constituents was problematic. Students have retained the linguistic nature of these collocations but

completely ignored the Islamic connotations of such concepts. Renditions indicate that students tended to restrict the sense of the lexical words as they transfer them from Arabic into English. For example, the lexical constituent of "ʔiq mat" was rendered as "performing" while "sal t" was rendered as "prayers". In fact, "sal t" is more inclusive than prayer. It carries a linguistic meaning, which can be rendered as prayers. However, there is another "shar a" meaning that is implicit in both "sal t" and "ʔiq mat" and which causes them to be collocationally restricted. Therefore, the rendition of "ʔiq mat" as "perform" is inadequate because everyone can perform prayers but not everyone can "yuq m a sal t". "ʔiq mat i sal t" indicates that the whole being is in submission to the grace of Allah unlike "performing" which indicates the practical side of sal t. If "perform" is to be defined literally as: "ينجز، يصنع، يؤدي، يفي" "yunjiz, ya na , yuʔaddi, yaf biwa d" (Al-Mawrid, p. 673) and in English as: "to perform a task / play / something one is ordered to do" (Oxford, p. 622), then, the term "sal t" is not equivalent to prayers. The "shar a" connotative meaning is also applicable to other related terms such as, "zak t" and "hajj". Both are related to specific religious concepts or practices and have far-reaching connotations that are not shared with the TL readers.

Similar errors were attributed to the wrong selection of restricted collocants particularly when rendering the collocations "uq qul-w lidayn" "عقوق الوالدين". Received translations of both collocations were like "undutifulness to parents", "disrespect", "ingratitude". These translations share neither the comprehensive semantic value of the term "uq qu" "عقوق", nor the restrictiveness of this noun collocant to only one sole noun collocant "elw lidayn" "الوالدين". According to the Islamic and cultural definition of the term, "uq q" is one of greatest sins "kab ʔir" in Islam. Originally, the

Table 4: Frequencies & Percentages of Collocational Errors for 35 Students: Part (C) the Bible (N=15)

Semantic Errors		Lexical Errors		Deletion		Correct		Collocations
%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr	%	Fr.	
		57.1%	20	28.6%	10	14.3%	5	ثم صعد الروح ببسوع
		68.6%	24	31.4%	11	----	0	
74.3%	26			20. %	7	5.7%	2	
		40%	14	57.1%	20	2.9%	1	
		62.8%	22	34.3%	12	2.9%	1	لطيور السماء أوكار
		40%	14	28.6%	10	31.4%	11	صرير الأسنان
		57.1%	20	20%	7	22.9%	8	طريحة الفراش
		28.6%	10	31.4%	11	40%	14	
		54.3%	19	17.1%	6	28.6%	10	
		54.3%	19	25.7%	9	20%	7	
		31.4%	11	34.3%	12	34.3%	12	
		57.1%	20	20%	7	22.9%	8	صاح الديك
80%	28			20%	7	---	0	مقيدين بالسلاسل
		42.9%	15	20%	7	37.1%	13	يوم الحساب
60%	21			34.3%	12	5.7%	2	يشرق بشمسه
Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr	%	Fr.	Summary	Total
75	14.3%	208	39.6%	28.2%	148	17.90%	94	525
Total Errors of Semantic & Lexical								
53.9%		283						

Table (4) shows the percentages and frequencies of errors, deleted and correct responses. Out of 525 received translations of the 35 respondents, 283 (53.9%) is related to lexical and semantic errors combined. Restricted lexical collocations accounted for 208 (39.6%) of the total 525 items in the translation test while errors of semantic type accounted for 75 frequencies (14.3%) of the total 525 items in the test. The low percentage of semantic errors is due to the distribution of items of the test. Tested items

of metaphorical type were 3 out of 15 resulting in 105 responses, compared to 12 tested lexical items resulting in 420 responses. However, the deleted items of the two types of collocations, lexical and semantic, registered a high frequency of 148 (28.2%). The outcome of the analysis has revealed that there are two types of errors committed by students (i) lexical errors (ii) semantic errors.

(i) Lexical Errors

The low performance of students with regard to incorrect responses, whether lexical or semantic resulted in unnatural translations that are regarded alien to the target language. The percentage of correct responses is far below the anticipated results taking into consideration that students had already been exposed and familiar with certain collocations that were either used or heard throughout their school years. For example, the collocation "صاح الديك" " had-d k" "شهادة الزور" "shah datuz-z r" "عودة المريض" " awditi il-mar " "سنتحت الفرصه" "sana atil- fur aha", are all collocations of everyday use and consequently their renditions by the participants of the study should have been easy and adequate.

One example that has a very low percentage (22.9%) is the collocation "صاح الديك" " had-d k", accounting for 8 frequencies of the correct responses. In this collocation, the lexical verb " " " ha" which represents the sound of the rooster has an equivalent that can be easily looked up in bilingual dictionaries. It is defined by Oxford (p.286) as: "crowed". Yet, it was literally rendered as "shouted" or "cried".

Other errors in renditions were attributed to the wrong selection of synonymous lexical items that belong to the same semantic field and share certain semantic features. However, every synonym has its own collocational range, which is dependent on its

situational and linguistic context, and therefore, each synonym has a certain collocational restrictiveness. "عابسي الوجوه" "bis elwuj h" is one of the examples whose lexical constituents were confused with similar synonyms that describe the mood or the behavior of people. (68.6 %) of the received translations were marked incorrect; "furious" , having the meaning of "full of fury" Oxford Dictionary (p. 350), "gloomy" carries the meaning of "dark/ un lighted/depressed" (p. 366), "Stern" on (p. 847) means, "severe/ strict of a face, looks, or treatment", "sulky" on (p. 865) is defined as: "un sociable / in a bad temper" "Sullen" (p. 866) "dark and gloomy / bad- tempered". Such synonyms are not equivalent to the lexical constituent "bis" which is defined by Hans Wehr (p. 588) as, "abasa" is to "frown / knit one's brows".

Similarly, in rendering the collocation "ولطيور السماء أوكار" "wa li uy ris-sm ?i ?awk r (62.6%) of responses defined it as "birds' nests" and " birds' dens" Actually, nests are "places made or chosen by a bird for its eggs" Oxford (p. 565). Yet, if the context is to be considered here, then the intended birds are not the small birds that have nests but birds of prey like eagles which that take "aeries" as their nests. "Aeries" are "nests of other birds of prey that are built high up among rocks" Oxford (p. 15). As for dens, it is "an animal hidden place as a cave" (Oxford, p. 230).

(ii) Semantic Errors

The challenge in translating metaphoric collocations is due to specificity and emotiveness of the biblical collocations. This has led the students to ignore the collocational meaning and substitute the individual words with their denotative equivalents. This led to the failure of conveying the implied message intended and caused a collocational clash. Examples below illustrate students' literal translations of

metaphoric collocations:

Inadequate received translations of the metaphoric collocation "مقيدين بالسلاسل" "muqayyad na bissal sil" accounted for (80%) of the respondents' answers. Students' renditions were like "cuffed by chains" or "bound by chains". These do not convey the meaning of the metaphoric collocation "chained". However, the implied meaning here refers to them being "confined/ "restrained" and "imprisoned" Advanced Oxford Dictionary (p. 136).

As for the difficulty in rendering the collocation "amalu-llah", it is evident that mistranslation is due to the cultural gap between the two languages. Baker (1992) emphasizes "when certain collocations reflect the cultural setting, in which they occur or when collocations express ideas previously un expressed in the TL, then definitely neither equivalents will be accessible, nor the semantic message will be comprehended" (p. 61). Accordingly, the collocation " amalu-llah" is a culturally bound collocation that is marked as being symbolic and implicitly carry a semantic message that was not rendered by the students. " amalu-llah" literally means a "lamb" yet symbolically is related to "innocence and sacrifice" .

In mistranslating this collocation "yushriqu bishamsihi al al?ashr ri wa - li n" "يشرق بشمسه على الأشرار والصالحين", students caused a collocational clash. They collocated the possessive pronoun "his" with the "sun". Received translations were as such: "shine with his sun". Literally, the "sun" and "his" do not collocate because the sun does not belong to any one and hence cannot be made by this one to shine. The implied message here is the symbolic meaning of the "sun" which indicates "light / warmth".

Summary of Findings and Discussion

The data analysis presented conclusive evidence that M.A translation students commit errors of lexical and semantic types when rendering collocations of religious nature. Erroneous translations are mostly attributed to the participants' unfamiliarity with certain collocations in the SL as well as in the TL and to their incapability of identifying collocations in their first language. For example, the two verbs "passed away" and "died" are synonyms and both can equally collocate with people. However, only "died" collocates with animals. This is true in Arabic, if students are incapable of recognizing that the collocations "m ta" " " "qa na bahu" "قضى نحبه" "tuwufiyya" " " and "nafaqa" " " , are synonymous words and that only " m ta", "qa na bahu" and "tuwufiyya" collocate easily with people, whereas" " "m ta" and " " "nafaqa" collocate with animals , then definitely students demonstrate lack of collocational knowledge. Examples are taken from (Al-Tha'aalibi, 1981, p. 46) In general, unfamiliarity with collocations may be due to two factors. The first factor is related to the fact that collocations in religious texts have low frequency of occurrence in everyday language so that translators do not usually have sufficient exposure to such types. Consequently, students could not distinguish between two similar lexical items in Arabic and this confusion was consequently reflected in their English translations. For example, the verb "?istaraqa" in the collocation, "?istaraqas-sam a" " " , was confused with "saraqa" " " . In fact, these findings are highly consistent with inferences drawn by Baker (1992) "collocations which have little or no history of recurrence catch our attention and strike us as unusual" (p. 50). Hence cannot be easily identified by translators.

The second factor that is relevant to this unfamiliarity is "the relative difficulty in

predicting the selectional restrictions of the constituent elements of a collocation" (Bahumaid, 2006, p. 134). This means that the combination of lexical items within a given construction is conditioned by certain semantic features, which restrict the collocational selection of those items. However, in religious texts and particularly in the Holy Quran, Abdul-Raof (2007) indicated, "certain lexical items may violate the selectional restriction rule for rhetorical and stylistic functions" (p. 25). Most collocational patterns in the Holy Quran and in the Bible are considered to be unusual; such as: "?isswadda wajhuhu" "أسود وجهه" "ishta alar-ra?su shayb" "اشتعل الرأس شيباً" " akkat wajhah "صكت وجهها". Students' unfamiliarity with the association of these collocational constituents and their nonstandard compositionality made them unable to distinguish whether the meaning is literal or metaphorical.

On the other hand, the cultural diversity between the two languages is a hindrance in translation. Linguistically, an extreme problem is formed by lexical holes where a lexical item does not have a lexical equivalent in TL. Shunnaq (1997) has emphasized that what is considered culturally acceptable in SL culture may be regarded as totally strange and mysterious. The rendition of the collocation, "ظل وجهه مسودا وهو كظيم" "alla wajhuhu muswaddan wahuwa ka m" as "his face darkens", provides literal equivalence which is, by no means acceptable. It sounds nonsensical and unnatural to TL even if it is explained through the context (the birth of a baby girl in a family makes the father angry and full of rage). Thus, source-language oriented collocations cannot be reproduced in an equivalent way in terms of semantic meaning and lexical equivalents.

Moreover, one of the major causes of students' unsatisfactory results in this study is the absence of dictionaries, whether monolingual or bilingual that deal with collocations in general and in religious texts in particular. (Bahumaid, 2006; Hafiz, 2002; Abdelwali,

2002), all indicated that students and competent translators commit errors of lexical type due to the lack of bilingual and monolingual dictionaries. Abdelwali (2002) indicated, "Quranic lexemes can be adequately translated into English provided that bilingual dictionaries that accurately document and explicate various meanings of Arabic words, both common and rare, are available" (p. 22).

Recommendations

In light of the findings of the study, the researchers suggest firstly, that translators should be well acquainted with the lexical restrictions, and ambiguous terms not only in the TL but also in the SL. This will eventually lead to a better and more natural rendition of the message. It is also recommended that the translator of religious texts should be well versed in the two languages and the two cultures (Arabic and English) so as not to miss any fragment or component of the meaning of the collocations existing in religious texts.

Finally, translators of religious texts and particularly translators of the Holy Quran should not rely on bilingual dictionaries only, but should consult the views of Moslem scholars so that adequate interpretations would facilitate the process of comprehending the implicit message.

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Co.

Appendix (1)

A Guide to Arabic Transliteration

Transcription (Adapted from Al-Arabiyya)

Arabic letters (consonants)	Vowels	Transliteration
?		
B		
T	-----	a
	-----	u
J	-----	i , e
	-- ----	u
Kh	-- -----	
D		
Ḍ	-- ----	
R	----	iyy
Z		aw
S		uww

	sh		ay
	gh		
	f		
	q		
	k		
	l		
	m		
	n		
	h		
	w		
	y		

Appendix 2

Demographic questionnaire

Please fill in the information below:

- 1- Age
- 2- Gender 1- Male () 2- Female ()
Religion 1 - Moslem () 2-Christian ()
- 3- Level of Education 1- BA () 2- MA ()
- 4- First Language 1- Arabic () 2- English ()
- 5- Have you done any
translation work before 1- Yes () 2- No ()

Appendix 3

Translation Test

Part (A): 15 Collocations from the Holy Quran

Dear Participants,

You are kindly requested to translate the underlined collocations into English in accordance with the context. There are 15 collocations in each religious text; 15 in the Holy Quran, 15 in Hadith and 15 in the Bible. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

A) Collocations from the Holy Quran:

1- حَتَّمَ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ وَعَلَى سَمْعِهِمْ وَعَلَى أَبْصَرِهِمْ غَشَاوَةً وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ.

2. تَوَلَّى عَنْهُمْ وَقَالَ يَا سَفَى عَلَى يَوْسُفَ وَابْيَضَّتْ عَيْنَاهُ مِنَ الْحُزْنِ فَهُوَ كَظِيمٌ

.....

.....
3- "وَلَقَدْ جَعَلْنَا فِي السَّمَاءِ بُرُوجًا وَزَيَّنَّاهَا لِلنَّاظِرِينَ وَحَفِظْنَاهَا مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْطَانٍ رَجِيمٍ مَنْ أَسْرَقَ أَلْسَمَ فَاَتَّبِعَهُ شَيْهَابٌ مُبِينٌ" .

.....
4- "فَضَرَبْنَا عَلَى آذَانِهِمْ فِي الْكَهْفِ سِنِينَ عَدَدًا"

.....
5- "كَ عَبْدَهُ زَكَرِيَّا إِذْ نَادَى رَبَّهُ نِدَاءً خَفِيًّا قَالَ رَبِّ إِنِّي وَهَنَ الْعَظْمُ مِنِّي وَأَشْتَعَلَ الرَّأْسُ شَيْبًا وَلَمْ أَكُنْ بِدَعَاكَ رَبِّ شَاقِيًّا"

.....
6- "رَحِمْنَاهُمْ _____ بِهِمْ مَنْ ضُرَّ لَلْجُوا فِي طُعْيَانِهِمْ يَعْصُونَ"

.....
7- "وَإِذَا بُشِّرَ أَحَدُهُمْ بِمَا ضَرَبَ لِلرَّحْمَنِ مَثًّا ظَلَّ وَجْهُهُ مُسْوَدًّا وَهُوَ كَظِيمٌ"

.....
8- "الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونَ"

.....
9- "فَأَقْبَلَتِ امْرَأَتُهُ فِي صَرَّةٍ فَصَكَّتْ وَجْهَهَا وَقَالَتْ عَجُوزٌ عَقِيمٌ" .

.....
10- "فَأَمَّا الْيَتِيمَ فَلَا تَقْهَرْ وَأَمَّا السَّائِلَ فَلَا تَنْهَرْ"

Part (B): 15 Collocations from the Hadith

عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال:

"-1 : شهادة أن لا إله إلا الله وان محمدا رسول الله وإقامة الصلاة وإيتاء

_____ وحج البيت من استطاع إليه سبيلاً".

.....

2- "آية المنافق ثلاث: _____

.....

3- " _____

.....

4- "سئل الرسول محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم عن الكبائر فقال: " _____ وقتل النفس _____

الوالدين وشهادة الزور".

.....

5- " دنيا كأنك غريب أو عابر سبيل".

.....

6- " _____ به صدورها _____

.....

7- " _____ وعودوا المريض".

.....

Part (C): 15 Collocations from the Bible

1- " _____ بيسوع إلى البرية ليَجْرَبَّ من قبل إبليس".

.....

2- " _____ كما يفعل المراوون الذين يقطّبون وجوههم لكي يظهروا للناس

صانمين".

.....

3- " وفي اليوم التالي رأى يوحنا يسوع آتياً نحوه فهتف قائلاً: " هذا هو _____ الذي يزيل خطيئة العالم".

.....

4- " _____ ولطيور السماء أوكار أما ابن الإنسان فليس له مكانٌ يستند إليه".

.....
5--" يرسل ابن الإنسان ملائكته، فيخرجون من ملكوته جميع المفسدين ومرتكبي الإثم ويطرحونهم في أتون النار هناك يكون البكاء وصرير الأسنان".

.....
6--" طريحة الفراش "

.....
7 - " _____ عندما أقام هيرودوس بمناسبة ذكرى مولده وليمة لعظمائه "

.....
8" - " وقد أوصانا موسى في شريعته بإعدام أمثالها _____

.....
9-" _____ ، ففيها الخلاعة".

.....
10--"أيحلّ _____ في يوم السبت؟"

.....
11-" وفي الحال وهو ما زال يتكلم، صاح الديك . فالتفت يسوع ونظر إلى بطرس فتذكر بطرس كلمة يسوع إذ قال له: قبل أن يصيح الديك تكون ق "

.....
12--" بل طرحهم في أعماق هاوية الظلام مقيدين بالسلاسل حيث يظلوا محبوسين إلى يوم الحساب " .

.....
13- "يشرق بشمسه على الأشرار والصالحين".



Prototype Theory and the Categorization of the English Tense System

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Bioprofile

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Abstract

This paper attempts to address an important concept--- prototypicality ---in cognitive studies on the categorization of the English tense system, and raises the grammatical and functional approaches to the tense system to the level of universal cognition. On the theoretical basis of prototype theory, this research addresses the prototype of category TENSE, its cognitive features, and the mechanisms in the categorization of the system. It is argued that category TENSE, starting from the prototype of simple present tense, extends in the chained way of concatenation and expands in the polysemous way of radiation. It also suggests that vagueness exists in the boundary of the tense category. This vagueness in the boundary helps the extension and expansion of category TENSE. With family resemblance as the operating principle, chained metonymies and the interaction between metonymic and metaphoric mechanisms contribute in the categorization.

Key Words: category TENSE; prototype; prototypicality; cognitive mechanism

1. Introduction

Prototype effects not only emerge in the non-linguistic conception, but also appear in all strata of linguistic conception, including the categorization of the tense system. It is argued that teaching tense systems in other languages can be difficult, as the categorization differs and may not be easily understood by the learner. It is therefore advisable for instructors to gain a clearer understanding of the categorization of the tense system, to help them explain it more clearly. The study of the tense system is, in principle,

no different from the study of any other component of linguistic structure. On the theoretical basis of prototype theory, this research is conducted to meet the questions: 1) What is the prototype of category TENSE? 2) What are the cognitive features of category TENSE? 3) What are the cognitive mechanisms in the categorization of the system and how do they work in the categorization? These questions are addressed in Section 3, 4 and 5 respectively. It is hypothesized that category TENSE, starting from the prototype of simple present tense, extends in the way of concatenation like linked chains and expands in the way of radiation like sunrays, with vague boundaries. This vagueness in the boundary of category TENSE helps the conceptual construction of the category. Family resemblances among different members of the tense system provide experiential bases for the interaction between metonymic and metaphoric mechanisms. Chained metonymies and metaphoric mechanism work as the cognitive tools, which together contribute in the construction of the tense category. This paper will provide arguments to support these hypotheses.

2. Literature review of prototype theory and research work on tense system

2.1 Categorization and prototype

The world consists of an infinite variety of objects with different substances, shapes and colors. We sometimes feel confused when trying to translate this variety into manageable word meanings since no clear-cut distinctions seem to be available. However, this is not always the case in our rapidly changing world. In spite of the vagueness among different types of entities, we have the impression that boundaries do exist in reality. These boundaries, provided by reality, seem to force classification upon us. Classification, as the basic property of human language, is considered as a kind of mental process, which is

made possible by the resemblance among the varieties in the world. This mental process of classification is now commonly called categorization (Ungerer & Schmid, 2001, p. 1-3). With category as its product, categorization works as the starting point of concept, lexical meaning and use of language.

In the process of categorization, speakers of a given language normally operate with prototypes. What they want to refer to usually conforms to the prototype, i.e. falls within the nuclear extension or focal extension of the prototype. As a model of concepts, a prototype is a single, centralized category representation (Barsalou, 1992, p. 28). Prototype theory depends on the notion of similarity and feature-listed model. Wittgenstein (1978, p. 31-33) used the metaphor of *family resemblance* to characterize these overlapping and criss-crossing similarities: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail. The centrality of an item in the simple category such as *COLOR* or *SHAPE* depends on how many of the relevant set of features it possesses: the more it possesses, the better an example of the category it will be. Whereas the centrality of complex concepts such as *GAME* or *VEHICLE* can best be handled by the feature-listed model, rather than by the similarity approach (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 81). According to most prototype models, the cognitive system abstracts properties that are representative of a category's exemplars and integrates them into a category prototype. With this unique capability, human beings are likely to translate an indefinite variety of objects in the world into manageable word meanings. Otherwise, the world would be a mess in our mind's eyes.

2.2 Basic-level category

Prototype theory also provides an account of levels of categorization. The information the

world provides for us is not completely in a mess and disorder, and there do exist some regularities and orders. There is a level of categorization, which is cognitively and linguistically more salient than others. This is the “basic level” of categorization. In the course of categorization, the objects with salient and prominent properties constitute the basic-level category. Above the basic-level category, there exists the superordinate category, while under it is the subordinate category. It is at this very basic level of categorization that people conceptualize things as perceptual and functional gestalts (Rosch et al, 1976). These categories enable us to acquire the maximum information at the expense of minimum effort. Starting from the prototype, human beings understand all the reference of the semantic category on the basis of family resemblance, in which metonymy and metaphor work as cognitive tools.

2.3 Similarities between lexical category and tense category

Prototype effects exist both in the cognition of non-linguistic conceptual structures and linguistic conceptual structures. The two conceptual structures share no differences in nature in that they are constructed through the same cognitive mechanisms. When peripheral members are sharing family resemblance with prototype, the phenomenon of polysemy occurs in the lexical categories. Polysemy is generally regarded as a property of lexical categories, but polysemy is not a property of words alone (Taylor, 2001). In Taylor’s opinion, other categories of linguistic structures, e.g. morphosyntactic categories of tense and aspect, syntactic categories of sentence types, morphological categories of number and case, prosodic categories of intonation contour, etc. also exhibit a cluster of related meanings, and must count as instances of polysemy.

The prototype effects described by Taylor (2001) are reflected prominently in the

construction of category TENSE. As a polysemous category, not only do the lexical elements of category TENSE constitute categories themselves, but also these lexical elements convey different meanings, which can be seen as various semantic meaning categories. Like lexical category, category TENSE displays the same tendency of concatenation and radiation in the construction. The category is constructed around a prototype--- *simple present tense*, which functions as the starting reference point in the categorization. Since tense is often realized by the base or uninflected form of the verb (Quirk et al, 1985, p. 176), morphologically simple present tense has the justification to serve as the prototype in category TENSE. Besides, the evolution of classifying tense from 2 tenses (i.e. present tense and past tense) in Palmer's (1988) to 36 finite non-modal tenses in Halliday's (1994, p. 203) indicates the vagueness in the boundaries of category TENSE. This also determines the possibility of concatenation and radiation in the construction of the category. These similarities between tense category and lexical category leads to the feasibility of providing cognitive interpretation to the prototype effects in the categorization of the tense system.

3. Simple present tense serves as the prototype in the tense system

Old English held that there were only two kinds of tenses in English, i.e. present tense and past tense. Later, based on Latin grammar, theories on tense and aspect argued that English tense included the meaning of aspect, and that tense was a verb form describing the time and mode of the action. Later on, researches on grammar in the 1970s held that there existed merely two categories of "TENSE" and two categories of "ASPECT" in English verbs. The two "TENSE"s refer to present tense and past tense, while the two "ASPECT"s are progressive aspect and perfect aspect (Jespersen, 1981, p. 231-251).

The debate on tense has continued half a century and apparently there is no solution to date. However, this paper is not concerned with entering the debate but rather the cognitive pattern in the categorization of the system. Research in this section has focused on the questions about the prototype of category TENSE, that is, how the network of tense system is woven. The hypothesis that simple present tense is the prototype of category TENSE will be investigated in the following two subsections.

3.1 Categorization of the tense system

The categorization of the abstract category TENSE centers on its prototype, simple present tense, and goes forward with this prototype as the starting reference point and family resemblance as the operating principle. As the starting reference of the cognition, *simple present tense* works as the central member of category TENSE. Just like category GAME, there is no definition of necessary and sufficient features for category TENSE, which shows family resemblance relations. The family resemblance makes the metonymic and metaphoric construal possible. In the categorization of the system, “simple past tense, simple present tense, and simple future tense” function as the basic level category. The item “TENSE” works in the superordinate category, while members such as “present perfect aspect, past perfect aspect, future perfect aspect, etc.” are in the subordinate category. It is at this basic level of “simple past tense, simple present tense, and simple future tense” that category TENSE develops with the prototype “*simple present tense*” as the starting point. Figure 1, below, illustrates this argument:

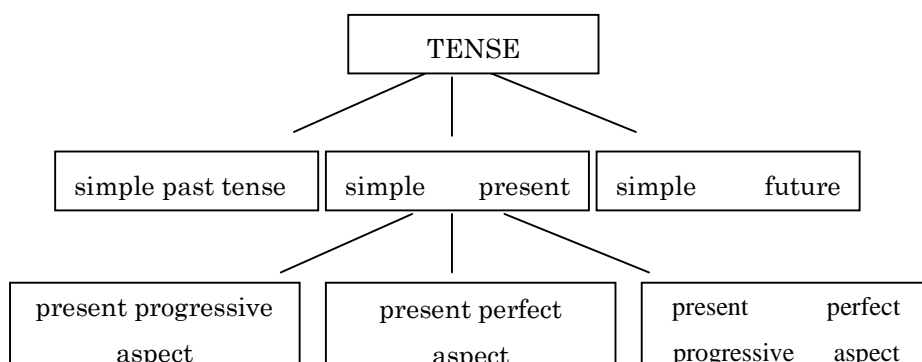


Fig. 1 The tree diagram of category TENSE

When the prototypical notion of simple present tense is acquired, it serves as the starting point of the categorization of the tense system. With the aid of family resemblance principle, the secondary tense has been constructed in Figure 2. As a result of secondary tense construction, a category is woven like a network with many intersections. The network, in which each overlap implies different conditions of time and aspect, describes the functions of language. Based on the network, learners can make prompt, effective and successful organization and disposal of the relevant information about category TENSE. Through this conceptualization, a more extensive category about the tense system is established, with the primary tense as the basic-level category and simple present tense as the reference point of the categorization. The above argument suggests and builds upon Zhang's previous empirical work (Zhang, 2006).

Aspect Time	primary	secondary		
	simple	progressive	perfect	perfect progressive
present	Simple Present Tense	Present Progressive Aspect	Present Perfect Aspect	Present Perfect Progressive Aspect
past	Simple Past Tense	Past Progressive Aspect	Past Perfect Aspect	Past Perfect Progressive Aspect
future	Simple Future Tense	Future Progressive Aspect	Future Perfect Aspect	Future Perfect Progressive Aspect

Fig.2 Realization of primary and secondary tense

Category members in the primary column fall into the basic-level category, the term “TENSE” as the superordinate category with the other 9 aspect items functioning at the level of subordinate categories. When the basic category is contrasted with the superordinate and subordinate categories, it becomes clear that the prototype, simple present tense, can only be found in the basic level category. However, category TENSE in English is a recursive system. Based on Halliday’s pattern, more items are structured in the categorization. According to Halliday, 36 items are likely to be acquired. The realization of 36 members of the tenses category can be referred to Table 6(7) in Halliday’s book *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Halliday, 1994, p. 202-203). This argument also implies the tendency of extension and expansion in category TENSE.

3.2 Typological evidence to show the centrality of simple present tense

As far as prototype is mentioned, prototype is associated with the typical or core member in typology, and the terms of unmarkedness and markedness are inevitably covered. The

prototypical member of a category is usually an unmarked item of the category. The criteria of frequency, structure and behavior in typology theory determine whether a category member is a core member or peripheral member. According to Croft (2000, p. 85), if a marked value occurs a certain number of times in frequency in a given text sample, then the unmarked value will occur at least as many times in a comparable text sample; and if a marked value occurs in a certain number of languages in a given language sample, then the unmarked value will occur in at least as many languages in a comparable language sample. The frequency criterion suggests that the most frequently mentioned forms are commonly the central members of the category, though degree of membership in a category is independent of the frequency of occurrence of member names. The impression of a higher frequency of occurrence of the prototypical member may well be a symptom of prototypicality. Rosch's experimental evidence supports this idea. For example, speakers tend to agree more readily on typical members than on less typical members; as it seems, they come to mind more quickly (Saeed, 2000, p. 37). When asked to name examples of a category, people tend to mention prototypical or core members first. Core members have all of the prototypical properties, and thus are typical members. To be typical, they must be common, or at least commonly perceived and attended to by human beings. This corresponds to the frequency criterion of unmarkedness in typology, i.e. the frequency of a usage and familiarity of this usage to average members of the language community. Given the above, simple present tense would appear to conform to this frequency criterion.

In teaching English as a foreign language, there has been much controversy about which to teach first, *simple present tense* or *present in present (present progressive)*, and claims have been made on behalf of both. Another important piece of typological

evidence used to support prototypicality in grammatical categories is the common zero (or minimal) marking of the core members of the categories. This complies with the structural criterion of unmarkedness since the marked value of a grammatical category will be expressed by at least as many morphemes as is the unmarked value of that category (Croft, 2000, p. 73). The basic form of simple present tense is a zero marking inflectional form in morphology. It is not only typologically motivated in that it conforms to the structure criterion, but also morphologically motivated. Present tense is realized by the uninflected forms of verbs, for example when comparing *I need a rest* with *I needed a rest* (Quirk et al, 1985). However, with only a few exceptions of irregular verbs, almost all the tense and aspect items are expressed by at least as many morphemes as simple present tense. In Halliday's opinion, the unmarked tense in material process is present in present, and the unmarked tense in the mental processes is simple present tense (Halliday, 1994). However, this paper suggests that the idea that the unmarked tense in material process is *present in present* is really questionable. Present in present is more focused in time and more contextual; hence it goes with processes that have clear beginning and ending. As well, the large part of the material process is general or habitual, e.g. *they build a house for every employee*. The empirical findings in Zhang (2006) have also supported this idea that simple present tense most frequently occurs in the transitivity processes. Therefore, it is argued that simple present tense is qualified to function as the prototype in the transitivity system since it has zero marking in the form, and refers to the time meaning of the present.

Croft (2000) goes on to say that the behavior criterion, along with the frequency criterion, is the most general and important criterion for markedness and unmarkedness. According to the typological evidence, loss of category behavior complies with the

behavior criterion of unmarkedness. A peripheral member of a category is not expected to display the full range of category behavior that a central member displays. Either in inflection or in distribution, one element is grammatically more “versatile” than the other, and hence is relatively unmarked when compared with the other. If the marked value has a certain number of distinct forms in an inflectional diagram, then the unmarked value will have at least as many distinct forms in the same paradigm; and if the marked value occurs in a certain number of grammatical contexts (construction types), then the unmarked value will also occur in at least those contexts where the marked value occurs (Croft, 2000, p. 77-82). Being general and habitual, instead of focusing upon the beginning and ending of the event, simple present tense is the most versatile of all tenses and displays all the behaviors in the transitivity system, and thus the nature of prototypicality falls upon it. Simple past tense, simple future tense, and other aspects fail to display the full range of category behavior morphologically and semantically, thus they fail to take the central position in the tense category. According to these criteria, simple present tense, is the salient or prototype in the morphosyntactic category of tense. The research in this section has further provided evidence that simple present tense, instead of present in present, is the prototype in the tense system.

4. Cognitive features of the tense system

It is hypothesized that category TENSE, starting from the prototype of simple present tense, extends in the chained way of concatenation and expands in the polysemous way of radiation. As well, vagueness exists in the boundary of the tense category. Sufficient grounds for this hypothesis will be offered here to provide solution for the second question raised in the introductory section.

4.1 Concatenation and radiation in the structure of tense category

It is generally accepted that the expansion of the lexical category takes place in two ways, namely *radiation* and *concatenation*. The former refers to the fact that the derivational meanings of the lexical word, based on its prototype, radiate from the center to the periphery, like the sunrays. Each derivational meaning is both dependent on and independent of its fundamental meaning. The latter refers to the phenomenon in which one lexical meaning derives from another, and the last one may have no connection with the first one. Polysemy, however, is not the unique property of lexical categories, and grammar category should be viewed as an instance of polysemy. It is hypothesized that the properties of radiation and concatenation also occur in category TENSE. Like the polysemous lexical category, category TENSE is constructed on the prototype. It also displays the feature of polysemy, i.e. the same tendency of extension and expansion as the lexical category. Here the extension of category TENSE is described as concatenation and the expansion of the category is described as radiation

On the lexical stratum, category TENSE extends in the chains like “*do > be doing > have done > have been doing*”. They share the same attribute in the head position of X^0 as illustrated in Figure 3. In spite of the analytical forms of aspect, simple present tense takes the head position in the above chain, which functions as the prototype. This provides further explanation for the prototypicality of simple present tense. For instance, the prototypical simple present tense is related in lexical form to other members in the position of X^0 . The attached element X^1 is linked to X^0 , while X^2 is linked to X^1 and X^0 . The categorization of category TENSE develops in the linked chain of $X^0 > X^1 > X^2$. The radiation nature of the categorization can be seen in Figure 1, where present tense works

as the reference point of the primary tense. At the same time it functions as the reference point of the analytical aspects related to the present moment.

work	has worked	has been working
do	have done	have been doing
X^0	X^0 X^1	X^0 X^1 X^2

Fig.3 The concatenation of the tense category in English

Just as the lexical stratum, the ideational meanings it refers to are also related to each other in the way of continuum of time (the horizontal axis of time), in which simple present tense functions as the head. To some extent, we have good reasons to speak of family resemblance categories being structured through a process of extension and expansion. The metaphor of family resemblance implies a real-time, dynamic process, which begins at the center of a category and proceeds outwards until the periphery is reached. According to Taylor (2001), the central member is thus the member from which all others can be most plausibly and most economically related. This kind of relatedness also demonstrates the feature of radiation. However, with so many members in category TENSE, the example of *simple past tense* on the concatenation and radiation of meaning chains, as shown in Figure 4, is used for illustration.

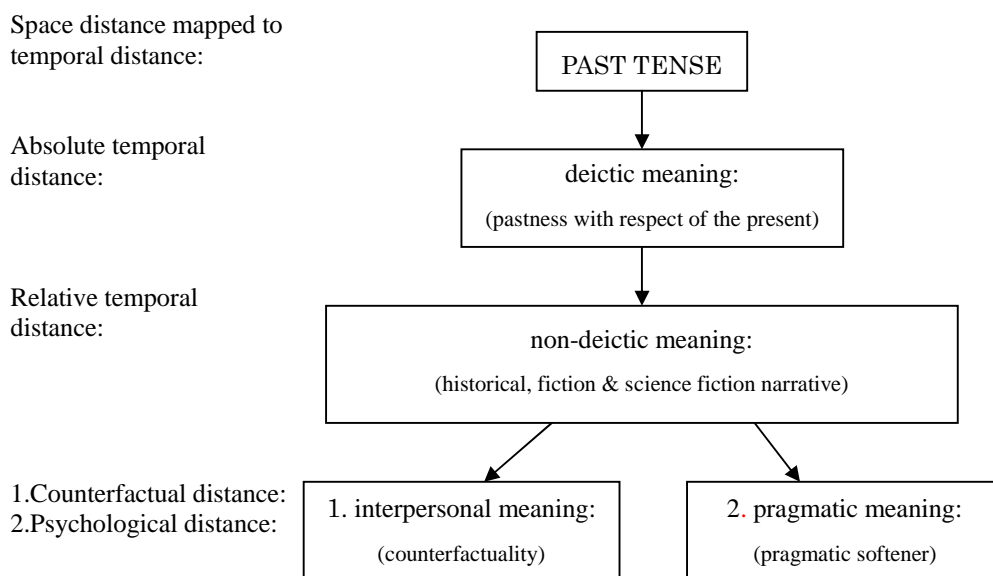


Fig.4 The tree diagram of meaning chains for past tense category

Here, past tense is taken as the example because the cognitive features in the structuring of category are more obvious than in any other item. The past tense is used to locate an event or state at some point or period in time prior to the moment of utterance or composition. Thus it is primarily a deictic tense, which points to its central meaning. Owing to the radiation nature of category TENSE, past tense points to other non-deictic meanings such as historical narrative, fiction narrative, science fiction narrative, and then to counterfactuality or pragmatic softener. With the operation of the metonymic and metaphoric mechanisms in the construction of category, the meanings of the past tense cover the way from denotative meaning to counterfactuality and to pragmatic softer.

4.2 Vagueness in the boundary of tense category

Categorization is not only culture-oriented, but also context-oriented. The concept of

prototype in language is somewhat different from that in science, rather, it is more associated with the concept of prototype in anthropology and psychology. As Ungerer & Schmid said, “The prototypes of cognitive categories are not fixed, but may change when a particular context is introduced, and the same is true for category boundaries.” (Ungerer & Schmid, 2001, p. 43). The vagueness in the boundary of a category is inherent in the structure of the concept itself. This is due to the inherent structure of these concepts that the boundaries are not classically sharp (Jackendoff, 2001). As in category TENSE, if located in the context of Figure 2, primary tense will share the status of central members in basic-level category with secondary tense (aspects) as the peripheral members. If narrowed to the subcategory PAST TENSE, simple past tense is referred to as the reference point in lexical stratum, and other aspects related to the past are placed in the position of non-central members. Equally, when the deictic meaning of simple past tense is referred to as the central member in the stratum of semantic meaning, then non-deictic meaning such as counterfactuality and pragmatic softener will be peripheral members.

If transferred to the category of Halliday’s 36 tenses, Figure 2 in this paper can be considered as central members in the basic-level category, and the other 24 items can be regarded as peripheral members. Once both primary tense and secondary tense work as central members in the basic-level category, a more extensive category can be constructed. Except for the other 24 members, more marginal and relevant information will be acquired by means of cognitive tools. Furthermore, the superordinate category TENSE embraces the basic level category PRIMARY TENSE. Simultaneously the basic level category embraces the subordinate category. The hierarchy phenomenon may well explain the radiation and concatenation features of category TENSE. It may also be

concluded that these features result in the fuzziness of category TENSE, which determines the gradient of the tense category. Thus, it would seem that tense category is structured by a criss-crossing of similarities shared by tense and aspect, rather than by a set of necessary and sufficient conditions.

5. Cognitive mechanisms in the categorization of the tense system

Given that vagueness in the boundary helps the extension and expansion of category TENSE, then what kind of cognitive mechanisms operate in the extension of the system and how do they work in the categorization? It is hypothesized that family resemblance is the operating principle, and that the interaction between metonymic and metaphoric mechanisms contributes to the categorization, while chained metonymies enrich the grammatical meanings of the tense system. As a triggering mechanism, metonymy provides experiential bases for the categorization. While in interaction with metonymic mechanism, the metaphor provides conceptual potential and realizes the extended conceptual structure of category TENSE. Support for this hypothesis will be provided in the next two subsections.

5.1 Family resemblance and triggering mechanism in meaning extension

The general principles at work show up again and again in the categorization of tense system. They are mainly centrality, chaining, experiential domains, idealized models and motivation. According to Lakoff (1987, p. 95), what we have called the basic members of the category are central, and thus prototypical. Complex categories are structured by chaining; that is, central members are linked to peripheral members, which are further linked to other peripheral members. Basic domains of experience and idealized models

characterize the linking in the category chains. The same applies in the category TENSE where family resemblance provides the chained metonymic basis for the categorization, which makes the concatenation and radiation of tense category possible. Family resemblance itself also reflects this kind of chained metonymic relationship. Through chained metonymies, which involve multiple conceptual shifts, experiential motivation favors the chained model (Hilpert, 2007, p. 81). Either in the conceptual stratum or in the lexical and semantic strata, the experiential basis of space and time activates the metonymic transfer as well as the metaphoric mapping from space distance to time distance (including absolute temporal distance and relative temporal distance), then to counterfactual distance and psychological distance. It is accepted that the temporal concept of humans is constructed by two metaphors related to the imagery schema of Front-Back, namely “Ego is moving” and “Time is moving”. Front-Back results from the interaction of the human body and the world around us. When we’re standing up, the direction we face is the Front and the opposite is the Back, and vice versa. Thereby we have the metaphoric expressions of “recall the past, and face the future” or “face up to the fact, and look forward to the future”. This orientational schema provides metonymic experience for humans to conceptualize the temporal space. With the metaphoric mapping from space domain to time domain, we have acquired the temporal concept of “past, present and future”. Thus, it is argued that chained metonymies and the interaction between metaphor and metonymy processes are the conceptual pattern in this cognitive process.

Basically, all categories have metonymic structure, and the English tense category, with metonymic structure occurring at different linguistic levels, is no exception. Categorization of the tense system results from the interaction of metonymic and

metaphoric mechanisms in a continuum. Common experiential basis, implicature, category structure and culture models contribute to this continuum. Metonymy, as a cognitive trigger, can't provide conceptual structure itself. However, after being triggered, the metaphoric mechanism provides conceptual potential. Only in this way can category TENSE acquire a rich conceptual structure, which is determined by the cognitive nature of metonymy.

Taking the categorization of past tense as an example: As a system which relates entities to a reference point is termed a deictic system, we can therefore say that tense is deictic (Comrie, 1985, p. 14), and its reference point is typically the present moment of utterance or composition. Referring to Figure 4, the basic meaning of past tense is the deictic meaning of pastness with reference to the present utterance moment, which is the prototypical meaning of category PAST TENSE. At this stage, the metonymy, *Part for Whole*, provides the experiential basis that the past event is on the left side of the utterance moment on the time axis. The metaphor, TIME IS SPACE, provides the conceptual potential so that the deictic meaning of past tense is the pastness, which is regarded as the prototypical and absolute meaning. By extension, past tense comes to be used in all kinds of narrative, including fictional narrative. Even science fiction narratives, in which events are imagined to take place subsequent to the moment of composition, are written in past tense (Ungerer & Schmid, 2001). In these cases, displacement of the speech moment occurs and the reference point is displaced to the left or right side of the utterance moment on the time axis. Except for these relative and secondary non-deictic meanings, past tense includes some other important meanings in English. Firstly, past tense indicates the unreality of an event or state. Secondly, past tense functions as a kind of pragmatic softener, as shown in Figure 4. They are, of course, regarded as more

peripheral members of the past tense category. These seemingly have nothing to do with past time or with narratives, since they are linked in the principle of family resemblance.

Incidentally, the counterfactual use of past tense, as shown in Example 1-3 below, is typically restricted to a small number of environments such as “if-conditionals”, “expressions of wishes and desires” and “supposition and suggestion”. The softening function of past tense has been conventionalized in such meanings as in Example 4-6. At the moment of speaking, past tense in these examples denotes counterfactuality, desire, reminder, request etc. Here are examples:

- (1) If I were you, I would beat him badly. (counterfactuality)
- (2) a. I wish you were at the party. (counterfactuality)
b. It would be nice if I knew the answer. (counterfactuality)
- (3) Suppose we went to cinema. (counterfactuality)
- (4) It's high time that we had a class. (euphemistic suggestion)
- (5) I just wanted to ask you if you could lend me a pound. (polite request)
- (6) Excuse me, I wanted to ask you something. (tactical expression when concerning privacy)

5.2 Chained metonymies and metaphor-metonymy interaction

Chained metonymies lead to lexical extension, and serial extension rooted in metaphor is cross-linguistically common in the development of grammatical meaning (Hilpert, 2007, p. 77). The next hypothesis, that chained metonymies and the interaction between the mechanisms of metonymy and metaphor determine the radiation and concatenation of semantic meanings, will be addressed using the notion of the categorization of counterfactuality and pragmatic softener of past tense as an illustration.

With regard to counterfactuality or unreality in the above example sentences, there are several questions to be addressed: 1) Why is past tense, instead of future tense, used to convey the counterfactuality? 2) How do the metonymy and metaphor processes interact with each other? The answers lie in that counterfactuality implies the unreality of present or future events or states. An account of a past-time situation may well convey the implicature of the present-time counterfactuality. It carries the implication that this state of past affair is not in existence at the moment of utterance and there's no possibility of its taking place at present. It raises no question when past tense is used to locate events prior to the moment of utterance or composition, since the past events, being imaginary, will never again take place. Thus the counterfactuality of the past tense sounds most intensive. Future tense is opposite. There is less counterfactuality in future tense, since possibilities for the future affair to take place remain in existence. Simultaneously, future tense predicts the affair of the future state, in that it may well predict a certain desire of the speaker, hoping for something to happen sometime in the future. These desires or predictions are likely to take place on account of the fact that no one can dominate what happened in the past, nor can one prevent what will happen in the future. Based on such implications conveyed by the past time and future time events, past tense rather than future tense or present tense is used to indicate the counterfactuality. This cognitive process of counterfactuality is based on the basic metonymy of "*Pastness for Remoteness.*" The implication or conventionalization of implicatures between past time and counterfactuality provides an experiential basis for the metonymic mechanism. Furthermore, the conventionalization itself is a kind of metonymy. Metonymic association of "pastness stands for never happening again" triggers the operation of metaphor mechanism. The metaphor, TIME IS SPACE,

provides conceptual potential of “Pastness is unreality” through the mapping from temporal distance domain to the counterfactual distance domain, and consequently we have such metaphoric expressions as in Example 1-3 (Section 5.1).

Chained metonymies and metaphor-metonymy interaction work effectively in this cognitive process, as do pragmatic softeners. However, the pragmatic softener function of past tense is rather more complex, in that it construes the time domain in terms of psychological space. Chained conceptual shifts and a double metaphorization are involved in the categorization. Metaphor and metonymy often interact with each other, so a great many metaphorical mappings have an ultimately metonymic basis (Barcelona, 2000). On one hand, the metonymy, *Pastness for Space and Distance*, provides an experiential basis and mental access to the construal of psychological distance. A chained metonymic model with experiential basis triggers the metaphoric mapping from the temporal remoteness domain to space remoteness domain, then to the psychological remoteness domain (Zhang, 2010). On the other hand, the metonymic basis of “distance stands for involvement” triggers the metaphoric concept of “Less involvement is distant, while more involvement is near”. Proximity is involvement, and distance is lack of involvement. The schema of distance and proximity are applied to the domain of involvement. The domain of time is extended to the domain of psychological space or psychological distance. So we talk of “distancing oneself from a proposal”, or “one has a close relationship with a person” (Taylor, 2001, p. 153). Using past time implies that the addresser is talking about the past event not the present event, and the addressee has the psychological space and time to make the decision based on the past event. Therefore, using the past tense sounds more euphemistic for communicators to avoid embarrassment, so that the decision on whether to perform the speech act or not is

transferred to the addressee. Eventually the conceptual potential of “Politeness is space and distance” is realized in such metaphorical expressions as in Example 4-6 (Section 5.1), in which past tense plays the role of pragmatic softener.

Returning from the conceptual pattern of category PAST TENSE, it has been demonstrated that metonymy is one of the most fundamental processes of meaning concatenation and radiation in category TENSE, and more basic than metaphor. The interaction between metonymy and metaphor creates the concatenation and radiation of category TENSE. From the example of *past tense*, it is concluded that prototype effects emerge in natural categories, but also penetrate into linguistic structures like category TENSE. These linked and radiant chains in lexical forms or semantic meanings are derived from the operating principle of family resemblance, which constitutes the internal structure of category TENSE. As well, the cognitive mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy lead to the vagueness in the boundaries, which makes the radiation and concatenation of the tense category possible. However, the radiation and concatenation of the tense category involve the semantic bleaching in the process of grammaticalization, in which grammatical meanings of the tense are conventionalized. As well, chained metonymies and the interaction between metonymy and metaphor are the usual processes leading to the semantic bleaching in the grammaticalization. This process has already been described in detail in a previous paper (Zhang, 2010), and this paper here will not cover more space on this subject.

6. Conclusion

The prototype theory provides the same explanation to linguistic categorization as has been argued in lexical categories. The contributions this paper has made are narrowed to

three points as follows:

1) Evidences are provided to establish that simple present tense is the prototype in the tense system. Category TENSE, starting from the prototype of simple present tense, extends in the way of concatenation like linked chains and expands in the way of radiation like sunrays. Vagueness exists in the boundaries of tense category. The prototypes of cognitive categories are not fixed, but may change when a particular context is introduced. This vagueness in the boundaries of category TENSE helps the construction of the category. Family resemblance is the operating principle, and chained metonymies are involved in the categorization. The interaction of metonymic and metaphoric mechanisms contribute to the construction of the tense category.

2) The topic of the English tense system has remained a desideratum for decades. Though the tense system remains one of the most important and difficult areas of linguistic description, the study on tense and aspect is, in principle, no different from the study of any other component of linguistic structure. To date, research on the tense system has confined mainly to the frame of traditional models of grammar, and Halliday's model of functional grammar. However, this paper has attempted to build upon previous work by extending the research work into the domain of cognitive linguistics. The investigation on the categorization of the tense system was conducted, using Rosch's, Lakoff's and Taylor's approaches to linguistic categorization. From the perspective of the cognitive studies on the categorization of the tense system, this paper has attempted to raise the grammatical and functional approaches to the tense system to the level of universal cognitive issues.

3) This paper has also attempted to demonstrate that prototype effect plays an effective role in the cognitive activities of humans, and to place emphasis on the practical

application of the theory to the further language studies, as well as language teaching and learning. It is suggested that prototype theory can be used to analyze other linguistic problems, such as the classification of metaphors, identifying the unmarked tense in the material process. For more details, refer to Zhang (2006, 2008). Besides, the great vitality of a linguistic theory lies in its great value in teaching practice. Prototype theory makes the language acquisition easier and quicker, especially in the teaching of vocabulary, writing, tense and aspect, sentence types, number and case. Further research on the application of the prototype theory to the teaching of writing is required, since the second language learners tend to use such basic-level category words as *doctor, flower, beautiful, delicious, etc.* Learning to use subordinate category words will improve their writing a lot. As well, further research on the cognitive mechanisms in the grammaticalization of tense markers is required to address the questions raised in this paper. As it is suggested, the research remains a subject worth our further attention.

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The Aboriginal Practitioner as Communication Mediator in Intercultural Bureaucratic Encounters.

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Bioprofile

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Abstract

Governments in Australia have deployed Aboriginal specific positions within government departments which focus on health, education and welfare services. This small-scale study uses a qualitative interpretive interview approach to explore the relative value of these targeted positions to service provision. The paper reveals that Aboriginal practitioners use a range of communication strategies that enable them to act as mediators and to traverse cultural distance between the bureaucracy and Aboriginal communities. The paper points out that Aboriginal practitioners experience unique types of professional pressures, which may not be evident in the wider public service. The paper concludes that the uses of particular communication strategies have the affect of creating distance and building solidarity between the practitioners and the communities they engage with. Although focused on Australia, the findings may have implications for other intercultural communication contexts that involve interaction between indigenous people and government bureaucracies.

Keywords: intercultural communication, Aboriginal English, identity, code-switching, Aboriginal practitioners, bureaucracy, communication strategy, social policy

Introduction

Historically government bureaucracies in Australia and Aboriginal communities have

had an inharmonious relationship. In 1996, the then Premier of New South Wales (N.S.W), Bob Carr, became the first Australian state leader to formally apologise to the Aboriginal people for what is now termed “the stolen generations” and to acknowledge the role that various state bureaucracies had played in the implementation of policies which have been detrimental to Aboriginal communities and their culture (Hansard The Parliament of NSW, 14th November 1996).

I acknowledge with deep regret Parliament's own role in endorsing the policies and actions of successive governments which devastated Aboriginal communities and inflicted, and continue to inflict, grief and suffering upon Aboriginal families and communities. I extend this apology as an essential step in the process of reconciliation. In particular, we should repudiate any idea that the severance of children and the break-up of families was justified, in terms still used today, as being only for their own good. (The Hon. Bob Carr, 1996).

Government organizations, and in particular, those associated with health and child welfare have suffered ‘a crises of confidents’ in working with Aboriginal communities, as a result of the roles they have played in the unjustified removal of Aboriginal children from their families, a practice outlined in the 1997 enquiry into the stolen generation (*Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission, 1997*) as well as the New South Wales government’s own enquiry, *Learning from the past (1994)*. These reports extensively examined past and present policies, which historically created a negative relationship between state bureaucracies and Aboriginal communities. However, although these reports identify the negative effects of some welfare practices on

Aboriginal communities, they pay minimal attention to how language barriers hamper access to services for Aboriginal people (see Bain, 1992). Essentially both reports suggested that the principle barrier to communication was the use of excessive bureaucratic jargon (see Learning From the Past, 1984:74).

“.. staff must recognise that how language is used can be a major obstacle in communications. Staff must learn to speak to people in their own terms rather than expecting all people to understand their jargon”

Learning from the past (1994: 74).

In this paper, I argue that the problem of service access for Aboriginal people goes deeper than simply ‘issues of jargon’. Encounters between Aboriginal people and bureaucrats need to be examined from an ‘inter-cultural communication’ perspective (Gumperz & Cook – Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Holliday et al., 2004; Samovar et al., 1998). Despite attempts to improve services to Aboriginal communities, government Departments continue to seriously underestimate the intercultural challenges posed by the numerous communicative encounters that occur between the various predominately ‘white’ bureaucracies and Aboriginal communities.

There has been a significant amount of research focused on inter-cultural communication across a range of bureaucratic encounters involving Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal interlocutors. For instance, Malcolm (1994) argues for the need to look very closely at the discourse patterns of bureaucratic encounters between Aboriginal people and the institutions of the mainstream community. Malcolm suggests that ‘communication problems’ are always associated with the presence of Aboriginal communicators in a setting or speech event, which is defined by non-Aboriginal

bureaucrats (see Bain, 1992, p. 147-197). The key to understanding how Aboriginal people communicate lies in who defines the setting and who determines the discourse pattern.

There are commonalities in the discourse patterns and indeed the type of communication problems that occur during encounters between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal interlocutors across a number of institutional settings, such as schools (Malcolm, 1994; Malcolm, 1989; Morgan & Slade, 1998; Eagleson, 1985; Kaldor & Malcolm, 1991; Sharifian, 2008), law courts (Nash, 1984; Goldflam, 1995 and Cooke, 1995), health (Koch, 1991; Rochecouste et al., 2004) and criminal justice (Eades, 2007; Eades, 2004; Eades, 2000; Eades 1996 and Gibbons, 1999). It is fair to suggest that in most interactions in which the non-Aboriginal interlocutor defines the terms of communication and controls the unfolding interaction, some form of inter-cultural communication problem will occur as bureaucratic encounters are notoriously difficult for Aboriginal people to negotiate (see Trudgen, 2000).

Aboriginal people appear to use different 'communication strategies' when interacting in English between themselves to what they would use when interacting with the wider largely 'white' Australian population (see Malcolm & Sharifian, 2002; Malcolm & Rochecouste, 2000; Sharifian, 2006; Malcolm, 1994). A 'communication strategy' can be defined as "any rule governed behaviour evident in interpersonal exchanges which serves to maintain the communicative situation and is not restricted to the linguistic system, but includes all aspects of the interlocutors social-cultural background" (Platt, 1989, p. 13). This concept is closely aligned to the notion of a 'discourse strategy' (Gumperz, 1982a) which is the realisation of speaker goals through a particular variability in discourse (see also Smith, 1987; Tarone & Yule, 1987). Interaction

becomes complicated and is prone to 'break-down' or 'pragmatic failure' when communication strategies are used by one participant in the interaction that are not well understood by the other (see Thomas, 1983; House, 2000; Tzanne, 2000).

Intercultural mis-communication in bureaucratic exchanges is not a problem confined to Aboriginal communities in Australia and effects intercultural communication generally (see Scollon & Scollon, 1985, p. 4; Pan, et al., 2002, p. 4) and appears to adversely impact on indigenous populations around the world, such as the Maori in New Zealand (see Cram, et. al., 2003; Holmes, 1998, Graves & Graves, 1985), the Inuit in Canada (see Eriks-Brophy & Crago, 1994; Crago, 1992; Crago et al., 1997) and the Navajo in the United States (Clark, 1999; Corson, 1995; Philips, 1983). Indigenous communication strategies become mapped onto the use of English (Malcolm, 1996) creating a form of diglossia (Romaine, 1995p.33-38). Miscommunication is common in exchanges in English in situations where these differences are not understood.

The concept of communication strategy in Aboriginal English has been extensively treated in the work of Diane Eades (1984, 1988, 1991 and 1996b). Eades focuses on Aboriginal uses of English, and in particular on the differences in discourse strategies utilised by speakers of Aboriginal English (see also Malcolm, 1994; Malcolm, 2002). Eades suggests that these differences mainly occur in the pragmatics of use. For instance, she found that the discourse strategies used by speakers of Aboriginal English are more indirect than those used by speakers of Standard Australian English to accomplish the same ends (Eades, 1988; 1991).

The implications of this is that speech acts that are integral to a bureaucratic encounter, such as 'seeking information', 'making and refusing requests', 'seeking and giving reasons' and 'expressing opinions', may be differently enacted and differently

interpreted by Aboriginal interlocutors. This may have a profound impact on encounters between predominantly white bureaucrats and Aboriginal people, in a number of key services areas, such as in health, education and social services. This impact would be most noticeable when obtaining health, education, welfare, legal and employment services as well as when interacting with teachers, police, health care workers and the like (see Morgan et al. 1997). In fact this problem will manifest itself at just about all levels of government bureaucracy where there is an interface between a white professional and their black client (see Bain, 2006).

Eades identifies a particular discourse strategy, which she terms 'gratuitous concurrence'. Gratuitous concurrence is agreement or confirmation, which serves to keep conversation flowing, and does not signify the speaker's actual agreement with a proposition, has serious implications for investigative interviewing, and bureaucratic encounters at all levels of the bureaucracy (Eades, 1991; Walsh, 2008). For example, the notion of the one sided interview, a participation structure typical of many bureaucratic encounters, is quite contrary to the assumptions and strategies used by Aboriginal people to seek information. (Eades, 1996a, p. 218).

The variety of English spoken by many Aboriginal people, particularly from urban areas is widely referred to as *Aboriginal English*. The characteristics of Aboriginal English are extensively treated in the literature (see Arthur, 1996; Eades, 1984; 1988; 1991;1996 a; Malcolm, 1991; Kaldor & Malcolm, 1991; Sharifian, 2001; Sharifian, 2005). For these researchers Aboriginal English is distinct from *Standard Australian English* (see Taylor, 1998; Debridge, 1999; Leitner, 2007) in that Aboriginal people speak it in interactional situations involving other Aboriginal people. The researchers suggest that it encodes an Aboriginal world view (see Malcolm, 2001), has differences in

grammar and lexis, and communication strategies surrounding its' use by Aboriginal people are different to those used by the mainstream community (Malcolm, 1996). While many Aboriginal people are competent bilingually and bi-culturally, many choose to maintain their identity through 'Aboriginal ways of speaking and relating' (see Hasan, 1996 a).

While government bureaucracies are aware that English is used in an Aboriginal way, they nevertheless lack understanding of how exactly it can be different and as a result there remains the potential for considerable communication clashes and inter-racial tension centred on these often hard to notice differences in communication styles (Eades, 1984). Although the exact characteristics of Aboriginal English remain controversial, (see Arthur, 1996; Malcolm & Grote, 2007). The differences are enough to ensure some form of communication difficulty will manifest itself in a bureaucratic encounter. Despite genuine attempts being made by the various state governments in Australia to make state institutions more responsive to the needs of Aboriginal communities little attention is paid to the discursive differences between Standard Australian English and Aboriginal English or to how such differences may contribute to social disadvantage for Aboriginal people (Eades,2007).

Studies in the area of inter- cultural communication would appear to indicate that for successful interaction to occur with Aboriginal Australians it is necessary to establish concrete social links by approaching the encounter with at least some rudimentary cultural understanding (Fitzgerald, 2003, Pan, et al., 2003). Cultural understanding is a broad concept, but may include knowledge of different philosophical perspectives, the impact of traditional languages, and an understanding of factors of identity (see Holliday et al, 2004, Cass et al., 2002; Mobbs, 1996; Lowell, 2001; Pultsch, 1985). Although not a

uniquely Aboriginal experience, it can be assumed that for many Aboriginal people a bureaucratic encounter remains predominately a negative experience. The fact is that Aboriginal people broadly engage with bureaucracy at a number of levels and there is a need for research into how these encounters are enacted. Bureaucracy plays a central role in the maintenance of practices, which prevent people from minority groups accessing services through sustaining a variety of co-existing, contrasting and often competing discursive practices and by privileging particular orders of discourse, where an order of discourse of an institution is seen as the totality of its discursive practices and the relationships between them (Fairclough, 1992 p.43; Sarangi 1996).

Defining a Bureaucratic Encounter

Bureaucracy is more than concrete buildings, standardised documents or quasi-mechanical decision-making. It is a process which happens to those involved in the exchange. It is intimately tied up with individuals, and does not merely exist outside, as objective phenomena (Sarangi & Slenbrouk, 1996). Bureaucracy is a type of event; a particular kind of encounter or contact situation experienced by social subjects, and is by largely constituted in discourse, and the discursive practices of the institution, which are linked to the interests of particular social groups (Sarangi & Slenbrouk, 1996; Fairclough, 1988). As state bureaucracies in Australia are significant providers as well as funders of services it is reasonable to suggest that Aboriginal people will continue to experience bureaucratic encounters.

Public institutions use bureaucratic practices and language. Bureaucratic discourses are often seen as mystifying social processes, however Iedema (1999) identifies the positivity and productiveness of bureaucratic discourses and highlights their enablements

and accomplishments, in contrast to the often concentration on their constraints and limitations. According to Iedema, administrative and bureaucratic practices and institutions constrain in that they require things to be done according to pre-established rules and procedures, claiming that they enable as they facilitate complex social processes (Iedema, 1997).

In order to understand the nature of the enabling process one must have an insider understanding of the workings of the discourse and be particularly aware of how it can enable social action. The Aboriginal practitioner is both an insider to the workings of the institution as well as an insider to the workings of indigenous communities. In this paper I aim to examine how the Aboriginal practitioner believe they mediate bureaucratic encounters between Aboriginal people and government bureaucracies and to identify some communicative strategies that appear to be effective in aiding this mediation.

Aboriginal specific positions are identified in the bureaucracy where 'Aboriginality' is seen to be essential selection criterion. As part of the NSW government's strategy to improve services to Aboriginal people, they have set a 2 % employment target for Aboriginal employment in the public sector. In 2002 1.6% of the public sector workforce was of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander decent (see Report to the Premier from The Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment, 2003). Increasing the number of Aboriginal people in the public sector is a key strategy in both improving cultural representation in the public service and services to communities. Apart from affinity with the Aboriginal culture, there do not appear to be any studies which examine how the services provided by government bureaucracies can better meet the needs of Aboriginal people through an increase in representation of Aboriginal

practitioners in the bureaucracy.

The policy ensures that the workforce is representative of the wider community and to assist in ensuring that the public sector services and programmes are developed with the needs of Aboriginal people in mind. There is no firm reason in the literature as to why practitioners from the Aboriginal community should be employed other than such a policy fulfils 'Equal Employment Opportunity' requirements. In undertaking this research, I was interested in identifying the tacit knowledge (Wagner & Sternberg, 1985) which appears to mediate communication. This is knowledge the Aboriginal public servants appear to bring to the position above and beyond the minimal selection criteria identified for the job. I hypothesized that one of the key skills which Aboriginal practitioners would possess was an ability switch between the language of the bureaucracy, Standard Australian English, and Aboriginal English, and adopt the relevant communication strategies associated with each communicative situation. This mediating strategy would seem to facilitate access to services for Aboriginal people and communities in some way.

Method

I employed a small scale case study method (Denscombe, 1998; Gillham, 2000, p. 9-19) which can be situated within the qualitative research paradigm. A qualitative research technique "involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials that describe routine and problematic meanings and subjects them to an interpretive framework" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 5).

Two Aboriginal public servants were interviewed, using a semi-structured qualitative interview format as described by Manson (2002, p. 225-241). I prepared some standard

questions (refer to Appendix 1) and gave them to each of the participants in advance of the interview to allow some prior thinking. The actual interview was not restricted to just these questions alone and allowed for expansion of points raised through follow up questions (Gillham, 2000, p. 63; Denscombe, 1998, p. 113; Flick, 2006). Questions were structured to focus on 'how each respondent perceives their professional role' as well as on 'how Aboriginality may positively or negatively impact on this role'. The purpose of each interview was to identify the different communication strategies each practitioner believed they have used to mediate between the bureaucracies they represent as public servants and Aboriginal communities. Hence each interview progressed in the style of a "conversations with a purpose" (Manson, 2002:225) and takes a phenomenological perspective that "assumes it is possible to investigate elements of the social by asking people to talk, gather and construct knowledge by listening to what they say and to how they say it" (Manson,2002, p. 225; Briggs,1996, p. 93-111).

Three interviews were conducted with each participant. The first interview was a pre-interview (T = 30min) and lasted for thirty minutes. The purpose of this was to gain an understanding of each practitioner's professional role and the problems they faced. The second interview (T=90min) constituted the main interview and focused on communication strategies. A post interview (T=30min) was further conducted two weeks later to allow for follow up identified issues. Practitioner One (P1) was a caseworker in a child agency. Caseworkers are the front line staff in the protection of children, a sensitive issue given the history of Statutory Child Protection Services in the stolen generation. Practitioner Two (P2) was an officer in a government agency involved in service planning. This is a policy-oriented role concerned with the allocation of resources. Both practitioners are directly involved in dealing with Aboriginal communities in the

delivery of government services.

The aim of the inductive analysis was to identify the communication strategies the practitioners say they use in the process of mediating between the state bureaucracy and Aboriginal communities from their perspective (Flick, 2006, p. 390; Denscombe, 1998, p. 207-222). Identified issues were clustered into key themes related to the central question of enquiry: “What are the communication strategies, which Aboriginal practitioners claim to use which aid inter-cultural communication?” (Strauass & Corbin, 1990). I isolated core themes in the data pertaining to communication and identify these as possible strategies. Full extracts are included from the data in the text to allow the reader to see the practitioner’s words as transcribed from the data, with P (1) indicating practitioner one and P (2) indicating practitioner two. Key phrases supporting my category allocation are underlined in each extract. The study reveals what the practitioners ‘say they do’ as opposed to ‘what they actually do’. Hence the study is limited to ‘reporting’ as opposed to ‘observing actual interaction’. Given the sensitive nature of the field in which each practitioner works, it was not possible to gain permission to observe actual interaction, which could fruitfully extend this study. Each interview captures the practitioner’s struggle with identity, which their role as bureaucrats inevitably forces them to consider.

Findings

Several key factors which situate the Aboriginal practitioner in a key position to communicatively mediate access to government services for Aboriginal people can be identified in the interview data. I discuss each of these factors under the following categories, ‘language awareness’, ‘projecting professionalism’, ‘building identity’, ‘calibrating language use’, ‘making use of background knowledge’ and ‘demystifying

institutional practices'. Each category is supported by quotes from the actual interview data and key phrases which distinguish its categorical allocation are underlined.

Language Awareness

Knowledge about Aboriginal English is not widespread in the Australian community. The acknowledgment that there is a linguistic form of English unique to Aboriginal communities is an important first step in achieving 'cultural congruence' (Malcolm, 1989) and in closing 'cultural distance' between the white and black communities (Hasan, 1996b). Both practitioners point out that although Aboriginal English is widely spoken it varies to a significant extent within aboriginal communities themselves, so it is difficult to identify exactly what the differences are. The differences lie at many different levels for example leaving the "h" off words the differences are often difficult to identify, but exist both at a semantic level (see Extract 1) and pragmatic level (see Extract 2). The belief that Aboriginal English carries a low status within the wider community (see Wheeler & Swords, 2006, p.12-14) is also an ongoing reason why bureaucratic encounters may be complex (see Extract 3).

Extract 1 " *We have manipulated the language a lot so that English becomes useful to us; attach a lot of our other communication mechanisms, lot of stuff which has come with us into how we use English has been around for a long time, such as who looks at whom in the eye for how long. Words do not mean the same anymore once they are used by Aboriginals" (P1)*

Extract 2 "The word 'shame' means a million things, the way I use shame could mean embarrassment. For others "don't shame me" could mean don't contradict them, pick

them up on things or “don’t make me stand out and “there should be shame” means they should have a conscious about things.” (P1)

Extract 3 *“Definitely the larger community sees it as different, but I don’t think there is any respect for it coming out of the white community as to what it actually means, and my colleagues don’t understand it.” (P2)*

Interestingly Standard Australian English is perceived by both practitioners to be a language of oppression (see Pennycook, 1998) and the use of Aboriginal English is preserved by them as a small act of resistance (see Extract 4). Hence both practitioners consciously use particular linguistic forms to be purposefully different, even though they do not necessarily have to. For an ‘educated black’ it is easy to use Standard Australian English, but often they don’t, and not doing is a form of resistance (see Extract 5, Extract 7).

Extract 4 *“To use Aboriginal English is part of the subversive fight against the oppressor and oppressive language that they have given us. We have taken it a made it our own” (P1)*

Extract 5 *“Language is the last bastion of control, it is one of the strongest ways in which oppression and intimidation continues and is part of the cultural genocide which has happened, you have to understand that, its not that we don’t want to speak English well, we don’t feel we have to” (P1)*

In Extract 6 the notion of choice is evident (see Heller, 1995; 1992). The selection of which English variety to use is seen as a matter of choice. Yet choice only comes from being competent users of both Aboriginal English and Standard Australian English (see Extract 6 and Extract 7).

Extract 6. “*I consciously use my Aboriginal and white English daily, I choose to do it, I am able to manipulate both*” (P2)

Extract 7. “*Don't get me wrong white English gives me access to both communities, so I never say to people don't use it, I am just wanting you to realise what it represents to us” (P1)*

Projecting Professionalism

Professionalism was a key issue for both practitioners as they felt the need to maintain credibility with both their white colleagues and Aboriginal communities. There are particular pressures on practitioners to appear overly competent in front of white colleagues as a strategy to overcome racial stereotypes. Extracts 8 and 9 illustrate the conscious effort the practitioners make to be seen and evaluated as a competent professional by their white colleagues, but also the lengths they go to retain respect within the communities with which they engage.

Extract 8 “*I always feel I have to be one step smarter, one step more competent, one step more efficient, otherwise I lose my credibility. That works for both sides black and white” (P1)*

Extract 9 “*I am sensitive not to be late for non-Aboriginal meetings, so I get rid of a lot of those stereotypes about blacks being late. I have certain expectations of my senior colleagues, who are koori, if they turn up late without reasonable excuse, on time, and then I just think it is slack.* (P2)

At the same time the practitioners need to appear to be members of their communities yet run the risk of losing credibility with Aboriginal communities if they appear to be ‘too white’ or ‘coconut workers’ (see Extract 10 and Extract 11). In the eyes of Aboriginal communities, the practitioners have crossed over, adopting a code that is not generally thought to belong to a member of their community (see Rampton, 1985).

Extract 10 “*People get onto me that you have just adopted white peoples ways, where is your flexibility around your brothers and sisters, but I just say that we are always going to be out of the main game if we continue to behave like that in a professional role” (P2)*

Extract 11 “*I have been called everything under the sun, if I speak too formally I am called a coconut worker; if I don’t they ask me who I represent, it’s a balance and sometimes even I don’t get it right” (P1)*

In performing their professional roles, the practitioners are presented with a professional problem which requires them to engage in a delicate ‘balancing act’ between performing their duties on one hand and also advocating for their communities on the other. This role conflict is particularly evident when they need to exercise the authority of the state as is the case in policing and child protection practice.

Building Identity

A significant finding of this research is related to identity (Ivani , 2006). Extract 4 indicates the importance of maintaining identity and connection with Aboriginal communities through the use of certain lexical forms (see Extract.17). The practitioners suggest that they ‘manipulate the meaning of English’ and ‘calibrate their language style as well as choose particular words to accommodate to the needs of Aboriginal communities (see Extract 13). If the practitioners do not use Aboriginal forms of English when interacting with Aboriginal communities, they run the risk of appearing as outsiders to these communities (see Extract 14). It is this risk they spend considerable time and effort minimising. In their dual capacity as members of an Aboriginal community and public servants, the practitioners are continually placed in situations that challenges which group they identify with, the Aboriginal community or the state institution (see Extract 12). In addition they are often placed in situations where their opinion is looked for and where any subsequent advice given, may either compromise their allegiance to their government department or to the particular Aboriginal community concerned (Extracts 14 and 15). The use of bureaucratic language can easily be misconstrued to indicate that the practitioners have been ‘reconditioned’, identifying too closely with the establishment (Extract 16).

Extract 12 “ *There might be instances where I give more of a departmental line, but the tricky thing is around being involved in a number of initiatives, being a Departmental person, wanting to influence the communities view of what should get up to the Minister, which is a tricky bloody game to play, because I can’t be a protagonist. The issue will go to the Minister and the Minister will seek my advice. It’s politically quite tenuous.” (P2)*

Extract 13 “*You can tell when I have been hanging around blacks because I use a lot more Black English. Being able to reclaim some traditional words becomes really important to us. We have manipulated the language a lot so that English becomes useful to us, attached it to a lot of our community stuff.” (P1)*

Extract 14 “*When I use white English I sound too much like a “Guv” and of course there is going to be suspicion around that. It is the same language, which gave use the stolen generation, it is the same language that continues to displace me from my heritage, it continues to keep me bound to white ways, but of course it is the language which gets me into university and got me my job.”* (P1)

Extract 15 “*Is a divide between my loyalties as an Aboriginal person to my community, and my loyalties to the department, and try to play the role of advocate, and try to tackle things at a systemic level, knowing that they will eventually come back to me for a response.”* (P1)

Extract 16 “*You have to be careful when you use white English with blacks as it is a sign that you have been reconditioned, so I don’t speak white English a lot of the time and I don’t share my Black English with white people, I don’t want them judging me. White English is a sign of your education, so you don’t throw it around”* (P1)

Extract 17 “*To hear Aboriginal English is for me an affirming, a validating thing, because they see that we are still surviving and we are still not going to use your language the way you want us to use it.”* (P1)

Calibrating Discourse Style

I have selected the word calibration to describe this strategy as a switch between different styles may be applied gradually rather than abruptly, again depending on how much authority or solidarity is situationally warranted. In the data, the practitioners appear to calibrate their communication style according to the particular communicative situation they find themselves in (see McConvell, 1988). Following Scollon and Scollon (1995), communication style is a broad category, which includes the concept of register and refers to the relationship between participants. In other words who the practitioners were talking to and the group they were addressing were key determining factors of a change in communication style, adopting the more indirect communication style associated with Aboriginal English (Eades, 1988, 1991) when negotiating with Aboriginal people (Extracts 18, Extract 19, Extract 20 and Extract 21) with the more direct style being adopted when attending official bureaucratic meetings with white colleagues (Extract 22).

Extract 18 “ *If I am out in the bush for three or four days being with Aboriginal people, talking to Aboriginal people, and then you come back to the city, that’s more conscious effort to get back into the language of the bureaucracy. I think it’s more the other way than changing for Aboriginal people*”. (P1)

Extract 19 “*with kooris who are in your face empowered blacks, that’s not such an issue, people will just cut to the chase, but with another group like older people or my client group, there is no way I could go straight into an issue, we would have to go around the issue to get to the point.”.* (P2)

Extract 20 “Well first I listen, if it was a community group, I listen to the language they use, If I can use those words, because If I can validate that community, even as simply as using the same words they use, if it is culturally appropriate of course”. (P2)

Extract 21 “Sometimes not asking direct questions and using indirect questions, it raises suspicion. It comes down to timing and it is important to contextualise the question. If you don't listen to the story you can miss the whole point. If you need to summarise or use closed questions you could miss it. It has large implications”. (P1)

There is also indication that practitioners may adopt a direct communication style, when interacting with Aboriginal people and groups, when they wish to align themselves closely with the authority of the institution, in order to get things done as in Extract 22. Essentially the practitioner is marking the need to return to what has been agreed through summarising and obtaining a consensus. This is clearly in relation to their role and the task they are attempting to achieve as a public servant.

Extract 22 “I need to be quite firm at times with really powerful people. The way through this is putting it back onto people at the meetings. At the end of each meeting I will summarise I will say OK, this is the stuff we talked about and we have an agreed position on this, I will articulate that and say does everyone agree”. (P2)

Leading on from this the practitioner has highlighted the need to be direct and in a sense using a discourse style of the bureaucracy in order to avoid the possibility of a discredited

outcome or decision, placing the practitioner in a vulnerable position of having seemingly negotiated something and informing their colleagues of the outcome, with no firm commitment from the community or person (Extract 23). This is a form of gratuitous concurrence.

Extract 23 *“You need to be very concrete and often quite directional, but it is self protection, because they will get on the phone, they will ring up someone and say that “this bastard railroaded us” and we didn’t agree to anything, then the outcome will be discredited”.* (P2)

This need to take a direct approach is again seen in Extract 24, where the practitioner is caught between a bureaucratic practice with an agenda with firm timelines and the more Aboriginal style of ‘talking around the topic’.

Extract 24 *“ I have to say to people, well I am sorry, government has this agenda and it needs to be consulted on by a particular date and I will cop a lot of shit about it, a lot of things about not having input”.* (P2)

It appears that the practitioners are able to switch between the use of bureaucratic English, Standard Australian English and Aboriginal English. Romaine (1995) defines ‘code switching’ as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems (see also Wheeler & Swords, 2006). The practitioners appear to calibrate their English use according to the people or group they were dealing with, tending towards the use of “black English” when

with Aboriginal groups, but adopting the standard dialect when relating to white colleagues and senior bureaucrats. I have selected the term calibration to describe the process of accommodation (Ylänne-McEwen & Coupland, 2000). Speakers are motivated to “reduce differences between themselves and their addressees in particular situations, particularly to gain approval”. On the other hand “speakers will resist accommodation when they want to accentuate differences between themselves and their addressees” (see Ylänne-McEwen & Coupland, 2000, p. 191). The communicative situation is a key-determining factor in cuing the need for maintenance and divergence and this is achieved through a calibration between Standard and Aboriginal English. The change in style is not always totally one or the other, and hence I have used the term ‘calibration’ rather than ‘switch’ to refer to this gradual adjustment. When the practitioner is relating to their white colleagues they use the language of the bureaucracy as in Extracts 25 and 26. When the practitioner needs to evoke authority they also align themselves with bureaucratic discourse (see Extracts 25, 26 and 27).

Extract 25. *“When I am being assessed or when I am in front of the representatives of white power, I fling their words around as much as I need to, it depends on the audience, the same as when I am with some elders I use Aboriginal terms, its not always that clear and straight forward, I use white English sometimes with some pretty cluey blacks ”.*

(P2)

Extract 26. *“talking about case work I definitely use white English, because I can’t leave any confusion or gaps with the white people who are making decisions about black families, I just can’t afford to do that and black families just can’t afford to have me muck*

up like that". (P1)

In Extract 27, a change in discourse style is also cued by the practitioner's perception of the seriousness of the issue and the need to exercise authority, evoking the use of a very direct style where the issue is to do with serious harm i.e. sexual abuse. This reflects a wider issue of what culturally constitutes neglect, where in this example the practitioner is prepared to negotiate, versus what constitutes serious harm, where the practitioner evokes bureaucratic power and signals unacceptability with the qualification "enough is enough".

Extract 27 " *When it is an issue of neglect, I would tend to use Black English Style, but when the issue is a serious physical sexual assault then it is direct, no bullshit approach because enough is enough*". (P1)

Switching between the use of Aboriginal English, Standard Australian English and the language of the bureaucracy appears to be a successful communication strategy used by Aboriginal practitioners which builds both solidarity and conveys distance (Brown & Gilman, 1960/1972) in their interaction with Aboriginal people.

Making Use of Background Knowledge

Aboriginal practitioners bring crucial background knowledge to the job, which their white colleagues would find difficult to develop or would take a significant amount of time to establish. Background knowledge is a difficult concept to both define and equate however here it can be taken to mean knowledge and information members of a particular

community assume to be held common by virtue of the fact they have very similar backgrounds or upbringing. Background knowledge is therefore a form of common ground which members of a community share (Lee, 2001; Carell, 1983; Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 236-238) For the Aboriginal practitioner, this knowledge extends from knowledge of local politics and idiosyncrasies of local power systems (see Extract 28), to cultural history (see Extract 29). This type of background knowledge is critical for the management of rapport with the Aboriginal interlocutor.

Extract 28 “*Communities have histories, local idiosyncrasies, local politics, local elders and local power brokers and white people don't know those sorts of arrangements”.* (P2)

Extract 29 “*for non-Aboriginal workers in Nowra (NSW South Coast town) you need to know across the river Aboriginal children were imprisoned, so for those people there is allot of sadness allot of fear, allot of trauma is still experienced”.* (P1)

In addition, a crucial area of background knowledge surrounding Aboriginal communities is how to harness the established social networks to the task of communicating information or negotiating services as indicated in Extract 30. In this extract the practitioner highlights the need to use networks of pre-established relationships that have an understanding of local issues and concerns.

Extract 30 “*local people can do that, in much more heartfelt and realistic way, than some whiz-bang, sharp koori trainer coming in, giving a sell across the state on how people should work with Aboriginal communities”.* (P2)

A further crucial point made by the practitioners is that Aboriginal people do not necessarily expect bureaucrats to understand everything and in situations where the non-Aboriginal interlocutor is not sure what was said or agreed they should seek some form of clarification to check that a common understanding exists (see Extract 31).

Extract 31 " *If a Koori is saying something which doesn't make sense to you, just ask them to clarify it, rather than feel that you as a white person need to be able to understand and interpret everything to the letter*". (P2)

Demystifying Institutional Practices

The workings and discourse of the bureaucracy are not always clear to the people, who may need to access government services (Wodak, 1996; Iedema & Wodak, 1999; Fairclough, 2005; Burns & Carson, 2005; Keeney et al., 1997; Mäkitalo & Säljö, 2002). Both practitioners emphasised that the methods by which information from the bureaucracy reached Aboriginal people and vice-versa needed to be different. A reliance on the standard depersonalised institutional methods, would not work in Aboriginal communities and the practitioners focused on the importance of personal engagement and the need to use social networks already established in the Aboriginal community there is a need to communicate a community level. Extract 32 clearly lays out what it means to communicate at a 'community level'.

Extract 32 "Clearly if I have a presentation to give which is a bureaucratic line, that might have been constructed by other people in the Department, with overheads and fancy government jargon, clearly there is a very conscious effort to make this

understandable, and I will do some research; I will go to the dictionary and thesaurus and find out what, for example probate means, and I will talk around this. I might have to expand notions and concepts, in the language I have been given as a package to deliver, make it more concrete and provide examples, talk at a “community level” about the implications rather than at a theoretical level” (P2)

Both practitioners report the tendency of Aboriginal people to ‘bypass’ normal bureaucratic channels and contact them direct, indicating a justifiable suspicion of the institutions normal information channels. The practitioners are then able to take the issue up with their departmental management in an attempt to negotiate a solution. The practitioners also view a part of their role as explaining how bureaucracy works to achieve change for Aboriginal communities (see Extract 33).

Extract 33 “ a large part of my work is demystifying processes of government, because people just think they will jump up and down or they run an emotive argument around the issue and they think they will get a response, a more positive response. I have to be clear to them by saying no there is no black bucket of money in this state you have to get that through your heads. I can’t just access it you have to go through the process”.

(P2)

Extract 34 There are structural issues here, there are systematic issues that we have got to tackle, and the Minister might force the hand of the Department on an emotive level, but on a general level bureaucratic and government processes work to restrain this, and we need to get smart about how to use the process”. (P2)

The practitioners often take on an advocacy role, and actively advocate on behalf of Aboriginal people to have access to services provided by their own Departments (Lee, et al. 2002; Abbott et al., 2007). This advocacy role, looking after the interests of people in their community, is often in conflict with the practitioner's role as field staff and providers of these services. In addition, the practitioners play a crucial role in demystifying' the working of the bureaucracy (see Extract 33). They perceive an important part of their role is explaining how processes work and in a sense educate communities to become more sophisticated users of the system (see Extracts 34 and 35), rather than continue to carry unrealistic expectations (see Extract 33).

Extract 35 “ *So it is not just necessarily always delivering the message of government, but actually telling people out there how to attempt to change the system, rather than marching down the street and that sort of thing, getting a bit more sophisticated in their approach to making things happen*”. (P2)

Using Social Networks

The practitioners utilise particular strategies to provide information to Aboriginal people which tends to go beyond the traditional bureaucratic methods of distributing written information. The practitioners emphasise the importance of face-to-face communication, which is again, closely aligned to trust and credibility Aboriginal communities use social networks to disseminate information (see Extract 36).

Extract 36“ *I get a lot of calls from people who come to me because they know I have the right information, who won't go to their white regional person or hospital or whatever.*

The best way to get information across is face to face, engage, get a relationship going, build and maintain trust". (P1)

This may have a positive or negative effect depending on the source of information (see Extract 37). The practitioners use these social networks to effectively spread information (see Extract 38) and again emphasise the importance of trust in this process, as Aboriginal people will seek information from people they trust, even if the information may be incorrect.

Extract 37 "In the main they will get information from other Aboriginal people, and that information might be incorrect so you might have this whole body of mis-information happening. In general they will go to the people who are knowledgeable, people who have got credibility, who they trust, but who may not be the best source and that is a real issue for bureaucracies communicating. Doing it in a way that is Aboriginally appropriate, not just in language, but also delivery". (P2)

Extract 38 "It is critical for our regional staff, going to hook up with Aboriginal networks, which are providing that information, our first line of attack, where we are trying to get information across to Aboriginal workers and agencies and they are actually getting the right information and taking that back to their constituents". (P1)

It is interesting to note that attendance rather than participation at the meeting or forum indicates interest in the topic or issue (see Extract 38). This means if the Aboriginal person has come along to hear, it should be taken as expressing interest in the subject.

This is often a problem for non- Aboriginal bureaucrats, as active questioning and expression of view is generally considered the marker of participation.

Extract 39 “ *They let you go. If you keep talking they won't talk. If they don't understand they probably won't ask. In my community, it is the women who are the movers and shakers. To get information they will turn up, expect to see you there and then and want an answer there and then*”. (P1)

A key point evident in Extract 39 surrounds the use of silence in interaction (see Saville-Troike, 1985; Sifianou, 1997; Watts, 1997). Silence is a communication strategy important to the maintenance of interaction and is not always an indicator of a breakdown in communication (Tannen, 1985). The cultural use of silence is evident in indigenous communities around the world (see Basso, 1970; Braithwaite, 1990). The practitioners point out that many ‘white’ bureaucrats’ respond with repair strategies to fill the silence or take it as an indicator of mis-understanding what is being discussed or alternatively as a lack of interest in the topic being discussed (see Extract 40).

Extract 40 “ *A lot of white people get nervous about dealing with Aboriginal people, particularly in a group, they feel like they need to talk a lot. Silence and the power and the impact of silence in Aboriginal communities and its importance is not recognised, a little bit of silence on the part of the white worker allows people to say what they want to say*”.(P2)

Advocating Flexibility in Practice

Bureaucracy is traditionally seen as inflexible and in order to meet deadlines, it is often necessary to use the power of the bureaucracy to obtain compliance (see Extract 41). Both

practitioners emphasised the need to be flexible when negotiating and maintaining relationship with Aboriginal individuals, groups and communities.

Extract 41 *“when I am out on the road negotiating with Aboriginal groups, there is no second bite at the cherry, I don't have the capacity to go back and speak with them. What it involves is clearly being flexible in your arrangements, in that if I arrange a meeting, I might do a lot of prior leg work explaining to people what the meeting is about, so that there is no mystery, getting people interested in coming along”.* (P2)

Flexibility is perceived by the practitioners as allowing enough time for the meeting to take place, ensuring that agreement is obtained on all the issues discussed and making time to ensure that participants understand what had been discussed and agreed. The practitioners indicate that it is through the use of flexibility that they are able to engage with Aboriginal communities and adopt strategies to gain participation (see Extracts 41 and 42).

Extract 42 *“I leave myself more space for meetings than my non-Aboriginal colleagues would. I'm flexible; if people don't come they don't come. They can get information through other sources: they can ring me up. I have given them the opportunity. If it means holding off a meeting for an hour while local people get on the phone and get people along, fine.”* (P2)

The practitioners emphasised the fact that they were employed to do a job, which is by nature goal-oriented and task- focused and there is a limit to this flexibility (see Extract 42 and 43).

Extract 43 *“I take that flexibility to a point and I am not willing to compromise everything. If I am out there to do a job and only a few people turn up and show they want to be involved, I don't care if it is one person I am giving the message to, I am still committed to that process”.* (P2)

Accommodating for Different Cultural Practices

Understanding cultural difference is not sufficient and both practitioners identify the need to accommodate for cultural difference in communication (Lustig & Koester, 2006, p. 276) This includes knowing when to contact people and when to hold a meeting (see Extract 44)

Extract 44 *“The other thing is ringing up a week before the meeting to check if there is anything in the community happening, festivals or deaths which might impact or clash with the meeting, so I will change the meeting”.* (P2)

Understanding periods of mourning and when not to contact people is highly important to demonstrate respect (see Extract 45). This means being flexible enough to reschedule important meetings or events if necessary.

Extract 45 *“even sorrow time for people, there might be a period of time after a death that you just can't do anything in that community, particularly with elders, you have to respect that sort of thing”.* (P1)

Knowing in which order people should be asked questions, the hierarchy of consultation and the length of time to hold conversations are all crucially important to the interaction (see Extracts 46 and 47). The interaction order (Goffman, 1967; 1981) may be predetermined by factors of age and seniority and even possibly gender. It is crucial that everybody in attendance has an opportunity to put forward their view. It is important that not only particular people are consulted, but they are able to speak on topics of relevance to them, hence it is important to exhaust the topic prior to moving to the next topic (see Extract 47).

Extract 46 “*The white workers put aside one to two hours for a case conference, I put aside four hours. You sit around let everyone have their say and instead of making an agenda, we do it with people, who speaks first. So the agenda is which person, grandma, and aunty, child who will speak first. At the end you have to sift through all of the information for the case plan*”. (P1)

Extract 47 “*so in order to come up with the issues for the case plan you go through people, just say grandma brings up health, then we put it down and we get agreement from everyone while it is grandmas turn*”. (P1)

Build Rapport

Both practitioners emphasised the importance of credibility and trust in the building of rapport (see Extracts 48 and 49). Without an established relationship, Aboriginal people can be suspicious of both the worker and the institution they represent. The key to establishing a relationship is to be accessible to people, the ability to spend time as well as

to meet face to face and above all to be seen.

Extract 48 “some people may see me as an aboriginal person who will go into bat for them with the Department, other people will say that I never give them a straight answer. They ring up the white workers and say “we don’t want to talk with (interviewee), he’s a black fella but he can’t fukin talk straight”, he will never give me a straight answer” (P2)

If the practitioners are seen by the Aboriginal communities to align themselves too closely with the ‘white bureaucracy’, and neglect or abandon the struggle, they could quickly lose credibility within the community and could be labelled as “coconut” workers i.e. black on the outside, but white on the inside. In effect the practitioners have to carefully balance their social interactional role as bureaucrats (Spencer-Oatley, 2000, p. 36) against a defined cultural identity.

Extract 49 “There is a lot off work in eliciting an opinion, and doing it in a way that is non-confrontational, that doesn’t chain them up, that doesn’t put pressure on them to answer. For those people I am conscious of giving them multiple opportunities in our interaction to have a say”. (P2)

Extract 50 “The most challenging situation is where there is a mixture of people they’re the difficult negotiations, when you are trying to target the meeting so that you are not marginalizing anyone, giving people the opportunity. I have to be quite firm at times, and say look you have had your say, sorry, you will get another chance, but you have to give somebody else a chance. If you are saying that to an elder that is really disrespectful.

Sometimes I have to do that and wear the consequences". (P2)

A strong theme throughout the data relates to gaining access through building trust. Again trust appears to be a factor of respect and credibility (see Extract 50). In the absence of trust as indicated in Extract 51 and Extract 52 there is suspicion leading to engagement through superficial compliance.

Extract 51 *"The whole thing is a conversation, the whole contact, every time you visit its all conversation. Nine times out of ten, by the time you are ready to close a file you have all the information, but the information needs to be sifted"* (P1)

Extract 52 *"Bureaucrats have to get down to the level that people can feel like they are communicating, and they can feel trust over time, and they have to come up with some results".(P1)*

In Extract 53, the practitioner is highly conscious of being portrayed as an expert and therefore giving incorrect information. In addition, the building of trust (see Extract 54 and 55) is a fundamental concern and this again is a factor of showing respect (see Extract 56). The practitioner's claims rest on their perceived credibility with the community and this is a difficult and delicate negotiation to achieve as each practitioner also represent the bureaucracy.

Extract 53 *"It is a dual role, I have to be continually conscious of what I am saying. If I say the wrong thing, or people misinterpret it, it will go across NSW on the Koori grape-vine and that happened a couple of times that kind of mis-information, and my credibility can go down*

overnight". (P2)

Extract 54 " *trust it takes a long time to build that trust, get a few runs up, because people will suss you out, especially if you are not from NSW people will go " wants this smart arse black coming up to my country and telling us what to do, he's got no mandate to do that"* (P2)

Extract 55 " *If bureaucrats can't deliver something then they need to be up front and honest about it, instead of treading this shaky ground where they think they have to appease Aboriginal people, to engage them*". (P1)

Extract 56 " *Essentially negotiating access is about showing respect, not using power to push people around, attempting to do some sort of analysis about your own prejudices and how this may impact on you as a worker in that community*". (P1)

Dealing with Gratuitous Concurrence

Finally the communication strategy used to avoid interaction and avoid commitment termed *gratuitous concurrence* by Eades (1991) is clearly recognised as an issue by both practitioners, who are able to recognise it and evoke institutional authority to overcome it through strategies of restating understandings, ensuring everybody can contribute and eliciting agreements from all parties. Both practitioners refer to this communicative strategy employed by Aboriginal people as 'superficial compliance' (see Extracts 57 and 58). Gratuitous compliance (see Extract 59) has profound implications for service areas, which institutionally rely on agreements such as in child protection, legal areas, policing and developing case plans.

Extract 57 “*They just want me off their backs. You can tell you can only feel it when the person is going yes, yes, yes, but you can never say, “I don’t believe you”.* (P1)

Extract 58 “*You will get families who will give you what you want, tell you want to hear. So you have to sort of keep on probing, keep on scratching the surface. What I find is on initial contact, you don’t get the information you need, and you just get the surface”.* (P1)

Extract 59 “*If you ask up front you are likely to get yes, yes, yes, yes, that all happened, yes, yes, yes or no, no. Allot of the time there is no point in directly addressing an allegation, with an Aboriginal family the first time. You need to have a relationship first. You have to build your own credibility”.* (P1)

Role Conflict

With the role of mediator come range particular and specific problems peculiar to Aboriginal specific practitioners in the performance of their duties. The practitioners are also expected to give advice on dealing with the bureaucracy to Aboriginal groups outside of their role as public servants, with loyalties to their departments. This expected advice is often in direct conflict with their responsibilities as public servants. These are issues which do not normally impact on the work of their ‘white’ colleagues who are employed to do a similar job. These issues which have emerged from the data are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Sources of stress for the practitioners in the performance of their roles.

Problems	Sources of Stress
A limited understanding of variation in English and variation in communication strategies within the bureaucracy.	There is limited awareness and understanding of Aboriginal English within the bureaucracy and therefore limited accommodation provided for variation in English, by the bureaucracy, apart from initiatives surrounding plain English.
An assumption of community cohesion within Aboriginal communities.	The Aboriginal community is not a unified whole, but a series of smaller communities, which are networked together through various formal and informal systems of relationships
Belief that only Aboriginal practitioners should deal with Aboriginal communities.	A reliance on Aboriginal practitioners to engage communities appears to achieve positive results for access, but in the process white practitioners are able to abdicate some responsibilities to engage with Aboriginal communities and passes responsibility onto the Aboriginal practitioner.
Assumption that Aboriginal Practitioners have unlimited access.	The potential to ‘mess up’ through a negative encounter and not gain entry into a community again is particularly high with Aboriginal communities because of the historical experience with bureaucracy.
Only Aboriginal practitioners should deal with Aboriginal clients.	The impact of the Aboriginal practitioners in improving bureaucratic interactions between the bureaucracy and Aboriginal communities depends on how practitioners are deployed by the various government departments. The outreach and community work with Aboriginal communities is critical.
Limited opportunities for promotion to keep the practitioners in the specialist role.	The practitioner may be locked into a particular role and progression or skill development may be limited because of this role.
The low numbers of practitioners employed leads to limited professional support.	Support structures for the practitioner are somewhat limited, in terms of supervision structures, peer interaction, training opportunities and clear position descriptions. This is particularly a problem when the practitioner needs to seek advice on particularly complex issues
Blurred boundaries between private time and work time.	The practitioners are expected to be available all the time, by the Aboriginal community. The concept of the 9am - 5pm bureaucrat does not exist for Aboriginal practitioners and both practitioners appeared to be ‘on call’ for the Aboriginal communities all the time.
Performance of duties outside areas of key responsibility.	The practitioners are required to perform a consultancy role for white bureaucrats, who may wish to “run Aboriginal issues” past them and for senior managers within their perspective Departments who may need advice on a

	complex cultural issue. This additional role is often outside of their direct programme responsibilities and is a crucial role often not recognised in their remuneration within the public service.
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Discussion

The discursive practices of various bureaucracies continue to contribute to the maintenance of Aboriginal people in a position of social disadvantage. The establishment of Aboriginal public servants within these institutions appear to have improved access to services for Aboriginal people. Both practitioners play a pivotal role in mediating between the bureaucracy and Aboriginal communities. Primarily these Aboriginal practitioners mediate between the discourse of the institution and the discourse of the Aboriginal community by employing communication strategies, which build distance when the situation warrants the use of bureaucratic authority and solidarity in situation where the practitioner is negotiating access to the community (see Brown & Gilman, 1960). The ability to switch between the use of Aboriginal English, Standard Australian English, and bureaucratic language, gives the Aboriginal people a 'way in' without having to directly encounter the barriers presented by the discourse patterns of the institution. The need to build distance or create solidarity is key determining factors in calibrating from one language form to the other or in utilising a particular communication strategy. The practitioners calibrate their communication style according to the situation at hand .

The Aboriginal practitioner, who is equally comfortable using the discourse patterns of the institution and the discourse patterns of their own community, can act as a very effective advocate for services for Aboriginal people. At the same time, their extensive knowledge of the culture and of Aboriginal communities offers a resource of background

knowledge, which the general public service can access. This wealth of knowledge is difficult to measure in bureaucratic outcome terms. Although highly affective for Aboriginal people, occupying a dual role of both a practitioner and a member of a community places high degrees of stress on the Aboriginal public servant. The Aboriginal communities expectations on these workers, and their own loyalty to their people, often places them in a situation of conflict between their duties as public servants, and their ethical need to advocate on behalf of their own people. Expectations of their role by the institutions is often far in excess of the duties for which they were employed to do.

There is reason to be cautious of too much optimism and expectations of Aboriginal practitioner's central role in service mediation, for if the majority of practitioners are employed in clerical or clerk positions and not as field workers, or in policy and professional positions, then the discursive practices of the key service areas of health, education and welfare will continue to present a major obstacle for Aboriginal people. It is also important to ensure all public servants receive training in dealing with Aboriginal people and community groups and understand the role of language in the services they provide. The tendency to leave Aboriginal issues to Aboriginal workers to deal with, establishes a divided system, and a justification for white public servants and policy makers to avoid direct responsibility. As such, Aboriginal workers should be employed in consultative positions, with the specific purpose of providing such advice to the public service as a whole. The key issues of trust credibility and flexibility need to be central factors in negotiating with Aboriginal people and communities.

It also needs to be recognised that the Aboriginal community is not a uniformed whole. Just as class variations exist in white communities, they also exists among Aboriginal communities. The small scale nature of this study presents limitations in the

generalisability of the finding. In addition further studies, which focus on an analysis of actual spoken discourse during bureaucratic encounters, would also be valuable in identifying discourse strategies, although this may be difficult to negotiate. Finally there is a need for further sociolinguistic research into this cross-cultural communication problem and for this research to be made available to institutions engaging on a daily basis with indigenous communities.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the discursive practices of the various government agencies present linguistic barriers which deter Aboriginal people and communities from obtaining the services they need. The employment of Aboriginal specific practitioners within government bureaucracies can improve inter-cultural communication. The communication strategies used as well as the background knowledge possessed by these practitioners enables them to mediate between the Aboriginal communities and bureaucracies in which they work. The practitioners scaffold understanding for the Aboriginal communities of bureaucratic practices which they may not be aware of and at the same time act as cultural interpreters for government bureaucracies which may otherwise discard variation. The Aboriginal practitioners therefore deploy particular communication strategies to mediate across these barriers. As such the employment criteria of “Aboriginality”, should not only be seen as a strategy of an Equal Employment Opportunity policy, but should also be defined by the skills and knowledge, which these practitioners bring to the job. These skills are grounded in both their knowledge of Aboriginal culture, and their ability to calibrate language use to the various groups they interact with. A continued increase in the numbers of Aboriginal practitioners in key management, field and policy positions may result in improvements in service access for

Aboriginal people

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Appendix I: Some Questions used in Semi-Structured Interview

- 1) What advantages or disadvantages do being Aboriginal hold for your Job?
- 2) Do you think that the Aboriginal communities you work with identify a form of English as being uniquely Aboriginal? If so how is it different? How do you think these differences affect interaction with government departments?
- 3) Do you perceive any differences between how Aboriginal people use English and how Standard Australian English is used, say with your colleagues?
- 4) How do you feel you might change your language use in the different contexts you have to engage and what things might make you change it?
- 5) Do you feel that your colleagues in the public service recognise a unique form of English spoken by different Aboriginal communities? How do you think they accommodate for the difference?
- 6) How do you accommodate for communication differences when you consult or speak with Aboriginal communities?

7) What difficulties do you experience holding meetings or consulting with aboriginal communities?
How do you ensure Aboriginal people are heard when you hold meetings?

8) How do you perceive yourself to change your language use when you have to exercise authority?

9) Can you describe any situations when you have been chastised or even victimised for appearing to be a government worker? Why do you think this happened?

10) What benefits do you feel Aboriginal practitioners can bring to working with Aboriginal communities. How do members of different communities perceive your role? How does that impact on your work?



English Verb Movement Parameter in the Interlanguage of L1 Arabic Speakers

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Biodata

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Abstract

The study investigates the acquisition of English verb placement by L1 Arabic speakers of L2 English which is generally taken to constitute a UG parameter often referred to as the verb movement parameter. It sets out to test two competing hypotheses namely, the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (FFFH) (Hawkins and Chan, 1997) and the Full Transfer Full Access Hypothesis (FTFAH) (Schwartz and Sprouse 1994; 1996). The FFFH view holds that post-childhood L2 adult learners are unable to reset parameters from their L1 values to the L2 settings where these differ from the L1 settings (due to the partial inaccessibility of UG). On the other hand, the FTFAH claims that post-childhood L2 adult learners start out with the parameter settings instantiated in their L1 grammars (full transfer) and that they can subsequently reset parameters to the target L2 settings where these differ from the L1 settings (due to the full accessibility of UG). Altogether 240 L1 Arabic speakers of L2 English who were subdivided into three proficiency levels (lower-intermediate, upper-intermediate and advanced) participated in the study. A grammaticality judgement task on verb placement was designed to test the learners' underlying knowledge of three of the properties subsumed under the verb movement parameter in English: negation in both finite and non-finite contexts, adverb placement and floating subject quantifier placement in finite contexts, with thematic verbs, *be* auxiliary and copula *be* verb forms. The findings of the study provide evidence in support

of the FFFH.

Keywords: UG parameter, English verb placement, L1 Arabic speakers of L2 English

1. Background to the Study

This study examines the availability of Universal Grammar (UG) in second language (L2) acquisition. UG is an innate language faculty equipped with abstract principles of grammar and parameters (Chomsky, 2000: 122). Earlier research studies within the generative grammar approach to L2 acquisition had concentrated on the role of UG (see e.g. Epstein, Flynn, & Martohardjono, 1996). However, research interest has since shifted from verifying the availability of UG in L2 learners to that of the grammatical properties of Interlanguage (IL) grammars (White, 2003). In fact, White (2003, p. 15-17) states that two fundamental issues differentiate these views, namely, the extent to which UG constrains IL representation and the extent of the presumed involvement of first language (L1) grammar. With regard to L2 learner access to UG, it has been studied extensively from the early 1990s. The findings have resulted in different views being adopted by researchers, ranging from completely no access to UG (Clahsen, 1988; Meisel, 1991, 1997) to full access to UG (Eubank, 1994; Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996; Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1996), with the latter focusing on the initial state. On the issue of the presumed involvement of L1 grammar, UG and L1 are considered "complementary sources of knowledge that guide IL development" (Montrul, 2000: 232). In the same vein, White (2000) sees learners' L1 as their L2 initial state, and postulates that the properties of UG not represented in the L1 exist to constrain IL representations.

Researchers have relatively little idea of what makes particular L1 linguistic forms more vulnerable in the L2 acquisition process, what triggers restructuring at different stages of IL development, or what L2 grammars at the state of ultimate attainment look

like. Much empirical evidence from L2 studies confirms that UG principles constrain IL systems (e.g. Montrul, 2000; Schwartz, 1993, 2003; Thomas, 1993; White, 2000) and that such systems resemble the target languages in most respects even if they are not identical or perfectly complete (e.g. Birdsong, 1992; Coppieters, 1987; Herschensohn, 2000). Consequently, due to the grammatical nature of ILs, which are "not random concatenations of words" (Herschensohn, 2000, p. 52) but possible human languages and therefore constrained by UG, many L2 acquisition researchers have formulated and tested their hypotheses by linking UG and L2 acquisition.

The IL grammars in question can be characterized in terms of parameter settings (White, 2003, p. 118). Some researchers maintain that UG is available to adult L2 learners, and that the L2 learners are able to reset parameters from their L1 value to the L2 setting (e.g. Epstein et al., 1996; Uziel, 1993; White, 1989, 1988, in White, 2003). Other researchers (e.g. Bley-Vroman, 1989; Clahsen and Muysken, 1986, in White, 2003) argue that UG is not available in adult L2 acquisition and that such L2 learners are not able to reset parameters in their acquisition process.

In this study, the issue of parameter resetting is investigated from the point of view of knowledge of verb placement in English by adult L1 Arabic speakers. The placement of verbs with respect to negation, adverbs and subject floating quantifiers (FQs) is generally taken to constitute a UG parameter often referred to as the (V)erb raising or the (V)erb-movement parameter (Pollock, 1989). As an attempt to provide syntactic characterization on the UG availability approaches in L2 acquisition, the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (FFFH) (Hawkins and Chan, 1997), and the Full Transfer Full Access Hypothesis (FTFAH) (Schwartz and Sprouse 1994; 1996) are tested. The study aims to verify the claims that (1) the partial inaccessibility of UG is due to the

inaccessibility of parameterized features after a critical period, which are not instantiated in adult L2 learners' L1 and (2) the full accessibility of UG is due to the accessibility of parameterized features, which are not instantiated in adult L2 learners' L1, i.e. UG in its entirety constrains L2 acquisition. This latter view holds that L2 learners are able to reset parameters from their L1 value to the L2 setting, after an initial state of full transfer of their L1.

Studies that investigate the L2 acquisition of the V(erb)-movement parameter suggest that verb-placement with respect to negation is easily acquirable, but L2 learners' judgements on adverb placement were the opposite (e.g. White, 1992, in White, 2003: 130-132). Other such studies with L2 learners of English have been conducted by Hawkins et al., (2008), Ayoun (2005), Chu and Schwartz (2005), Eubank et al., (1997), Trahey and White (1993), and White (1991, 1990/91), while those involving acquisition of verb movement in L2 French have been carried by Hawkins (2001), Ayoun (1999) and Hawkins et al., (1993), and L2 Chinese, by Yuan (2003).

Noticeably, in most of the studies investigating verb movement, the L1 of the participants is a Germanic language such as English (e.g. Hawkins et al., 1993) or a Romance language like French (e.g. Ayoun, 2005, White, 1991; Trahey and White, 1993). Few researchers have considered L1s of Semitic origin like Arabic (Bolotin, 1996). In fact, there are very few studies on the acquisition of L2 English by adult learners whose L1 exhibits verb movement. No study so far has been conducted on the acquisition of V-movement parameter in L2 English by adult Arabic learners within the theoretical framework of generative grammar. These are the reasons which had led us to investigate verb movement in Arabic (the learners' L1), to compare it to English, and to examine the learners' acquisition of the property in L2 English.

2. Framework for the Study

The study focused on post-childhood L2 acquisition of verb placement in English by L1 adult Arabic-speaking learners of L2 English, namely whether the learners can reset the V-movement parameter to the target value. Some researchers in L2 acquisition using the generative framework have sought to determine whether or not adult L2 learners have access to UG beyond a certain age (see White, 2003, for discussion). In other words, what they are interested in is the issue of whether there is a critical period in L2 acquisition.

Two major hypotheses with respect to the end state of post-childhood L2 acquisition can be distinguished, namely, the FFFH (Hawkins and Chan, 1997) and the FTFAH (Schwartz and Sprouse 1994; 1996). These will be tested in the study. The FFFH maintains that acquisition will fail where L1 and L2 parameter settings differ, i.e. parameter resetting in the L2 is not possible after the critical period for instantiation of these parametric values has ceased to operate. Therefore, the IL syntactic representations in post-childhood L2 acquisition would diverge from the target grammar despite apparent native-like performance. On the contrary, the FTFAH contends that after an initial period of L1 transfer, parameters can be reset in L2 acquisition as a result of restructuring. The L2 learners start out with the parameter settings instantiated in their L1 grammars (full transfer) and that they can subsequently reset parameters to the target L2 settings. Therefore, their IL representations in post-childhood acquisition can be native-like due to convergence on the target language. Following from this, the FFFH predicts that the L2 steady state cannot include native-like representations where L1 and L2 parameter settings differ, whereas the

FTFAH predicts that it can. In short, the FTFAH and the FFFH differ in their predictions for the L2 steady state.

3. Linguistic Assumptions

Since UG aims to explain the universal traits that characterize all human languages and since learner goals in L2 acquisition are akin to the goals of children acquiring their L1, that is, to comprehend and produce the target language, then the present study rightly must adopt the most current framework of the generative paradigm, the Minimalist Program (MP) (Chomsky, 1995). The MP attempts to describe grammars by minimal means without imposing theoretical rules and procedures. MP looks at the syntax-semantics interface in a way that sees the meaning of a sentence being derived from the distinctive features of lexical items and the way these items are linked through functional categories. The fundamental idea of MP involves an invariant Computational System (CS) and the roles of morphological features or features of functional categories, which control parametric differences between languages. For example, functional categories contained within the IP are typically associated with inflectional morphological features, and their role is to check the same features on lexical categories. Although the inventory of functional categories is defined by UG, not all functional categories are instantiated in every language. In other words, languages differ as to which formal features are present and instantiated (the functional categories they select and project). Consequently, the task of a language learner may involve selecting and fixing the correct values of features from the restricted available options.

Chomsky (1995) proposes that functional categories dominate lexical categories and that each syntactic operation is basically a movement of features of functional categories

which are either [+strong] or [-strong]. When the feature is [+strong], it triggers an overt syntactic operation, while [-strong] features trigger covert movement. The overt movement of strong features requires that the word to which the features are attached move together with its features to converge at phonological interpretation. In light of the above discussion, this study will look at the acquisition of the V-movement parameter in English by L1 speakers of Arabic.

3.1 The V-movement Phenomenon

The V-movement parameter or V-to-I movement (Pollock, 1989, 1997) involves the movement of the [+finite] verb from its VP-position to a functional head linked to inflectional features. Within the Minimalist framework (e.g. Chomsky 1995, 1999), [+finite] thematic verbs may move to (Infl)ection before Spell-out to have their strong, and therefore visible, morphological features checked and erased to avoid a violation of the Full Interpretation Principle. This movement of the verb occurs in a variety of structures including placement of negation, adverbs and floating quantifiers among others.

Previous research on verb movement has shown that this process does not apply in the same manner in all natural languages (Rahhali and Souâli, 1997, p. 320). In other words, in languages where the V-features in Infl are strong, there is overt movement of the [+finite] verb, which raises from the VP to I for feature checking. On the other hand, languages in which V-features are weak, overt movement does not take place. Instead, features are checked at Logical Form (LF); this movement is not 'visible' in the syntax and is said to be covert (White, 2003, p. 11). Therefore, if L2 learners can be shown to acquire L2 feature strength where this differs from L1 feature strength, this constitutes

evidence in favour of parameter resetting (White, 2003, p. 128). In this study, we consider whether or not L2 learners can reset a parameter which depends on feature strength, namely, the V-Movement (V-to-I movement) or V-Raising Parameter, which accounts for differences in the placement of thematic verbs in a variety of languages, including between English and Arabic.

Thus, whether or not a [+finite] verb raises overtly is determined by strength of features in higher functional categories. Arabic has strong Infl (Bolotin, 1995) while the English Infl feature is weak (Chomsky, 1995), i.e. the feature strength is set to [+strong] in Arabic and to [-strong] in English. Accordingly, in Arabic, the main V overtly moves out of its base-generated position, while in English, it does not (Chomsky, 1995; Pollock, 1989). In other words, Arabic exhibits verb movement for all finite thematic verbs whereas in English verb movement is limited to auxiliary and copula raising.

Thus, differences between the behavior of finite and non-finite verbs in English and Arabic have been accounted for in terms of verb movement. Under this account, the setting of the V-movement parameter can be determined by observing the placement of the verb in relation to certain other elements that occur left adjoined to the VP, such as the negative element (Neg), adverbs and subject floating quantifiers (FQs) (which have been termed left-adjoined elements). In languages that have a positive value of the parameter [+strong], such as Arabic, the V precedes the left-adjoined elements because it has raised out of VP (i.e., across any left-adjoined elements); in languages that have a negative value of the parameter [-strong], such as English, the V follows the left-adjoined elements because it is VP-internal as it does not raise out of the VP.

3.1.1 Verb Movement in English

English is a [-strong] language as it has weak inflectional features, and feature checking will take place at the level of logical form (LF) (White, 2003, p. 11). Therefore, the V remains in the VP and does not move overtly. It appears after Neg, adverbs and subject FQs. Consequently, verb movement would produce ungrammatical structures. The result is the negator *not* cannot occur after the verb and the adverb is not allowed to interrupt a verb and its direct object. The English V does not move over FQs either.

3.1.1.1 Negation Placement

In English, the negation element *not* may be used in both finite and non-finite contexts. Given that English is specified for the feature [-strong], the [+finite] thematic verbs never appear to the left of the negation element as illustrated in (1).

- (1) She does not like trout.

According to Pollock's 'NegP-hypothesis' (1989), the negation elements head their own projection. In English, the negation element *not* occupies the specifier of NegP whose head is realized as an abstract head [Neg] or by the negative affix "-n't" (see e.g. Yuan, 2003: 353). In view of the fact that [+finite] thematic verbs are [-strong] in English, the auxiliary *do* is inserted under T(ense) and moves to Agr(eement) via Neg, picking up "-n't" or the abstract [Neg] on its way (Yuan, 2003, p. 353).

In contrast to [+finite, -strong] thematic verbs in English, [+finite] copular verb *be* and [+finite] auxiliary verb *do* undergo movement. They move to T, Neg and Agr and appear to the left of the negation as in (2) and (3).

- (2) She is/was not happy.
- (3) She is/was not going home.

3.1.1.2 Adverb Placement

In English, adverb placement is claimed to be relatively free since adverbs can occur in a number of different positions in the sentence, in spite of the fact that there are semantic and syntactic restrictions on which adverbs can appear in which positions (Shu, 2006: 2). However, English adverbs are banned from the position between the verb and its subcategorized element; instead, they occur between the subject and the verb in the order of SAdvVO as indicated in (4).

- (4) John always eats apples.

Again, this has been attributed to the weakness of the verbal features in Infl in English (White, 2003, p. 128). The [-strong] V-feature in Infl prevents the raising of the [+finite] thematic verb from its base position to the head of Infl. As a result of non-raising of the thematic verb, it remains in situ inside the VP and the adverb (Adv) is allowed to precede the verb in a SAdvV order (Ouhalla, 2002, p. 94-95).

Unlike thematic verbs, copular and auxiliary verbs such as *be* forms are raised overtly to I and are allowed to precede a VP Adverb (Ouhalla, 2002, p. 95). The examples (5) and (6) below show such an order.

- (5) She is/was always late. (SCopAdv)
- (6) She is/was always playing outside. (SAuxAdv)

3.1.1.3 Subject Floating Quantifiers (FQs)

Given that English [+finite] thematic verbs are morphologically impoverished and do not raise to Infl (Chomsky, 1995), the subject floating quantifier *all* ends up preceding instead of following the verb as indicated in the following examples which are taken from Ayoun, (2005, p. 145).

- (7)
- a. All my friends love the beach.
 - b. My friends all love the beach.
 - c. *My friends love all the beach.
 - d. *My friends love the beach all.

(Ayoun, 2005, p. 145)

Here, the subject quantifier is allowed to ‘float’, thus the term ‘floating quantifier’ but since the verb does not raise, the subject quantifier can never appear after the verb in English. Sentences such as (7a) and (7b) exemplify this point. The thematic verb *love* has the features of [+finite, -strong]. Accordingly, the subject quantifier *all* appears before the verb. On the other hand, examples such as (7c) and (7d) are not accepted in English.

However, the auxiliary and copula *be* are allowed to move in English. Hence, we find the order as exemplified in (8) and (9) respectively (i.e. subject quantifier after auxiliary and copula *be*) to be acceptable in English.

- (8) We were all thinking about our holidays.
- (9) My grandfathers were both farmers.

3.1.2 Verb Movement in Arabic

Arabic has strong inflectional features which allow for verb raising (Bolotin, 1995). In other words, Arabic has [+strong] Infl whereby the verb moves out of its base-generated position to T and Agr for feature checking, following Chomsky (1995) who states that rich morphological features trigger overt verb movement to Infl for feature checking. This is assumed as a result of evidence from verb placement in relation to Neg, adverbs and FQs.

3.1.2.1 Negation Placement

Negation in Arabic has received a reasonable amount of theoretical attention within Minimalism. Benmamoun (2000, p. 94) and Aoun et al., (2010, p. 110-20) provide the most recent and the most comprehensive analysis to account for sentential negation in Arabic within the framework of the Minimalist Program, and for this reason we briefly present their account here. They propose that the negation markers in Arabic include *laa*, *lam*, *lan*, *laysa*, and *maa* (glossed as ‘not’). According to them, these negation markers can be divided into two groups: the first group comprises *laa* (10a) and its three variants - two variants being *lam* (10b) and *lan* (10c) that inflect for T but not Agr, and the third variant, *laysa* (10d) that inflects for Agr but not T; the second group contains *maa* (10e). (Examples 10a-10e are adapted from Benmamoun, 2000, and Aoun et al., 2010.)

- (10) a laa ya-stayqiZ ?al-walad-u mubakkir-an
 neg. IMP(erf) 3m-get up the-boy-nom early-acc
 ‘The boy doesn’t get up early.’
- b lam ya-stayqiZ ?al-walad-u mubakkir-an
 neg.P(erf) 3m-get up the-boy-nom early-acc
 ‘The boy did not get up early.’
- c lan ya-stayqiZ ?al-walad-u mubakkir-an
 neg. fut 3m-get up the-boy-nom early-acc
 ‘The boy will not get up early.’
- d Lays-at ?al-bint-u ta-l3abu
 Neg-3sf the-girl-nom 3f-play
 ‘The girl doesn’t play.’
- e Maa qara?-a 3alyy-un ?al-kitaab-a
 neg read-3sm.P(erf) Ali-nom the-book-acc
 ‘Ali did not read the book.’

The negation markers that do not inflect for agreement (*laa*, *lam*, *lan*) must be adjacent to the verb (10a-c) as shown by the fact that the subject cannot intervene between them, while the one that inflects for agreement does not have to be adjacent to the verb (10d) (Benmamoun, 2000: 8).

Further, negation markers including *maa* (11a), *laa* and the variants *lan* and *lam* (11b) are used in copular sentences. On the other hand, *laa* and its variant *laysa* (12a) and *maa* (12b) are used in the context of non-verbal predicates (i.e. verbless sentences) as show below:

- (11) a maa kun-tu Taalibat-an
neg be-1s.p(erf) student-acc
'I was not a student.'
- b lam ya-kun Taaliban
neg. P(erf) 3m-be student
'He wasn't a student.'

(from
Benmamoun, 2000, p. 98)

- (12) a lays-at mu3allimat-an
neg-3sf teacher-Acc
'She (is) not a teacher.'
- b maa xaalidun fii l-bayt-i
neg Khalid in the-house-gen
'Khalid (is) not in the house'

(from
Aoun et al., 2010, p.111)

Benmamoun's (2000, p. 94) general argument is that all the negation markers except for *maa* are generated under the head of NegP, which is located between TP and VP. The subject and the verb are generated under the Spec and head of VP, respectively.

To account for the merger between the verb and the negative marker, Benmamoun (2000) assumes that Neg is specified for the [+D] feature that attracts the verb as a potential checker. He argues that the Agr on the verb can check the [+D] feature. Two factors, he maintains, motivate the movement of the verb. First, the [+V] feature of T attracts the verb to raise and check the [+V] feature. The second factor is the [+D] feature that Neg is specified for (Benmamoun, 2000: 69). His idea is that both the verb and the subject are possible checkers for the [+D] feature of both T and Neg.

In the [+past] tense (13), T is specified for verbal and nominal features ([+V, +D])

(Aoun et al., 2010, p. 34). The verb is attracted by T to check its verbal features. It raises to Neg, merges with the negation marker, and checks the [+D] feature of Neg. Then, the complex head moves to T to have its [+V] feature checked. Since the verb is already in T, it checks T's [+D] feature (Benmamoun, 2000, p. 100).

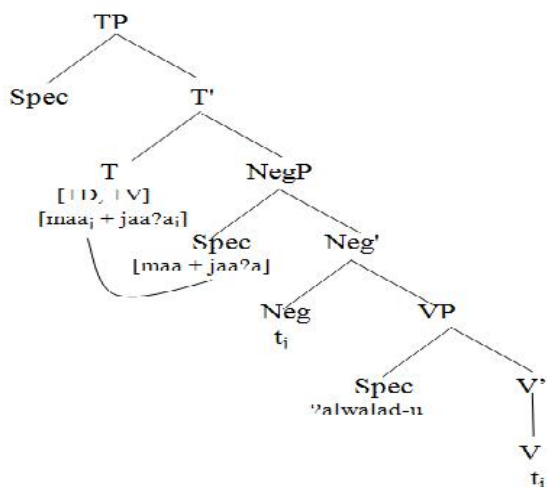
- (13) Lam ya-ʔkul ʔal-walad-u ʔa-ttuffaHat-a
 neg.P(erf) 3m-eat the-boy-nom the-apple-acc
 ‘The boy did not eat the apple.’

In the [-past] tense (14), the verb is not attracted by T, since it lacks the [+V] feature (Aoun et al., 2010: 34). However, the merger with Neg can be justified by the fact that Neg is specified for the [+D] feature, which attracts the verb as a possible checker. Since the [+D] feature of T is not checked by the verb, the subject moves to the Spec of TP through the Spec of NegP to check the nominal feature [+D] of T.

- (14) a ʔa-ttullab-u laa ya-drus-uu-n
 the-students neg.IMP(erf) 3m-study-p-ind
 ‘The students do not study.’

The fourth negation marker *maa* is different from the rest of the negators in that it does not indicate tense. Moutaouakil (1993, p. 81) claims that this negation marker occurs mostly in the context of [+past] tense but it can also occur in the [-past] tense context. Benmamoun (2000, p. 108) argues that *maa* is generated in the Spec of NegP. The assumption here is that in the context of the [+past] tense the verb moves to Neg to check its [+D] feature and merges with its Spec on its way to T to check the [+V] feature of T as shown in (15a) and its representation in (15b).

- (15) a maa jaa?-a ?al-walad-u
 neg came-3sm.P(ert) the-boy-nom
 b ‘The boy did not come.’



(adapted from Benmamoun, 2000, p.105)

In the same vein, the negation markers in the copular sentences (*laa*, *lam*, *lan* and *maa*) occupy the head of NegP. This head is specified for the [+D] feature that needs to be checked. The negative markers must merge with a verbal head. The copula moves to the Spec of NegP, checks its [+D] feature, and the complex head [Neg+copula] raises to T to have its [+V] feature checked (Benmamoun, 2000).

3.1.2.2 Adverb Placement

Pollock (1989) has argued that adverbs modify the VP. As they are not complements and do not build up new projection, they are adjuncts to VP. In this position the adverbs can act as indicators for movement out of the VP.

In sentences involving adverbs in Arabic, verb movement takes place overtly.

Thematic verbs, for instance, may precede VP adverbs which are left adjoined to VP (Pollock 1989). This is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences.

(16) a ʔakal-a ʔal-walad-u kathiir-an t-tufaaH-a
eat-3sm.P(erf) the-boy-nom abundantly-acc the-apples-acc
‘The boy ate apples abundantly.’

b ta-TbuX-u fatimat-u daaʔim-an s-samak-a
3f.IMP(erf)-cook Fatima-nom always-acc the-fish
‘Fatima always cooks fish.’

(Rahhali

and Souâli, 1997, p. 321)

However, both frequency and manner adverbs can also appear between the surface subject and the main verb as shown in (17a), which is reminiscent of the English example, reproduced in (17b).

(17) a ʔinnahum daaʔiman yu-shahiduuna al-film fi-ʔa-ssinama
they always 3pm- watch the- movie in-the-cinema
‘They often watch movies in the cinema.’

b They often watch movies in the cinema.

The syntax of adverbs in Arabic is so rich and intricate that it deserves a deeper and more thorough study, which is beyond the scope of the present study. However, in this work, we centre our attention on the stand that adverbs may appear between a verb and its complement, in contrast to English.

3.1.2.3 Floating Quantifiers (FQs)

With regard to the floating quantifier (FQ) *kull* ‘all’ in Arabic, Benmamoun, (1998) argues that it occurs in two patterns: (i) a FQ—NP pattern, and (ii) an NP—FQ pattern. In the former pattern, the quantifier displays properties of nominal heads of genitive constructions (18a) and (18b). And the latter pattern carries a clitic that agrees with the NP to its left (19a) and (19b).

- (18) a kull-u ?a-TTullaab-i jaa?-uu
all-nom the-students-gen came-3pm
‘All the students came.’
- b Ra?ayt-u kull-a ?a-TTullaab-i
saw-1sm all-acc the-students-gen
‘I saw all the students.’
- (19) a ?a-TTullaab-u Kull-u-hum jaa?-uu
the-students-nom all-nom-them came-3pm
‘All the students came.’
- b Ra?ayt-u ?a-TTullaab-a Kull-a-hum
saw-1sm the-students-acc all-acc-them
‘I saw all the students.’ (Examples from Benmamoun, 1998)

In both cases (18 and 19) we are dealing with the same constituent headed by the quantifier *kull* ‘all’; the NP—FQ pattern is derived from the FQ—NP pattern by movement of the NP to the specifier of QP (Shlonsky, 1991; Benmamoun, 1998).

In sentences involving FQs with [+past] verb, the T head which is specified for both [+V] and [+D] can check [+V] of the verb and the [+D] of the noun. As a result, the verb raises out of VP to Agr and on to T across these elements. Thus, FQs can appear

between the verb and its subcategorized complement in a VSFQC(omplement) order as shown in (20a) or VFQSC(omplement) order as shown in (20b).

- (20) a δ ahab-a ʔal-awlaad-u Kull-u-hum ʔilaa ʔal-baHr-i
 went-3sm the-boys-nom all-them-nom to the-sea-gen
- b δ ahab-a Kull-u ʔal-awlaad-i ʔilaa ʔal-baHr-i
 went-3sm All-nom the-boys-nom to the-sea-gen
 ‘All the children went to the sea.’

On the other hand, when the verb is [-past] and the T head is specified for [+D], the subject has to move to Spec, TP to check the feature [+D] on the head T and thus the FQ is adjoined to TP which explains the fact that they can appear higher in the representation as shown in (21a) FQSVC(omplement) or (21b) SFQVC(omplement).

- (21) a Kull-u ʔal-awlaad-i ya- δ ahab-uun ʔilaa ʔal-baHr to
 all-nom the-children-gen 3m-go-p-ind the-sea
- b ʔal-awlaad-u Kull-u-hum ya- δ ahab-uun ʔilaa ʔal-baHr
 the-children-nom all-them-nom 3m-go-p-ind to the-sea
 ‘All the children go to the sea.’

3.2 Non-Finite Context

In English, [-finite] thematic verbs do not raise, as is the case for [+finite] thematic verbs. Therefore, they cannot appear immediately before the negation marker *not*. Example (22) shows that the [-finite] thematic verb *sleep* does not raise; consequently can never occur to the left of the negation marker *not*; hence the ungrammaticality of (22 b).

- (22) a Not to sleep enough makes you tired.
b *To sleep not enough makes you tired.

On the other hand, in [-finite] contexts with the copula *be*, the verb is free to move to Agr. It may optionally appear either immediately before (23 a) or after (23 b) the negation marker *not*.

- (23) a To be not afraid helps you overcome hard times.
b Not to be afraid helps you overcome hard times.

In Arabic, the notion of non-finiteness can be expressed either through nominalization as in (24a) or by tensed clauses as in (24b) and (24c). Nominalization can never occur with the previously mentioned negation markers (section 3.1.2.1); hence the ungrammaticality of (24d). The only way a negation marker can be used with nominalization is by using the negation word such as *šadam* 'neg' (24e). Furthermore, the question of non-finite verb movement does not arise in Arabic, contrary to English:

- (24) a mo3amalata ?al-walidayni bighayri iHtiraam amrun moXjil-un
 treatment the-parents without respect thing shameful
 ‘To treat one’s parents with no respect is a shame.’
- b ?al-laḏi laa-yu-**3amilu** waliday-hi b-iHtiraam-in 3aaq
 who Neg-3sm.IMP(erf)treat parents-his with-respect shame
- c 3aqun man-laa-yu-**3amilu** waliday-hi b-iHtiraam
 shame who- Neg-3sm.IMP(erf)treat parents-his with-respect
 ‘It’s a shame not to treat one’s parents respectfully.’
- d *Laa-mu3amalata ?al-walidayni bighayr-i iHtiraam amrun
 neg-treatment the-parents without respect something
 muXjil-un
 shameful
 ‘Not to treat one’s parents respectfully is a shame’
- e 3adamu mu3aamalti ?al-walidayni amrun muXjilun
 neg treatment the-parents thing shameful
 ‘Not to treat one’s parents respectfully is a shame.’

3.3 Summary

Arabic exhibits verb movement for all finite thematic verbs whereas in English verb movement is limited. In English, the auxiliary and the copula *be* can move to Agr via T while thematic finite verbs cannot due to the weak nature of agreement; hence, they appear to the right of negation, adverbs and subject FQs. In Arabic, thematic verbs in finite contexts move from Agr to T across negation, adverbs and FQs, in contrast to English. Finite verbs may appear before or after adverbs and FQs. Since verb movement is systematic according to current linguistic theory, this suggests that the positions that

manner and frequency adverbs and subject FQs may appear is more varied in Arabic than in English.

In English, similar to finite thematic verbs, non-finite thematic verbs do not raise. Therefore, they cannot appear immediately before the negation marker *not*. Conversely, non-finite auxiliaries and the copula may raise past negation and are free to move to Agr. Thus, they may optionally appear either immediately before or after negation. Finally, as opposed to English, there are no non-finite forms in Arabic.

4. The Study

This study investigates the acquisition of English verb movement by L1 Arabic speakers of L2 English which is generally taken to constitute a UG parameter often referred to as the V-raising or the V-movement parameter. The paper will look at data gathered from a grammaticality judgement task (GJT) with the aim of testing learners' underlying knowledge of English V-movement parameter. The V-movement parameter is selected in this study due to the fact that this property does not apply in the same fashion in all natural languages. Languages such as English have been shown to involve only covert verb movement. With regard to verb movement in Arabic, there is clear evidence that it takes place overtly. This study aims to examine the consistency of the FFFH and the FTFAH in explaining the acquisition of English verb placement with respect to Neg, adverbs and subject FQs by adult Arabic speakers. To do this, the study sets out to examine the extent to which the Arabic ESL (English as a second language) learners can reset the verb movement parameter with respect to (a) negation in finite contexts, (b) negation in non-finite contexts, (c) adverbs (frequency and manner) in finite contexts, and (d) subject floating quantifiers in finite contexts. Specifically, we will determine whether

acquisition of functional categories not available in L1 is possible in L2 acquisition at the advanced level.

4.1 Participants

In total 240 L1 adult Arabic speakers who were learners of L2 English participated in this study. They were subdivided into three proficiency levels based on their performance in the Oxford Placement Test (OPT) (Allan, 1992), a standardized proficiency test. The formation of the three groups (advanced, upper-intermediate and lower-intermediate) is based on a score of 80% and above for the advanced group, between 61% and 75% for the upper-intermediate group and between 41% and 55% for the lower-intermediate group. The participants were undergraduate university students in Yemen. They had studied English for three years before they began secondary school and they continued to learn English at secondary school. In addition, first year undergraduate students had to learn English as a requirement course at the university level. This means that the learners had had at least seven to eight years of tutored exposure to the English language. The average number of years spent learning English was 10.18 years. However, most learners had had very little contact with English outside the classroom. In total, 66 participants were classified as advanced, 84 as upper intermediate and 90 as lower intermediate on the basis of their results in the standardized proficiency test, the OPT.

In this study we focussed on the description of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as opposed to the colloquial dialects. Basically, not all speakers of Arabic have equal command of their colloquial dialects. Unlike the colloquial dialects, MSA is used in many aspects of the learners' lives. MSA is taught in school, and it is used in the mass media as well as for all formal and religious purposes. Thus, it has become a symbol of

unity of the Arab world (Aoun et al., 2010: 2; Watson, 2002: 8-9). The situation is the same in Yemen. For this reason we focused on MSA, and we refer to it as Arabic.

4.2 Methodology

A grammaticality judgement task consisting of English sentences displaying grammatical and ungrammatical placement of the verb with respect to negation, adverbs and subject FQs was administered to all the participants. It was designed to test the learners' underlying knowledge of the English V-movement parameter. The task consisted of 104 test items involving an equal number of grammatical and ungrammatical items. Each set (grammatical or ungrammatical) contained five item types:

52 grammatical items

- Type 1 (T1): 12 Negation in Finite Contexts (GNFC), that is correctly placed negation items with finite clauses involving the features of [\pm finite], [\pm past], [\pm AGR] and [\pm ablaut] (e.g. *They do not watch movies in the cinema.*)
- Type 2 (T2): 8 Negation in Non-Finite Contexts (GNIFC), that is correctly placed negation items with non-finite/infinitive clauses. (e.g. *Not to win a competition is disappointing.*)
- Type 3 (T3): 12 correctly placed adverb items with finite clauses (GAdvFC) involving the features of [\pm finite], [\pm past], [\pm AGR] and [\pm ablaut] (e.g. *They are constantly talking on the phone.*)
- Type 4 (T4): 12 correctly placed floating quantifier items with finite clauses (GFQFC) involving the features of [\pm finite], [\pm past], [\pm AGR] and [\pm ablaut]. (e.g. *The boys all sat on the beach; My grandfathers were both farmers.*)

- Type 5 (T5): 8 correctly inflected distractors (GDIS) (e.g. *Mr. Ali met his wife at a party.*)

52 ungrammatical items

- Type 1 (T1): 12 Negation in Finite Contexts (UNFC), that is wrongly placed negation items with finite clauses involving the features of [\pm finite], [\pm past], [\pm AGR] and [\pm ablaut] (e.g. **The students not are coming to the party.*)
- Type 2 (T2): 8 Negation in Non-Finite Contexts (UNIFC), that is wrongly placed negation items with non-finite/infinitive clauses. (e.g. **To sleep not enough makes you tired.*)
- Type 3 (T3): 12 wrongly placed adverb items with finite clauses (UAdvFC) involving the features of [\pm finite], [\pm past], [\pm AGR] and [\pm ablaut]. (e.g. **He pushed slowly the car in the park.*)
- Type 4 (T4): 12 wrongly placed floating quantifier items with finite clauses (UFQFC) involving the features of [\pm finite], [\pm past], [\pm AGR] and [\pm ablaut]. (e.g. **The artists come all to the show.*)
- Type 5 (T5): 8 wrongly inflected distractors (UDIS) (e.g. **Reads Ahmed the daily newspaper.*)

All item types included thematic verbs as well as the auxiliary *be* and the copula *be*. Transitive, intransitive, regular and irregular verbs were included in the thematic verb items so that participants' judgements were not due to the influence of verb types. With regard to non-finite items (T2), two patterns were used: to-V-not (e.g. *to be not healthy can be dangerous*) and not-to-V (e.g. *not to be a liar helps you get people's trust*). Adverbial constructions (T3) included both manner (e.g. *quickly, slowly*) and frequency (e.g. *often, rarely*) adverbs. The following adverb positions were tested with transitive

verbs: SVAdvO and SAdvVO. T5 items in both the grammatical and ungrammatical sets served as distracters. Thus in total 44 grammatical and 44 ungrammatical items (T1-T4) are pertinent and of concern here.

The participants were given 60 minutes to answer all the items. They were requested to judge whether an item was grammatical or ungrammatical. The test items were coded for V-movement parameter and the data collected were reported in terms of mean percentages. Then, one way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) tests were run on all grammatical and ungrammatical item types (T1 to T4).

5. Results and Interpretation

Table 1 below summarises the data obtained from the participants' performance on grammatical items. Figure 1 is a graph representing the same information in a visually more striking manner.

Table 1: Accuracy on Grammatical Items in the GJT

Item type	Proficiency Group			(%)
	Advanced N=66	Upper-Intermediate N=84	Lower-Intermediate N=90	
T1 (GNFC)	80.83%	69.72%	54.86%	68.47%
T2 (GNIFC)	68.13%	56.67%	45.63%	56.81%
T3 (GAdvFC)	77.64%	64.86%	49.44%	63.98%
T4 (GFQFC)	64.44%	60.56%	51.67%	58.89%
Average	72.76%	62.95%	50.40%	62.04%

GNFC= grammatical negation in finite contexts; GNIFC= grammatical negation in non-finite contexts; GAdvFC= grammatically placed adverb in finite contexts; GFQFC= grammatically placed floating quantifier in finite contexts

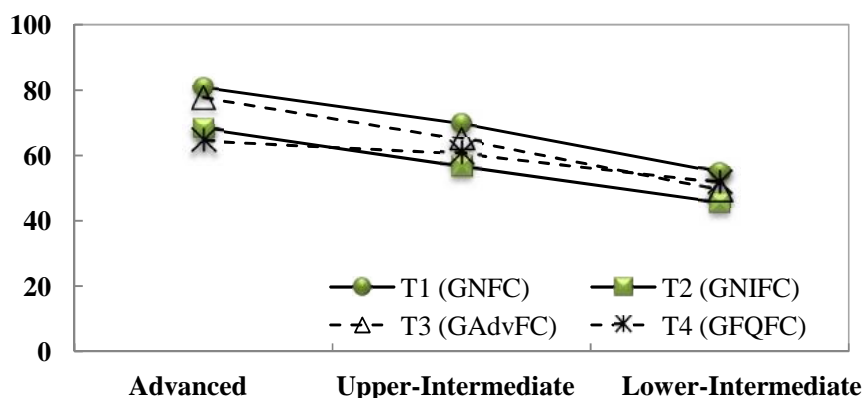


Figure 1: Comparison of Results of All Sets of Grammatical Items in the GJT for the Three Groups

As shown in Table 1 and Figure 1, the advanced participants were very accurate on the (T1) GNFC items (80.83%). In contrast, the performance of the upper-intermediate group and the lower-intermediate group was much lower (69.72% and 54.86% respectively). On the basis of a one-way ANOVA, the three groups were significantly different in terms of accuracy ($F(2,237) = 20.781, p = .0001$). Post-hoc Scheffe tests also indicated significant differences among all possible pairs of proficiency levels. The advanced group scored above 80% for this set of items indicating that they have attained native-like level (see e.g. Wong, 2002).

Where the (T2) GNIFC items were concerned, accuracy was quite low, even for the advanced level, the scores being below 80% for all groups. A one-way ANOVA showed a highly significant difference between all proficiency levels ($F(2,237) = 10.057, p =$

.0001). In addition, post-hoc Scheffe tests displayed significant differences ($p < .05$) between the accuracy of the lower-intermediate group on the one hand and that of the advanced group and the upper-intermediate group on the other; however, no significant difference ($p > .05$) was found between the advanced group and the upper-intermediate group. The low accuracy scores can be explained by the poor performance on items displaying the copula as in (29) and (30):

(29) Not to be clever is sometimes an advantage.

(30) To be not afraid helps you overcome hard times.

Although Pollock (1989) argued that both sentences are assumed to be possible, the participants clearly preferred the *not-to-be* option as in (29) than the *to-be-not* option as in (30). In addition, the participants performed much better on items containing thematic verbs. Results showed that they preferred the *not-to-V* items. Generally, the results imply that the learners do not accept the *to-V-not* order either with the copula or thematic verbs, and that they prefer the *not-to-V* order in both cases.

Adverbs in (T3) GAdvFC items proved to be problematic for the lower-intermediate group who registered a much lower accuracy level (49.44 %) than the other two groups (77.64% advanced, 64.86% upper-intermediate). The advanced group was more accurate than the rest of the learners and we can see that the higher the proficiency level of the learners, the better their performance. A one-way ANOVA revealed a highly significant difference between the groups ($F(2,237) = 26.952$, $p = 0.0001$). Post-hoc Scheffe tests also found significant differences ($p < 0.05$) for all possible pairs of proficiency levels. Generally, the trend was the higher the proficiency

level, the better the performance of the participants. However, the advanced group at ultimate attainment level had not acquired target verb placement with respect to the placement of adverbs in finite contexts to a native like level (see e.g. Wong, 2002, for assuming 80% as the cut off point for native like level of acquisition).

Accuracy for all learners was below 80% on items in the (T4) GFQFC set. It is even lower than on some of the other sentence types, such as negation in finite contexts and adverbs: 64.44% for the advanced group and 60.56% for the upper-intermediate group although both scored higher than the lower-intermediate learners (51.67%). A one-way ANOVA found significant differences between the three groups of participants ($F(2,237) = 3.799, p = .024$). Post-hoc Scheffe tests on the GFQFC items revealed significant differences ($p < 0.05$) between the accuracy of the lower-intermediate group on the one hand and that of the advanced group and the upper-intermediate group on the other, suggesting that target verb placement with respect to placement of subject FQs in finite clauses has not been acquired to a native like level although accuracy did increase with proficiency.

Table 2 below displays the data obtained from the participants' performance on ungrammatical items. Figure 2 presents a comparison of the data of all sets of ungrammatical items for the three proficiency groups in a more visually striking manner.

Table 2: Accuracy on Ungrammatical Items in the GJT

Item type	Proficiency Group			Total mean %
	Advanced N=66	Upper-Intermediate N=84	Lower-Intermediate N=90	
T1 (UNFC)	70.69%	61.67%	47.50%	59.95%
T2 (UNIFC)	60.00%	47.29%	30.21%	45.83%
T3 (UAdvFC)	64.36%	51.81%	37.22%	51.11%
T4 (UFQFC)	61.67%	46.81%	39.72%	49.40%
Average	64.18%	51.90%	38.66%	51.58%

UNFC= ungrammatical negation in finite contexts; UNIFC= ungrammatical negation in non-finite contexts; UAdvFC= ungrammatically placed adverb in finite contexts; UFQFC= ungrammatically placed floating quantifier in finite contexts

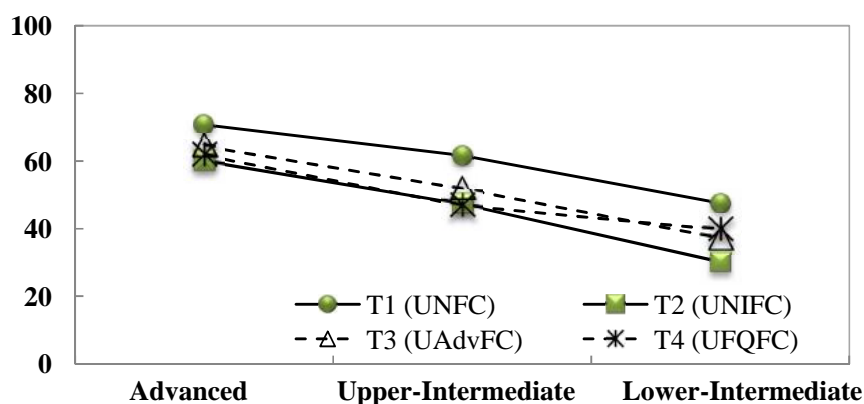


Figure 2: Comparison of Results of All Sets of Ungrammatical Items in the GJT for the Three Groups

As shown in Table 2 and Figure 2, the accuracy scores on the T1 (UNFC) ungrammatical items were rather low for the advanced, the upper-intermediate and the lower-intermediate groups (70.69%, 61.67% and 47.50% respectively). Compared to the grammatical items (GNFC), the learners seemed to show a higher level of inaccurate intuition towards the ungrammatical items (see Table 1 for GNFC items). A one-way ANOVA found a significant difference between groups on the T1 (UNFC) items ($F(2,237)= 9.408, p= .0001$). Post-hoc Scheffe tests also found significant differences ($p<.05$) between the accuracy scores of the lower-intermediate group on the one hand and that of the advanced and the upper-intermediate groups on the other. The lower accuracy levels in rejecting the ungrammatical items compared to their ability in accepting the grammatical items indicates that the learners had not yet acquired these items to a native like level. For a learner to have achieved native like competence in a particular L2 property, they would have to have accurate intuition of both grammatical and ungrammatical items in a task. The fact that the learners had more difficulty detecting the ungrammatical items suggests that they had a different

underlying representation from native speakers for this property.

As with T1 items, the three groups were not as accurate at rejecting the T2 (UNIFC) ungrammatical items (60.00%, 47.29% and 30.21% respectively) as they were at accepting the T2 grammatical items. A one-way ANOVA registered a significant difference between the groups on T2 (UNIFC) items ($F(2,237)= 20.461$, $p= .0001$). Post-hoc Scheffe tests indicated that the lower-intermediate group was significantly less accurate than the advanced and the upper-intermediate groups in accepting the (GNIFC) items and in rejecting the ungrammatical (UNIFC) ones. Taken together, the results for the T2 (UNIFC) items indicated that the learners had stabilized at levels below 80%. Again, the poor performance on non-finite negatives was mainly due to the low accuracy levels on sentences containing the copula, such as (29). These sentences proved to be most problematic for all participants, including the advanced group. The participants were more likely to accept sentences like (30), i.e. where *not* precedes *to be*. In general, they preferred *not-to-be* over *to-be-not*. An analysis of participants' accuracy levels on thematic verbs and the copula revealed that performance on thematic verbs in the (GNIFC) items was much better than performance on items with the latter.

With regard to adverbs, the three groups were, in general, more accurate at accepting the grammatical items (GAdvFC) (77.64%, 64.86% and 49.44% respectively) (see Table 1) than at rejecting ungrammatical ones (UAdvFC) (64.36%, 51.81% and 37.22% respectively) (see Table 2). Nonetheless, the lower-intermediate group was less accurate on both sets of items than the advanced and the upper-intermediate learners. A one-way ANOVA showed significant difference between groups on the ungrammatical items ($F(2,237)= 16.833$, $p= 0.0001$). Post hoc Scheffe tests revealed significant differences ($p<.05$) between all possible pairs of proficiency levels.

The general performance of all groups on ungrammatical items with adverbs (UAdvFC) as shown in Table 2 and Figure 2 was quite low. This is mainly due to the low accuracy on rejecting ungrammatical items, and to the low accuracy on grammatical adverb placement with copula and auxiliary verbs. Items with copula and auxiliary verbs tended to be the most problematic for all participants as they persistently judged SVAdv to be acceptable in English due to the long lasting effect of their L1 (Arabic) word order. However, the L1 Arabic speakers did improve with proficiency for both sets of items (grammatical and ungrammatical).

With regard to the T4 items, the learners, in general, displayed better performance at accepting the grammatical sentences (GFQFC) (see Table 1) than at rejecting ungrammatical ones (UFQFC) (61.67%, 46.81% and 39.72% respectively). This means that sentences such as (31) and (32) were judged as grammatical.

(31) *The children received all a prize.

(32) *The students of physics all were intelligent.

The total accuracy level for the learners in each group did not reach 80% for this set of items (see Table 1 and Table 2). Even the advanced learners seemed to have stabilized at about 64.44% (grammatical items) and 61.67% (ungrammatical items) suggesting that they have not acquired these items to a native like level. A one-way ANOVA showed a significant difference among proficiency levels in this item type ($F(2,237)=9.891, p=0.0001$). Post hoc Scheffe tests revealed significant differences ($p<.05$) between the accuracy of the advanced group on the one hand and that of the lower-intermediate group and the upper-intermediate group respectively on the other.

However, no significant difference ($p > .05$) was found between the lower-intermediate group and the upper-intermediate group.

Except for the lower-intermediate group, learners were slightly more accurate on sentences with the copula and *be* auxiliary verbs (in contrast to the other sentence types). This result indicates that they often accepted sentences such as (33) and (34) more than they do sentences such as (35) and (36).

(33) They are all dissatisfied with the service.

(34) They are both talking to the teacher.

(35) The participants all speak English in the meeting.

(36) They both passed away together in 1976.

The results indicate that the learners were beginning to realize that SVFQ is possible with the copula and auxiliary *be* while SFQV is not.

Overall, the three groups of learners performed relatively well in the grammatical set of items (72.76%, 62.95% and 50.40% respectively) compared to the ungrammatical set of items (64.18%, 51.90% and 38.66% respectively) (see Table1/Figure 1 and Table2/Figure 2). A one way ANOVA conducted on the learners' performance showed significant differences on grammatical ($F(2,237) = 52.026, p = .0001$) and ungrammatical items ($F(2,237) = 33.542, p = .0001$) items. Post-hoc Scheffe tests revealed significant differences ($p < .05$) across the three proficiency levels of learners. Taken together, the results indicate that target verb placement with respect to Neg (in finite and non-finite contexts), adverbs (in finite contexts) and subject FQs (in finite contexts) has not been

acquired by the learners to a native like level. Even at ultimate attainment, the overall performance of the advanced group on both grammatical and ungrammatical items (72.76% and 64.18% respectively) indicates that these learners do not have the same intuition that native speakers have.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

As Arabic exhibits overt verb movement in the syntax, the L1 Arabic learners seemed to be confused with the English V-movement parameter (which is set to the negative value) items in T1 as indicated by their judgements in both the ungrammatical and the ungrammatical items. Accuracy of the L2 learners collectively was quite low (68.47% for the grammatical items (GNFC) and 59.95% for the ungrammatical items (UNFC)). Although at ultimate attainment level, the advanced learners seemed to have accepted the English configuration (80.83%), their judgement of the corresponding ungrammatical items showed otherwise (70.69%). In other words, the L2 learners failed to reject (VNeg) items such as **The train arrives not in the morning* consistently. A paired two-sample t-test showed that their accuracy scores in the ungrammatical items to be significantly different ($p < .05$) from that of the grammatical counterparts. Their inability to reject the ungrammatical items to a native like level indicates that they are still indeterminate in their judgment and intuition for this structure. This suggests that the L2 learners, even at ultimate attainment level, did not recognize the impossibility of verb movement with finite negation, indicating failure to reset the parameter of [+strong] to its target value in English. These results show that the L1 Arabic speakers at ultimate attainment have not achieved native like competence in English finite clauses with negation (T1).

As for the T2 items, results showed poor performance on non-finite negation. In this

set, the L1 Arabic speakers seemed to prefer the *not-to-V* over the *to-V-not* though both patterns are grammatical. On the other hand, analysis of the three groups' accuracy levels indicates that their performance on grammatical items was slightly better than their performance on parallel ungrammatical items. At ultimate attainment (the advanced group), a paired two-sample t-test showed that the grammatical and ungrammatical scores are significantly different ($t(65) = -2.310, p = .024$), indicating that the learners' ILes were indeterminate and non native like.

In the same vein, for the T3 items, although at ultimate attainment, the L1 Arabic speakers have accepted the English configuration at a level of 77.64%, their judgements of the corresponding ungrammatical items was much lower, i.e. 64.36%. When a paired two-sample t-test was done with the grammatical and ungrammatical scores of the advanced group, the result showed a significant difference of ($t(65) = 2.995, p = .004$). Their inability to reject the ungrammatical items adequately indicates that they were still indeterminate in their judgements and intuition for this structure, similar to items in T2.

The low accuracy scores on T4 items reveal that the L1 Arabic speakers have difficulty with these items, both the grammatical and the ungrammatical. This can be attributed to the fact that the placement of the FQs is more varied in Arabic than in English. In particular, the learners failed to accept SFQV items (e.g. *the participants all speak English in the meeting*) and generally failed to reject the SVFQ order (e.g. **the children received all a prize*), a result which suggests that their L1 has influenced them in the acquisition of this set of items. At ultimate attainment, the grammatical and ungrammatical scores are not only low, but a paired two-sample t-test indicated that the two sets of scores are not significantly different at ($t(65) = .543, p = .589$). This result

shows that this set of items is difficult for the learners and their ILEs are non-native like.

To verify the possibility of parameter resetting in post critical period L2 acquisition, the results should indicate that L1 Arabic speakers are able accept English structures with no verb movement and they should have learned the L2 after a critical period (see e.g. Smith and Tsimpli, 1995). This implies that L1 Arabic speakers of L2 English should place thematic verbs after negation (NegV), adverbs (SAdvV), and FQs (SFQV). At the same time, they should reject VNeg, SVAdv and SVFQ orders.

The findings suggest that adult L1 Arabic learners of English assume that English allows verb movement past Neg, adverbs and FQs. Therefore, at ultimate attainment level, advanced L1 Arabic speakers' IL grammars in post critical period L2 acquisition demonstrated representations inconsistent with those of native speakers' for T1 items. As a result, they accepted NegV and did not reject VNeg to native like level. The L1 Arabic speakers were unable to accept SAdvV, or to reject SVAdv to a native like level, showing that they were still indeterminate in their judgments and intuition for the T3 items. With regard to the T2 items, the L1 Arabic speakers did not perform well (below 80%) indicating that this set of items also posed difficulty for them. With respect to the T4 items, the L1 Arabic speakers failed to either accept the grammatical structures (SFQV) or to reject the ungrammatical structures (SVFQ) to a native like level.

Although the adult learners were able to acquire the T1 (GNFC) items well, they were not able to do so for the T2, T3 and T4 items. Therefore, we cannot say for certain that they have reset the Arabic V-movement parameter from [+strong] to [-strong]. What the results indicate is that the learners seemed to have restructured and converged on to the English setting for the T1 items. The results for the other sets of items show that they did not have the underlying mental representations of native

speakers for these items.

The fact that the adult L1 Arabic learners have failed to acquire English constructions to a native-like level in all item types and the fact that their IL representations have deviated from that of native-like representations provide evidence that resetting the V-movement parameter from [+strong] to [-strong] is eventually impossible in post critical L2 acquisition. In other words, the functional features responsible for verb movement in the Arabic learners' IL grammars have not been set to the weak value, i.e. the correct value for the target L2. These findings seem to reject the assumption implied by the FTFAH that parameter resetting is attainable in post critical L2 acquisition. On the contrary, the findings support the FFFH proposed by Hawkins and Chan (1997). Accordingly, the findings have shown that adult L1 Arabic speakers of L2 English were unable to acquire features that differed from those found in the L1. In spite of being restricted to the L1 parameter value, the IL grammars of the learners were able to generate representations that fall within the general constraints of UG.

In sum, the findings indicate that the adult L1 Arabic speakers of L2 English are unable to acquire the feature strength that differs from that found in the L1. In other words, the functional features which determine parametric differences between the Arabic/English pairing with regard to the V-movement parameter and all subsumed syntactic properties become inaccessible to modification beyond the critical period and, depending on the nature of the Arabic language, this has resulted in divergence from native speaker representations since the parameter setting of English differs from that of Arabic, thus supporting the assumptions of the FFFH.

7. Recommendations for Further Research

It is suggested that more studies could be conducted in relation to the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (FFFH). This could be carried out by investigating the acquisition of other grammatical elements or by targeting other samples from different Arab speaking countries to find out if the findings of this study could be substantiated. Another direction for further research is a longitudinal study of child L2 English. It might also be interesting to conduct an experimental task to specifically target the V-movement parameter with other subsumed syntactic properties such as inverted questions. Such studies could yield more evidence to support the FFFH which will then strengthen its status as a model to describe and explain the phenomena evident in L2 learners.

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Hedging in Political Discourse

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Abstract

This study aims at investigating and analyzing three aspects of hedging in spoken political discourse: (1) means of expression, (2) density of lexical and syntactic markers, and (3) pragmatic functions. The corpus providing the database for the study consists of seventeen randomly selected televised interviews with a number of Arab politicians and leaders during the third Gulf War, the *Desert Fox*. The questions and comments in all the interviews were centered on the interviewees' positions from the war and the proposed solutions. A body of 13, 168 words was selected for a detailed analysis. For contrastive goals, the first 6573 words were selected from interviews in which Arabic was the medium of communication. The other 6595 words, on the other hand, were selected from interviews in which English was the medium of communication.

Findings have shown that: (i) avoidance is the most commonly occurring strategy of hedging that characterizes spoken political discourse, (ii) conversational and

discourse strategies including Grice's maxim's are rarely adhered to in spoken political discourse, and (iii) hedging is directly and widely affected by the recipient design.

Key words: hedges, discourse, pragmatic functions, political discourse

1. Introduction & Review of Literature

While research on hedging and hedges has progressed and expanded enormously over the past four decades, it is still apparent that the semantic category of hedges has not been precisely defined yet. Perhaps the lack of such a category is attributed to the complexity of the meanings of the hedging devices, a fact that has presented a serious challenge for researchers. Apart from the semantic category of hedges, it seems that researchers have a broad consensus on what hedging is. Lakoff (1972) associates hedges with unclarity or fuzziness: "for me some of the most interesting questions are raised by the study of words whose job is to make things more or less fuzzy." (p.195). It has been observed that the term hedging which was first used to refer to fuzziness has been widened to cover a number of interrelated concepts, namely indetermination, vagueness, indirectness and approximation (Zuck & Zuck, 1986; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Hyland, 1998; Btoosh, 1999; Btoosh, 2004; Varttala, 2001; Vass, 2004; Chavez, 2004; Ayodobo, 2007; Vazques & Giner, 2008, Donesch-Jezo, 2010, among others). In a more comprehensive account of the term, Bruce (2010: 201) associates hedging with all means leading lack of full commitment.

Hedging is a rhetorical strategy. By including a particular term, choosing a particular structure, or imposing a specific prosodic form on the utterance, the speaker signals a lack of a full commitment either to the full category membership of a term or expression in the utterance (content mitigation), or to the intended illocutionary force of the utterance (force mitigation).

The impact of hedging devices in the discourse is measured by their overall effect on

meaning or the message of the text oral/written. Hyland (1996: 15) illustrates that hedging devices are used to indicate a lack of complete commitment to the truth of the proposition, and a desire not to express the commitment categorically. The same function is found in economics discourse. Pindi & Bloor (1987) argue that “economics forecasters are shown to have three ways of modifying their commitments to a prediction: by hedging, using such as modal verbs as ‘*may*’ or other lexical items such as possibility and by specifying conditions.” (p. 55).

Hedging may also stem from the inner conflict between intention and desire: “being indirect is a mechanism for dealing with conflicting intentions and desires. The general form of the conflict is that the speaker wants to convey *X* for some reason and he does not want to convey *X* for other reasons. By being indirect he can convey *X* in one sense but not in another.” (Pyle, 1975: 2).

Like English, Arabic does employ lexical, syntactic (conditionals or passive) as well as strategic hedges. However, one of the most common structural hedging devices employed in Arabic discourse is the *conditional sentences*. Safi (1988:2) argues that: “probability is one of the most difficult issues associated with conditionality. In English the use of the different tenses of verbs and modals usually stand for probability whereas in Arabic it is possible for the conditional particles and different tenses of verb to stand for probability”.

A text, of course, is said to have hedging by its having any of the different means that express hedging directly or indirectly. Channel (1994:3) argues that “one of the most useful and enduring insights to come out of the recent study of language use is that speakers and writers tailor their language to make it suitable to the situation (when, where and why?) and the linguistic context (is it gossipy chat, an interview, a story in a popular

newspaper?)”.

Hedging use, as the literature shows, is affected by gender. Lakoff (1972:90) asserts that in order to show their femininity, women tend to adopt an unassertive style of communication. That is, they must learn to denude their statements of declarative force. He adds: “women’s speech lacks authority.” The great bulk of studies devoted to the domain has demonstrated and, roughly speaking, agreed upon the validity of hedging devices in strengthening the arguments by weakening the claims.

As is evident from the literature, it is not unusual to connect meaning with what is called internal pragmatics of utterances. Sandell (1977:5) argues that:

In order to achieve the same effect with different receivers, that is, in order to make them react in a uniform manner, the skilled sender changes his wording with each different receiver so as to conform to their different frames of reference. Still, his conception of the topic of the message is as unchanging as the effect he desires on one part of the receiver. This does not imply, however, that these different wordings would have the same effect on a single individual, which makes it important to distinguish between interindividual and intraindividual identity (or similarity) of functional meaning, and to study if one and the same nominal meaning, differently styled in a message, will produce intraindividually different functional meanings, particularly as regards those aspects that we call persuasive effects.

By reason of similarity and shared functions, it is possible to purport that indetermination, indirectness, vagueness, and modality are different strategies or means of the same phenomenon *hedging*. To a greater or lesser degree, all these means do share certain pragmatic functions, viz:

- (i) Showing the receiver a degree of uncertainty that the sender has about the proposition.
- (ii) Avoiding the sender's direct involvement in the proposition.
- (iii) Expressing and showing politeness and modesty.

A space will be left for commentary on individual strategies (indetermination, indirectness, vagueness, and modality) when talking about the pragmatic functions of hedging. For illustrative purposes, hedges, as used in this study, refer to all words, expressions and structures that:

1. Express uncertainty and imprecision when the precise information is not available or purposely avoided;
2. Mitigate direct criticism and incitement;
3. Avoid sender's commitment to the truth of the proposition;
4. Express/show politeness and modesty; &
5. Modify the discourse.

2. Objectives and Methodology

Three aims, as mentioned before, have been set for analysis in this study. First, it aims to identify the different strategies and markers of hedging used in spoken discourse. Secondly, it examines the density of both lexical and syntactic hedging devices used in the corpus. Thirdly, it attempts delineate the pragmatic functions that can be conveyed by such devices.

There can be little doubt that unless the context is given, intentional meaning remains vague. This, of course, presupposes that context is not any less importance than words or expressions used to convey the message. The ignorance of the context is sometimes expected to lead to a local or global misunderstanding between what is said/written and what is intended. Drawing on such factors, the seventeen randomly selected interviews which form the corpus of this study, have undergone a very detailed contextual analysis to ensure that the extracted devices are hedges by function, rather than by form. Table (1) illustrates the number and medium of the conversations in question.

Table (1) Medium & number of the interviews

Language	Medium of Interview	No. of interviews
Arabic	Face to face	5
Arabic	Over the phone	1
English	Face to face	11

Two reasons, however, are attributed to data selection. The above-mentioned interviews, on the one hand, contrast in their recipient design and medium. Thus, any differences in terms of the discourse factivity are possibly and directly attributed to the nature of the recipient design. Moreover, hedging is much more used in political discourse than in other types of discourse such as medical or legal discourse.

Data analysis procedures involve a careful investigation into the hedging markers and strategies used in the aforementioned data.

- (i) Transcribing the interviews in order to extract all hedging devices.
- (ii) Classifying the extracted hedges into three categories: invisible strategies, lexical, and syntactic markers.
- (iii) Establishing frequency count and percentage of each of the lexical and syntactic markers.
- (iv) Exploring the effect of the recipient design on the discourse factivity.
- (v) Exploring the main types and strategies of hedging employed in the data.
- (vi) Analyzing the basic pragmatic functions of lexical and syntactic hedges as used contextually in the data.

3. Results & Discussion

I. Invisible Hedging Strategies

Before attempting to engage in the discussion of the quantitative results, it seems useful to start the section up by commenting briefly on the most outstanding strategies of hedging that characterizes political spoken discourse, namely the *avoidance strategy*. Albeit having no specific strategies as other hedges do, avoidance strategy is not always obscure. As a matter of fact, this strategy usually has three different means: (i) *topic-shift*, to move from a subject to another unrelated one, (ii) *generalization*, to avoid mentioning any specific answer, and (iii) *ignorance*, to purposely ignore the question/topic completely. In what follows, an attempt is made to spotlight on all aspects of this vital strategy. For the sake of clarity, a space is also left for commentary on certain aspects related to the violations of the conversational and discourse strategies including the Grice's maxims.

Q.1. Do you believe that Iraq has implemented all the United Nation resolutions related to the second Gulf War?

A. Undoubtedly, the United Nations resolutions should be implemented completely everywhere...the people may understand the effect of this war and the previous one in the future....

Q. 2. It is said that if Iraq had implemented the United Nation Resolutions, there would have been no further attacks. Is it true?

A. Can you give me one example about the use of force to implement the United Nations resolutions in the region (Middle East)?

Q. 3. It is believed that the current war will not last for a long period of time and after that we will enjoy a peaceful life. What do you think?

A. Could anybody argue for this slogan? If it is true, then who can interpret what is taking place in Lebanon, West Bank, Sudan, Libya?

Q.4. If you were asked to send forces to fight against Iraq, what would be your answer?

A. We always side with what we believe is right.

Q. But are you with or against the current campaign?

A. Of course, we don't want to see a new Bosnia here.

Q.5. Prior to the second Gulf war in 1991, there were promises to put an end for the struggle in the Middle East but we have seen nothing yet. Do you believe that this reflects the double measure policy practiced in the region?

A. I believe that the peace process should continue to end the most dangerous issue in the region.

Examples such as the ones just mentioned are not totally uncommon in political discourse and particularly in the spoken form. For politicians, language is always a powerful tool to loose or to win. This is, however, the very fact that makes politicians think twice before answering questions. The reason behind the vague or general answers is usually attributed to the self-protection strategy. Politicians resort to imprecision to protect themselves against any future possible criticism if proved wrong later on.

Examples 1 through 5 illustrate even a more complicated situation, where context plays an influential role in the interpretation process. The continuing disagreement about how to distinguish hedged propositions from the non-hedged ones and drawing on the different interpretations of one and the same hedging device in different contexts, the present paper illustrates that hedges are context-dependent devices. It goes without saying that syntactic hedges presented in examples 2 & 3, are mainly used not only to hedge what is stated but also to draw the receiver's attention to the unspoken message(s).

Before going any further, let's pause a little to examine what is called *Flouting the Maxims*, a situation in which the maxim is completely and purposely disobeyed, with the intention that the receiver understands/recognizes the meant point. Example 1, for instance, flouts the maxims of Quantity & Relevance simultaneously. Clearly, the sender has flouted the maxim of quantity by saying more than what is required. The sender has purposely resorted to provide more information than is required to avoid the yes/no answer. This indicates that politicians disfavor direct answers. The second half of the answer flouts the maxim of relevance by providing a statement that has no relationship to the question. There is yet another strategic element in this example. The sender has begun his answer by an emphatic/persuader word considering his answer as a fact rather than

just an opinion. Oftentimes, this strategy is used to avoid personal attribution.

Comparing questions to answers, one may conclude that interviewers and interviewees have different strategies. The interviewers, on the one hand, attempt to have a well-organized turn-talking model by limiting the options in front of the interviewees (yes/no questions). The interviewees, on the other hand, try to avoid direct answers by following the avoidance strategy. This, however, has led to the violation of the 'Conditionally Relevant principle, which forms the heart of the adjacency pairs. As a result of this, A's utterance may be followed by an unexpected reaction from B as seen in the above examples.

Example 2 indicates another strategy where a non-seeking information question is employed to avoid answering a direct question and to attract the receiver's attention to situation whereby he/she can understand the intended message. This represents another strategy to flout the maxims.

Another crucial point which is of no less importance than the previous ones deals with the degree of obscurity. Obscurity, which is affected directly by the Recipient Design, does violate the maxim of Manner, which states clearly 'avoid obscurity'. Hutch and Woffitt (1998:138) argues that: 'all turns at talk in some way designed to be understood in terms of what the speaker knows or assumes about the existing mutual knowledge between him/her and the recipient.'

A careful examination of the above adjacency pairs presents a Question-to-Question Strategy whereby the sender answers a question by raising another question to remind the receiver with a situation or an idea that is closely related to the current issue. The sender, of course, is not awaiting/seeking an answer since the receiver's response is taken for granted.

It would be an overhasty to end this section up without illustrating a noteworthy idea dealing with the importance of hedging devices to *save the face of politicians*. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), imprecision made by hedging is motivated by the fear of being wrong later on. This conveys that the importance of hedging for politicians is of no less importance than of weapons for soldiers. Hedges, as a matter of fact, reduce the risk of negation.

Examples 4 & 5 illustrate the heart of the avoidance strategy. In the two examples, we see a complete ignorance of the questions which in turn reflects a complete violation of all maxims:

- (i) Maxim of Quantity: the answer is more informative than is required;
- (ii) Maxim of Relation: there is no relationship between the adjacency pairs;
- (iii) Maxim of Manner: clarity is completely destroyed, and
- (iv) Maxim of Quality: the answers reflect the lack of truth.

II. Visible Hedging Markers

In conformity with the aims posited above, the data have undergone quantitative and qualitative analyses. By means of quantitative measures mentioned above, the obtained results are given in the following Tables (2), (3) & (4). For comparative & contrastive illustrations, and attempt has been made to examine lexical hedges in the Interlanguage Corpus of Arab Students of English (ICASE) and a similar size from Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS)

Table (2) Lexical Hedges

No .	Hedging Devices	Freq. in Arabic	Freq. in English	S. No .	Hedging Devices	Freq. in Arabic	Freq. in English
1.	rubbama/may be	15	6	9	yushiku/about to	1	2
2.	qad+present verb/may	5	2	10	hawali/about/near/	5	4
3.	ya?taqidu/believe/ think	9	8	11	imma/either or	4	2
4.	muhtamal/possible	2	4	12	muxxaran/lately	9	3
5.	yabdu/seem	7	5	13	qaliilan/few	2	2
6.	bishakil ?am/in general	2	0	14	?ala al-aqal/at least	4	3
7.	ba?d/some	6	3	15	bishakil munasib/in a suitable way	3	2
8.	a yanan/sometimes	16	7	16	mumken/ can be	1	1
	la?alla/perhaps	1	4	---	-----	----	----
TOTAL		63	39	TOTAL		29	19

Table (3) Syntactic Markers

No.	Syntactic Hedges	Freq. in Arabic	Freq. in English	
1.	Hypothetical Conditional	4	3	
2.	Rhetorical Questions	11	8	
3.	Text Voice	Passive Voice	6	5
		Sender-Receiver (We)	25	16
		Impersonal Attribution	20	19
TOTAL		66	51	

Table (4) Rank Order by Percentage of Hedging Means

No.	Language	Freq. of Lexical Hedges	Freq. of Syntactic Hedges	%
1.	English	58	51	40.82
2.	Arabic	92	66	59.18
Total		150	117	100

Table 2 presents what Hyland (1996) calls lexical hedges. These include, besides the modal verbs, epistemic lexical verbs and certain other devices used mainly to express tentativeness and uncertainty. A quick glance at Table 3, on the other hand, shows another important kind of hedging devices called syntactic hedges, recognized means or strategies of hedges expressed mainly by hypothetical conditionals, questions, passive voice and impersonal attribution. Table (4) shows that hedging use is subject to recipient design. As such, politicians use fewer hedges when addressing the English speaking communities and the privileged people of their societies who use English as the medium of communication.

Taken together, Tables 2 and 3 show that hedging is most widely expressed lexically. What ought to be mentioned, at this stage, is that it is the context that determines whether the used device is a hedge or not. This observation is based on the contextual analysis of certain devices illustrated below.

The initial generalization concerning the difference in density indicates that discourse factivity is directly and widely affected by the nature of the recipient design. Two supporting and justifying points are attributed to such generalization:

- (i) English discourse, which has special and different audience, is much more factive

in comparison with Arabic discourse. The high degree of factivity of English discourse is attributed to the audience who are more knowledgeable about the subject being discussed due to their constant contact with foreign and non-governmental media. This, in turn, encourages politicians to be clear and avoid vagueness and approximation and sometimes to show no hesitation in their support to the international efforts in this regard.

(ii) Arabic discourse is addressed to the public and thus, it tends to be much more hedged. Politicians, as mentioned before, resort to hedging to protect themselves against any possible criticism. Of course, Hedging devices offer them a suitable floor to reinterpret their claims in accordance with the current case. To sum up, the degree of factivity and recipient design do, in fact, go together.

To gain a better insight on the use of hedges in previous literature and due to the lack of a political corpus, Table (5) presents the frequency count of the lexical hedges in the Interlanguage Corpus of Arab Students of English (ICASE) and a similar size from Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS) as shown in Btoosh & Taweel, (in press). Each of these two corpora consists of 100, 000 tokens.

Table 5. Frequency count of categories of inflation devices and hedges in E2A1 and E1 corpora.

Devices	E2A1 Corpus		E1 Corpus	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Inflation Devices	2130	78.68	1876	73.33
Hedges	577	21.32	682	26.67
Total	2707	100%	2558	100%

In comparison with Btoosh & Taweel's (in press) findings concerning the use of

lexical hedges in E2A1 (learner) and E1 (native) corpora, it is interesting to note that the use of the lexical hedges by politicians, as shown above, largely outnumbers the use of similar items in any of the native and learner corpora examined in Btoosh & Taweel's study. Perhaps, such findings aren't surprising since hedging is primary a feature of political discourse rather than academic writing.

III. Hedging Types, Strategies & Pragmatic Functions

Having presented and discussed avoidance strategy and the results of the quantitative analysis, it would be more appropriate, at this juncture, to desert strategies and density and to thoroughly concentrate on hedging types, strategies & categories. By so doing, a corpus of fifteen examples is provided here to illustrate this. The first seven sentences are original Arabic utterances while the last eight examples are original English ones.

1. ana a taqid anna hadhihi araban leisat adelah
'I believe that this is not a fair war.'
2. qad tastamer al arb limodat osbo ayein
'The war may last for two weeks.'
3. la yojad hunalik shak bi n al iraq mas oul an hadhihi al arb
'There is no doubt that Iraq is responsible for these attacks.'
4. hadha biwo o siyaasat ma yeir muzdawaja
'It is clearly a double-measure policy.'
5. rubbama na nu nanta er mustaqbal aswa
'Perhaps, we are awaiting a worse future.'
6. ana da iman as al nafsi mata tafham hadhihi alomah madha yajri
'I usually ask myself when will this nation understand what is going on?'

7. tusheer annata ij bi annana naqtarib min mar alah mu limah
'The results indicate that we are approaching a new dark phase.'
8. If we fight Iraq for its short illegal occupation of Kuwait, then why don't we fight others for their long illegal occupation of our lands?
9. I think there will be no end for this war.
10. According to the reports, the Iraqi president still endangers the neighboring countries.
11. Some of the leaders are not truth tellers.
12. To some extent this is not true.
13. It is probably the beginning of a comprehensive war that transfers us from bad to worse.
14. We know that Iraq has no mass destructive weapons.
15. When will this nation wake up?

It would never be hard to distinguish between the above underlined hedges and intensifiers. For instance, the difference between the first two articles 1 and 2, on the one had, and 3 and 4, on the other had, is merely a difference between probability (weakening) and factivity (strengthening). The lexical hedges '*may*' and '*believe*' used in 1 and 2 have added a new meaning to the original propositional content. Thus, the cautious precision and uncertainty expressed in 1 and 2 are not attributed to the propositional content but rather to the two metadiscoursals or lexical hedges. The probability expressed in 1 and 2, as a result of this, has kept distance between the sender and his propositional content. Receivers, due to the influence of such mitigation, are left in a double bind situation.

Precision of 3 and 4 has been enhanced by means of persuading words/ intensifiers.

Unlike ‘*believe*’ and ‘*may*’ mainly used to express imprecision and lack of commitment to the propositional content, the intensifiers/persuader words ‘*clearly*’ and ‘*no doubt*’ are used to show certainty, precision and full commitment to the propositional content.

(i) Types

Detachment, a term used by Chafe (1982) to refer to the choice of certain devices that suppress the direct involvement of an agent in action, is manifested by two majors types of hedging, namely shields & approximators (Markannen & Schröder, 1997). Shields refer to hedging devices that don’t affect the truth-conditions but reflect the degree of speaker’s commitment to the truth-value of the proposition.

1. I think there will be no near end for this war.
2. I believe that this is not a fair war.

This category includes “all modal verbs expressing possibility...epistemic verbs (that is, which relate to the probability of a proposition or a hypothetical being true) such as “to suggest”, “to speculate.”

Unlike shields, approximators refer to hedging devices that do affect the truth-conditions which in turn affect the propositional content itself.

1. Some of the leaders are not truth tellers.
2. To some extent, this is not true.

However, this category includes words that lack precision such as *somewhat*, *often* and *approximately*.

(ii) Strategies

It might be useful, in this context, to observe that politicians' choice of words is never spontaneous. A closer look at the data shows that politicians hardly produce a sentence that is free of all kinds of indirectness, indetermination, approximation or vagueness. For the purpose of this paper, we will distinguish seven strategies employed to serve hedging.

(i) Epistemic modality:

The war may last for two weeks.

(ii) Likelihood modalities:

It is probably the beginning of a comprehensive war that transfers us from bad to worse.

(iii) Sender-Receiver Solidarity (we):

We know that Iraq has no mass destructive weapons.

(iv) Hypothetical Devices:

If we fight Iraq for its short illegal occupation of Kuwait, then why don't we fight others for their long illegal occupation of our lands?

(v) Questions:

When this nation will wake up?

(vi) Impersonal attribution:

According to the reports, the Iraqi president still endangers the neighboring countries.

Further illustration of these strategies will be presented in the following section dealing with the pragmatic functions of hedging.

(iii) Pragmatic Functions

Having presented types and strategies, it is now the time to turn to the other important aspect of the study, viz the pragmatic functions of hedging. By so doing, a comparison will be carried out between a number of hedged sentences and their factive counterparts. Before attempting to engage in such discussion, it seems much more reasonable to pause a little to shed light on three aspects that play an important role in the interpretation of the pragmatics of hedged propositions:

- (i) *Inferences*: at this level, one should distinguish between explicit and implicit information. Of course, most of information is not stated explicitly in most kinds of discourses. This reveals that the receiver has a lot to do in the interpretation of the discourse depending on his own inferences.
- (ii) *Prior Knowledge*: nobody can argue against the importance of the previous knowledge in finding out the intended meaning. Prior knowledge, which may include the knowledge of the domain or even the sender himself, makes the role of the receiver much less complex and facilitates the interpretation process.
- (iii) *Context of Situation*: according to Halliday (1985), this consists of three aspects: (a) Field: this refer to what is embodied in the discourse and the purposes for its inclusion, (b) Tenor: this refer to the participants in the discourse, their roles and their interrelationships, and (c) Mode: this refer to the nature of the language in the discourse and how it is communicated.

Of course, these aspects affect the interpretation of the hedged propositions, which as

we will see later on depends to some extent on the receiver.

16. It seems that we are approaching a new phase.
17. We expect more cooperation between Iraq and the United Nations in the near future.
18. The war may last for two weeks.
19. According to the reports, the Iraqi president still endangers the neighboring countries.
20. Some of the leaders are not truth tellers.
21. To some extent this is not true.

To understand the functions of the underlined words and to make the contrast sharper, let us rewrite the above mentioned articles 16 through 21 leaving out the hedges employed in each:

22. We are approaching a new phase.
23. There will be more cooperation between Iraq and the United Nations in the near future.
24. The war will last for two weeks.
25. Iraqi president still endangers the neighboring countries.
26. Leaders are not truth tellers.
27. This is not true.

As might be expected, the difference between the hedged articles 16 through 21 and the non-hedged ones 22 through 27 is clearly signaled by means of possibility and factuality. By crossing out the hedging devices in the above examples the meaning has become quite different from the one that was originally intended.

The uncertainty and lack of commitment expressed by the lexical hedges ‘*may*, ‘*believe*’, ‘*perhaps*’, ‘*some*’ and ‘*think*’ have been lost in the reproduced articles. In these examples, senders are by no means trying to protect themselves against any possible criticism. Generally speaking, hedges are purposely used to produce a timeless acceptable discourse. This acceptability stems from the flexibility of the hedge itself, which, in turn, makes the proposition true regardless of the result in future. In 18, for instance, there are only two possibilities: (i) the war will last for two weeks or (ii) the war may last for more/less than two weeks. The mitigated proposition here puts the sender in a position where he is always a truth teller.

Notice, if the difference between the hedged articles 16 through 21 and the non-hedged ones 22 through 27 is that hedged articles express prediction and possibility and the non-hedged ones express factivity, then one should find out that the two groups are identical in propositions but differ in the metadiscoursals (discourse about discourse). There is no doubt now that the uncertainty and probability are brought about the intended use of hedges. Further illustration of hedging functions is illustrated in the following examples:

28. The current war which has a base name (Desert Fox) may become the seeds of a new comprehensive war that does not distinguish between friends and enemies.

29. What we have seen so far represents the leaders and their governments, but where are the parliaments that represent the majority?

Irrespective of the interrelated functions of hedging devices (lexical or syntactic), there is, however, a difference usually understood contextually. While 28 expresses

prediction and is meant to save against future negative results, 29, on the other hand, expresses indirect criticism and incitement, that is to encourage the parliaments and the people of the Arab world to participate in the political scene.

The below listed syntactic hedges are assumed to exhibit further new functions not expressed by the above-mentioned lexical ones:

30. If war is a tool for peace as it is claimed, then why don't they use it to hasten the peace process in the Middle East?

31. Do we still trust their promises?

The crucial point here is not, however, the question or hypothetical conditional but rather the indetermination and the mitigated message expressed in each article. In contrast to lexical hedges, syntactic hedges aim at drawing the receiver's attention to an important point that is not stated directly for various politeness or political reasons. In 31, for example, the sender is not actually seeking an answer for his question but rather he is actually trying to remind people with the unachieved promises and to say directly don't trust them. The question that immediately arises here deals with the relationship between hedges and context. Are hedges context-dependent or context-independent devices? To identify this relation, let us examine the following questions:

32. When will the nation wake up?

33. What is the time now? (Ordinary question)

Apparently, the sender of 32 is not seeking information as the sender of 33 does. He

is, in fact, trying to convey a message that cannot be conveyed directly. Instead of the direct incitement (that is to remind people with the current weaknesses), the sender has hedged his proposition in an appropriate and polite way by changing it into a question. This, however, shows that not all questions or hypothetical conditionals can express hedging in all contexts. Once again, this firmly proves that hedges are context-dependent devices.

Another crucial point that emerges when talking about hedged messages deals with the role of the receivers. Drawing on the data, receivers are as active as senders themselves since they are required to:

- (i) Identify the unspoken message.
- (ii) Transform what is stated in words into deeds (indirect incitement).
- (iii) Give ratification / rejection for claims.

Before attempting to engage in stating the pragmatic functions, let's pause a little to examine the meaning of three further hedging devices:

34. Clearly, some of the Arab leaders still believe that Iraq endangers their countries.

The initial generalization that seems to emerge from the above example is that 'some' is never intended literally here. The explanation for such meaning is apparently pragmatic and must involve receivers. Although it hardly seems possible for the sender to mention the intended leaders directly, receivers, as a matter of fact, find no difficulty in finding out

the intended meaning/message. If this is so, then there ought to be significant reasons for asserting that hedges are almost always context dependent devices.

35. We *hope* to hear the voices of the Arab public street that have disappeared for more than four decades.

It seems much more reasonable at this stage to distinguish between hope and criticism. In this example, the sender is not expressing hope, but rather s/he is criticizing the current situation of the nation. Drawing on the difference between the semantic or literal meaning and the pragmatic meaning of this article, it seems that we are rapidly approaching the importance of the extra-linguistic factors in understanding what is intended rather than what is stated.

As is evident from the above discussion, different receivers may sometimes interpret one and the same text differently. This conveys that the interpretation of a text is never totally objective. As a result of this, the receiver's interpretation affects the message positively or negatively depending on his own understanding of the issue. Apparently, part of the lack of the common ground between what is intended and what is understood is attributed not to the discourse itself, but rather to the metadiscoursal including hedges.

It may go without saying that senders sometimes resort to hedging to modify their ideas especially if such ideas contradict with their own states' policies. This, as matter of fact, varies from one country to another according to the level of freedom or democracy.

Now it appears useful to end our discussion by summarizing the principle pragmatic functions illustrated above. Of course, some of these functions do match the findings of the previous research:

- (i) Devoiding the senders' involvement;
- (ii) Requesting the receivers' involvement;
- (iii) Avoiding direct criticism;
- (iv) Avoiding direct incitement;
- (v) Mitigating claims;
- (vi) Avoiding hurting others (by means of euphemism);
- (vii) Protecting the sender against any possible criticism; &
- (viii) Expressing politeness.

Conclusion

In the preceding sections, an attempt has been made to identify, quantify and analyze different strategies and means of hedging employed in spoken political discourse in both Arabic and English. The study has sought to examine the means and strategies by which politicians show their detachment to their propositions and whether these strategies are affected by the language used and recipient design.

Regardless of the variations attributed to strategies, hedges, as the data show, serve several interrelated functions that do vary in their importance from one domain to another. The study has also shown that hedging density is affected directly by the recipient design.

In the view of the above discussion, one may state that:

- (i) Hedges are devices used to express something indirectly;
- (ii) Discourse factivity is governed by extralinguistic factors, such as subject and the recipient design;

- (iii) Pragmatic interpretation of hedges is not any less important than the semantic one.
- (iv) Politeness is as much the conveyer of hedging, as the hedging is the conveyer of politeness. This concluding statement stems from the fact that all hedging devices, to a greater or lesser degree, do convey politeness.

Although the results are significant in comparison with the findings of the previous research, it is still premature to claim that such findings are conclusive. Rather, further research need to be conducted so as to check the validity of such insights and findings.

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Research Notes

A Critical Approach to the Analysis of Advertisements

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Biodata

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Abstract

As a means of addressing the pedagogical challenges of linking second language acquisition to critical thinking, this paper introduces a multidimensional approach to the perspective associated with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). After outlining the primary aims and assumptions of this perspective, which is distinguished from other forms of critical thinking, the merits of utilizing advertisements as the focus of inquiry are discussed. A three level approach to the analysis of advertisements developed for Japanese university students is then presented. In the final section, a summary of students' research findings points toward the benefits of establishing a critical perspective in the EFL classroom. These include not only the improvement of thinking and language skills, but also a better appreciation for the powerful influence of advertising in modern life.

Keywords: second language acquisition, critical discourse analysis, advertisements

Introduction

The need to develop a critical faculty in students is generally seen as an integral component of a liberal education. In the western intellectual tradition this notion can first be ascribed to the dialectical form of inquiry practiced by Socrates. What it means to be critical is not without controversy, however, as attested by the evolution of the term over the past century. It can refer, for instance, to the questioning of received wisdom, or, in the

case of literary criticism, it may involve the analysis of certain rhetorical devices. The present consensus is that critical thinking presumes an ability to apply intellectual standards, such as clarity and precision, to logical problem solving. The entire thinking process is subject to a systematic assessment from basic assumptions and propositions to implications and inferences. How and when to teach these skills and the values to be placed on them is nonetheless open to debate in education circles, including the field of second language acquisition.

Critical thinking tends not to be highly valued in the Japanese classroom. While there are cultural and historical precedents for this (Ellington, 1992), education reforms instituted over the past thirty years have had little to say in this regard, even though their ostensible goal has been to help Japan transition into the information age (Roesgaard, 1998). The most recent changes in the national curriculum likewise make scant reference to thinking skills as they are intended to improve performance on standardized tests and instill moral values (Nakamura, 2007). Still, there is broad interest in the challenges of developing a critical perspective especially at the university level (e.g., Davidson & Dunham, 1997; Greenholtz, 2003; Kakai, 2000; Kawashima & Petrini, 2004). Stapleton (2002) even suggests that Japanese students, at least when writing in English, are not reluctant to clearly express their views when questioning those with opposing claims.

This paper does not put forward an argument in favor of teaching critical thinking skills per se, but of introducing EFL students to the perspective associated with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It thus attempts to translate the key theoretical principles and major methodological practices of CDA into a pedagogical approach to second language acquisition appropriate to the Japanese university context. After discussing the merits of using advertisements as the analytical focus, a multifaceted approach is introduced,

which takes into account students' linguistic abilities and the challenges of establishing a critical perspective in the EFL context (cf. Cots, 2006). The final section presents samples of undergraduate students' work from classes conducted over three years at a Japanese university.

Key Theoretical Principles of CDA

Discourse studies performed in a variety of disciplines all share an understanding of discourse as being reflective of human experience while helping constitute that experience (Gee, Michaels, & O'Connor, 1992). For those working in CDA, discourse refers to language use as a form of social practice rather than an individual activity. One implication is that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures. As discourse helps shape social conventions, values, and norms, it is also constrained by them (Fairclough, 1992). Due to the interactive nature of discourse, the meanings of texts are subject to negotiation. The focus of analysis, then, is the social, historical, and cultural factors that influence the meaning-making process (Weiss & Wodak, 2003).

Unlike traditional forms of discourse analysis that are concerned with the forms and features of texts, the aim of critical analysis is to uncover the ideological assumptions of language use. Ideology is defined as an entire system of ideas, beliefs, and values, which provides a limited or restricted view of the world. In doing so, ideology helps conceal social contradictions that lend legitimacy to those in power (van Dijk, 1998). As Gramsci (1971) aptly demonstrated, an ideology is particularly effective when a majority of people consider it to be common sense. In other words, ideologies usually act unconsciously at a level beneath critical awareness as they establish their hegemony. It is therefore necessary

to analyze not only texts, but also how texts are interpreted and the effects they have (Kress & Hodge, 1979).

That all linguistic forms are essentially ideological is a fundamental tenet for critical discourse theorists. As instruments in social inequality and the concealment of truth, linguistic structures regulate the ideas and behaviors of others, classify and rank people, events, and objects, while asserting institutional or personal status (Fowler et al., 1979). Language is understood as the means whereby society forms and permeates the individual's consciousness. Whorf (1956) shows how language embodies specific views or theories of reality, so that speakers of different languages cut up the world in different ways (see also Levinson, 2003). Within the same language, as well, a similar phenomenon occurs predicated upon specialized systems of ideas, or varying ideologies.

The analytical goal is to pull back the 'ideological curtain' to expose the contradictory nature of society (Plamenatz, 1970). Because ideology is revealed in linguistic forms and social consequences, analysis entails both a micro and macro component (van Dijk, 2001, 2003). At the text (i.e., micro) level, relations between form and function, and between use and interpretation are the focus. This might include an examination of specific semantic moves (e.g., word choice, emphasis) or rhetorical devices, such as the use of metaphor or nominalization. The macro analysis attempts to uncover both the cultural and historical contexts that produce the shared forms of knowledge that are characteristic of social institutions. Revealing the ideological assumptions that help sustain domination and division within society is the next step toward the ultimate goal of transcending oppressive systems of distorted communication (Wodak, 2001a).

As indicated above, this rendering of ‘critical’ sets CDA apart from other forms of discourse analysis that not only treat the text solely as a source of data to be studied for its own sake, but also fail to address the social, historical, and cultural forces outside of the immediate situation (e.g., Dooley & Levinsohn, 2001). Their analyses, consequently, do not consider the ideological effects of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). In a similar way, there are also significant differences between CDA and critical thinking although they share some of the same analytical concerns. For one, textual analysis proceeds from dividing thought into its basic elements, which can then be evaluated according to intellectual standards, such as plausibility and specificity (Paul & Elder, 2001). The goal presumably is to judge how well the elements fit together as if solving a logical jigsaw puzzle (Baker et al., 1993). Analysis, as a result, ends with evaluation, unlike in CDA, where evaluation is part of the larger interpretive process that considers the social consequences of thinking, including its political and ethical dimensions (Gee, 2004). Before exploring how such a critical perspective can be fostered in the second language classroom, the following section discusses the value of advertising as a subject of critical inquiry.

From Theory to Application

The ubiquity of advertisements makes them ideal subjects for analysis, particularly when they are regarded as instances of discourse whose production and interpretation necessitate careful description (cf. Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Because advertisements, both print and electronic, are mostly comprised of images complemented by sparse, elliptical texts, a semiotic component that accounts for both signifier and

signified is essential (Berger, 2007). Moreover, as Fairclough (2001) explains, the symbolic and linguistic interaction within and between texts, that is, their intertextuality, is an important step to apprehending their ideological intent. The guiding assumption here is that texts, especially advertisements, always draw upon and transform other contemporary and historically prior texts (Bakhtin, 1981). Accordingly, questions must focus on form and meaning while keeping in mind the dialectical qualities of text-reader interactions (Birch, 1989). How a text means is not simply a question of what the words mean or the images represent, but how their functions and connections are perceived and classified by the reader. This entails an accurate description of individual words or images and large-scale organizational properties with an eye toward uncovering the ideological aspects of textual choices (see Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979).

The next stage of the analytical process concerns the explanation of how texts acquire their persuasive power. One can begin, for instance, by addressing the predominant ways in which advertisements interpellate their audiences as members of a social group whose collective identity is predicated on the purchasing of commodities (e.g., Lester, 1992; Pajnik & Lesjak-Tusek, 2002). Insofar as consumerism is akin to a modern-day epidemic and the marketing and advertising industries its most potent vectors of infection, attempts to demystify and deconstruct their most pervasive imagery and messages are consonant with van Dijk's (1991, 1993) call to ameliorate social afflictions. In doing so, the cognitive component of advertising's persuasive appeals, which relies upon shared attitudes, norms, and beliefs, must be taken into account. As van Dijk (2003) explains, texts, such as newspaper articles, activate certain mental models that help provide a coherent and meaningful interpretation of events for those who are part of the same epistemic community, or share the same general forms of knowledge. As

such, those who employ them exert a degree of control or dominance over the discursive process. Advertisers clearly have the means to shape collective understanding on a range of topics through their highly visceral appeals to purchase things. Upon close examination, though, the various rhetorical devices and semantic moves used to construct an argument can often become incoherent (e.g., van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Matouschek, 1993).

These persuasive qualities of discursive practice are embedded in larger historical and cultural contexts (Wodak, 2001b). Pearce (1999) holds that advertisements often draw upon or select certain aspects of social discourse in order to have meaning (e.g., Grow, Park, & Han, 2006). Although its influence on individuals is difficult to measure, Berger (2007) insists that advertising is having a collective effect on social attitudes, values, and behaviors. One way it accomplishes this is not by promoting products but the purported lifestyles associated with particular brands (e.g., Bishop, 2001), which is illustrative of how the language and imagery discursive actors use to identify themselves contributes to the construction of social identities (Fairclough, 2001). Indeed, advertising has now infiltrated most aspects of public discourse as it continues to colonize the cultural spaces of modern societies (Leiss, Kline, Jhally, & Botterhill, 2005). To begin to interpret the implications, a systematic approach that utilizes data from multiple sources, preferably over sustained time periods, with particular attention to the links between language, power, and ideology, seems to be most promising (cf. Weiss & Wodak, 2003).

The Japanese Context

Most reliable estimates indicate that the average person in the developed world is exposed to hundreds, if not thousands, of commercial messages each day (Berger, 2007). In fact,

they now readily appear as product placements in Hollywood films (Galician & Bourdeau, 2004), are embedded in the software of video games (Konrad, 2007), and have become pervasive in schools (Linn & Novosat, 2008). In Japan, they are seen not only saturating the usual spaces of the mass media and entertainment, but also on the hubcaps of buses, the handrails of escalators, and the walls of train tunnels (Takaguchi, 2006). Billions of ads are also inserted into packets of free tissues distributed each year mostly at train stations in Japan (Gordenker, 2007). According to Faiola (2007), Japanese companies, who often rely on the appeal of foreign celebrities to sell their sundry products, spend billions of dollars annually on domestic advertising alone.

The challenges of translating the complex principles and analytical frameworks associated with CDA into the Japanese pedagogical context are undoubtedly manifold, yet all the more necessary to overcome in an era inundated with information of both global and local consequence. The approach introduced below has been developed for Japanese university undergraduate students enrolled in a Multi-Disciplinary Studies Program, which allows them to take courses outside of their departments. Of the various elective courses in the program, the one described herein is an English seminar on Critical Discourse Analysis for students in their third or fourth year of study who have completed all intermediate English courses. Another prerequisite is a score of 500 or higher on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). Typically, students who have spent a semester abroad in an English-speaking country constitute a majority in this class.

The 37 students who took Critical Discourse Analysis during the three year period under review were drawn from the following majors: English Literature (15); Sociology (8); Law (5); Business (5); and Economics (4). The average class size was six students, with females outnumbering males at a ratio of 5:1. Questionnaires distributed on the first

day revealed that of the 37, only two students had previous experience studying the mass media, while none had taken a class on critical thinking or discourse analysis. This seminar is therefore designed to introduce students to critical discourse methods while learning how to apply them not only to advertisements, but also to newspaper articles and films.

A Three Dimensional Approach

Advertisements are introduced by discussing their social influence as well as their relevance to modern life. Students are then provided with a series of questions in the form of a handout that is intended to facilitate a critical inquiry (see below). Next, the instructor performs a critical analysis of an advertisement selected from a Japanese publication. The purpose is to demonstrate how CDA can be applied and to enlist the students as cultural experts in the analysis. In subsequent classes, students are required to bring ads from publications that either they or members of their family normally read. Working both individually and in small groups, students address both the description and explanation questions on the handout. The primary goal is to begin developing a critical approach to the ads while practicing their English language skills.

In order to provide additional opportunities to observe researchers applying CDA, students are required to review and discuss articles taken from academic journals, such as *Discourse and Society* and the *Journal of Communication Inquiry*. A great deal of simplification and explanation of the articles is necessary for all but the most advanced. In some instances students are provided with summaries or excerpts of the articles, particularly those that focus on the analysis. This section of the course culminates with individual research projects in which students choose an advertisement(s) to analyze in

the space of two to three pages. It is at this point where they attempt to address the interpretation questions. In line with a critical methodology, the research process is discussed with others in class at various stages, and findings are presented and edited before final drafts are produced. This entire approach to advertising analysis from demonstration and discussion to presentation and publication covers about a third of the semester (five weeks).

Description

Analysis begins with a careful description of the advertisement(s). All the elements of the ad, especially the text and imagery, must be clearly identified. Given the amount of money expended on the typical advertisement, not a single detail has been left to chance. Thus, the analyst must provide a meticulous accounting of what is in the advertisement's physical space. This type of descriptive analysis constitutes the first level of comprehension. To facilitate, students are provided with the following questions, which act as heuristics. These questions are intended to be neither exhaustive nor prescriptive; rather, students are instructed to be selective as well as introduce their own.

Level One (Linguistic Analysis)

- What information is given about the product?
- How is the product presented in terms of words and images?
- What symbols are used to promote the product?
- What associations are made with the product?
- What is the relationship between the product and people?

Explanation

The next level of analysis concerns explanation. Given that all advertisements are designed to appeal to specific audiences, students are encouraged to select ads from publications or broadcasts with which they are familiar. An ancillary goal here is to examine those texts that students might take for granted and thus dismiss as being trivial or benign. In any case, because they are part of the target audience, they are best able to relate to the ad's messages. In order to explain how the ad works, students need to uncover its persuasive appeals. Such an accounting should include the values the ad promotes, however subtly, as well as the ways in which the composite of color, image, text, and sound (if it is electronic) stimulates particular feelings or emotions. Here again, students are provided with a few analytical tools with which to commence their critique.

Level Two (Social Analysis)

- Who is the main audience for the product?
- Why should the product be purchased?
- What evidence is given to support the ad's claims?
- What values does the ad reflect and/or promote?
- How is the ad designed to make one feel?

Interpretation

Once an advertisement is fully described, including a plausible explanation of how it is intended to function, the final step is to address both the larger cultural context and deeper ideological influences. The goal is not simply to reveal the creative techniques of a particular advertisement, but to identify the myriad ways in which advertising as a whole affects modern life. Here one must begin to address their educative roles in addition to

their economic ones. Moreover, advertisements make certain assumptions about how the world works and, in turn, help to instill particular beliefs and values. Unlike the previous levels, a coherent cultural interpretation depends not only on the competence of the analyst, but also on the relative range of the sample. Therefore, all findings at this stage should be regarded as tentative.

Level Three (Cultural Analysis)

- What are the most salient messages found in advertising?
- How does advertising create particular identities?
- What stories do advertisements tell about the world?
- What influence does advertising have on cultural behavior?
- What type of lifestyle(s) does advertising promote?

Establishing a Critical Perspective

The following insights have been gleaned from a review of students' research papers collected over a three-year academic period (September 2005 to January 2009). All papers were read with the following question in mind: How well did the student address text, context, or the interactions between them when seeking to describe, explain, or interpret the advertisement(s) under analysis? Overall, students were quite receptive to this type of inquiry. Although most seem to have an intuitive understanding of how advertisements work, it was not until they began adopting a critical perspective that they could begin to understand the persuasive power of the numerous ads they are exposed to each day. For their research projects, students selected ads from Japanese newspapers,

magazines, mailings, and the Internet. Like most contemporary advertisements, images dominate with little space reserved for text. Nevertheless, in addition to their ability to carefully describe the various aspects of the ads, students were particularly adept at examining the nuances of language. Because advertisements utilize the four scripts normally found in written Japanese, this proved to be a fruitful endeavor.

To illustrate, in an advertisement for Kewpie mayonnaise, the word 'SUGAO' is written in red Roman capital letters at the top of the page against a white background. Literally meaning simple or plain face, *sugao* connotes naturalness, and, in particular, for the (working) women to whom the ad is addressed, wearing no make up. The rest of the ad shows three overlapping windows, each with sunlight pouring in through red parted curtains. According to Sayuri, "The windows are half opened to get some fresh air in. 'Half opened' can be related to the name of [the] product, Q.P. Mayonnaise Half." She also observes that the "red curtains are obviously the color or the symbol of the Q.P. Corporation." Superimposed on the window in the foreground is the sentence, handwritten in Japanese, 'Someday, I want to have a boy who reads books'. Sayuri notes that the childlike style of the writing not only conveys a friendly feeling, but also appeals to a desire for simplicity and honesty. The ad, as a result, infers that "it is natural for young women to want to be SUGAO at home," presumably as housewives away from the rigid cultural norms of appropriate speech and behavior demanded in the business world. Rather than having to deal with the pressure of always having to look her best, a woman can relax in a sunlit apartment with her well-behaved and clever child.

In a mailing selected by Yuka for new apartments, the complex itself has an English name (i.e., Philharmony) joining the prefix for 'love' with the cultural value of harmony. She also explains how two Chinese characters are cleverly combined in the ad to form a

homonym for “luxurious house.” Likewise, the name of the boy in the ad’s narrative (Ikeda Tsubasa) indicates both the name of the city and the particular location of the apartment. These snippets of text appear against a panoramic backdrop of trees framed by a big blue sky that can be enjoyed from the balcony of one of the apartments being advertised. The creative use of language and imagery to convey a message is further evidenced in another ad for the Japanese liquor named iichiko. On the top half of the two-page ad, a bottle of the liquor is floating in a clear stream. According to the Japanese text, ‘A little drinking is like a little traveling’. It states on the right side of the ad in larger text that ‘all things and people have gone away’. Yuko suggests that the rather dubious message of this ad is that drinking the pure and clear alcohol will take one on a trip where everything can be forgotten.

Another prominent feature of ads in Japan is their use of celebrities, especially foreign ones, to promote various products. In an Internet ad for Lux Super Rich shampoo, for instance, Natalie Portman, appearing as herself, enters an audition room to perform with a sword before a group of male judges. After a brief description of the product in Japanese, the scene switches to a castle where she is wearing a white dress engaged in a duel with a man. In Akane’s words, “Natalie looks stunning with her gorgeous silky hair which never gets messy no matter how much she turns and moves.” There is a seamless fusion of two languages in the ad with the upbeat song, “Lookin’ For Love in You” by Aimee in the background as the characters speak English, which is complemented by voiceovers and subtitles in Japanese. Likewise, in a magazine ad for the fragrance “Curious,” which appeared in the Japanese version of *Seventeen*, Britney Spears is seductively standing in front of a black door with her mouth slightly open. Miki writes that “she casts an upward glance just like the way girls do when they want to seduce

boys. . .The idea of curious, the product's name, is primarily conveyed by the image of this young star with mysterious looks whose life is beyond our imagination." She continues that "this advertisement makes us curious about her and what it is like to be Britney Spears."

The use of celebrity appeals in Japanese advertising is not limited to foreigners, however. In an ad for BOSS (canned coffee), which appeared in a comic book for businessmen, three famous Japanese male athletes are pictured standing side-by-side in front of a white wall, each one representing a different generation. The message that working hard requires individual responsibility while helping society is conveyed, according to Yukari, through the life histories of the men themselves. The coffee, by association, not only assists in the hard work, but is also a reward for it. Working men are again the target audience for a flier from the Mitsukoshi department store in which a foreign model is shown wearing one of the formal and casual suits that are on sale. Takeshi claims that an anonymous foreigner is used "because the customers of this product are also ordinary men. This ad tells us that no matter who wears this suit, he will be cool." He goes on to infer that the Japanese continuing admiration for western countries is the primary reason why such models are almost always found in these kinds of advertisements.

Because students tend to select ads from publications they usually buy, they were able to position themselves as part of the target audience. In a catalogue ad for Tiffany & Co, an elegantly dressed woman is sitting on a satin sofa caring for her baby. The scene is meant to induce a relaxed, peaceful feeling in contrast to the harried life of many Japanese mothers. Tomomi notes how "time seems to flow very calmly in this ad." The woman wears a watch as a fashion statement even though she apparently does not need one. "As I

am a woman, I was attracted by this ad. This ad made me feel that I want to live a life like her” writes Tomomi. Similarly, in the fashion magazine, *CanCam*, an ad depicts three long-legged young girls wearing mini skirts happily walking on a sunny day, with the caption ‘enjoy being girls’. The product is a medicine that supposedly reduces the displeasure of menstrual cramps. Once again, a fantastical world is created in which the realities of being a woman (i.e., raising children, or having a period) are glossed over both literally and figuratively. By distancing herself from this type of emotive appeal, Kanako concludes that “ads are the mirror of how consumers are dreaming.”

Whereas most of the social references are rather explicit, the deeper cultural values that ads reflect can be more opaque. Nonetheless, in two separate analyses for housing, students were able to reveal important themes concerning the tensions between traditional norms and modern trends. Chisato questions the benefits of living in new apartments that clearly emphasize a decidedly western lifestyle. She writes that “living in Japanese style is good for health,” which includes floors with *tatami* mats that absorb noise and dampness. In another set of ads that feature the personal stories of those who live in the homes, Yuka shows how appeals are made to the Japanese fondness for natural settings. A boy in one ad says: ‘I like the sky, a big park, insects and birds’. A woman happily comments on the view of the trees from her balcony. In these ways, Yuka observes how the traditional value of living in harmony with nature is appropriated to serve a consumerist ideology.

Natural imagery is also prominent in an announcement found in the magazine *Nikkei Business* concerning the partnership of Boeing and Tore, a Japanese company. The dreamlike scene (the word ‘dream’ in Japanese appears five times) of a waterfall in the middle of a tropical forest with a small plane flying above the trees has several

connotations. According to Naoki, it represents the scale of the business venture. The confluence of the waterfall further implies a natural partnership between Tore and Boeing who have come together to create a new type of airplane. In the absence of any other living creatures in the ad, the bird-like plane entering the depths of the forest reinforces the Japanese caption at the bottom, which reads, 'always a new frontier'. Naoki concludes his analysis by suggesting that nature is used to promote a transportation technology arguably at odds with its preferred tempo and rhythm.

Discussion

Any analysis of advertisements presents manifold challenges due to their ability to draw upon various genres usually at the same time, to convey their messages through a combination of language and imagery (for print ads), and to speak to human needs through the use of persuasive appeals. Besides, due to their brevity, a large part of an ad's message is elided, thereby making use of allusions, puns, and metaphors (Cook, 2001). The thing to keep in mind, in other words, is that advertisements are complex texts that work on many levels. As such, they can be the focal point for teaching elements of persuasive communication, various rhetorical devices, semiotic systems, and social values. It thus behooves educators, especially those working in the EFL field, to include them in the formal curriculum as cultural/linguistic artifacts worthy of examination (see Picken, 1999).

The preceding paragraphs have highlighted the findings from Japanese university students' research papers. These initial steps at applying a CDA perspective to the most commonly seen texts in their everyday lives not only elicited some astute observations, but also engaged students on an intellectual level that presumes a high degree of language

proficiency. Time permitting, this three dimensional approach can be further expanded to include a cross-cultural analysis by focusing on the rhetorical, semiotic, and persuasive modes of discourse used in ads for the same products (or companies) from different countries. If one concurs that thinking is inseparable from language acquisition, and that critical analysis is central to the advancement of both, then bringing advertisements into the classroom as a subject of inquiry is a method well worth considering. Besides, the students themselves consistently indicated that this approach motivated them to improve their English skills as they strove to gain a better understanding of the world in which they live.

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**Code-switching and Code-mixing of English and Bahasa Malaysia in
Content-Based Classrooms: Frequency and Attitudes**

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Abstract

This study was undertaken in a public university in Malaysia which prescribes English as the medium of instruction for all courses taught. However, it has been observed that this policy has not been fully adhered to. Code-switching (CS) and code-mixing (CM) of English and Bahasa Malaysia occur extensively in the instructors' speech in the classroom. This paper attempts to highlight the frequency of this communicative behaviour, and both the instructors' and students' attitudes towards it. Using self-completed questionnaires and interviews as methods of data collection, the findings reveal that instructors frequently code-switched and code-mixed between the two languages in the classroom. The analysis shows that the occurrence of these phenomena was related to the instructors', as well as the students' own linguistic competence, and the purpose of facilitating effective teaching and learning. There is, however, mixed attitudes towards CS/CM. While both instructors and students agreed that CS/CM can promote better understanding, the latter, however, students with better English proficiency felt that such communicative behaviour can be off-putting as it does not help in improving their linguistic competence in English. The paper, thus, raises some legitimate concerns of the conflict between the policy and its actual implementation, which certainly has some implications on language development, teacher education and policy assessment.

Keywords: attitudes; code-mixing; code-switching; content-based classrooms

Introduction

At present, most higher learning institutions in Malaysia have decreed that the language of instruction in content subject classrooms to be English, which is the most important second language in the country. The motivation behind the move towards using a second language in teaching, or content and language integrated learning (CLIL) is first and foremost to improve the local students' English language competence as mastery in the language is an asset in seeking employment in the globalised economic world (Mahathir, 2003). In addition, the vast amount of information is currently available in English. Thus, it is hoped that the availability of English and more exposure to the language in the classroom can contribute to the students' English language competence, which is the key to access information in a variety of fields and also to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge.

However, like other CLIL policy in other countries, the implementation of the CLIL approach in Malaysia can pose a problem. Instructors not only have to master the content knowledge, they also need to have the ability to use English, which is also their second language, to deliver the content. Students, too, face challenges when the second language is used as the medium of instruction.

The present study was carried out to investigate the CLIL learning environment, in particular, the language use in the classroom instruction, in a public university in Malaysia. Although English has been prescribed as the medium of instruction, in practice, it has been observed that this policy has not been fully adhered to. A mixed code of English and Bahasa Malaysia (BM), the latter being the mother tongue of most instructors

and students, is used extensively in most content-based lectures in the classrooms. This paper explores the extent to which English and BM are mixed in the classroom instructions and both instructors' and students' attitudes towards this communicative behaviour. In particular, it concerns with students' perspectives of the language use in the classroom and its impact on their study and language development. The findings can be of paramount significance to both content and language instructors, students, and also policy makers in terms of the role of English in the university's instructional settings.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

The topic of CLIL has been discussed in the literature on classroom instruction practices, although different labels have been used to describe the practice: content-based instruction, theme-based language teaching, topic-based language teaching, discipline-based ESL instruction, teaching content through English, English across curriculum, integrated curriculum, interdisciplinary teaching, just to name a few. The notion of CLIL and its goals seem to be 'diverse' (Sopia et al., 2010, p. 47), having 'many faces' (Mehisto et al., 2008, p. 12) and is rather hard to obtain explicit statements regarding the exact goals pursued (Puffer, in press). However, the converging feature of CLIL is that the content of a subject/course is taught through a second/foreign language.

The curricular model of CLIL is based on five dimensions relating to culture, environment, language, content and learning (Marsh, Majlers & Hartiala, 2001). The cultural dimension aims at building intercultural knowledge and understanding, hence, developing students' intercultural communication skills. The environmental dimension aims to prepare students for internationalisation, as students, having gone through the CLIL process of learning are supposed to be multilingual. As for the language dimension,

by exposing the target language in learning, students' competence in the target language should be improved in terms of oral communication skills, multilingual interests and attitudes. On the other hand, the content dimension provides different opportunities in studying the subject content such as the target language terminology. Last but not least, the learning dimension practices various methods and forms of learning which allows students to use individual learning strategies.

In the light of these dimensions, Mehisto et al. (2008, cited in Sopia et al., 2010, p. 48) suggest a 4C's framework as an underlying principle for the quality practice of CLIL: the inter-relationship among content (subject matter), communication (language), cognition (thinking and learning) and community (co-existence within a learning group, classroom and community in local and global context). In short, for effective CLIL to take place, the pedagogical practice needs to integrate learning (content and cognition) and language learning (communication and community).

This paper focuses on the integration of content and cognition in pedagogical practice from the students' perspectives of the language use in the classroom since researches on this topic have been very scanty as opposed to those that look into the CLIL students' academic performance and language performance (Varkuti, 2010; Wesche, 2002; Haunold, 2006).

Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in the Classroom

Empirical studies have demonstrated that it is quite difficult to find classroom discourse fully in a single language. Even in a CLIL setting, other languages understood by the speakers may be used, thus, switching and mixing between the languages are common (Martin 2005; Arthur & Martin, 2006; Mahadhir & Then, 2007; Flowerdew & Miller,

1992; Mustafa & Al-Khatib, 1994).

Milroy and Musyken (1995, p. 7) define code-switching as “the alternative used by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation.” The switching of languages can occur either at intersentential level (code-switching, CS henceforth), or intrasentential level (code-mixing, CM henceforth). Garcia (2007), following her work on the validity of language boundaries prefers the term ‘translanguaging’ to show that languages are not ‘hermetically sealed units’. Translanguaging goes beyond CS/CM as bilinguals use languages based on prestige, appropriateness, preference, ability and other factors. Thus, Garcia suggests that translanguaging is the normal practice of “bilingualism without diglossic functional separation” (2007, p. xiii). In this paper, the term CS/CM is used to describe any kind of language alternation between the two languages, English and Bahasa Malaysia (BM).

Functions of CS/CM in Classroom

Research has shown that speakers code-switch or code-mix for a variety of reasons. The CS/CM may be discourse-related or participant-related. For example, Kamisah (2009) in her study of content-based lectures found that CS/CM served some functions such as signaling topic change, giving and clarifying explanation, enacting social relationships and aggravating and mitigating messages.

Vigorous influence of science and technology in education is also another factor contributing to CS/CM behaviour in the classroom. El-Fiki (1999) in her investigation of the CM phenomenon in a university teaching context in Libya found that despite the country’s language policy which promotes the maintenance and purification of Arabic, CM was a dominant feature in the discourse examined. The study reveals that there was

limited resistance to the English language on technical and scientific topics among the speakers.

Even in ESL classrooms, CS/CM of English and a mother tongue can also be found. For example, Merrit et al. (1992) found that CS/CM between English and the mother tongue in three Kenyan primary schools occurred when teachers wanted to reformulate information, bring new content information, attract students' attention and substitute words. Canagarajah (1995) reported on the micro- and macro- functions of CS/CM in Sri Lankan ESL classrooms. The former includes classroom management and content transmission, and the latter includes social issues outside the classroom that may have implications on education.

Attitudes towards Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

Luna and Peracchio (2005) claimed attitudes towards CS/CM as the extent to which individuals perceive CS/CM to be a desirable practice. Although in some communities CS/CM has been the norm rather than the exception (Grosjean 1982), studies have shown that there are varying attitudes towards this communicative behaviour (Kachru, 1978; Grosjean 1982; Gumperz, 1982). For example, Sanchez (in Cheng & Butler 1989, p. 298) argued that CS/ CM could "take away the purity of the language". On the other hand, Poplack (1979, p. 72) felt that it is "a verbal skill requiring a large degree of competence in more than one language, rather than a defect arising from insufficient knowledge of one or the other".

Studies have revealed that attitudes towards these communicative behaviour can be formed by factors that are either community-specific such as the language status and appropriateness, or individual speaker such as the degree of proficiency and personal

judgment on the language use. For example, some people accept CS/CM as a natural phenomenon that occurs in any scheme of bilinguality. CS/CM is accepted as a style of communication and it is regarded as common speech behaviour among the speakers. The use of CS/CM, thus, is regarded neither better nor worse than a single code. On the other hand, positive attitudes towards CS/CM has been attributed to communicative strategy and a resource for effective communication (Koziol, 2000; Yletyinen, 2004), social group reinforcements (Grosjean, 1982; Zuraidah, 2003) and social prestige brought by the value of the language(s) used (Gibbons, 1983; Asmah, 1992). Meanwhile, negative attitudes towards CS/CM are associated with bad manners, language pollution and linguistic incompetence (Grosjean, 1982).

In the CLIL classroom context, there have been arguments for and against the use of CS/CM as bilingual pedagogy. Those who see CS/CM as a normal communicative behaviour in bilingual classroom claim that it can be a useful tool in teaching. For example, Rollnick and Rutherford (1996) contend that CS/CM helps the learners to explore their ideas. In their study of science classrooms, they claim that by CS/CM, learners are able to expose their alternate conceptions of the subject learned. This is supported by Amin (2009) who put forward that CS/CM to students' own languages allow them to draw on useful sense-making resources. This is in line with Hornberger's (2005, p. 605) earlier suggestion that "bi/multilinguals" learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two+ languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices'.

In addition, Lin (2005, p. 46) claims the practice of CS/CM as "local, pragmatic coping tactics and responses to the socioeconomic dominance of English in Hong Kong,

where many students from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds with limited access to English resources struggled to acquire an English-medium education for its socioeconomic value". Arthur and Martin's (2006) study on interactional patterns in CLIL in Brunei lends support to this. They found that CS/CM is employed to facilitate students' comprehension and to provide bilingual support. Teachers in the study perceived the use of CS as hearer-oriented, that is, taking into account the students' competence in the target language. Other support for the "pedagogic validity of CS/CM" (Arthur & Martin, 2006, p. 907) are increasing students' inclusion, participation and understanding in learning process, as well as developing relationships between the participants, conveying ideas more easily and accomplishing lessons (Lin & Martin, 2005; Arthur & Martin, 2006).

Despite the pedagogical validity of CS/CM, there is a dilemma among teachers between "access to meaning and access to English" (Setati, et al., 2002, p. 140). This is because although they can reformulate the concepts in the students' mother tongue, students need to receive and produce the content in English as it is the language that they will be assessed. The practice of CS/CM in class might jeopardise students' ability to answer examination questions in pure English.

In addition, Payawal-Gabriel and Reyes-Otero's (2006) study shows another disadvantage of CS/CM in the classroom. The study claims that the practice of CS/CM by mathematics teachers in their instructions was said to negatively affect learning. Their analysis reveals that teachers' CS/CM confused students and consequently affected their lesson comprehension.

The practice of CS/CM in the classroom has also been negative viewed by bilinguals themselves. Shin (2005, p. 18), for example, notes that "bilinguals may feel embarrassed

about their code switching and attribute it to careless language habits". Similar views on the practice CS/CM in Malaysia has also been reported by Martin (2005, p. 88), that "the use of a local language alongside the 'official' language of the lesson is a well-known phenomenon and yet, for a variety of reasons, it is often lambasted as 'bad practice', blamed on teachers' lack of English-language competence ... or put to one side and/or swept under the carpet".

The Study

The present study attempts to highlight the frequency of instructors' CS/CM in the classroom and both the instructors' and students' attitudes towards it. The paper, thus, addresses the following questions:

1. To what extent does CS/CM exist in the language of instruction?
2. What are the instructors' attitudes towards CS/CM in the classroom context?
3. What are the students' attitudes towards CS/CM in the classroom context?

The participants, both instructors and students, were pre-determined and chosen based on their ability to provide opportunity to achieve the objectives of the study. Thus, they were only selected if they responded positively to the invitation to take part in the study and consented to the data collection and analysis. Altogether, 6 instructors and 163 students were involved in the study. Table 1 summarises the background of the lectures and the participants' English Language competence. The information on the participants' English Language competence is particularly important as it may be able to account for the instructors' language behaviour in the classroom.

Table 1: Instructors' and Participants' English Language Competence

Lecture	English Language Competence					
	Instructor			Number of Students		
	Very Proficient	Proficient	Less Proficient	Very Proficient	Proficient	Less Proficient
Biology				4	11	9
Accounting				3	11	15
Discrete				7	11	8
Mathematics						
Marketing				2	10	19
Agricultural				2	6	16
Engineering						
Personality Development				6	11	12

N instructors: 6

N students: 163

Data Collection and Analysis

Information on students' perception on the frequency of instructors' CS/CM behaviour while delivering lectures, and attitudes towards the language situation in the classroom were gleaned using self-completed questionnaires and interviews. Students were reminded that their response to the questionnaires should be based on the lecture that they had just attended. The questionnaire items were adapted from El Fiki's (1999) work on CS/CM in a university context and other researchers' works on language attitude (Gibbons 1983; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991). These items were set to gauge information on the students' views on the instructors' language use and their attitudes towards the use. Interviews were carried out to complement the questionnaire data.

Instructors were also interviewed to get some insights on their language use in the

classroom. Although the interviews were carried out informally and did not take any form of structured interviews, they covered the focus of the study, that is, the instructors' language use and the underlying factors of the use.

Data from the questionnaire were analysed in terms of simple frequency counts and percentage. These were complemented by data from the interviews.

Findings and Discussion

The research questions have clearly spelt out the main focus of the study: 1) the extent to which CS/CM occur in the instructors' discourse, 2) the students' attitudes towards instructors' CS/CM, and 3) the instructors' attitudes towards their CS/CM behaviour in the classroom. Thus, the analysis of the data is reported and discussed under these topics.

The Extent of CS/CM in the Instructors' Discourse

The data are reported separately for each individual lecture as every lecture was unique in terms of its content and the background of the participants. These variables can contribute towards the CS/CM occurrence in the interactional setting.

The analysis of the data shows a clear pattern of language use by the instructors. It seems that the extent to which CS/CM occurred in the instructors' discourse depended highly first, on the instructors' competence in English, and second, the students' competence in English. The following tables show the students' perceptions on the frequency of their instructors' CS/CM in the classroom.

Table 2.1: The Extent of Instructor's CS/CM

Lecture: Biology (N=24)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Mixing English and BM is a common phenomenon in the lectures I have attended in this institution.	11	13	0	0
The instructor's main language when delivering lectures is always English.	0	0	0	24
The instructor frequently mixes BM with English in his/her lectures.	22	2	0	0
The instructor usually maintains the English terminology but uses BM to give further explanation.	21	3	0	0
The instructor does not have any difficulty in delivering lectures in English.	0	3	7	14
The instructor always switches to BM when we do not understand the lectures.	13	9	2	0

Table 2.2: The Extent of Instructor's CS/CM

Lecture: Accounting (N=29)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Mixing English and BM is a common phenomenon in the lectures I have attended in this institution.	9	13	5	2
The instructor's main language when delivering lectures is always English.	19	8	1	1
The instructor frequently mixes BM with English in his/her lectures.	1	1	16	11

The instructor usually maintains the English terminology but uses BM to give further explanation.	15	12	1	1
The instructor does not have any difficulty in delivering lectures in English.	28	1	0	0
The instructor always switches to BM when we do not understand the lectures.	0	1	18	11

Table 2.3: The Extent of Instructor's CS/CM

Lecture: Discrete Mathematics (26)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Mixing English and BM is a common phenomenon in the lectures I have attended in this institution.	12	10	3	1
The instructor's main language when delivering lectures is always English.	0	3	5	18
The instructor frequently mixes BM with English in his/her lectures.	22	4	0	0
The instructor usually maintains the English terminology but uses BM to give further explanation.	20	6	0	0
The instructor does not have any difficulty in delivering lectures in English.	0	3	10	13
The instructor always switches to BM when we do not understand the lectures.	12	14	0	0

Table 2.4: The Extent of Instructor's CS/CM

Lecture: Marketing (N=31)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Mixing English and BM is a common phenomenon in the lectures I have attended in this institution.	17	10	3	1
The instructor's main language when delivering lectures is always English.	11	10	3	7
The instructor frequently mixes BM with English in his/her lectures.	11	11	4	5
The instructor usually maintains the English terminology but uses BM to give further explanation.	12	11	4	4
The instructor does not have any difficulty in delivering lectures in English.	17	10	3	1
The instructor always switches to BM when we do not understand the lectures.	10	14	4	3

Table 2.5: The Extent of Instructor's CS/CM

Lecture: Agricultural Engineering (N=24)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Mixing English and BM is a common phenomenon in the lectures I have attended in this institution.	8	6	5	5
The instructor's main language when delivering lectures is always English.	12	8	3	1
The instructor frequently mixes BM with English in his/her lectures.	2	4	9	9

The instructor usually maintains the English terminology but uses BM to give further explanation.	3	4	6	11
The instructor does not have any difficulty in delivering lectures in English.	12	9	2	1
The instructor always switches to BM when we do not understand the lectures.	3	3	8	10

Table 2.6: The Extent of Instructor’s CS/CM

Lecture: Personality Development (N=29)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Mixing English and BM is a common phenomenon in the lectures I have attended in this institution.	13	11	5	0
The instructor’s main language when delivering lectures is always English.	11	9	6	3
The instructor frequently mixes BM with English in his/her lectures.	7	9	5	8
The instructor usually maintains the English terminology but uses BM to give further explanation.	9	7	6	7
The instructor does not have any difficulty in delivering lectures in English.	12	13	3	1
The instructor always switches to BM when we do not understand the lectures.	10	14	5	0

The data reveal a clear pattern of instructors’ language use in the classroom. More than half of the students claimed the use of both BM and English for classroom instruction was a common practice in the institution. In fact, the interview data reveal that the mixture of

BM and English was very common in most of the lectures they attended that they barely realised the occurrence during the lessons. Some even claimed that it is expected since the mixing of both languages in communication is common among bilingual speakers in any context of communication.

The analysis also reveals that the amount of CS/CM in classroom was largely related to the instructors' and students' English Language competence. It is found that the CS/CM phenomenon occurred more in the Biology and Discrete Mathematics lectures as the lecturers for these classes were less proficient in English compared to the other four. The data show that these lecturers normally maintained the English terminology and technical jargons related to the topics taught. The students also claimed that English was used when these lecturers read directly from the notes or the power point presentation. However, when it comes to elaboration and explanation of the concepts, they tended to code-switch to BM or code-mix both English and BM.

However, some of the students also admitted that the proficient instructors insisted in delivering their lectures in English and encouraged students to improve their English Language competence in order to cope with any language difficulties they might face. This is clearly reflected in the low frequency of CS/CM by proficient instructors (Accounting and Agricultural Engineering) as shown in Tables 2.2 and 2.5). However, it is very important to note that instructors' own proficiency level could not account for the actual language use in the context of interaction. It is found that even the proficient instructors were not able to maintain their speech in English and have to resort to BM because they needed to accommodate students who were not competent in English. This is reflected in Tables 2.4 and 2.6 that despite their proficiency in English, the proficient instructors frequently mixed BM and English in their speech when they perceived

students were not able to understand the lectures in English.

Interviews with the instructors reveal that they were aware of the institutional language policy. However, their language choice and use were largely determined by their own competence in English and their students. This had led to their CS/CM behaviour in the classroom instruction. The less proficient instructors normally use both BM and English in their lectures. However, they would maintain the referential items in English as these were the key words that students needed to know for the concepts learned. On the other hand, the more proficient instructors either gave explanation in English first and then translated it into BM when required, or straight away mixed both languages in their explanation. However, like the less proficient instructors, they also maintained the referential items in English. These claims concur with the students' perceptions on the language use in the classroom.

Students' Attitudes towards Instructors' CS/CM

The analysis of the data reveals mixed attitudes towards the instructors' CS/CM behaviour in the classroom. These attitudes were largely influenced by the students' English Language competence. It seems that the less proficient students held more favourable attitude towards the instructors' CS/CM compared to their more proficient counterparts. Their views are summarised in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.1 Less Proficient Students' Attitudes towards Instructors' CS/CM

Less Proficient Students (N=79)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would like the instructor to minimise their use of BM in his/her lectures.	5	22	34	18
I would prefer my instructor to use only English in his/her lectures.	3	9	29	38
I need the instructor to use both BM and English to better understand the lectures.	39	27	13	0
I feel challenged if/when the instructor use English in his/her lectures.	41	24	14	0
I feel frustrated when the instructor uses both BM and English during his/her lectures.	4	18	41	16
The instructor's mixing of English and BM is not a problem to me.	42	21	11	5
When the instructor mixes BM and English in his/her lectures, I tune out.	3	14	26	36

Table 3.2: Proficient Students' Attitudes towards Instructors' CS/CM

Very Proficient and Proficient Students (N=84)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would like the instructor to minimise their use of BM in his/her lectures.	41	19	18	6
I would prefer my instructor to use only English in his/her lectures.	46	17	13	8
I need the instructor to use both BM and English to better understand the lectures.	3	18	42	21
I feel challenged if/when the instructor use English in his/her lectures.	13	28	34	9

I feel frustrated when the instructor uses both BM and English during his/her lectures.	38	28	15	3
The instructor's mixing of English and BM is not a problem to me.	7	32	17	29
When the instructor mixes BM and English in his/her lectures, I tune out.	29	37	7	11

The analysis of the data indicates that the students with less English Language proficiency were more tolerant to the instructors' CS/CM compared to the more proficient group. It seems that the former group favoured the instructors' CS/CM behaviour due to their concern in comprehending the lectures. CS/CM was favoured due to its necessity to aid comprehension. Although it was agreed that most materials and references are available in English, this group of students felt that their low English Language proficiency hindered comprehension. Thus, the instructors' language choice seemed to be a practical solution to the problem. Although most of the students agreed that the use of BM helped them to comprehend the lectures better, they also admitted that the use of English was also necessary to expose them to their subjects of studies. However, they were not concerned on how language was used in the classroom. This is because, in a content-based classroom, the focus is more on meaning rather than the structure.

On the other hand, the more proficient group held quite unfavourable attitude towards the instructors' CS/CM. They felt that the use of BM should be minimised as students should be more exposed to the English Language since most references are available in that language. Thus, switching from English to BM to solve comprehension problems did not seem to be a long-term solution for less proficient students. Comprehension problems might occur during self-study. This proficient group also

claimed that any input received in English can prepare them not only for self-study, but also for their future career. It is very interesting to note that these students claimed that the instructors' language of instruction can help them develop their English Language competence to enable them cope in their field of study. They further argued that if instructors used mixed languages to explain a concept, the explanation would be devoid of the correct structure. In other words, they had not been provided with or exposed to the correct model of explaining the concepts in English. Thus, they certainly would face difficulties in the examinations where all answers are required to be written in English. They further argued that understanding the concept would not be adequate if they were not able to give the answers in the correct way. Thus, in contrast, the more proficient group felt that both instructors should focus both on meaning and structure when delivering their lectures.

Instructors' Attitudes towards CS/CM

Despite the claim that CS/CM is typical language behaviour among bilingual speakers that often happened subconsciously (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Wardaugh, 1998), the instructors were aware of their CS/CM behaviour. The interview data have provided significant insights to the occurrence of this linguistic phenomenon and may be able to explain its persistence in the classroom.

The less proficient instructors admitted that the inability to maintain their speech in English was mainly due to their English Language incompetence. They claimed that they were unable to express their thoughts competently in English and this had led to the CS/CM behaviour. Thus, it can be said that CS/CM was a coping strategy employed by these instructors to mask their linguistic incompetence. However, some of the instructors'

defended their CS/CM behaviour on the ground that knowledge should not be confined to any language. If English was the only language allowed in the classroom, students would not be able to acquire knowledge in the field. Furthermore, they contended that there was no harm in their CS/CM as students were able to cope with it in the classroom. They argued that comprehending the lectures was more important than the language structure. In addition, they believed that students would have their own strategies in coping with their linguistic competence.

The more proficient instructors, on the other hand, strongly believed that CS/CM should be minimised, if not totally eliminated in classroom instruction. First, they were totally concerned with the institutional language policy with regards to classroom instruction. The policy has clearly stipulated that English is the language of instruction. Thus, by CS/CM, the policy has not been adhered to. In addition, these instructors felt that students should be exposed to the correct structure of English Language when dealing with the contents. They seriously claimed that students might have not realised that their explanation of certain concepts could become wrong or confusing because of the wrong language structure used. Thus, although content instructors are not expected to take the primary role or language instructors, they too should be responsible in providing the correct model of structure in the classroom. However, the instructors also admitted that it was impossible to avoid CS/CM because of the students' low proficiency in English. Thus, CS/CM might seem to be a strategy to promote fast and easy understanding among the students.

Implications of the Study

This study has established that CS/CM of English and BM is a common communicative behaviour in the classrooms despite the overt language policy of the use of English as the medium of instruction in this university. The report on the speakers' actual language use and their attitudes towards the language(s) used is important in determining whether to support or counterbalance the existing linguistic policy and regulation. The findings are particularly useful in understanding the extent to which the speakers adhere to the policy.

Although attitudes towards language cannot be easily measured, the study has several significant implications on language use in the classroom domain. As observed by Kamisah (2007), any regulation set by any language policy does not hinder language creativity and personal choice of the speakers in their context of interaction. This is because attitudes towards languages are 'invisible societal pressures' that interact with 'visible' plans organised by policy makers (Kachru, 1987). Thus, the information gleaned from this study on whether these two forces are in agreement or not can help to set further plans in treating any conflicts that may exist.

As reported by the findings, the occurrence of CS/CM is largely due to the linguistic competence of the participants in the interactional setting. It is found that instructors' English Language skills are usually not sufficient enough to carry out the task of delivering lectures in that language. Students' English Language skills, too, are not sufficient enough to handle the curriculum. Thus, the linguistic incompetence of both the instructors and students need to be addressed. The findings reveal an urgent need for the instructors to improve their English competence skills. A series of development courses on English Language proficiency and communication skills in English could be developed to help these instructors improve their delivery skills in the classroom. As for students, EAP and ESP courses need to be developed so that they are better prepared for

the language demands of their study.

The findings of the study also suggest that there should be a clear assessment towards the implementation of the study. The common and continuous practice of CS/CM in the classrooms imply that the implementation of the policy has neither been truly enforced, neither assessed. It cannot be assumed that speakers would just comply with any policy thrust on them. Thus, if the policy is to be sustained, for the benefits of learning and linguistic development of the students and professionalism of the instructors, there should be continuous and continual assessment of the policy.

Conclusion

This study has provided clear findings of the actual implementation of the institutional language policy on the medium of instruction in the classroom. CS/CM in both BM and English emerged as the instructors' code choice in the classroom instruction. Such language behaviour seems not to only have undermined the role of English as the stipulated medium of instruction, but also underestimated the speech behaviour of bilinguals. There exists a conflict between the language policy and the actual use of English and BM in the classroom.

There is also an indication that both instructors and students are not totally linguistically equipped to support the policy. Lack of English Language competence both on the parts of instructors and students has been claimed as the major motivating factor for the CS/CM occurrence. This certainly has a significant implication on their English Language development skills. Most importantly, the findings have served as a basis for any language training needs for the instructors to enable them to teach effectively using English as the medium of instruction. As implied by the students' response, the language

of teaching can affect the process of learning and acquiring knowledge. Thus, there seems to be an important need for the instructors to pay more attention to the language used in delivering the content of their lectures to benefit learning.

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