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Articles

IS THE *GET*-PASSIVE REALLY THAT ADVERSATIVE?

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1. Introduction

The phenomenon under investigation in this paper, the *get*-passive —also known as 'true' *get*-passive (Quirk et al. 1985), or 'central' *get*-passive (Collins 1996)— has been subject to numerous academic studies and prolific debates. In particular, its syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics have been analyzed in detail by many authors, such as Chappell (1980: 444-445), Quirk et al. (1985: 161), Collins (1996: 52), Carter and McCarthy (1999: 51-52), Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 1442), and McEnery et al. (2006: 112-113), among others. They all acknowledge that the presence of an agent phrase is exceptionally rare in central *get*-passives; that they occur only with dynamic lexical verbs, such as *cut*, *send* and *throw*; that the referent tends to be animate and human, and is usually responsible for the action described in the clause; and, finally, adversative consequences are commonly attributed to the subject-referent in these constructions, hence its frequent occurrence with predicates such as *arrest*, *hit*, *kill*, *shoot*, and the like.

In this paper I will examine the abovementioned definitory characteristics of central *get*-passives (for earlier related studies see Coto Villalibre 2012, 2014), turning the spotlight, however, on the semantic implication of these constructions. I will try to answer the following question: Is the *get*-passive predominantly adversative? That is, do the majority of *get*-passives actually convey a meaning which is bad or to the disadvantage of the subject who undergoes the action, as in *get busted*, *mugged*, *nabbed* and *screwed*? Corpus-based data from the spoken British English component and of other ESL components of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) point in a completely different direction.

2. Characteristics of Central Get-passives

2.1 Absence of an agent by-phrase

An overwhelming majority of central *get*-passives occur without an agent. Quantitative data from the literature confirms this expectation: *get* is usually "limited to constructions without an expressed animate agent" (Quirk et al. 1985: 161). In Collins' study (1996), 92% of the *get*-passives are agentless and, in Carter and McCarthy's (1999: 51), the corresponding figure is identical with 93% of agentless *get*-passives, as in example (1):

(1) Henry got beaten last night.

2.2 Dynamic lexical verb

Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 1442) state that central *get*-passives are found only with dynamic verbs, that is, verbs which denote an action and not its outcome (*cut*, *send*, *throw*). In the same way, Alexiadou (2005: 17) argues that "the *get*-passive is not permitted with stative verbs and verbs that do not allow for the subject of the construction to be interpreted as *affected*". *Be* cannot, then, be replaced by *get* in an example like (2) below from Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 1442):

(2) It was/**got believed* that the letter was a forgery.

Furthermore, the *get*-passive is likely to co-occur with verbs referring to daily activities, such as *get changed*, *cleaned*, *dressed*, *shaved* or *washed*, and with colloquial expressions, for instance, *get kicked (out)*, *muddled (up)*, *nicked*, *pissed* or *sacked*, which highlights the informal nature of the *get*-passive.

2.3 Responsibility of the subject

The subject in central *get*-passives is usually attributed some kind of responsibility for initiating the event described in the clause, which is determined both by the meaning of *get* and by features of the context. As Huddleston (1984: 445) has noted, "*get* lends itself more readily than *be* to the imputation to the subject-referent of some measure of initiative or responsibility". An example like (3) below from Givón and Yang (1994: 120) shows that the subject of the *get*-passive is in some way responsible for his own misfortune, while no such inference can be drawn about the subject of the *be*-passive:

(3) He got caught by the police.

He was caught by the police.

Further evidence for this implication, namely the attribution of responsibility to the subject, is provided by constructions which generally specify an agentive role for the subject-referent, as '*try + to/and + get* V*en*', '*go + and + get* V*en*' and '*manage + to + get* V*en*', as in examples (4) and (5) from Collins (1996: 51):

(4) Our advice is for both to *go and get involved* in the new technology and in shop-floor activities. (ACE-F19-3824)

(5) Though he knew no more about military science and tactics than any other desk officer, he *managed to get transferred* to the combat forces. (BROWN-F22-260)

2.4 Animacy of the subject

Since it is animate human referents which can show volition and intentionality over their actions (Dahl and Fraurud 1996: 58), the concept of subject animacy and the notions of subject control and responsibility are closely interrelated. *Get*-passives are eventive in terms of their aspect and this fact presumably contributes to the animacy effect; since events are usually controlled by an actor, animates are more likely to be able to control those events. In fact, Toyota's (2007: 153) findings on the animacy of the subject entity in central *get*-passives show that 85.7% of the subjects in his data are animate, of which 84.7% are human. Although the majority are animate subjects, the presence of *get*-passives with inanimate subjects (apparently incapable of having any responsibility) is not unknown. Givón (1993: 69) points out that the conditions under which inanimate subjects appear in *get*-passives suggest "a natural extension of the notion of responsibility towards other manners of human involvement". In other words, the affected entity in these constructions is not the inanimate subject itself, but rather the person who owns or is responsible for it, such as in the case of Peter in example (6):

(6) *Peter's video recorder got* fixed last week.

2.5 Semantic implication

This implication was first noted by Hatcher (1949: 441), who claimed that central *get*-passives were only used for two types of events, "those felt as having either fortunate or unfortunate consequences for the subject", or "non-neutral" consequences, according to Fleisher (2006: 249). The meaning of the lexical verb is the clearest indicator of an adversative or beneficial implication. This dichotomy is illustrated in the following examples from Collins (1996: 52), from the Brown corpus; example (7) is an instance of an adversative connotation, in that getting fired is unfavorable to the subject affected by the event, while (8) is an example of a beneficial implication, since getting promoted is favorable:

(7) 'We *got fired,'* Jones said. (BROWN-N01-1650)

(8) Some of them were warts until they *got promoted*. (BROWN-M01-1440)

Several independent studies have shown that the majority of *get*-passives refer to adversative contexts, "a state of affairs that is signalled contextually by the conversational participants as unfortunate, undesirable, or at least problematic" (Carter and McCarthy 1999: 49), and they often indicate that "something unpleasant is happening" (Francis et al. 1996: 58-59). In other words, most verb phrases refer to unfortunate events, or at least, events perceived as unfavorable for the subject, for instance *get arrested*, *beaten*, *burgled*, *criticized*, *intimidated*, *killed*, *penalized*, *sued*, etc. (see also Hatcher 1949: 436-437; Chappell 1980: 444-445; and Budwig 1990: 1224). Good proof of this can be found in Carter and McCarthy's (1999: 49-50) spoken corpus results, who obtained adversative meanings in nearly 90% of *get*-passives, and fewer than 5% beneficial meanings. In the same line, Collins' findings (1996: 52) in a mixed spoken and written corpus portray 67% adversative and 23% beneficial. Leech et al. (2009: 156-157), using the Brown family of corpora, not only argue that most *get*-passives are adversative, but that the frequency of adversative *get*-passives has increased from 60.3% to 66.3% from the 1960s to the 1990s.

In corpus studies of the meanings of different passives (Collins 1996; Carter and McCarthy 1999), there is a consensus that central *get*-passives more often express emotive or interpersonal meanings, and either the speaker's (approving or disapproving) attitude towards the events described, or a focus on the subject-referent's situation; *be*-passives, on the other hand, are usually more neutral in meaning (Stubbs 2001: 212; Fryd 2008: 13-14). Thus *be*- and *get*-passives "carry different conversational implicatures" and cannot be regarded as pragmatically equivalent (Siewierska 1984: 134; see also Guerrero Medina 2009: 279).

Thus, it seems plausible to conclude, as Biber et al. (1999: 481) do, that the *get*-passive typically co-selects verbs that have "negative connotations, conveying that the action of the verb is difficult or to the disadvantage of the subject", as *get pinched*, *run over*, *struck by lightning*, etc. (see also Budwig 1990: 1236). In Rühlemann's words (2007: 120), it would appear that the central *get*-passive can by no means be said to allow an open-choice participle paradigm; rather "the typical *get*-passive is semantically restricted in that it prefers a restricted set of verbs sharing an 'adversative' core meaning".

Furthermore, this adversative/beneficial distinction can also be applied to *get*-passives with non-human subjects. Chappell (1980: 440) argues that "the affected entity in this construction is not the inanimate subject, but rather the person who owns it, or else stands in a relationship to this object equivalent to that of ownership", as in the two examples below from Collins (1996: 53). Example (9) is considered to be adversative because of the adverse effect of the theft upon Jane, while (10) is considered to be beneficial because of the beneficial effect of the repair on Jane:

(9) Jane's bike *got stolen*.

(10) Jane's bike *got fixed*.

Nevertheless, the attribution of either beneficial or adversative consequences to the subject-referent is not always present. In fact, there is a great number of cases where there are no adversative or beneficial effects upon the subject-related person or persons, as in example (11) from Collins (1996: 52):

(11) Remember I rang you up and asked you to come, like after you'd already decided that you didn't want to go to the drive-in anyway 'cos remember I *got* **asked** if I wanted to go to the drive-in. (ICE-AUS-S1A-077)

Examples like (11) above, which express a neutral condition, neither adverse nor beneficial, have received little attention in the literature, with few exceptions such as Sussex (1982: 88) and Downing (1996: 194-197).

3. The Corpus

The empirical part of my research consists in the analysis of the semantic implication of central *get*-passives. As *get*-passives are commonly said to feature mostly in conversations and in informal communicative interactions (Quirk et al. 1985: 161; Biber et al. 1999: 476; Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 1442), I focused on the spoken part of a series of corpora of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE), including British English, Indian English, Hong Kong English and Singapore English, which all consist of 300 2000-word samples of spoken Present-Day English. The spoken component is subdivided into dialogues and monologues: dialogues are further subdivided into public (i.e. classroom lessons, broadcast interviews, business transactions) and private spoken texts (face-to-face conversations, phone calls); monologues, in turn, are divided in scripted (i.e. news broadcasts, broadcast talks) and unscripted texts (i.e. spontaneous commentaries, demonstrations).

The search for central *get*-passives was carried out automatically with the AntConc 3.2 retrieval software, taking into account *get* in all its inflected forms, namely *get* (present singular and plural), *gets* (present singular), *getting* (progressive), *got* and *gotten* (past singular and plural), followed by a past participle. Further examination to filter out those findings in which *get* functioned as a main verb meaning 'obtain, receive' or 'reach, arrive (at a place)', and thus not conforming to 'true' or 'central' *get*-passives, was mainly carried out manually.

4. Corpus Findings

In order to study the semantic implication of the examples retrieved and classify them into either beneficial for the subject, adversative for the subject, or semantically neutral, I have followed Persson's test for adversativity (1990: 52), which consists in answering the following statement: "Is it worse to be X than not to be X?"

If the answer to the question is "yes", then the passive construction was labeled "adversative", as in the following examples (examples from (12) to (17) are all from Nilsson 2014):

(12) He fell in love with the circus proprietor's daughter, attempted to fake a tight-rope act, *got nibbled* by monkeys, ran away, helped the circus proprietor's daughter to marry a competent tight-rope walker.

(13) But if you don't mind *getting shot up* with poison and you don't mind paralyzing parts of your face - well, you've got plenty of company.

If the answer to the question was "no, one of the alternatives isn't clearly better or worse than the other", then the construction was labeled "neutral", or "other" (Persson 1990: 52), as in the examples below:

(14) So remembering that Gita is soundly harmonious, Eustace, who loves her, accepts, and waits for his image to *get photographed*.

(15) That info gets *cross-referenced* with census data plus records the parties keep: who worked or volunteered for them, who donated money.

If the answer to the question was "no, it is actually BETTER to be X than not to be X", then the construction was labeled "beneficial", or "benefactive" (Persson 1990: 52), as in the following:

(16) That was Tommy Gibbons' last big fight, but he *got well paid* for it, and he had been well paid for many another fights.

(17) For many agents, an ideal client would be one who can open an action movie, *get recognized* by 99% of the world's teenage boys and never complain.

The quantitative analysis of the spoken British English component of ICE yielded a total of 50 central *get*-passives. An examination of the semantics conveyed by these constructions shows the following results: 22 examples (44%) of adversative implications (e.g. (18)), 8 examples (16%) of beneficial connotations (e.g. (19)), and 20 examples (40%) of neutral value for the subject-referent (e.g. (20)):

(18) I know my period started the year that Uncle Ahmed *got bitten* by the snake <,> but it doesn't help you to actually identify that particular year <,> (ICE-GB:S2A-047 #52:1:A)

(19) A kickback or drawback means for every fifteen cents a competitor of Standard Oil <,> pushes along that same route Standard Oil *gets paid* fifteen per cent. (ICE-GB:S1B-005 #91:1:A)

(20) Some days you want you know somebody who's Fred Bloggs you just type Fred <,> and that'll *get transcribed* into his full address <,> (ICE-GB:S2A-028 #116:2:A)

The 126 examples of *get*-passives retrieved from the Indian component have the following distribution: 33 examples (26.2%) are adversative (*get burnt*, *cracked*, *destructed*, *hurt*, *imprisoned*, *injured*, *killed*, *violated*), 12 examples (9.5%) are beneficial (*get benefitted*, *cured*, *elected*, *promoted*, *protected*, *refreshed*, *released*, *strengthened*), and 81 examples (64.3%) have neutral semantics (*get collected*, *displayed*, *downloaded*, *filled up*, *measured*, *recorded*, *stored*, *written*).

The spoken Hong Kong component contains only 35 tokens of central *get*-passives, classified as follows: 13 examples (37.1%) are adversative (*get caught*, *decapitated*, *disemboweled*, *held up*, *ripped off*, *sued*, *suspended*, *yelled down*), 9 examples (25.8%) are beneficial (*get awarded*, *looked after*, *paid*, *passed*, *reelected*), and 13 (37.1%) are neutral examples (*get circulated*, *drafted*, *modified*, *published*, *sent*, *spread around*, *translated*).

A total of 64 instances of *get*-passives were recorded in the Singaporean component, namely 26 examples (40.6%) of adversative (*get arrested*, *infected*, *knocked out*, *molested*, *penalized*, *raped*, *run over*, *stolen*), 16 examples (25%) of beneficial (*get elected*, *excused*, *paid*, *passed*, *promoted*, *selected*), and 22 examples (34.4%) of neutral semantics (*get assigned*, *committed*, *endorsed*, *normalized*, *posted*, *shelved*).

The results obtained from the corpus for the Outer Circle varieties of English might be influenced by the expression of the passive voice in the substrate languages. Passive voice in Hindi, the most widely used substrate language for Indian English, is fairly similar to the passive in standard English in that it is also expressed by means of a periphrasis, namely the passive auxiliary *ja* followed by an inflected past participle of the main verb (Sandahl 2000: 101; Kachru 2006: 93). In Cantonese and Mandarin, the most common substrate languages for Hong

Kong English and Singapore English respectively, passives are not expressed by means of a periphrasis but are, however, strongly associated with the expression of adversative meaning (Bao and Wee 1999; Matthews and Yip 1994: 150; McEnery et al. 2006: 124-141). With respect to substrate influence, therefore, we might expect Indian English to be characterized by a fairly frequent use of *get*-passives and both Hong Kong and Singapore English to show a low frequency of *get*-passives but a relatively high proportion, among them, of *get*-passives with adversative meaning.

By focusing only on the two implications conveyed by central *get*-passives as suggested in the relevant literature (see section 2.5 above), "those felt as having either fortunate or unfortunate consequences for the subject" (Hatcher 1949: 441) or on the "non-neutral" consequences of central *get*-passives (Fleisher 2006: 249), the corpus findings (see Fig. 1 below) seem to be in accordance with scholars such as Carter and McCarthy (1999: 49-50), Collins (1996: 52) and Leech et al. (2009: 156-157), who argue that the *get*-passive "is semantically restricted in that it prefers a restricted set of verbs sharing an 'adversative' core meaning" (Rühlemann 2007: 120).

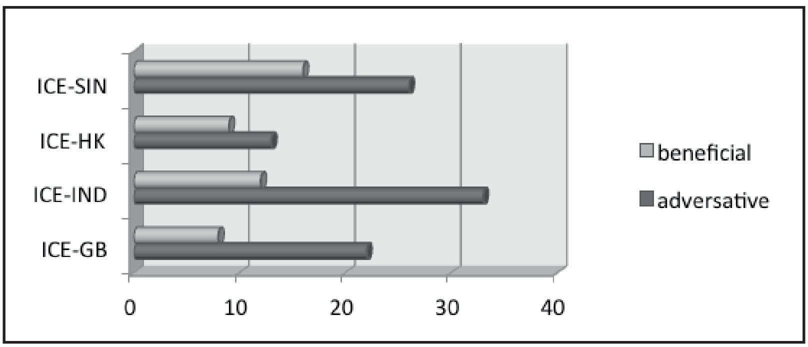

FIG. 1. *Get*-passives according to adversative and beneficial semantics.

Figure 1 above shows that central *get*-passives are far more common with adversative implications than with beneficial connotations for the subject, and this applies to all varieties of English under study. Both the figure and the conclusions represent, however, a partial and distorted picture of reality. It is certainly true that at first sight *get*-passives seem to be semantically restricted to negative meanings. But what about the examples in which the *get*-passive is semantically neutral? There are a number of instances in which the past participle has a neutral value for the subject-referent, that is, there are no beneficial or adversative effects upon the subject, or, at least, those effects are not clearly visible. Furthermore, neutral conditions tend to occur in contexts or areas which might be broadly classified as scientific, as many of the examples retrieved from the corpora suggest (*compressed*, *conflated*, *dissolved*, *measured*, *percolated*, *published*, *transcribed*). Based on their conclusions, none of the abovementioned authors (see section 2.5), except for Sussex (1982: 88) and Downing (1996: 194-197), seem to be paying much attention to those neutral cases, focusing the aim of their researches primarily on the dichotomy between adversative/negative meaning and beneficial/positive meaning.

The following figure represents the corpus data for central *get*-passives with adversative, beneficial and neutral semantic implications.

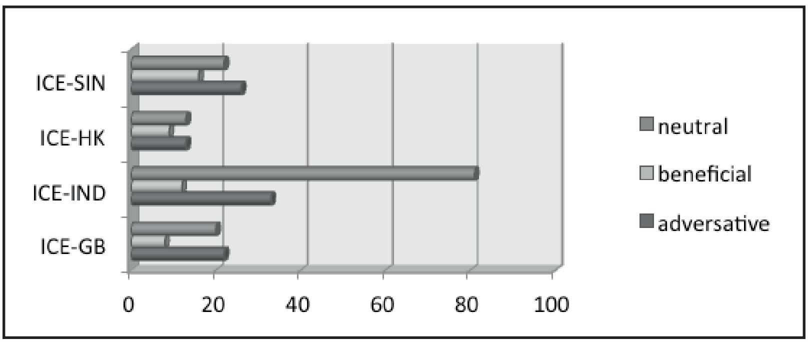

FIG. 2. *Get*-passives according to adversative, beneficial and neutral semantics.

Surprisingly, in three of the subcorpora, British, Hong Kong and Singaporean, the neutral implications are almost as common as the adversative connotations, namely 22 (44%) adversative vs. 20 (40%) neutral in ICE-GB, 26 (40.6%) adversative vs. 22 (34.4%) neutral in ICE-SIN, and 13 (37.1%) adversative vs. 13 (37.1%) neutral in ICE-HK. Unexpected is the overwhelming frequency of *get*-passives with neutral meaning in the Indian component, with 81 (64.3%) semantically neutral cases.

Furthermore, if we classify the *get*-passives as either "adversative" or "non-adversative", the latter including both beneficial and neutral instances, as suggested by Gustafsson (2014), then the findings are even more striking, as shown in Figure 3 below. What is surprising, if the adversative interpretation is to be considered an essential and defining part of the *get*-passive, is that there should be so many instances which do not fall into this category.

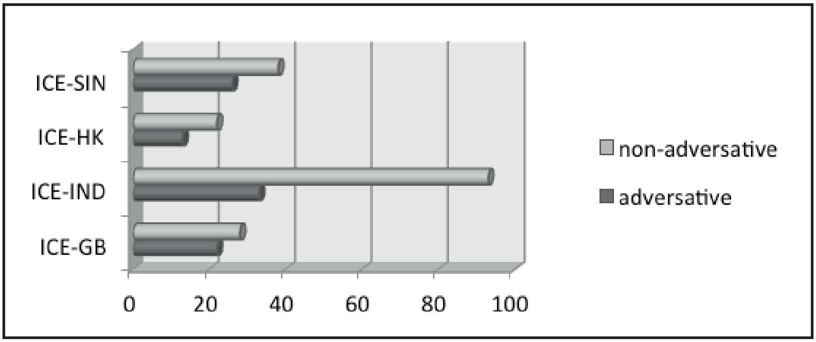

FIG. 3. *Get*-passives according to adversative and non-adversative semantics.

One of the main differences pointed out in the literature (Stubbs 2001: 212; Fryd 2008: 13-14) concerning the meanings of *get*-passives and *be*-passives is that the former usually express emotive or interpersonal meanings, usually speaker approval or disapproval of the event described, while *be*-passives tend to convey semantically neutral meanings. Is the *get*-passive then, according to the present findings, undergoing a change in meaning, shifting from primarily adversative semantics to more neutral contexts? This idea may be closely related to the hypothesis that subject animacy is starting to shift from animate to inanimate subjects. Although the predominant animacy of the subject in *get*-passives correlates with the feature [+ human], Toyota (2008: 161) suggests that a slight diachronic change can be observed, since inanimate subjects have increased in PDE over lModE by about 6% and likewise, human subjects have decreased by about 7%. As for twentieth century English, Hundt (2001: 74-75) suggests that the number of *get*-passives with inanimate subjects shows a drastic increase in American English (from 3 in Brown (1960s) to 20 in Frown (1990s)) and a slight increase in the British corpora (from 6 in LOB (1960s) to 8 in F-LOB (1990s)).

This loss of subject animacy also implies a loss of subject responsibility, as it is only animate human referents that can show volition and intentionality over their actions (Dahl and Fraurud 1996: 58). As we have seen, the notion of adversativity affects predominantly human and responsible subjects (see also Givón and Yang 1994: 139; Wanner 2009: 100). The increase in the number of inanimate and non-responsible subjects, which are unable to express any emotions or feelings towards the event described, may account for the proliferation of semantically neutral constructions, in which no negative consequences fall upon the subject, as in examples (21) to (24):

(21) Note that an awful lot of heat *gets gathered* round the world and passed up in our uhm <sic> neck of the woods which keeps our climate mu <sic> much milder than it would otherwise be <,,> (ICE-GB:S2A-043 #83:1:A)

(22) So the dam gets *filled up* this time And they open the shutter <,> top shutter Yeah Then <w> it's </w> really beautiful to see. (ICE-IND:S1A-029 #107:1:B)

(23) The thing is that these words *get translated* into machine code <,> (ICE-HK:S1A-047 #136:1:A)

(24) This is the first time I tried it I don't know if it *gets recorded*. (ICE-SIN:S1A-086 #248:1:A)

On the other hand, the characteristics associated with central *get*-passives in the literature, as the degree of responsibility attributed to the subject or the adversative semantics conveyed by the past participle, might be overgeneralisations or oversimplifications, since, as has just been proved in this study, some do not hold. Authors such as Wanner (2009: 88) argue, for instance, that some of the features assigned to *get*-passives are not inherent to the construction, but have to "be seen in the context of the register in which the *get*-passive is used". This is the case of adversative *get*-passives, whose high frequency is especially notable in colloquial expressions, such as *get kicked (out)*, *muddled (up)*, *nicked*, *pissed*, *sacked* and *whacked*; other informal examples recorded in the corpus include *get bobbed down*, *bumped off*, *busted*, *chased away*, *fired*, *knocked out*, *mixed up*, *pushed around*, *ripped off* and *yelled down*. On the contrary, *get*-passives in more formal contexts are often combined with verbs that have non-adversative associations, as in *get acclimatized*, *actualized*, *circulated*, *compressed*, *conflated*, *contracted*, *dissolved*, *elected*, *expanded*, *individualized*, *percolated*, *reinstated*, *restructured*, *subjected*, *transcribed*, *translated* and *weathered*. On the whole, *get*-passives seem to match their subjects and verbs stylistically: in (25) below, *ammonia*, a formal subject, is paired with *oxidised*, a semantically neutral formal-register verb. In an example like (26), whose context is indubitably informal (with hesitations and repetitions), the subject *ya [you]* is paired with the semantically adversative and informal verb *knocked out*.

(25) When a hard platinum wire is inserted ammonia *gets oxidised* <,> to form nitric oxide <,,> (ICE-IND:S1B-004 #139:1:A)

(26) My friend she my friend had a liquor you know that that that <sic> kind which kind and it's it's <sic> a it's a what Earl Ladies and she was knocked out just after a single sip Had to stay had to sleep for about one hour at my friend's place Ya *get knocked* out I get so flushed I have to go and sleep immediately Then in the middle of the night I wake up scratching (ICE-SIN:S1A-004 #207:1:C)

5. Conclusions

Although it has been demonstrated that instances such as *get beaten* or *get killed*, which convey adversative consequences for the subject, are more frequent than examples like *get awarded* or *get promoted*, which signal beneficial implications, the findings do not comply with the literature in showing an overall preference for *get*-passives to occur with adversative meaning. In fact, most passive *get* constructions in the corpus carry semantically neutral and non-adversative implications for the subject, as in *get sent* or *get written*, and this extends to all varieties of English under consideration. The present study has shown that *get*-passives are not "non-neutral" (Fleisher 2006: 249) and that they convey more than just "fortunate or unfortunate consequences for the subject" (Hatcher 1949: 441). This suggests, on the one hand, that central *get*-passives are either losing their defining characteristics, moving closer to semantically neutral *be*-passives, or, on the other hand, that adversativity has never been prototypical of *get*-passives, but merely a contextual feature; in other words, it is not really built into the passive *get* construction. We have to see, thus, adversative meaning not as an integral part of *get*-passives, but as "merely a possible implicature" (Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 1443). Taking into consideration the richness of colloquial expressions that English has for expressing actions and events with negative outcomes, it seems that it is the informal and colloquial nature of the *get*-passive, rather than the construction itself, which favors colloquial expressions of something being strongly affected negatively.

Notes

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MAKING SUGGESTIONS WHILE COLLABORATING IN L1 ENGLISH: COMMON STRUCTURES AND STRATEGIES

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1. Introduction

Some speech acts are potentially face threatening, and different approaches to their performance can result in misunderstanding or offense. In the case of suggestions, speakers face the challenge of communicating an idea without expressing themselves in a way that is perceived as overbearing or inappropriate. Schmidt et al. (1996: 299) maintain that all suggestions are face threatening simply "because people do not, in general, want to be told what to do".

Previous research has documented specific phrases that are often used to preface suggestions in English (Martínez-Flor 2005). The data on which these taxonomies are based often come in part from discourse completion or role play tasks, and it is important to consider the degree to which the content of such taxonomies represents actual speech (Jiang 2006; Santos and Silva 2008). The present study, based on natural data, investigates the characteristics of L1 suggestions made during an L2 collaborative writing task, a common academic activity in many North American universities and an authentic communicative context in which speech act performance has not been extensively examined. The findings build on previous work by highlighting the most commonly used strategies from Martínez-Flor's (2005) taxonomy and may be useful for learners of English as a second language who need assistance in making suggestions in an L1 English peer group.

2. Previous research

In comparison to the vast quantity of research conducted on speech acts, suggestions have not been investigated extensively (Schmidt et al. 1996; Pishghadam and Sharafadini 2011). According to Searle's (1979: 13) classificatory system, they fall into the category of "directives" which he defines as "attempts […] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something". The difference between directives such as commands, suggestions, or requests, is in the force of the attempt to influence the hearer (Schmitt and Richards 1985). Jiang (2006: 41) proposes an operational definition that consists of three components. A speaker "1) mentions an idea, possible plan or action for other people to consider; or 2) offers an opinion about what other people should do or how they should act in a particular situation; and 3) believes that the action indicated is in the best interest of the hearer, or is desirable for the hearer to do". It is important to add that suggestions can implicate the speaker and not just the hearer (Koike 1994, 1996); that is, the individual making a suggestion may be the one to act and/or benefit from action in a particular situation. In the present study, suggestions are proposed content that the speaker would like his or her classmates to evaluate for inclusion in their jointly drafted text.

In real-life scenarios, potentially face threatening speech acts like suggestions can carry high communicative stakes: "the speaker is actually intruding into the listener's world by expressing an idea about what the latter should do" (Koike 1994: 517). In workplace contexts, for instance, making suggestions inappropriately or offensively may affect the completion of necessary tasks and have negative consequences on professional relationships (Santos and Silva 2008). Consequently, according to Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory, rational agents either avoid these face-threatening acts or seek to minimize their threat using certain strategies, one of which is redressive action that recognizes and addresses the hearer's wants.

Numerous variables affect the face threat involved in making suggestions. Sociolinguistic factors such as age, gender and cultural differences in politeness norms (Rintell 1981) as well as the role of power in a particular communicative context or setting (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1990, 1993; Liu and Zhao 2007) must be considered.

Much previous research on suggestions has focused on cultural differences between native and non-native speakers of a given language. Indeed, cross-cultural contexts often highlight pragmatic variation, and there is evidence to indicate that some form of instruction, whether implicit or explicit, has a positive effect on L2 learners' pragmatic awareness and production (Martínez-Flor and Fukuya 2005; Fernández-

Guerra and Martínez-Flor 2006; Martínez-Flor and Alcón Soler 2007). The lack of parallelism between specific L1 and L2 linguistic structures can be particularly difficult to address, even for advanced learners (Koke 1994, 1996). Though the realization of L2 suggestions falls outside the scope of the present analysis, many of those studies highlight the characteristics of L1 English that language learners are striving to emulate. Those findings provide a point of comparison with the data collected on L1 English suggestions in the present analysis and are highlighted here.

Research points to mixed results in regard to the pragmatic realization of L1 English suggestions. One context that has been extensively studied is that of interactions between faculty and students during advising sessions. In their analysis of suggestions made by native and non-native English-speaking graduate students during academic advising sessions with their faculty advisors, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990) reported that native speakers used status preserving strategies that enabled them to make suggestions effectively to a superior. They (1993) found that non-native English speakers, on the other hand, made more frequent use of aggravators and less frequent use of mitigators.

Other studies support this observation that native English speakers use strategies that soften suggestions. In her research on the expression of suggestions in L1 English tutor/tutee conversations, Thonus (1999) identified five linguistic forms used in the tutors' suggestions: indirect, interrogative, first person modals, second person modals, and the imperative, all of which could be realized with or without mitigators. The most common forms were mitigated second person modals (30% of suggestions), unmitigated second person modals (20%), and the unmitigated imperative (14%). All other linguistic forms constituted less than 10 percent of the data. Unsurprisingly, she found that tutors' behavior was linguistically dominant and concluded that "institutionally conferred status" (Thonus 1999: 244), not gender or language proficiency, was the driving influence behind it.

The status relationship between interlocutors is indeed a key factor in their use of suggestions. Several studies note a tendency toward indirectness when native English speakers address individuals in positions of higher status. For instance, as part of a contrastive study of the pragmatic development of L1 Japanese learners of English, Matsumura (2001) used a written questionnaire to elicit learners' preferences for expressing advice and compared them with those of native English speakers in Canada. She reported a consistent preference for hedged and indirect advice among the native English speakers when interacting with a person of higher status and a preference for direct advice in half of the scenarios with interlocutors of equal or lower status. Similarly, in teacher-student conferences, Liu and Zhao (2007) noted the more frequent use of the imperative by the English-speaking teachers than by the Japanese students.

Of particular relevance to the present study are findings related to peer interaction, that is, individuals of equal status. Though power dynamics come to play in any relationship, student-student interactions are not subject to the institutional status differential that characterizes teacher-student exchanges. It is not surprising that suggestions in such a context be offered collaboratively and directly. Jiang (2006) found that the most common structure used in the peer groups was "let's", followed by imperatives and the forms "you should" and "you need to". Li's (2010) findings for Australian high school students are similar. Collecting data through peer role play, he found that the native English speakers used a variety of syntactic structures. They made most frequent use of ability statements using the modals "can" and "could" followed by the suggestory formula "let's" and finally used inclination statements expressed with modals such as "will", "would", "may", "might" and the phrase "I'm going to". They opted for direct strategies when verbalizing 66.66% of their suggestions and made less extensive use of conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect strategies (608). Finally, Li (2010) reported that the native English speakers in his study made frequent use of redressive actions, employing them in approximately 61% of all suggestions.

An important consideration in studies of speech act realization is that of data collection methods and the ongoing debate over the advantages and disadvantages of natural versus elicited data (Beebe and Cummings 1996; MacSwan and McAlister 2010). Some research on suggestions has been based on data elicited through oral or written role plays, questionnaires, or discourse completion tasks (Rintell 1981; Banerjee and Carrell 1988; Koike 1994; Matsumura 2001; Martínez-Flor and Fukuya 2005; Martínez-Flor and Alcón Soler 2007; Li 2010; Pishghadam and Sharafadini 2011). Other investigations are based on natural or corpus data (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1993; Thonus 1999; Fernández Guerra and Martínez-Flor 2006; Jiang 2006). Elicited data facilitate the replication of previous studies and comparisons with existing information and give researchers a measure of control over particular sociolinguistic variables. Natural data often exhibit more variation but better represent real language use (Yuan 2001; Felix Brasdefer 2007; Bou Franch and Lorenzo-Dus 2008; Ewald 2012). Consequently, they enable researchers to contextualize speech act production in the more extended discourse that occurs in authentic conversations (Koester 2002). In short, the documentation of "striking differences" (Golato 2003) between elicited and natural data does not necessarily invalidate either but rather highlights their appropriateness for addressing different research questions.

Drawing widely on previous literature, Martínez-Flor (2005) used data collected in natural spontaneous teacher-student communication (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1996), through personal intuition, observation, and questionnaires (Koike 1994, 1996) and other sources to develop a taxonomy of suggestions for English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classes. She outlines a pedagogical process for integrating the taxonomy into the curriculum to expose students to the variety of linguistic resources available for making suggestions in English and to foster their L2 pragmatic development.

3. Purpose

The present study examines a set of naturally occurring L1 English suggestions during a collaborative writing task in a university classroom. Its purpose is twofold. First, it seeks to expand on Li's (2010) work by applying the same categories of analysis to naturally collected data. Second, it applies the taxonomy developed by Martínez-Flor (2005) to a specific communicative context. The study addresses the following research questions:

1. How do native speakers of American English make suggestions in their L1 when working on a collaborative writing task? Specifically, following Li (2010), what (a) syntactic structures, (b) pragmatic strategies, and (c) redressive actions, if any, do they use?
2. How do participants' suggestion strategies compare to those highlighted in Martínez-Flor's (2005) taxonomy?

4. Participants and Data Collection

Participants in the present study were 18 university students (11 females, 7 males) in a second year Spanish language course. Though the product students were asked to prepare was written in Spanish, all participants used their native language, English, when collaborating. That collaboration or planning phase is the focus of this analysis.

This study is based on natural data; that is, rather than ask participants to make suggestions in response to prepared scenarios, their use of suggestions was evaluated while they completed an in-class collaborative writing task. Their current unit of study was health and medical problems and they were asked to write a skit about someone who suffered an accident and was taken to the emergency room. The data were collected during a regular class session in two different sections of an intermediate Spanish course. Triads 1 and 2 were in the same class section, and Triads 3-6 were in a second section of the course taught by the same instructor. The time that students spent drafting their texts ranged from 12 minutes, 2 seconds to 23 minutes, 54 seconds. Participants' L1 conversations were recorded while they prepared their written texts. Most suggestions were related to the content of the text or about how to express that content in Spanish.

It is important not to confuse the nature of the students' assignment with the type of data collected; that is, the fact that these participants were preparing a skit does not mean that the data were elicited. The participants were completing an in-class assignment that required them to write a text, a skit, collaboratively and in the process they made suggestions to each to other. The assignment was not an oral role play or discourse completion task in which participants were asked to imagine themselves in certain situations and role play making suggestions to other characters. Suggestions surfaced naturally in the process of working on their assignment.

5. Data Analysis

The audio recordings were transcribed, and all suggestions were identified. Following Li (2010), the suggestions were coded in terms of (a) syntactic structure (b) pragmatic strategies and (c) use of redressive actions, each of which I address briefly below.

The three syntactic categories identified by Li (2010), imperative, indicative (declarative) and indicative (interrogative), are used in the present analysis. For example, imperative suggestions are expressed as commands ("<u>Write</u> the whole thing . . ."). Indicative (declarative) structures include suggestions conveyed as an obligation ("I <u>have to</u> say something to fight back"), inclination ("<u>We'll</u> write it in"), ability ("You <u>can</u> yell it out"), etc. Suggestions verbalized as questions fall into the indicative (interrogative) category ("<u>Should</u> I just like talk about my normal allergies?"). These suggestions were expressed in one clause and did not include the actual words that participants would write in their text. However, in other cases these same syntactic categories encompassed suggestions that were verbalized in an embedded clause in which participants proposed specific phrasing for their idea. Consider the following examples:

(1) Imperative: "Just say I like 'I hit it on a chair on the beach.'"

Indicative (declarative): "You could say 'I carried you.'"

Indicative (interrogative): "Do you want me to say 'I will prescribe?'"

In the process of coding suggestions as imperative, indicative (declarative) or indicative (interrogative), Li (2010) noted the challenge of categorizing elliptical suggestions in which a key word or phrase is missing, particularly the challenge of distinguishing declaratives from imperatives. Consider Li's (2010: 602) model of using the co-text to make that determination:

(2) A: Are we going to take him to South Head?

B: I suppose not.

A: Err . Where then? I 'm not the genius.

B: Wait Brook. The Taronga Zoo, of course. That way we could go to the Opera House and spend the rest of the day in the zoo.

Li explains that the suggestion to go to Taronga Zoo can be coded as a declarative, not an imperative, by looking at the question to which Speaker B is responding. One can infer that B is saying "we are going to take him to the Taronga Zoo".

Given the nature of the collaborative task in the present study, many suggestions were offered as part of elliptical constructions but there was no preceding co-text to provide the type of analysis that Li models. Participants verbalized many phrases that could be written into the text as is; that is, participants offered potential skit content directly, often as if they were drafting aloud. For instance, using the voice of the character in her skit, one participant stated. "I need to go to the hospital". She was not responding to something that a previous speaker had said. She did not present this idea as a command, "Write that I need to go to the hospital" nor as a declarative, "We can say that I need to go to the hospital", nor as an interrogative, "Should I say that I need to go to the hospital". Consequently, a fourth category was added to accommodate these very frequent suggestions, and they were coded as indicative (elliptical).

These four syntactic categories, imperative, indicative (declarative), indicative (interrogative) and indicative (elliptical), encompass a variety of suggestory strategies that were originally identified by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and are applied by Li (2010). The following chart summarizes the structures used and provides a representative example of each type. The suggestory strategies noted in the right column are based on the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). The triad in which each example occurred is indicated in parentheses.

Structure & Example	Suggestory Strategy
Imperative	
a. "Put a problem with the stomach" (T3)	Mood derivable
Indicative (declarative)	
b. "It's venda" (T2)	Pure statement
c. "We have to add the fact that" (T3)	Obligation
d. "The doctor should say it first" (T3)	Obligation
e. "We need to do something serious…" (T6)	Obligation
f. "I want to say 'you can take aspirin'" (T4)	Inclination
g. "The friend of the patient will say" (T3)	Inclination
h. "I'm going to say, 'ella es loca'" (T6)	Inclination
i. "I think it might be 'le gusta'" (T6)	Inclination
j. "You can yell it out" (T5)	Ability
k. "Let's ask her" (T4)	Suggestory formula
l. "You could be like 'gracias'" (T1)	Ability
m. "I would be like 'cálmate'" (T5)	Inclination
Indicative (interrogative)	
n. "Is it 'tobillo?'" (T2)	Suggestory formula
o. "Should I just like talk about my normal allergies"? (T6)	Suggestory formula
p. "You want to do twist like ankle"? (T2)	Suggestory formula
q. "What about a seashell"? (T3)	Suggestory formula
r. "Would it be 'tomas'"? (T4)	Suggestory formula
s. "Why don't we just say 'and I fell'"? (T2)	Query prep
t. "Can I be the friend"?(T4)	Query prep
u. "How do you say 'a game'"? (T3)	Hint
Indicative (elliptical)	
v. "I just got bit by a shark" (T5)	Hint

TABLE 1. Syntactic Structures and Suggestory Strategies

In addressing pragmatic strategies, I followed Li (2010) and analyzed them in terms of directness and perspective. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) established three categories of directness: direct, conventionally direct, and non-conventionally indirect. Li (2010: 604) explained that direct suggestions communicate the illocutionary force grammatically, conventionally indirect suggestions draw on "linguistic conventions established in the 'societal' context", and non-conventionally indirect suggestions "require the addressee to compute the illocutionary force from the interaction of the locution with is context, especially the co-text or 'social' context". Consider the following examples from the present data:

(3) Direct: "You could be like 'gracias'" (T1).

Conventionally indirect: "What about a seashell?" (T3).

Non-conventionally indirect: "How do you say 'a game'"? (T3).

In the third example, the speaker has a specific idea for script content but does not know how to express it (the word "game") in Spanish. The utterance is non-conventionally indirect because it is only understood as a suggestion in this locutionary context; that is, in a framework other than one of collaborative writing the utterance would not be a suggestion but only a request for help with unknown vocabulary.

The following table shows the relationship between those categories of directness and the syntactic structures presented in Table 2.

Syntactic Structures	**Directness**
a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, l, m,	Direct
k, n, o, p, q, r, s, t	Conventionally Indirect
u, v	Non-conventionally indirect

TABLE 2. Syntactic Structures and Directness

Additionally, Li (2010) adapted and expanded Blum-Kulka's (1989) perspective scheme, highlighting 5 pragmatic perspectives, "point[s] of view from which a suggestion is realized" (Li 2010: 603). Suggestions can be made from the perspective of the speaker, hearer, speaker and hearer or an implicit, unspecified agent. A fifth category, "other", consists of references to third parties. In the present study it refers to suggestions about what one of the fictional characters in the skit would say. Examples from the present data are highlighted in Table 3.

Perspective/Agent	**Example**
Speaker	"I want to ask her". (T4)
Hearer	"You can yell it out". (T5)
Speaker and Hearer	"We need to do something serious". (T6)
Implicit	"What about a seashell"? (T3)
Other	"The patient is going to say 'gracias'". (T4)

TABLE 3. Perspective

The third component of the analysis was the use of redressive actions. All suggestions were coded as either bald on record or accompanied by a redressive action that mitigated the force of the potential imposition. Internal redressive actions are "linguistic elements within the suggestion utterance proper which can mitigate the intrusive force of making the suggestion" (Li 2010: 604). External actions accomplish the same purpose but fall outside the suggestion utterance. Table 4 contains a complete list of the redressive actions coded in the present study. Also included are brief descriptions and examples of each.

Redressive Action	**Description**	**Example**
Internal		
Subjectivizer	Element that conveys the subjective nature of the suggestion	"I think it's 'venda'" .(T2)
Appealer	Element that appeals to a listener's goodwill	"He says all this, ok"? (T5)
Past tense form	Use of a past tense verb to minimize the assertion	"I was just going to say 'de'". (T4)
Downtoner	Element that minimizes the assertion and its effect on the listener	"Just write it first maybe". (T2)
External		
Grounder	Explanation, justification or reasoning used to support a suggestion	"You could say your toe hurts cuz you did hit your toe". (T6)
External politeness marker	Element that elicits the listener's cooperation	"You'll quote Shakespeare and stuff like that. How do you like that"? (T1)
Downgrading commitment	Element that speakers use to minimize their commitment to a suggestion	"You can be the patient. I'll be the friend. I don't care". (T3)

TABLE 4. Redressive Actions

Finally, the results of the present study will be compared to the suggestion strategies highlighted by Martínez-Flor (2005). Her taxonomy is presented in Table 5.

TYPE	STRATEGY	EXAMPLE
DIRECT	Performative verb	I suggest that you . . . I advise you to . . . I recommend that you . . .
	Noun of suggestion	My suggestion would be . . .
	Imperative	Try using . . .
	Negative imperative	Don't try to . . .
CONVENTIONALIZED FORMS	Specific formulae (interrogative forms)	Why don't you . . . How about . . .? What about . . .? Have you thought about . . .?
	Possibility/ probability	You can . . . You could . . . You may . . . You might . . .
	Should	You should
	Need	You need to . . .
	Conditional	If I were you, I would . . .
INDIRECT	Impersonal	One thing (that you can do) would be . . . Here's one possibility . . . There are a number of options that you . . . It would be helpful if you. . . It might be better to . . . A good idea would be . . . It would be nice if . . .
	Hints	I've heard that . . .

TABLE 5. Martínez-Flor's (2005, 175) Taxonomy

6. Results and Discussion

The results for each component of the analysis will be presented. First, I will highlight the syntactic structures used by participants to make suggestions. Then, I will analyze two pragmatic features, directness and perspective. Third, I will present data on the frequency with which participants used redressive actions, as well as the particular actions they chose. Finally, I will compare the suggestion strategies used by participants with those highlighted in Martínez-Flor's (2005) taxonomy.

6.1 Syntactic Structures

Participants used a variety of syntactic structures when making suggestions. Table 6 indicates the frequency with which each structure was used as well as how many of the 18 participants used it.

Structure & Example	Suggestory Strategy	Number of Participants Using the Structure N= 18	Frequency of Structure
Imperative			**59 (9%)**
a."Put a problem with the stomach" (T3)	Mood derivable	14	59
Indicative (declarative)			**271 (41%)**
b."It's 'venda'". (T2)	Pure statement	9	16
c."We have to add the fact that . . ." (T3)	Obligation	8	17
d."The doctor should say it first" (T3)	Obligation	5	14
e. "We need to do something serious…" (T6)	Obligation	3	3
f. "I want to say 'you can take aspirin…'" (T4)	Inclination	3	5
g. "The friend of the patient will say . . ." (T3)	Inclination	13	50
h. "I'm going to say, 'ella es loca'" (T6)	Inclination	12	50
i. "I think it might be 'le gusta'" (T6)	Inclination	2	2
j. "You can yell it out" (T5)	Ability	12	39
k. "Let's write this down" (T4)	Suggestory formula	4	12
l. "You could be like 'gracias'" (T1)	Ability	16	51
m. "I would be like 'cálmate'" (T5)	Inclination	9	12
Indicative (interrogative)			**79 (12%)**
n. "Is it 'tobillo'"? (T2)	Suggestory formula	5	11
o. "Should I just like talk about my normal allergies"? (T6)	Suggestory formula	9	15
p. "You want to do twist like ankle"? (T2)	Suggestory formula	6	12
q. "What about a seashell"? (T3)	Suggestory formula	2	3

r. "Would it be 'tomas'"? (T4)	Suggestory formula	7	16
s. "Why don't we just say 'and I fell'"? (T2)	Query prep	3	3
t. "Can I be the friend"? (T4)	Query prep	2	3
u. "How do you say 'a game'"? (T3)	Hint	8	16
Indicative (elliptical)			**247 (38%)**
v. "I just got bit by a shark" (T5)	Hint	18	247
TOTAL			**656 (100%)**

TABLE 6. Results for Syntactic Structures

Declarative statements were the most common syntactic type used by students to make suggestions, representing 41% of the data. Interrogatives constituted 12% of the participants' suggestions and imperatives 9%. The remaining suggestions (38%) were made using an elliptical construction; that is, participants offered their ideas for the content of the role play script directly, without prefacing them with phrases such as "let's say" or "you could write". These suggestions sounded as if students were drafting or rehearsing aloud. Consider the following examples:

(4) Student A: "They drowned, I need to be resuscitated".

Student B: "It's really bad. We got stung by like a sea of jellyfish". (T4)

In other instances, participants offered content suggestions, as if they were drafting aloud, followed by a similarly direct translation of that suggestion.

(5) Student A: "I am beautiful".

Student B: "Yo soy bonita" [I am pretty]. (T5)

Some of these suggestions were focused on resolving a grammatical or lexical challenge, and participants verbalized suggested resolutions:

(6) Student B: "dedo duele, duelo yeah, e duele, me duele, is it"? [finger hurts, I hurt yeah, and it hurts, it hurts me, is it?]

Student C: "en los dedo? Or, mis dedos? Or no, I hurt mis dedos" [on the [sic] finger? Or, my fingers? Or no, I hurt my fingers]

Student B: "me duele mis dedos" [my fingers hurts (sic) me] (T6)

These direct suggestions constituted smaller scale attempts at drafting. Rather than offer phrases or complete sentences, participants wrestled over individual morphemes (duele v. duelo) and words (los v. mis). Such oral drafting reflects the nature of the communicative context and task. Because the focus of the task was a written product, participants concentrated on content, not their articulation of the speech act of suggesting. The syntactic structures highlighted in Table 1 were broken down into several suggestory strategies used by Li (2010) but originally identified by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). Because they are context dependent and require interpretation by the hearers, the indicative structures classified "elliptical" are included in the hint category. The frequency with which each strategy was used is noted in Table 7.

Suggestory Strategy	**Frequency**
Mood derivable	59 (9%)
Pure statement	16 (2%)
Obligation	34 (5%)
Inclination	119 (18%)
Ability	90 (14%)
Suggestory formula	69 (11%)
Query preparatory	6 (1%)
Hint	263 (40%)
	656 (100%)

TABLE 7. Frequency of Suggestory Strategies

I will briefly comment on the most frequently used suggestory strategies, beginning with hints (40%), 38% of which constitute ellipticals. Once again, their frequency may have been affected by the collaborative nature of the task, the expectation that participants contribute, the understanding that they were drafting a written document, and the limited time frame within which they worked. These suggestions were classified as hints because they are context dependent; that is, fellow participants interpreted a comment like "I need to go to the hospital. I'm bleeding like crazy" (T5) as suggested content for the written text and not a real request to take their peer to the emergency room.

The second most frequent strategy was Inclination (18%). This strategy includes the use of structures such as "want to", "will", "going to", "might", and "would" in declarative statements. Though less direct than the imperative, this strategy encompasses modals that some hearers may perceive as impolite. For instance, consider the use of "going to" by Triad 4 in the following suggestion:

(7) Student A: "<u>I'm going</u> to say 'ella [she] was swimming in the ocean when she felt a pain in, or she felt a pain,' end of sentence, and <u>you're going</u> to be like 'my back and leg hurt' or whatever".

Student C: "Yeah, I'm going to say my back and legs sting and my skin is red". (T4)

Though A may sound bossy, C did not seem to interpret her suggestion that way and used the same structure, "going to", in her response. The use of "will" has similar connotations and implies forwardness. Consider the following suggestion:

(8) "Alright, and then the friend of the patient will say 'no fue' [it wasn't] it wasn't my, it wasn't my fault". (T3)

Within the Inclination category, "going to" and "will" were the most frequently used expressions and appeared more often in the data than the more deferential "might" and "would". Though in a social setting, a hearer may object to being told what will happen or what one is going to say, in the context of this academic assignment such assertiveness was not met with resistance.

The third most common strategy was Ability (14%), for which participants introduced suggestions with "can" and "could":

(9) Student A: "You can say this to a nurse". (T5)

Student B: "Maybe [he] could jump in cuz [he] hasn't said anything". (T1)

These statements are more deferential than expressions such as "will" and "going to". Their relative infrequency in the data (14%) affirms the previously mentioned prevalence of direct approaches to making suggestions.

Finally, the Imperative (mood derivable) was the fourth most frequently used suggestory strategy and constituted 9% of the data. In these cases participants used commands to make suggestions. Consider the following examples:

(10) "You be the patient". (T2)

"Just say I like 'I hit it on a chair on the beach'". (T3)

"You say 'muy mal, Doctor'". (T1)

With the exception of one group, interactions among participants were amicable. There were no indications that the use of imperative forms was interpreted negatively or as an inappropriate way to express a suggestion. Interestingly, Triad 3, who used the greatest number of imperative suggestions, did exhibit interpersonal tension, but other factors including personality seemed to play a role in the triad's dysfunction, and there is no data to indicate a correlation between the imperative and group conflict.

6.2 Pragmatic Strategies

The syntactic structures identified in the previous section can also be used as measures of directness. The suggestions categorized as "elliptical" correspond most closely to the definition of non-conventionally indirect strategies as their communicative value is rooted in the context. In fact, outside the setting of a collaboratively constructed, written role play task, these suggestions would make little sense. The levels of directness with their corresponding frequency are presented in Table 8.

Syntactic Structures	Level of Directness	Frequency
a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, l, m,	Direct (Mood derivable, Pure statement, Obligation, Inclination, Ability)	318 (48.5%)
k, n, o, p, q, r, s, t	Conventionally indirect (Query preparatory, Suggestory Formula)	75 (11.5%)
u, v	Non-conventionally indirect (Hint, including "Elliptical")	263 (40%)
	TOTAL	656 (100%)

TABLE 8. Frequency of Specific Levels of Directness

The data indicate that participants used direct strategies for the majority (48.5%) of the suggestions they made. Also common were non-conventionally indirect strategies. Dividing that category into its two components, one notes that the majority of cases are those of elliptical suggestions (247 of 263 or 94%) classified as hints.

In addition to the level of directness, a second pragmatic strategy is that of perspective. Participants' perspective when making a suggestion is their indication of agency: in short, who is the agent that will perform the proposed action? For example, the agent may be the speaker (I): "I'll be the doctor" (T5). The agent can also be the hearer (you): "You could say that before you say…" (T6). The perspectives of speakers and hearers can be combined (we): "We could say like 'how silly'" (T2). Fourth, the implicit perspective does not include reference to any agent: "How about a seashell?" (T3). The fifth possible perspective is that of "other" which refers to a third party: "The patient (participant who will read the patient's lines) is going to say 'gracias'" (T4). These five perspectives all refer to assigning each other words and actions during the writing process.

The perspective highlighted in the suggestions categorized as elliptical is challenging to identify for several reasons. First, the elliptical suggestions are often uttered within the fictional world of the written skit. For example, "We'll stitch you up and you'll be fine" (T6) are the words of one fictional character, the doctor, to another, the patient. Unlike the "Other" category, as noted earlier, in which the participant playing the role of the patient really will carry out the action and say "gracias", the actor playing the doctor is not going to do any stitching. Second, some suggestions categorized as Other constitute ideas about how to translate an idea that has been expressed in English into Spanish: "muestra?" [show] (T4). Because this suggestion is made in the context of the patient showing the doctor her injuries, one could infer that it adopts the hearer perspective by addressing "you", but once again, such agency exists within the fictional world of the role play rather than the real world in which the collaborative drafting occurs. Third, all elliptical suggestions are addressed to the triad, but it is impossible to determine what agent is intended: "you" singular (one particular group member), "you" plural (two group members) or "we" (all group members including the speaker) or even "I" (the speaker). Consequently, all cases of elliptical suggestions have been excluded from this part of the analysis.

An embedded pattern also surfaced by which participants made suggestions like "<u>We</u> should have the <u>doctor</u> say that first" (T3) or "<u>I'll</u> have <u>you</u> say like drink water" (T1). In these 12 cases, the definition of perspective determined the classification; the perspective was identified according to the agent who would do the action, not make the suggestion; that is, in the first example the perspective was "other" (the doctor) and in the second, it was "hearer" (you). The data on perspective is summarized in Table 9.

Agents	Present Study
Speaker ("I")	121 (30%)
Hearer ("you")	132 (32%)
Speaker and hearers ("we")	60 (15%)
Other	34 (8%)
Implicit	63 (15%)
*TOTAL	410 (100%)

*The total excludes 246 suggestions made as rehearsals.
TABLE 9. Frequency of Specific Perspectives

The speaker (30%) and hearer (32%) perspectives constitute a large portion of the data. Interestingly, both of these perspectives could be perceived as impolite. The speaker perspective may seem self-centered, and the use of the hearer perspective may appear bossy. Nevertheless, neither receives any kind of negative peer response from fellow participants.

6.3 Redressive Actions

The third area of analysis is participants' use of redressive actions. As indicated in Table 10, a relatively low percentage of suggestions (22%) was made using redressive actions. The majority (78%) was made bald on record with no attempt to mitigate the force of the speech act.

Number of Suggestions	Suggestions made with Redressive Action	Suggestions made Bald on Record
TOTAL: 656	143 (22%)	513 (78%)

TABLE 10. Frequency of Redressive Actions

Included in the bald on record suggestions are the many cases of elliptical suggestions that were not phrased using modals or questions. It is also important to note that participants sometimes used more than one redressive action in the process of making suggestions. For that reason, the total number of redressive actions (Table 11) is higher than the number of suggestions made with redressive actions (Table 10). Consider the example below:

(11) I guess just write it first maybe? (T2)

This speaker frames the suggestion as her personal idea or opinion with the phrase "I guess" (subjectivizer). She includes the word "just" to minimize the assertion (downtoner) and downplays her commitment to the suggestion with the word "maybe" (downgrading commitment). A complete list of redressive actions and their frequency of use are identified in Table 11.

Redressive Action	**Frequency**
Internal	
Subjectivizer	14 (20%)
Appealer	1 (1.5%)
Past Tense Forms	1 (1.5%)
Downtoners	53 (77%)
Sub-Total	**69 (100%)**
External	
Grounders	32 (33%)
External Politeness Markers	1 (1%)
Downgrading Commitments	63 (66%)
Sub-Total	**96 (100%)**
Total	**165 (100%**

TABLE 11. Frequency of Specific Redressive Actions

The most common internal redressive actions were downtoners, and the most frequently used external redressive actions were downgrading commitments and grounders. In the present study, participants had limited time to prepare their written texts. They did not take much time to explain or justify their suggestions (grounders) but in brief terms were able to communicate a certain detachment from them as well as uncertainty about their linguistic accuracy (downgrading commitments). Consider the following two examples:

(12) Student A: "Do you want to do like a sprained ankle <u>or something"</u>? (T2)

Student B: "It would be 'se gusta', <u>right</u>"? (T6)

In example A, the speaker suggests a sprained ankle as a possible injury for the script but adds "or something" to communicate that she is open to other ideas. In example B, the speaker suggests a translation for "she likes" but is not confident of its grammaticality and ends with the tag question, "right"?

As in the case of syntactic structures, perspective, and directness, the collaborative nature of the task may also explain participants' limited use of redressive actions. The success of the group, not just the hearer, depended on participants' ability to offer original and accurate suggestions quickly.

6.4 Comparison with Taxonomy

Finally, the suggestions produced by participants in the present study were compared with those presented in Martínez-Flor's (2005) taxonomy. The three types of suggestions she identifies (direct, conventionalized forms, and indirect) account for 269 (39%) of the 656 suggestions in the present study. The most frequently used category, conventionalized forms, represents 200 (30%) of the suggestions. Within this category participants used modals of probability/possibility (can/could, may/might) in 92 (14%) of the suggestions and interrogatives in 79 (12%) of them. They used "should" in 14 (2%), the conditional (would) in 12 (2%), and "need" in 3 (.5%) suggestions. The category of direct strategies accounted for 59 (9%) suggestions, all of which were imperatives. Participants did not make suggestions using performative verbs, nouns of suggestion or negative imperatives nor did they use any of the strategies categorized as indirect (impersonal strategies and hints).

These findings affirm the applicability of 6 of the 11 strategies highlighted by Martínez-Flor (2005) in this communicative setting. The taxonomy includes more formulaic strategies such as "I advise you to" or "It would be nice if" that these participants did not use. Conversely, the taxonomy does not accommodate several other conventionalized forms such as "have to", "need to", "want to", etc. that were frequently used in the present study nor did it address the large number (247 or 38%) of elliptical suggestions that surfaced. Additional research is needed to confirm whether the elliptical strategy is used in other contexts.

To summarize, participants in the present study used a range of syntactic strategies to make suggestions. They favored declarative indicative strategies, particularly inclination statements, but made most frequent use of the elliptical structure, that is, unprefaced suggestions for text content made as if participants were drafting aloud. The pragmatic analysis revealed that participants preferred a direct approach. Also very common, however, were non-conventionally indirect strategies, a category that encompasses hints and thereby accounts for the many suggestions voiced as elliptical statements. In terms of perspective, participants most often framed non-rehearsal suggestions in terms of hearer agency or speaker agency. Participants offered the vast majority of suggestions (78%) without redressive actions. Finally, slightly less than half of the suggestions (39%) reflected the strategies highlighted in Martínez-Flor's (2005) taxonomy.

7. Conclusions

There is little difference between the findings of the present study and those of previous research in regard to the use of syntactic strategies, with the exception of elliptical statements. These statements, framed as if participants were drafting aloud, may not be used in other contexts, but their prominence in the present study provides insight into a specific type of task, written collaboration, which is common in academic circles and in some workplace environments as well. These findings may be of value, particularly to non-native speakers of English who, in a scholastic or professional setting, must contribute to the creation of a written document, whether it be an essay, policy statement, brochure, or script.

The present study has several weaknesses. First, in contrast with Li (2010), this study does not include a statistical analysis that would provide more information about the reliability and validity of the results. Second, though the number of suggestions in the data is high, the study would benefit from a larger participant pool. Third, the present study follows Li (2010) in focusing on syntactic structures, directness, perspective, and redressive actions, and ideally, it would have been possible to compare the results of the two studies. Multiple variables, however, were not controlled, and there were differences in the nationality, age, and grouping of participants. Finally, the specific context of this study does not provide generalizable conclusions about the applicability of Martínez-Flor's (2005) taxonomy as a whole and only indicates those strategies that are most relevant in the present context of a collaborative writing task.

This study, however, does point to the importance of experimenting with different data collection settings in speech act studies. Future research in uninvestigated contexts may reveal strategies for making suggestions that have not surfaced, or are not as frequently used, in other settings. Such research also serves to validate and hone existing taxonomies, thereby providing invaluable resources to language learners.

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A MARCH TOWARDS REFORM: THE METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF "REFORM" IN KING ABDULLAH II'S LANGUAGE

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1. Introduction

The first waves of the Arab Spring have brought to Jordan a discourse that recognises public demands for a change of the status quo. Talking about fundamental change has become open and not restricted to the opposition (such as Islamic Brotherhood). This discourse is materialised through manifestos, articles, expressions and slogans which reflect public dissatisfaction at the way successive governments have failed to meet various economic challenges which Jordan has faced in the last fifteen years. In fact, Jordanians anticipated other countries in their demand for genuine political and economic reform, even several years before the Arab Spring (Muasher 2011). As no government has succeeded in bringing about economic growth or genuine political reform, Jordanians remain sceptical about the Government's constant promises of achieving positive change, both political and economic. For instance, Jordanians showed a remarkable reluctance to participate in several local and parliamentary elections because it is widely acknowledged that elections in Jordan are continuously subject to massive fraud (Vogt 2011: 66). International developments have also had undeniable influence in calling for urgent reform. For instance, Hamas' rise to power in the Gaza strip in the 2006 elections (Muasher 2011: 15) and the indirect influence of "The Greater Middle East Initiative" from President Bush's administration (Bush 2003) have given impulse to calls for political reform in the Middle East, and Jordan.

In contrast to successive governments, King Abdullah II of Jordan demonstrates in his speeches and letters a substantial and optimistic vision towards implementing positive change in political life. This optimistic vision towards reform was to be materialised by the royal committees appointed by KAII. These committees were asked to present guidelines and recommendations for the amendment of laws (and even of the constitution itself), of anything that touched the essence of political life. Two important recommendations of these royal committees were the setting up of a constitutional court to monitor laws and regulations and an independent commission to oversee parliamentary elections. These two institutions were designed to help in limiting the governments' practices of issuing temporary laws or dissolving elected parliament. However, as such measures did not contribute to easing the difficult economic situation and the tough austerity measures, public dissatisfaction has increased drastically. King Abdullah II has continuously found himself forced to change the government, an act that has been considered by some "a well-established mechanism of Jordanian politics to ease social tensions, re-orientate the course of politics and keep the monarchy above the fray of day-to-day politics" (Vogt 2011: 65).

2. Reform in the Political Language of King Abdullah II

King Abdullah II (KAII) has constantly presented himself as the patron of reform, and he makes reform a topical theme in his political language. The proliferation of the theme "reform" inspires emergence of social structures which represent the "reformative" discourse in Jordanian politics. These structures construct the "systems of rules which make it possible for certain statements but not others to occur at particular times, places and institutional locations" (Fairclough 1992: 40). The discourse of KAII constructs fundamental aspects of the discourse of 'the power elite' (Domhoff 1978). Such a discourse is recognised as being most influential because it is produced by those who have greatest access to tools of persuasion (e.g. media, political office), and who can easily use strategies to "change the mind of others in one's own interests" (van Dijk 1993: 254). Accordingly, the discourse of KAII significantly participates in the hegemonic construction of the political life on account of his socio-political power.

In his reformative discourse, KAII constantly elaborates the importance of political, economic, social and cultural positive change, as can be seen in his constant use of the keyword "reform" in his speeches, letters, and even in his monograph *Our Last Best Chance*. For instance, in 295 speeches and letters delivered or issued by KAII in the last thirteen years, the word "reform(s)" (*islaah/islaahaat*) occurs at least once in 122 speeches and letters. In the last few years, reference to reform has significantly increased. To illustrate, in the first three years of KAII's reign (Feb 1999-Dec 2002), "reform" occurred 24 times in 46 speeches and letters, about 0.5 times for every 1000 words (on average, a speech or letter involves about 990 words). However, between January 2010 and April 2013, "reform" occurs 158 times in 72 speeches and letters, about 2.2 times for every 1000 words. This indicates how reform has recently become a topical theme in the discourse of KAII. The importance of the King's observable enthusiasm towards reform should be emphasised because of his influence upon political life. For instance, in his letter to Mr. Ahmad Lozi, head of the "Royal Committee to Revisit Constitution", KAII emphasised that "[we] are keen to produce outcomes that enhance the distinguished performance of our political system to assert that our country is founded on a Hashemite heritage that has deep roots as the vanguard of constitutional reform" (*A Letter to Mr. Ahmad Lozi,* 26 April 2011, translated from original Arabic)[1].

The analysis of KAII's discourse on reform aims to draw on the socio-cultural realities of Jordanian political life as constructed by the King's influence in shaping the discursive structures within the Jordanian political context. The Constitution grants the monarch unlimited jurisdiction and social power. The Constitution plainly states that the King exercises absolute power in administering the state's affairs when he signs, executes, and vetoes laws (Constitution Article 28 and 40). Van Dijk points out that "social power is based on privileged access to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge" (van Dijk 1993: 254). As language reflects the social reality and is also regarded as a medium that contributes to its very constitution (Schäffner and Wenden 1995: xi-xxii), "reform" in Jordan is conceptualised by the realities of the political and social structures of Jordan. These structures are mostly constructed by the emergence of power differences, dominance, and ideologies of commanding (dominant) groups in Jordan. Critical analysis can demonstrate how KAII's discourse, and metaphors, control the mind and actions of the Jordanian (dominated) group and how to identify the social consequences of the existing relationships between dominant and dominated groups (van Dijk 2001: 355). Consequently, our analysis is based on a systematic description of, first, the forms and meanings of the text (textual analysis), second, the production of the discourse and its interpretation (discourse practice). Finally, we will identify the level of broader social analysis it reflects (socio-cultural practice) (Fairclough 1992: 4).

3. Political Language and Metaphor Analysis

Metaphors have essential functions in political language and discourse. They organise the cognitive operations of social communication and verbal interaction

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and add vividness to spoken, or written, language. In addition, metaphors have a social function, as "the conventions of figurative language constitute a rhetorical code and understanding that code is part of what it means to be a member of the culture in which it is employed" (Chandler 2003). This sociocultural function gives metaphors their persuasive power by providing cognitive frames for perspectives on different social issues such as defence and security policy (Chilton 1996; Chilton and Ilyin 1993; Thornborrow 1993), social struggles and unemployment (Straehle et al. 1999), and conflicts and racism (Van Teeflen 1994).

Contemporary cognitive theories of metaphor adopt an analytical structural framework by which a metaphor is recognised as a conceptual phenomenon that "conceptually" connects notions to ideas through a process of 'cross-domain' mapping (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). For example, we conceptualise our human body as a CONTAINER for ideas or emotions, political bodies as SHIPS which traverse the sea, debate and arguments in terms of "conflicts" and WARS (Kövecses 2002). These conceptual metaphors beget unlimited numbers of metaphorical expression such as "I am filled with anger" and "his point of view is indefensible", which can appear cross-culturally. Within this framework, a metaphor should be understood in terms of two parts: the first makes an idea that conveys a certain meaning on the basis of human physical experiential knowledge; the second involves the original (abstract) notion or concept whose meaning is intended to be conveyed or understood by the first part. Formally, the former is called 'source' domain and the latter is the 'target' domain; both domains make a metaphor with the form THE STATE IS A SHIP.

The cognitive account of metaphor accentuates its vital function in language and thought. A metaphor provides the speaker with an accessible tool with an evocative power. This power allows novel ideas to evoke messages implanted within an item of cultural information common to the interlocutors. Metaphors play a dynamic role in communicating and evoking conflicting social policies through competing generative metaphors (Schon 1993). Therefore, politics benefit from the evocative power of metaphors because of their pervasiveness in language and thoughts (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Once a metaphor is used and established in political language, 'political metaphor' begins to hold ideological implications. This viewpoint establishes the significance of metaphors to politics by which metaphors "simplify and make issues intelligible to resonate with underlying symbolic representations, to stir emotions and bridge the gap between the logical and the emotional" (Mio 1997, cited in Charteris-Black 2006: 265). When the relevance of political metaphors is studied in relation to their themes, contexts and genres, they are found to be used essentially to represent differences in power, social practices, principles, thoughts and beliefs based on a well-defined statement, or system, of beliefs (Fairclough 1995: 74). To identify these themes, political metaphors are identified, interpreted, explained, and evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively. This is achieved by considering the interdependency of the semantic, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions of the metaphors identified in the discourse to discern its ideological implications (Charteris-Black 2004: 35-39).

In the political language of KAII, metaphors play a significant cognitive and heuristic role in conceptualising "reform" according to a range of conflicting sociocultural representations, which in turn characterise Jordanian public discourse. For instance, in one speech "reform" is represented by KAII as desirable, but "imported", fruit; or a secret prescription that will heal a weak economic situation. This metaphor heuristically aims to motivate Jordanians to support the government's controversial, and unpleasant, measures designed to ease the economic crisis but which are brought in at the expense of public satisfaction and welfare.

The King's vision of reform stems from a firm standpoint that characterises his reign. In his letter of designation of Prime Minister Designate Adnan Badran (April 2005), KAII conveyed his vision of reform in these terms:

> [w]e pride ourselves for being the first to adopt **reform** and to assume a <u>pioneering</u> role in the region. **Reform** is a comprehensive and long-term <u>process</u>, although we are certain that <u>the fruits</u> of **reform** will <u>ripen</u> in time. **Reform** demands the participation and effective contribution of all segments of society to <u>face</u> its political, economic and social <u>challenges</u>. (*Letter of Designation to Adnan Badran*, 5 April 2005; translated from original Arabic)

The extract above shows how the rhetoric of KAII accentuates his self-depiction as the patron of reform. The King "adopts" (*yatabanna*) reform with the goal that Jordan will assume a "pioneering" (*ryaadi*) position in its "long-term process". Here, reform is portrayed as "fruits" (*themaar*) which Jordanians impatiently wait to "ripen" and reap (*yajni themaarah*), and "reform process" as a venture that involves challenges (*tahadeyaat*) which must be "faced". These metaphors construct embedded social, and sometimes ideological, assumptions which characterise the political language of KAII with which he underpins his reformist vision. As Shapiro (1989) points out, political "language" is treated as a transparent tool as it serves as a 'conduit' between thoughts or concepts and things. Accordingly, "language" should be contrasted to "discourse" by investigating how the latter involves approaches to language that treat it as if it were an *opaque* entity. Language, meanwhile, is analysed in terms of the many linguistic functions it displays. These functions bring out various social and ideological assumptions embedded within discourse. At this juncture, KAII's discursive practice of encapsulating metaphors, such as "adopting" reform and "pioneering" it and facing all "challenges" in the "venture" towards "ripening" the "fruit" of this reform, aims to create a heroic "call to arms" scenario to "collectively face all threats" which "challenge" the reform process.

3. Methods

The purpose of this paper is to analyse quantitatively and qualitatively the frequent types of metaphors which appear in KAII's discourse about reform. The paper adopts a corpus-based approach to critical metaphor analysis in order to investigate the frequency of occurrence of particular instances and patterns of metaphoric usages. The analysis will reveal the viewpoints, or ideologies, embedded within these metaphors, of the discourse producer, King Abdullah II. Research in the critical analysis of metaphors emphasises that metaphors are mainly used intentionally in discourse for "the rhetorical aim of persuasion" (Charteris-Black 2004: 247). This persuasive function depends considerably on a positive, or negative, "evaluation" of metaphor, and it personalises the recipient's (listener or reader's) social and emotional attitudes towards the metaphorised notion. These attitudes are mostly reflected in the recipient's ordinary social and individual sets of beliefs.

The basis of corpus approaches to metaphor analysis is the identification of an instance of metaphor in discourse by looking for "the presence of incongruity or semantic tension –either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels– resulting from a shift in domain use" (Charteris-Black 2004: 35). Incongruity is an important criterion for systematically revealing metaphorical source domains in all instances of linguistic metaphors identified in the corpus; hence, we can identify JOURNEY, BUILDING, PLANTS, CONFLICT, or NATURE source domains by looking for the 'metaphoric keywords' which are used in the corpus to refer to selected 'target' domains. These keywords are the verbal (spoken or written) representations of the conceptual mappings in the speaker's mind and they systematically link interrelated elements from the conceptual source domain to the target domain. Metaphoric keywords must therefore be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively: that is to say, the frequency of their occurrence and their context. Frequent metaphoric keywords, which represent larger conceptual source domains, will provide indications of the rhetoric and ideologies of the discourse maker in regard to reform. Then, the critical analysis of these metaphors will reveal ideological aspects of the discourse of the 'dominant group' and the manner by which this discourse manufactures the 'dominated group's' consensus about –and acceptance of– the dominance of the dominant groups (Herman and Chomsky 1988).

Such an analysis must start by defining the corpus, coding (annotation) the keywords and their source domains, and systematic procedures for contextual analysis.

4. The Corpus

The analysis involves studying a large body of texts (corpora), produced by KAII, using computational corpus-based approaches to text analysis. This involves finding different repetitive patterns of language use in the texts (discourse) in hand. These texts were collected from KAII's official website (www.kingabdullah.jo). This website hosts accessible and up-to-date collections of all KAII's speeches and letters (both in Arabic and English) dating from when he ascended the throne in February 1999. The exact time span of the corpus is from KAII's accession to the throne in February 1999 until June 2013. There are no specific criteria concerning the selection of the texts in the corpus. It involves 295 texts which include *General Speeches, Speeches from the Throne* (addressed to the parliament), *Letters of Designation* (addressed to the newly designated prime minister), *Letters to Prime Ministers* (addressed to the in-office prime minister), *Letters on Occasions and Selected Letters.* The size of the corpus is about 290,000 words and they are distributed as set out in Table 1.

Type of text	Number	Size (words)	Average (word/text)	Percentage
General Speeches	179	227950	1273.4	61%
Speeches from the Throne	11	13637	1239.7	4%
Letters of Designation	15	28268	1884.5	5%
Letters to Prime Ministers	43	12869	299.2	15%
Letters On Occasions and Selected Letters	47	9283	197.5	16%
Total	295	292007	989.8	

TABLE 1. Distribution of texts in the corpus of King Abdullah II's discourse

Coding and Contextual Analysis

The corpus was first saved in a machine-readable form ("rich text format" *.rtf). Then, quantitative and qualitative analysis of KAII's discourse was carried out with *NVivo 10* software. *NVivo* is a qualitative data analysis computer software package designed for qualitative researchers working with rich text-based and/

or multimedia information[2]. The software supports deep levels of analysis of small or large volumes of data as required. The analysis of the corpus involves first coding each mass text with its basic information (date, context, theme, etc.). The following step involves identifying all instances of the keyword "reform(s)" (*islaah/islaahaat*) in the corpus using Text Search or Word Frequency Query. All instances of the keyword "reform(s)" (*islaah/islaahaat*) in the corpus were coded according to the metaphoricity (metaphoric/non-metaphoric) of their surrounding context. This means that the keyword is categorised according to its use in the narrow context(s) where it occurs and within Charteris-Black's scope of 'incongruity' (Charteris-Black 2004). If the keyword is proved to be incongruent in relation to context and its use involves semantic tension resulting from a shift in domain use, then it is used metaphorically. This metaphoric keyword will be coded again into a relevant conceptual source domain (e.g. PATH, CONFLICT, NATURE, VALUABLE COMMODITY, etc.). After coding all instances of the keyword "reform" on NVivo 10, the corpus was ready for the application of several forms of corpus-based processes such as concordancing instances of a given metaphor, extracting all collocations of a metaphoric keyword, identifying trends of conceptual metaphors, cross-examining statistical information using the software search engine and query functions.

The contextual analysis of "reform" involves recognising how the discourse producer, KAII, associates his conception of "reform" and the metaphors he uses to represent how it is conceptualised. This analysis aims to reveal KAII's subjective conception of "reform"; the significance and values entailed in his conception(s); the relevance of these conception(s) to different social and ideological beliefs and to the Jordanian context. Such an approach is widely acknowledged in research in discourse analysis (e.g. Goatly 2006; Charteris-Black 2004 and 2006; Fairclough 2000; Flowerdew 1997).

5. Findings and Discussion

In Arabic, the word *ʿiSlaah* (reform) is derived from the triadic root *S-l-h:* denoting the action of something becoming, or making something better by removing or putting right faults or errors (*Almaᶜaani Arabic Dictionary Online*: '*ʿiSlaah*'). A typical use of the noun *ʿiSlaah*, in standard Arabic would be:

- *qaama be-ʿ**islaah** alsaaᶜa*

  he-did of-<u>fixing</u> the clock

  "he fixed the clock"

- *qaama almuzare^{c}uun be-***ʿislaah** *ʾaraaDyhem*

  they-did the farmers of preparing their lands [to "be re-cultivated"]

  "the farmers re-cultivated their lands"

- *shara^{c}uu be-***ʿiSlaah** *almabaany alqadimah*

  they-began of-renovating the buildings the old.

  "they began renovating the old buildings"

The denotation of *ʿiSlaah* refers to acts of improvement or amendment of what is wrong, corrupt, or unsatisfactory (*Merriam-Webster: Dictionary and Thesaurus*: "reform"). In sociological, political, and economic jargon, "reform" is understood in terms of a sort of fine adjustment, or redressing serious wrongs in social structures, without altering fundamentals of the system under reform. Thus, reformists seek to improve a system as it stands, and never to radically put an end to it (Innes 2003).

The diachronic analysis of the corpus of KAII's discourse shows that between February 1999 and April 2013, KAII mentioned and discussed "reform(s)" 353 times in 122 speeches and letters. The analysis also shows that the frequencies (and ratios "reform"/text) of the instances where KAII discussed "reform" follow a systematic pattern through time. Two periods show a remarkable escalation of references to "reform" by KAII: the first between January 2002 and December 2005, and the second between January 210 and December 2011. By contrast, the period between January 2006 and December 2010 shows a significant decline in references to "reform" by KAII. Figure no. 1 below illustrates this.

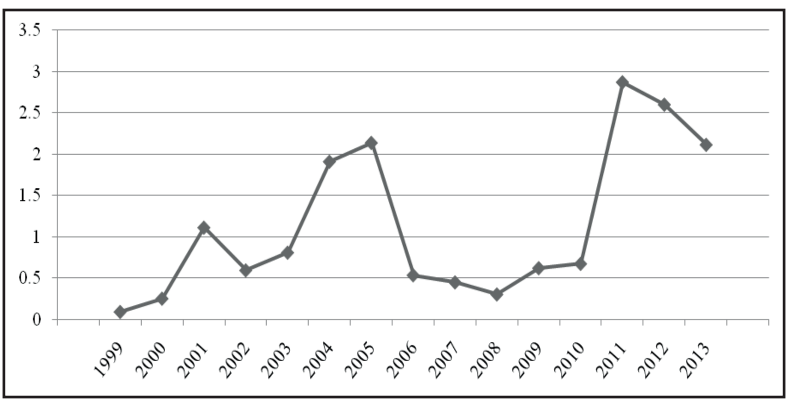

FIGURE 1. Ratio of the frequency of occurrence of "reform(s)" every 1000 words in KAII's discourse between Feb 1999 and April 2013.

The increased frequency of references to "reform" in the two indicated periods can be interpreted as a reaction to important external and internal factors which necessitated accelerating the pace of reform. The increased reference to "reform" in the first period can be attributed to the initiation of reform in the Middle East as envisioned by President Bush's administration in what was known as "the Greater Middle East". Meanwhile, the increased frequency in the second period can be interpreted as a reaction to increasing demands for reform and positive change triggered by the Arab Spring.

Of the 353 instances of "reform(s)" in the corpus, 273 (about 77%) show the connotations of "incongruity" (Charteris-Black 2004). In these, the connotation is expressed metaphorically. In the other 80 instances (23%), "reform(s)" is used literally. Remarkably, this correlation between metaphoric and non-metaphoric reference to "reform" remains prototypical in all KAII's discourses, and it is not affected by the passing of time, as can be seen from figure 2 below:

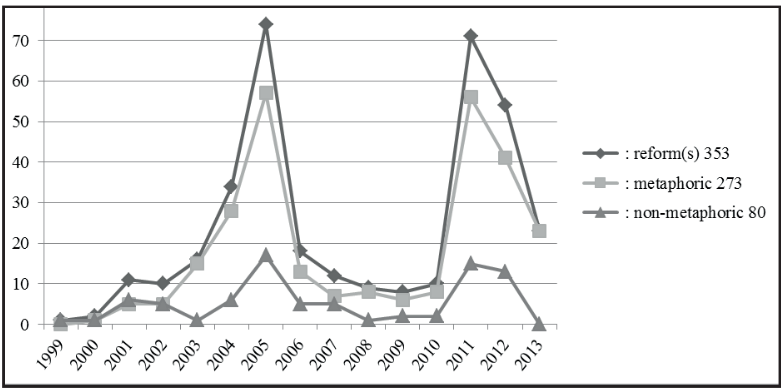

FIGURE 2. Reference to "reform(s)" metaphorically and non-metaphorically in the corpus of KAII's discourse between 1999 and 2013

The contextual analysis shows that when "reform(s)" is metaphorically referred to, it is conceptualised in terms of 11 conceptual source domains. These domains involve PATH and MOVEMENT (a single source domain), BUILDING, AGENTIVE ("reform" as an agentive force), CONFLICT, NATURE, MACHINE, OBJECTS, VALUABLE COMMODITY, PERSONIFICATION, PLANTS, and VITALITY (reform is "something" "vital" and "indispensable" to mankind) domains. The approximate frequencies of metaphors of "reform" in the corpus in respect to their source domains are represented in Figure 3 below.

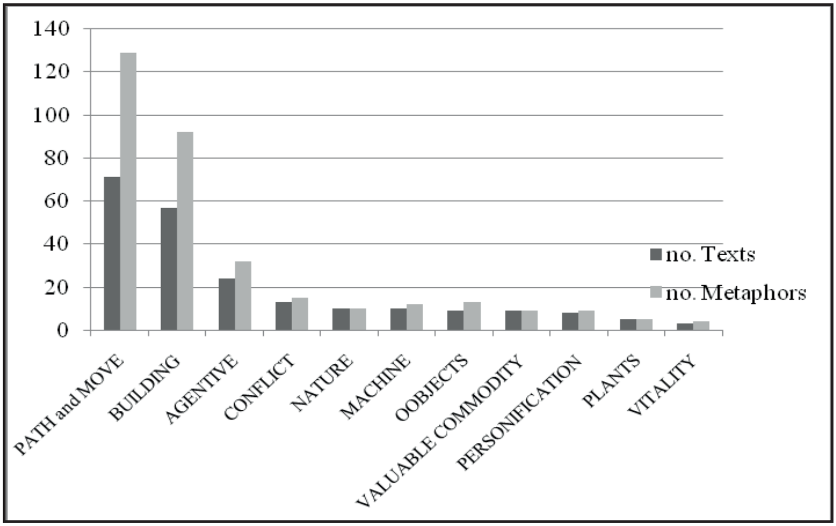

FIGURE 3. Major metaphoric source domains used to conceptualise "reform" in the corpus of KAII's discourse

Both PATH (and MOVEMENT) and CONFLICT conceptual domains are found to reflect salient social and ideological representations which stand for existing social structures within the Jordanian context. These conceptual domains make up about 67% percent of the total number of conceptual metaphors in the corpus, and the metaphor REFORM IS A PATH makes the most frequent generic representation for "reform" in KAII's language.

The semantic basis of REFORM IS A PATH predominantly shows emphasis on "reform" as a process rather than as an agent. This metaphoric representation is a type of 'grammatical metaphor' (Halliday 1985); in that, all activities related to "bringing about reform" (*'aSlaha/yuSleh/sa-yuSleh*) are nominalised into an abstract noun –reform (*'iSlaah*). KAII emphasises the conceptualisation of *'iSlaah* itself rather than its proponents: "reformers" (*muSlehyn*) or "reformists" (*'iSlaahyyn*), and he emphasises how "reform" is a "process" not "persons". In the following passage underlined keywords stand for conceptual domains:

> We have noticed, and continue to monitor, the focused attacks on **reform** and its backers [...]. It is a pity that those who criticise and attack this national programme have <u>deviated from</u> the principles of **reform** and succeeded in personalising its proponents, when in actuality, **reform** is a set of principles, not individuals. The painful reality is that they have succeeded in individualising and personalising

> **reform**. (*A letter to PM Adnan Badran*, 16.06.2005, translated from original Arabic)

KAII avoids explicitly naming reform proponents, just as he avoids labelling them either "reformists" or "reformers". Instead, he calls them "backers" and dissociates them from reform because their "reformative" policies were considered "unpopular" and controversial by the Jordanian public. Economic liberalism and free-market policies, which were advocated by "reformists", have never been enthusiastically welcomed by Jordanians.

Metaphors of PATH, JOURNEYS and MOTION convey ideas of improvement and progress in different domains of experience. The experiential bases of these metaphors involve images schemes which identify a path, a point of departure, source(s) or means of movement, the path traversed, and the destination or goal, and by necessity, the travellers themselves (Kövecses 2002: 31). These ideas and images construct a conceptual mapping in which A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY is conceptualised as A PROCESS OF TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION (Lakoff 1993). Charteris-Black sees that the rhetorical purpose of JOURNEY (and PATH) metaphors is to create solidarity so that positively evaluated purposes may be successfully attained (Charteris-Black 2005: 46). In KAII's rhetoric, "reform" is constantly conceptualised in terms of A LONG PATH which Jordan must follow. His image scheme involves identifying three elaborations related to the REFORM IS A PATH metaphor:

- Recognising the chosen PATH; such as its length, the different stages it involves, the time needed to traverse it from beginning to end, and the obstacles it involves.
- Identifying TRAVELLERS who take the PATH.
- Defining the ultimate GOAL or DESTINATION of the PATH taken, in other words the desired outcome from taking the PATH and the relative LOCATION of the TRAVELLERS within the PATH at a given stage.

In this regard, KAII frequently refers to "reform" as a *masyrat al'iSlaah* (reform process, or literally "a march towards reform"); the two keywords *masyrah* (a march) and *al'islaah* (reform) collocate 74 times in the corpus. The King's perception of reform as a PATH emphasises how reform is a long sustainable process with no instantaneous outcome. The course towards reform is altered by unpredictable and idiosyncratic factors. This is perceived when KAII addresses an international audience justifying alleged accusations of delay in reform. He says:

> In our view, successful **reform** is not an event. It is a sustainable process that will build on its own successes –a virtuous cycle of change. …[a]s President Bush recognises, **reform** will take a different course in each country in the Middle East.

> In my meeting with the President last week, we had very good discussions about the progress that is being made. (*Speech at George Town University*, 21.03.2005, originally in English)

In the first years of KAII's reign, Jordan received reasonable aid from the United States to implement "serious" reform (Fact Sheet of the US Department of State 2012). Jordan constantly promoted itself as a modern democratic country with established democratic practices. However, KAII firmly emphasises that Jordan should not rely on already prescribed formulas imported from outside, and Jordanians should be realistic about the difficulty of implementing imported versions of reform. The LONG PATH metaphor emphasises the difficult and hazardous nature of implementing reform and tries to minimise the level of expectations about its success.

Since his accession to the throne, KAII has set up several commissions to suggest sensible measures to accelerate the reform process. The *National Agenda* of 2005, for instance, was a royal committee of 27 members who represented a wide variety of the Jordanian social and political spectrum. The committee was directed to "take a holistic approach and came up with a far-reaching set of recommendations to implement political reform" (Abu Libdeh 2005). However, though the recommendations of the *Agenda* were adopted, they have never been sensibly implemented by successive governments. Later on, new committees were created with longer term plans to re-suggest more "realistic" reformative steps. KAII justifies such delay in achieving promised reform by arguing (as seen in extract no. 2 above) that the PATH towards reform is "a virtuous cycle of change" and it "will take a different course" in each country.

In addition, the language of KAII emphasises the nominative and abstract aspect of "reform" to distance it from personalisation. It is noticeable that KAII's language avoids mentioning those who are labelled "reformers" or "reformists". Instead, KAII refers to all who back reform as TRAVELLERS.

> We are facing a new phase in the march of **reform**, modernisation and development, and we have to identify the priorities… (*Speech from the Throne*, 01.12.2004, translated from original Arabic)
>
> We are at a new threshold of **the reform** and modernisation march, and confronting the challenges imposed upon us. (*Speech from the Throne*, 01.12.2005, translated from original Arabic)
>
> We know the way ahead. There must be **reform**; there must be effective, innovative development assistance. (*Speech at the European People's Party Summit*, 16.12.2010, originally in English)
>
> The key to success in our **reform** process is that it is founded on a democratic approach built on partnership among all components of our one Jordanian society,

> and their positive interaction with **reform** efforts as the process <u>progresses</u>. (*Address to the nation after the Parliamentary Election*, 29.01.2013, translated from original Arabic)

The extracts above show that KAII, who represents the power-elite dominant group, extensively associates himself with those, among his dominated people, who back his vision of reform, through his use of the personal plural pronoun "we". The personal pronoun "we" here serves an important ideological dimension that expresses social relations within the society in question (van Dijk 1998: 203) by indicating an explicit grammatical relation of inclusion and communality (Pennycook 1994: 175). As all Jordanians are metaphorised in terms of TRAVELLERS along the PATH towards reform, the JORDANIANS ARE TRAVELLERS ALONG THE PATH OF REFORM metaphor makes a collective representation that stands for all Jordanian people; even those who do not believe in reform or back its implementation. The TRAVELLERS representation illustrates how issues of political stability and security top KAII's priorities. Both social and political stability are recognised by Jordanians –on all levels– as their major asset. The extensive use of the JORDANIANS ARE TRAVELLERS ALONG THE PATH OF REFORM metaphor emphasises the collective nature of reform and accentuates KAII's concern that a large leap towards reform, without the participation of all spectra of society, may threaten the stability of the state.

The outcome expected from reform (a sustainable process) is conceptualised in KAII's language as the TARGET or the DESTINATION of the PATH of reform. KAII perceives reform as materialising through constitutional guidelines, laws and democratic institutions and practices. It would guarantee a decent livelihood for citizens, opening up new horizons of achievement for them, creating genuine public participation and accountability, and promoting effective political representation. The King says:

> This year, the **reform** <u>roadmap</u> is dominated by three clear <u>end-game goals</u>: holding free and fair parliamentary elections, under a law allowing for the highest degree of representation, [...] (*Remarks at the ceremony to inaugurate the new headquarters of the World Affairs Council-Amman, Jordan*, 31.01.2012, translated from original Arabic).

The metaphoric keyword "roadmap" (*khareTat Taryq*) (it appears 5 times in the corpus) and the phrase "end-game goals" (*ma^{c}aalem muHadadah*) give confidence to the general public, especially to Jordanian people, about the seriousness of efforts in the reform process. In addition, KAII foregrounds here the importance of the TRAVELLERS by offering them a chance to partake in decision-making through their participation at specific, and critical, stages of the reform process. Accordingly, the REFORM IS A TARGET metaphor shows how PATH and

JOURNEY are important in political language as they point to the desirability of destinations, i.e. policy outcomes (Charteris-Black 2004: 93). This metaphor also reflects here the discourse maker's perspective from a realistic standpoint; metaphors drawing on domains of collaborative activities such as "journeying" encourage greater interest in the (reform) process itself rather than in its promoters and followers.

In another respect, criticising the government's languid efforts in implementing reform took its origin in the large gap between its rhetoric and its practices. The launch of several reform initiatives and committees of reform in the last ten years has not accelerated the pace of reform. The result is that most Jordanians have declined to engage in this process. In his language, KAII admits that there are OBSTACLES and BARRIERS which discourage Jordanians from joining the PATH towards reform. The King goes on to say that such obstacles are the result of two factors: *circumstantial* challenges and *man-made* resistance:

> We are at a new threshold of the **reform** and modernisation march, and confronting the challenges imposed upon us by difficult regional circumstances [...]. (*Speech from the Throne*, 1 December 2005, translated from original Arabic)
>
> [...], we are not surprised when some people oppose the principles of **reform** and seek to maintain the *status quo*: every call for positive change that requires sacrifices will face resistance. (*A letter to PM Adnan Badran*, 16.06.2005, translated from original Arabic)
>
> Indeed, Jordan has already been recognised for its success in education **reform** and economic growth. But unfortunately there will always be resistance to change. At times, **reform** has hit heavy weather. (*Remarks at the University of Mississippi*, 03.02.2006, originally in English)

The King conceptualises the challenges facing "reform" in terms of the CHALLENGES ARE BARRIERS metaphor, and he emphasises here the need for endurance until the desired destination is reached. Insisting on the priority of stability over reform, KAII takes a realistic standpoint by encouraging Jordanians not to expect instantaneous results from ongoing reformative measures and policies. On many occasions, opponents of real reform have constantly resisted radical reform policies claiming that radical reform may threaten political and social stability (Muasher 2011).

When first calls for reform were raised (in 2005), crucial regional events slowed down the pace of reform: for instance, the success of the Muslim Brotherhood in the parliamentary elections and the terrorist hotel bombings in Amman (both in 2005) and Hamas' unexpected victory in the election in the Palestinian Territories (in 2006). These events led some conservative, and allegedly anti-reform, forces within the regime to put aside the reform agenda in favour of approaches more solidly based on security policies (Vogt 2011).

To reinforce his vision of reform, KAII has introduced a new rhetoric that is embedded within the REFORM IS A PATH metaphor by bringing out the inevitability of offering "sacrifices" to reach reform goals. Therefore, KAII emphasises that reform demands fortitude in bearing the burdens of sacrifice and optimism until the desired goals of reform are achieved. The rhetoric of "sacrifice" in KAII's language shift the emphasis from images of "journey" to "military expeditions" as derived from conceptual domains of WARS and CONFLICTS. The King says:

> We are fully convinced that **reform** initially requires sacrifice but it constitutes a guarantee of our sons' and daughters' future prosperity. (*A letter to PM Adnan Badran*, 16.06.2005, translated from original Arabic)
>
> As I underline the necessity to achieve political **reform**, I am aware that our biggest battle field is the economy. Our people have withstood poverty, unemployment and job shortages. We have *exerted great efforts to realise* **reform**, which, admittedly, has seen some flaws, especially in light of a strangulating global financial crisis. (*A Letter to PM Marouf Bakhit*, 22.03.2011, translated from original Arabic)

This shift from images of "journey" to "military expeditions" comes as a reaction against discontent aroused by governmental liberal policies which limit the role of the state in the economy; especially its ability to subsidise vital public needs and provide jobs for marginal regions outside Amman. In this context, KAII implicitly associates "reform" as a political process with moral or religious concepts following the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION (Charteris-Black 2004). A "sacrifice" involves an act of offering to a deity what is considered most precious; especially one's own life. KAII then endows reform with sacred and divine eminence using the metaphor REFORM IS A MILITARY EXPEDITION. The strength of such a metaphor, used in political discourse, derives from its ability to arouse emotions of good-will and solidarity: metaphors of WAR and CONFLICT are used in political language to foreground ideas of unity, common interest, and concern about others; especially in terms of a desire to protect what is precious. KAII says:

> And as you have always been the defenders of the homeland and the protectors of our march and achievements, you are today the safe hands that are capable of protecting the march of **reform**, modernisation and development, which constitute our path to achieving comprehensive development. (*Speech On the Occasion of Army Day*, 06.06.2005, translated from original Arabic)
>
> As I underline the necessity to achieve political **reform**, I am aware that our biggest battle field is the economy. (*A Letter to PM Marouf Bakhit*, 22.03.2011, translated from original Arabic)
>
> [...] so that we all join ranks for progress, **reform**, and national security in its widest meaning. (*Speech from the Throne*, 26.11.2011, translated from original Arabic)

The three extracts above demonstrate that KAII empowers his vision of political and economic reform with the rhetoric of political legitimisation based on sacrifice and visible achievement. Considering the state's stability and security as a valuable commodity, and that slow and steady steps towards reform strengthens this stability, WAR and CONFLICT metaphors formulate KAII's legitimacy through the metaphors REFORM IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY and JORDANIANS ARE ONE TEAM SOLDIERS. Keywords such as "protecting/protectors" and "attacks on" with "reform" evoke KAII's constant perspective expressing his desire for a reform that will maintain social and political stability.

Finally, the political language of KAII on reform involves positive language that is not related to war and conflict domains; especially those related to Jordan's position in the march towards reform in the last three years. The King says:

> It should be noted that the **reform** process has <u>not progressed at the pace</u> we sought. It <u>stumbled</u> and <u>slowed down</u> now and then, and on more than one occasion. (*Letter of Designation to PM Sameer AlRefae'i*, 22.11.2010, translated from original Arabic)
>
> [...] you are charged with conducting a comprehensive assessment [...] and a clear plan of action that <u>pushes forward</u> the **reform** process after revisiting all legislation governing political... (*Letter of Designation to PM Ma'rouf AlBakheet*, 01.02.2011, translated from original Arabic)

Positively evaluated political metaphors here follow the metaphor PROGRESS IN REFORM IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT. In terms of evaluation, "progress" echoes an essential human desire to receive a reward corresponding to effort and sacrifices made. Progress represents the fulfilment of plans made and targets set, or DESTINATION, in the PATH toward reform.

The King supports his FORWARD MOVEMENT image by explicitly referring to what is achieved for reform during his reign, especially in terms of laws and legislation. Still, KAII constantly emphasises that his endeavour to make Jordanians commit themselves to the sustainable reform effort has been relatively fruitful. He emphasises that practical, swift and appreciable STEPS in the march towards political reform have already been taken. KAII has entrusted the government and parliament with the task of speeding up democratic reforms, and true to his own ideals, he formed the *National Dialogue Committee* on March 2011. The work of this committee was complemented by setting up, by Royal Decree, a *Royal Committee on Constitutional Review*. This committee recommended several amendments to the Constitution and will be responsible for introducing significant improvements to political life such as suggesting specific modifications of a new electoral law. For example, that 15 seats should be reserved in parliament to be decided by direct votes for an "open-list" that involved national political figures at national level. In addition, the formation of a panel of 13 notable members was recommended, which would include seven retired judges to oversee any future election; this panel is now known as the *Independent Electoral Commission*. Another recommendation of the *Royal Committee on Constitutional Review* was the creation of a *Constitutional Court*. The King continually asserts that these measures, though few, make substantial PROGRESS on the PATH towards reform.

6. Conclusion

In KAII's political language and discourse, "reform" *('iSlaah)* is predominantly represented in terms of metaphors from the PATH domain. Several metaphoric images from the PATH domain are collectively used to represent reform in terms of a cooperative, challenging, long, and sustainable process. As metaphors construct a persuasive discursive practice in language and discourse (Charteris-Black 2005; Fairclough 1992), KAII's political metaphors make a social practice (i.e. socially constructed in Jordanian political and public discourse and communication) by which images of travelling along the path towards reform represent KAII's rhetoric of political reform. The extensive use of metaphors from the PATH domain to conceptualise "reform" coincides with the political rhetoric of calling for "adherence" and "adopting" a set of beliefs which a "chosen" group of people are encouraged to follow. This process corresponds to inherent social practices derived from universal experience of travelling long distances towards a defined destination. This language gives confidence to discourse recipients, especially the Jordanian people, about the seriousness of the reform process in KAII's rhetoric.

In another respect, images from the domains of WAR and CONFLICT in KAII's language define the rhetoric of "sacrifices" which the TRAVELLERS on the PATH of reform must offer. KAII's political metaphors reflect existing power differences between the dominant power-elite (Domhoff 1978) group and the dominated one. The language stands for the discourse of the dominant power-elite that controls political discourse on reform. Accordingly, the central theme of KAII's political metaphors on "reform" is designed to show the indispensability of reform to Jordan, and the challenges which Jordanians may face and the sacrifice they have to offer up for reform. The logic by which KAII foregrounds the concept of "reform" in Jordanian political language stems from several metaphoric images which emphasise how once the TRAVELLERS along the PATH of reform have chosen their path, they must finish it. The "path" towards reform is constantly conceptualised as long and not easy, and all TRAVELLERS join the march as SOLDIERS in a "military expedition". Thus, genuine reform and social and political stability of the state are both assured.

In addition, the critical analysis of instances of PATH and CONFLICT metaphors in KAII's language and discourse reveals underlying ideological beliefs which justify the values, beliefs, and ideologies of KAII's vision of reform. The King emphasises that all Jordanians are TRAVELLERS along the PATH of reform, and they are the PROTECTORS who "joined the ranks" in this MARCH against THREATS. These images, together with many others illustrated above, indicate how KAII regards his position as a participant leader, and not just as a commanding ruler in the reform process. This discourse reflects significant aspects of 'social order' (Pennycook 2010: 85-94) in Jordanian society; especially as KAII's voice is a sensible and realistic one that does not delude Jordanians about the outcome of reform policies at the expense of maintaining the state's political stability.

It might be difficult to determine to what extent KAII's rhetoric on reform has been successful. In his discourse, KAII shows a willingness to reform traditional structures in political and social life. The King overtly points out that his vision of genuine reform will be materialised in the long run by having elected governments; still, he accepts that little has been achieved in this respect, and much more needs to be done to advance on the path towards reform. As KAII admits, reform is "a virtuous cycle of change", and so it is still early to expect appreciable reform in Jordan in the next few years.

Notes

[1] All references to KAII's discourse (speeches, letters, etc.) are available through KAII's official website http://kingabdullah.jo/ . The original language of the majority of the selected texts is Arabic, and they are authoritatively translated into English by the Royal Court and published in the website. Texts addressed in front of international media and occasions are originally addressed in English by the King.

[2] NVivo 10 helps users organise and analyse non-numerical or unstructured data by allowing users to classify, sort and arrange information; examine relationships in the data; and combine analysis with linking, shaping, searching and modelling.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO GRAPHOLOGY: DEFINITION, THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

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1. Introduction

Graphology is a linguistic level of analysis that comprises the study of graphic aspects of language[1]. This term was first brought into use in linguistic studies in the sixties by McIntosh (1961), who considered it an analogous mode to that of phonology. In his paper "Graphology and Meaning", he declared he had used graphology "in a sense which is intended to answer, in the realm of written language, to that of 'phonology' in the realm of spoken language" (1961: 107). A few years later, Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964: 50) broadened this concept when they connected it to spelling, punctuation and any other matter related to graphic resources in language. Other linguists such as Vachek (1973), Sampson (1985), Coulmas (1991, 1999) and Harris (1995) have also worked on graphology, paying close attention to the properties of alphabets and their evolution throughout history.

The importance and status of graphology as a linguistic level of analysis is particularly prominent in stylistics and multimodality. Within stylistics, some scholars have studied how graphological deviation may affect meaning and produce aesthetic effects. Van Peer (1993), for instance, considered typographic foregrounding and its evolution as a poetic device, while Nänny (2001) checked the iconic properties of verses according to their length. Within multimodality, and because of the recent relevance of images in communication, there is an attempt, currently, to integrate some graphological elements into the study of modes of communication. In line with this view, great effort has been made by Van Leeuwen, who has published several works either in isolation (2005, 2006) or in conjunction with other scholars (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996; Van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001) so as to highlight the semiotic potential of typeface. Similarly, Nørgaard (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c) has delved into the creation of meaning through certain graphological elements such as typography, layout and colour.

Despite all these studies, literature in this field has not yet outlined the parameters of graphology. Together with this difficulty, there is also a general consensus that graphology is neither relevant nor interesting in itself and, to some extent, some people still misunderstand the real meaning of this word. In view of all these problems, the main objective of this paper is to elucidate the linguistic aspects of graphology, and thereby clarify its meaning. In addition, an inclusive summary of what has already been reported on the topic will be provided and, subsequently, it is my intention to determine which areas should be given priority within this general level of analysis.

As a starting point, a definition of graphology is provided in section 2, in which the controversy around this term is explained with specific focus on its linguistic nature. Following this comes a brief explanation of how the notion has evolved from once being simply analogous to phonology, to later becoming a complete, independent system comprising many different elements. Section 3 includes a description of the theoretical background relevant to this level of linguistic analysis, ensuring that both comprehensive and concrete theoretical studies are covered. In section 4 the approaches of Levenston (1992) and Lennard (2005) are detailed, offering alternative views as they do on how graphological elements may be categorized for their analysis. Finally, the paper concludes with the main findings from this study followed by possible lines of research questions to be followed up for the future.

2. Definition

Unlike other linguistic terms such as *morphology, syntax* or *phonetics, graphology* is a controversial word whose meaning tends to be blurred. This confusion has come about on account of two factors: the non-linguistic meanings attached to this concept and the varied treatment the word has received from dictionaries, manuals and works of reference in general. The definition recently offered by Wales (2001) seems to be the clearest and the most complete one so far, since it clarifies its meaning and includes many other features beyond the letters of the alphabet, for example punctuation marks and spacing.

The very first problem when dealing with graphology is its unclear meaning. This confusion may well be due to its double filiation: though it concerns the study of writing systems, it also concerns character analysis based on handwriting. On most occasions, it is this non-linguistic use of the term that most commonly comes to mind when using the word *graphology*, as the definition given in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2011) demonstrates:

- Inference of character from a person's handwriting. The theory underlying graphology is that handwriting is an expression of personality; hence, a systematic analysis of the way words and letters are formed can reveal traits of personality. Graphologists note such elements as the size of individual letters and the degree and regularity of slanting, ornamentation, angularity, and curvature. Other basic considerations are the general appearance and impression of the writing, the pressure of upward and downward strokes, and the smoothness of the writing. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 2011)

This non-linguistic meaning is further complicated by the uneven treatment that graphology has received from previous researchers. While some research has directly ignored its linguistic meaning and just concentrated on its psychological aspects, other studies have reflected its linguistic nature, though this has been forced into the background. In this sense, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2013) defines the linguistic side of *graphology* as "the study of written and printed symbols and of writing systems", though this definition appears in fourth position. There is a third possibility when defining graphology that consists of giving prominence to its linguistic value, which is not very frequent in works of reference to date. McIntosh (1961: 107) was the first scholar to use the term *graphology* in this sense, giving it its full linguistic value: "I have used the word 'graphology' in a sense which is intended to answer, in the realm of written language, to that of 'phonology' in the realm of spoken language". McIntosh's definition caught on and developed in the sixties and served in its attempt to integrate more levels than the traditional ones when analysing written texts. It was mainly developed in UK stylistics, and generally applied to the description and study of poetry and literary texts, although this was not always the case (Crystal and Davy 1969). Going a step further, Halliday et al. (1964) proposed three years later a more complete definition that signalled the connection of graphology to other elements such as spelling, punctuation and any other notion connected to the use of graphic resources in a language:

> Graphology, however, is an essential part of the description of any written language. The use of the word may be unfamiliar. It has been chosen to parallel 'phonology', and the term includes orthography, punctuation, and anything else that is concerned with showing how a language uses its graphic resources to carry its grammatical and lexical patterns. (Halliday et al. 1964: 50).

Whilst the proposals by McIntosh (1961) and Halliday et al. (1964) were crucial for the expansion of the concept in linguistics and stylistics, they still failed to clarify the elements to be analysed within this category. For this reason, the definition chosen for this paper is that given by Wales (2001: 182-183) in *A Dictionary of Stylistics*. For her, *graphology* or *graphemics*[2] is the study of graphemes and any other element related to the written medium, and of the linguistic system that is manifested through these:

> The study of such units [graphemes] in a language is called graphemics, or graphology. […] Graphemics also embraces other features associated with the written or graphic medium: punctuation; paragraphing; spacing, etc. Different registers make particular use of such graphological features as: size of print and capitalization in newspaper and advertising lay-outs; different typefaces and sizes in dictionaries such as this one; special lines in poetry, etc. […] Graphology can also refer to the writing system of a language, as manifested in handwriting and typography; and to the other related features […] e.g. capitalization and punctuation. (Wales 2001: 182-183).

The novelty of the definition offered by Wales (2001) lies in the fact that it broadens the spectrum of elements to be analysed within the category of *graphology* beyond the letters of the alphabet, which is something that has not been considered until very recently. She also gives equal importance to the writing system itself and to the discipline that focuses on its analysis, since these are the key aspects that define the concept of *graphology*. In short, Wales (2001) aims to go beyond the traditional perspective in the treatment of *graphology*.

3. Theoretical Background

As stated in the introduction, the lack of a theoretical apparatus is one of the main problems for the study of graphology. While there is only a small amount of research in which the majority of graphological elements have been treated comprehensively, most of the rest tends to deal with this matter from a very specific standpoint. The drawback lies in the fact that the first type of research tends to be long on the practical side and short on the theory while the second type fails by concentrating only on the alphabets, taking no account of other elements like punctuation, spelling or capitalization. Despite these limitations, the following contributions must be considered as the compulsory starting point for any discussion regarding graphology.

Most of the comprehensive approaches are to be found in *Physical Aspects of Texts and their Relation to Literary Meaning* by Levenston (1992) and in the chapter "Punctuation" in Lennard's (2005) *The Poetry Handbook*. Generally speaking, these enumerate the different elements involved in this type of analysis, explain their functions and give many examples, all of which come from literary texts. Despite their practical usefulness, it is important to recognize a few limitations in these two pieces of research. Firstly, neither constitutes a theoretical approach to graphology. Secondly, neither uses the term *graphology* to refer to their object of study, though this is clearly what they are dealing with in their work: whereas Levenston talks about *physical aspects* of texts (1992: 1), *graphic form* (1992: 1) and *graphicology* (1992: 155), Lennard (2005) uses the hyponymic term *punctuation* to label his subject matter. Finally, the schemes offered by them are completely different in nature, both showing analytical categories that have very little in common. As the categorization of graphological elements (together with the definition of graphology and its theoretical framework) is an important point of controversy, the relevant contributions by Levenston (1992) and Lennard (2005) will be discussed further (see section 4).

Concrete approaches have concentrated on very specific elements within the level of graphology. For this reason, the present paper will focus on those works that deal with writing systems, as these are the least specific ones and also the most theoretically oriented. The works of Vachek (1973), Sampson (1985), Coulmas (1991, 1999) and Harris (1995) have proved to be of a similar focus and to provide very complete in-depth studies, explaining the features and evolution of the writing systems in the world. They fail, however, in thinking that a writing system relies solely on the use of the letters of the alphabet, ignoring other important questions such as spacing, punctuation or typographical options.

Vachek's (1973) *Written Language: General Problems and Problems of English*, is one of the first publications to deal with writing systems from a very theoretical viewpoint. This work summarizes the main contributions made by structuralism and functionalism to the study of writing systems and the problems derived from them. Contrasting with the vision of authors such as Saussure, Sapir, Bloomfield and Hockett, who thought writing was just a sort of representation of oral language, scholars like De Courtenay, Bradley or Frinta recognized that writing was an independent system with its own structures (Vachek 1973: 10-13). This statement implied the subsequent recognition that there exist two kinds of norms in most languages, the oral and the written ones (1973: 19-20). Moreover, it was stated that the degree of equivalence between the phonological and the graphological systems in a language can hardly become absolute (1973: 21). Having identified all these features, Vachek (1973: 49-56) set out some of the main characteristics in the written representation of the English language, presenting at the same time some of the problems derived from attempts to change it (1973: 57-58). This work concluded by upholding the verdict that it was impossible to reform the spelling system of the English language and it recognised that works in this field have demonstrated the functional capacity of language, its stratification and the constant relationship between form and substance. Vacheck (1973: 69-70) considered that identifying the linguistic norms applied to writing and sounds in a language is important, declaring that while oral properties are defined much more concretely, the functions and the features of written aspects of language were still to be developed.

The next stopping off place in this itinerary is one of the greatest contributions to the study of writing systems: Sampson's (1985), *Writing Systems: A Linguistic Introduction*. Here, Sampson (1985: 11) recognized that prior to the Prague Circle and Vachek, nobody had cared about writing systems, and even their premises on this topic were not discussed anywhere outside Europe. Bearing in mind the theoretical gaps in this field, Sampson (1985: 12-45) set out in the first chapter to distinguish between *semasiographic* and *glottographic* systems[3]: while the former refer to those visual systems in which ideas are shown in a direct way, as with mathematical language and most traffic signals, the latter are those that represent "spoken-language utterances", normally lacking a direct relationship with their referents (1985: 29-31). Within *glottography*, Sampson (1985: 32-33) also distinguished between *logographic* and *phonographic* systems: *logographic* ones directly represent morphemes and/or ideas, whereas *phonographic* ones only stand for sounds and/or phonemes in a language. In order to differentiate between *semasiographic*, *logographic* and *phonographic* systems, Sampson proposed two basic criteria: the degree of motivation "between the graphs of a writing-system and the spoken-language units they represent" (1985: 34-35) and the degree of completeness, that is, how much a writing system is capable of representing all the linguistic units in a concrete language (1985: 35-37). All these ideas constitute the real contribution made by Sampson (1985) to this field, though he also explained the nature and evolution of certain writing systems such as the Graeco-Roman alphabet or the Japanese writing, to cite a few.

More recently, the works by Coulmas (1991, 1999) and Harris (1995) have also tackled this subject. In *The Writing Systems of the World,* Coulmas (1991) approached writing systems from a historical perspective, dealing with the cuneiform system, Chinese calligraphy and the Occidental alphabet, among many others. Some years later, Coulmas (1999) compiled all the terms used in this field in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Writing Systems.* Nonetheless, a theory of writing was still to be developed, as Harris (1995) has recently alleged. Because of the lack of a theoretical framework, Harris (1995) has proposed an integrational approach that relies on four main features: the use of a framework that is not based on the relationship between writing and other linguistic systems, a tabula rasa approach to what has already been said on this topic, the explanation and development of relationships inside the writing systems and the creation of a coherent and systematic approach. Taking these four suggestions as a starting point, Harris (1995: 5) proposed a theory of writing based on language as a human social activity, and not just as a transmitter of ideas; in this way, communication is subject to biomechanical, macro-social and circumstantial restrictions that determine the characteristic forms of writing. His main contribution to graphology in this regard is the idea that writing is a system by itself, strongly refuting the presupposition that it is a mere representation of oral communication:

> From an integrational point of view, the mistake embodied in the traditional Western view of writing is plain: it confuses the function of the written sign with just one of its possible uses. An integrational semiology must show how and why the signs of writing function in a way that is basically different from the signs of speech, even when the purpose of the written text is to record a spoken message. (Harris 1995: 7).

Together with comprehensive and concrete approaches, it is worth mentioning multimodality as a recent theoretical frame that integrates some of the elements to be considered within the spectrum of graphology. Multimodality has contributed to the understanding of graphology in two respects: the identification of writing as a particular mode of communication (hence displaying its own particular features) and the meaning potential of some graphological aspects like layout or font. In relation to the status of writing as a mode of communication, multimodality has claimed that writing has more differences than similarities when compared to speech and that writing is a border category as it displays some spatial aspects (Kress 1996: 56-58). This idea is essential to an understanding of graphology, because it reasserts the visual nature of this level of analysis and its proximity to other visual modes of communication such as images. Furthermore, multimodality tries to provide tools for the analysis of visual aspects in language, which is very helpful when working with graphology. Regarding the meaning potential of visual elements, multimodality deals with some concrete graphological aspects, namely writing systems (Kress 1996: 55-57), layout (Kress 1996: 59), spelling (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 18-21, 58), font and colour (Kress 1996: 59; Van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001: 167-171). As mentioned above, multimodality is addressing particular issues to improve the understanding of certain graphological aspects.

4. Levels of Analysis within Graphology: Lennard's (2005) and Levenston's (1992) Proposals of Categorization

A few limitations notwithstanding, the works of Levenston (1992) and Lennard (2005) constitute two valuable contributions to the study of graphology. Unlike other researchers, these two scholars have dealt with one of the most important questions in relation to this level of linguistic analysis: what are the different levels and sub-levels to be included under the term *graphology*. Their proposals imply a great step forward in linguistics and stylistics studies because they organize graphological features in a systematic and structured way.

On the one hand, Levenston (1992) draws up a scheme that distinguishes four different levels within the graphic representation of language: *spelling*, *punctuation*, *typography* and *layout* (see table 1). As a starting point, Levenston (1992: 2) criticises the lack of critical approaches to the study of graphological elements. He believes, basing himself on Firth's (1957) model of linguistic description, that graphology is as relevant as other levels such as grammar or lexis for the study of literary texts. As a consequence, Levenston (1992) argues that more attention be given to graphological elements, and though his book is not of high theoretical density, it is of great importance since it is the only comprehensive approach to the role of graphology in literature:

> "The Stuff of Literature"—I have chosen this catchy but obscure title in desperation; there is no accepted way of referring to the topic. If this were a Ph. D. thesis, there would be no problem; we could put all the relevant information into the subtitle: "The Stuff of Literature: A Study of the Contribution Made to the Meaning and Value of a Work of Literature at the Level of Graphic Form, with particular reference to Spelling, Punctuation, Typography, and Layout". (Levenston 1992: 1).

1. Spelling	Formal vs. informal language Diacritics Archaisms Dialects Interlanguages Eye dialects Eye rhymes Puns
2. Punctuation	Absence of punctuation Patterned punctuation
3. Typography	Italics Other typefaces
4. Layout	

TABLE 1. The study of graphological elements. Levenston's (1992) proposal (adapted)

Lennard's (2005) proposal differs from that of Levenston's (1992) in its aim and scope. *The Poetry Handbook* (2005) is defined by its author as "[a] book […] [for] anyone who wants to read poetry with a better understanding of its craft and technique; it is also a textbook and crib for school and undergraduate students facing exams in practical criticism" (Lennard, 2005: xxi). Due to its introductory nature, Lennard (2005) presents basic issues for the study of poetry such as metrics, poetic form, versification, rhyme or syntax. Chapters three (2005: 33-80) and four (2005: 81-104) are devoted to *composition* and *punctuation*, though both cover what is also understood as *graphology*. The reason for this terminological shift is quite simple: Lennard (2005) labels what I consider to be *graphology* as *punctuation*, by paying attention not just to punctuation marks, but also to spelling, typefaces or spacing, to cite a few elements. Lennard (2005: 109-114) also proposes a scale of eight different descriptive levels that facilitate the analysis of matters affecting *punctuation* [*graphology*] (see table 2). The scale is organized from the more rudimentary elements —the letterforms that punctuate the blank space in a page— to the more complex ones —the creation of a book as a complete unit of punctuation—.

1. Letter-forms punctuating the blank page
2. Interword spaces
3. Punctuation marks
4. Words or other units distinguished by font, face, colour, sign, or position
5. The organization of the page and opening
6. Pagination
7. The structures of grouped pages
8. The MS, TS, codex, scroll or leaf as a complete object punctuating space or a constituent volume in a greater Whole

TABLE 2. The study of graphological elements. Lennard's (2005: 109-110) proposal (adapted)

The proposal offered by Lennard (2005) has been subsequently recognized by different scholars. Bray, Handley and Henry (2000) have followed this scheme in *Ma(r)king the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page*. Presented as a practical work, this book collects different essays that focus their attention on the study of concrete elements in specific texts, for example the covers in some publications by George Eliot and G. H. Lewis (Korn, 2000), the footnotes and the typography in *Le Rouge et le Noir* by Stendhal (Scott 2000) or the marginalia in the epilogue in *Lanark: A Life in Four Books* by Alasdair Gray (White 2000). This collection considers, as Lennard (2005) does, that punctuating a text is also part of the creative process, so elements such as footnotes, blank spaces, punctuation or marginalia also contribute to the creation of meaning in a text (Bray et al. 2000: xvii). More importantly, this book opens with an introductory chapter by Lennard in which he repeatedly refers to the lack of theory in relation to this topic, due to the grammatical orientation in linguistic studies and the problems derived from the definition of the concept itself (Bray et al. 2000: 1-3). His aim is clear: to develop a theory of *punctuation*, hence of *graphology*, to cover the current theoretical gap in this field.

5. Discussion

This paper aims to clarify the understanding of graphology as a linguistic level of analysis. For this reason, the dual nature of graphology has firstly been explained, thereby referring to the study of the writing system and at the same time also to the analysis of a person's character based on his/her handwriting. Subsequently, a revision of several definitions that trace the evolution of the concept *graphology* has been made. Having clarified its meaning, an in-depth account of the relevant theoretical background in this area has been provided, mainly represented in the works of Levenston (1992), Lennard (2005), Vachek (1973), Sampson (1985), Coulmas (1991, 1999) and Harris (1995), as well as other contributions demonstrating the importance of graphology as a medium for creative expression. Brief mention of multimodality has also been included, as this branch of study addresses aspects affecting graphology. Finally, a description of those schemes offered by Levenston (1992) and Lennard (2005), which fill part of the gap around graphology when clarifying its organization into several sub-levels of analysis, has been given.

Explaining the meaning of graphology is the first step towards acquiring a clearer understanding of this notion as a linguistic level of analysis. Traditionally speaking, the term *graphology* has usually been associated with "the inference of character from a person's handwriting" (EB 2011), while very few people have acknowledged its linguistic nature. This double layer and the irregular treatment so far received from works of reference have led to much controversy surrounding the meaning of this term. The first purely linguistic definitions are ascribable to McIntosh (1961) and Halliday et al. (1964), who connected graphology with phonology (McIntosh, 1961) as well as with the graphic resources of a language (Halliday et al. 1964). The passing of time has narrowed the scope of the term, which has meant that the spectrum of aspects to be included under this label has vastly expanded. Graphology is nowadays defined as the study of graphemes and other features associated with the written medium, such as punctuation, paragraphing or spacing (Wales 2001: 182), but also as "the writing system of a language, as manifested in handwriting and typography" (Wales 2001: 183).

Theoretical publications dealing with language at the level of graphology can be categorized into two main groups: comprehensive and concrete approaches. The former (Levenston 1992, Lennard 2005, Vachek 1973, Sampson 1985, Coulmas

1991, Coulmas 1999, Harris 1995) imply the treatment of graphology from a general and comprehensive perspective. The drawback with these critics is that with the exception of Levenston (1992) and Lennard (2005), they have tended to confuse writing systems with alphabets, and hence omit many other items that should in fact be considered at this level of analysis. The latter includes all the works that have dealt with concrete elements within graphology. In this sense, the reader may find the works on punctuation, typography and layout useful, including such topics as the use of parenthesis as a poetic device (Tartakovski 2009), typographical foregrounding (Van Peer 1993) or modernist verse (Levertov 1979), to cite a few.

Nowadays, multimodality (Kress 1996; Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996) has foregrounded the use of several semiotic modes for communication, hence highlighting visual aspects of language. In this way, this branch of study emphasizes the need to study the meaning potential of some graphological elements. It offers some theoretical background for the analysis of these elements, thus covering some aspects that had mostly been neglected by linguistics. Nonetheless, multimodality does not cover graphology comprehensively. As it is concerned with the interrelation between different modes of communication, writing is only one of these aspects. Though multimodality approaches specific graphological aspects that mean something because of their visual nature, such as layout, colour and letterform, many questions remain unanswered because it has not covered all issues within this level of linguistic analysis, nor has it treated them deeply enough.

Among all of the works revisited, Levenston's (1992) and Lennard's (2005) categorizations may constitute a suitable departure point for the study of graphology and the features impacting on this level. As explained earlier, these two proposals are quite different in nature. On the one hand, Levenston (1992) distinguishes four main groups: *spelling, punctuation, typography* and *layout* (see table 1), taking plenty of samples from literary texts to back up his claims. On the other hand, Lennard (2005) proposes an eight-level scale: (1) letter-forms, (2) spaces, (3) punctuation marks, (4) font, face, colour, sign or position options affecting words or other units, (5) page organization, (6) pagination, (7) page grouping and (8) volume or any other kind of complete punctuation unit (see table 2). Whereas Levenston (1992) is clearer at setting out the general groups that serve to classify graphological elements, Lennard (2005) offers a more complete and comprehensive theory relating the aspects to be analysed within graphology. Levenston's (1992) taxonomy has two main weaknesses: he does not use a very theoretical approach and what needs to be analysed within these four main categories is not by any means obvious. To put it more clearly, while he makes a comprehensible distinction between spelling, punctuation, typography and layout, he does not delve further into what one might refer to as the sub-elements that require consideration within each of these categories. Levenston (1992) deals with some concrete elements such as *eye dialects* (spelling) or *italics* (typography), for example, but these alone are not sufficient. Depending on the text and the kind of discourse under examination, it will be therefore necessary to focus on aspects that have not been remarked on previously by Levenston (1992). The alternative put forward by Lennard (2005) is a more theoretically-oriented approach that includes additional references and assists in offering a more thorough review of this topic. However, the limits of some of the categories proposed by this scholar remain unclear, especially those dealing with the organization of the page, and the opening, pagination and structures of grouped pages. It is also remarkable that both proposals focus on literary texts, thereby ignoring other genres of discourse where graphology may well prove to be relevant. In view of the evident gaps in both the aforementioned proposals, an analysis of graphological elements would most definitely be a worthwhile endeavour. Though different in nature, the two approaches discussed can be used to complement one another. Part of their value lies in the fact that they are the first to have dealt with visual aspects of language from a comprehensive perspective, thus allowing for attention to be paid to aesthetic effects.

6. Final remarks and further avenues

To sum up, the introductory ideas foregrounded in this paper show that graphology as a level of linguistic analysis remains largely understudied within linguistics and stylistics. There are currently few publications dealing with this topic, and this is in fact a vicious circle: the lack of applied research on graphology is a direct consequence of the absence of theoretical models in this field. Without a solid theoretical model, it is difficult to carry out a stylistic analysis of literary or non-literary discourse; by the same token, if stylistic analyses are lacking for this level of linguistic analysis, it is hard to theorize about graphology. It is important, too, to explain the reasons for this disadvantageous position. On the one hand, the general impression given is that graphology is susceptible to linguistic analysis. Nonetheless, typography, spacing or visual appearance in a text are what first shapes the way we perceive what we are reading. In this sense, although graphology may be considered an easy subject, it is precisely this idea of easiness that has led to an ignorance of its features, as well as its functions. On the other hand, there is concern that an incorrect association has been made between the terms *graphology* and *writing system*, which is also a synonym of *alphabet*, and in the process neglecting several other visual aspects that also pertain to the system. When paying close attention to the composition of any text, one soon realises that elements such as punctuation marks, blank spaces or capital letters are almost equally important for the understanding of a text as the letters themselves. Together with the reasons already detailed, there is a further drawback concerning the fact that the only information about graphology to date has been produced in a fragmentary way, which has generated great uncertainty in this area. Due to the disadvantageous position in which graphology finds itself in comparison to other linguistic levels of analysis, many questions are raised and will need answering in future research, such as: Which elements should be included within the study of graphology? How do they work? How do they relate to each other? How does the system of graphology work as a whole? To this end, as mentioned above, the categories given by Levenston (1992) and Lennard (2005) are a very valuable point of departure because they charter many of the elements to be considered within graphology. Nonetheless, future empirical research should provide a more systematic scheme that enables identification, classification and the relating of graphological elements in a methodical way and for further diverse purposes. More importantly, these disadvantages also signal the need for a theory of graphology that is yet to be developed, and that constitutes the main problem when dealing with this topic. A theory of graphology cannot deal solely with the elements that form this linguistic level, but must consider their functioning, their premises and so on; it cannot deal just with a concrete element or issue, as is the case with those works that simply check writing systems. The terminological problem should also be addressed in the future, as present research demonstrates there is great controversy about the use of *graphology* and *graphemics* as labels for the study of writing systems. Finally, a graphological theory should be constructed based on research into texts that included samples that were of interest from a visual point of view and lent themselves to a variety of analysis, as would be the case of advertising or journalism, for example.

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Notes

[1] Though the term *graphemics* is also used to refer to this linguistic level of analysis, *graphology* is the preferred term in this paper. There is great controversy as to whether to use one or another, though in practical terms they are synonyms when referring to the study of written aspects of language. From a purely theoretical perspective, it seems that the use of the term *graphemics* has predominated; on the other hand, *graphology* is the preferred term within other fields of study like stylistics. For further information on this issue, see Crystal (2011) and Wales (2011).

[2] As in the case of Wales (2001), some other scholars have used the term graphemics to refer to the study of writing systems. See Stockwell (1952), Hamp (1959), Hall (1960, 1963), Francis (1962), Fisiak (1968), Augst (1986), Daniels (1991) or Coulmas (1999).

[3] As stated by Sampson (1985: 29) in his book, both terms are adapted from Haas (1976).

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SYNCHRONIC ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRESSIVE ASPECT IN THREE VARIETIES OF ASIAN ENGLISHES

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1. Introduction

The diffusion of English worldwide, first as a consequence of British colonialism, and later as a result of the ongoing process of globalization, has greatly transformed the linguistic scenario of many countries. Thus, every continent has both *adopted* and *adapted* more than one recognized variety of English, either as a first or as a second language (foreign contexts excluded), each of them developing a particular "set" of distinctive linguistic features (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004: 1142). This distinctiveness has been a recurrent topic of research in the last few decades, with the publication of a number of insightful descriptions of divergent features in the different varieties (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984; Kachru 2005; Kachru et al. 2006; Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). It is not always easy, however, to identify the intrinsic motivations behind such differences, multiple factors being thus postulated. One typical case in point is the progressive aspect and its particular use in non-standard varieties (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004: 1146).

On historical grounds, the progressive aspect is generally considered to stem from the Old English (OE) construction *be* + present participle as in *he wæs huntende*[1]. It is generally agreed that the progressive construction was an optional choice in OE and Middle English (ME), used stylistically rather than grammatically (Nuñez-Pertejo 2004: 20). Even though the frequency of the progressive remained low until the beginning of the modern English period (EModE), it was more steadily used from the middle of the 16th century (Elsness 1994). Apart from being the main form for an ongoing action (Aitchison 1991: 109), the progressive later acquired a wide range of meanings, which henceforth contributed to increasing its frequency (Leech et al. 2009: 118; Aarts, Close and Wallis 2010). Thus, Elsness (1994) finds a rise of the progressive by a factor of more than 3 in Early Modern English (EModE), while Smitterberg (2005: 62) presents a growth rate of 71-81 % in the late modern period. A similar tendency is noted in present-day English by Smith (2002), Mair and Leech (2006) and Römer (2005). Leech et al.'s (2009) analysis of British English (BrE) and American English (AmE) covering the period 1960s-1990s associates the increase of the progressive to the higher frequency of certain forms (p. 124)[2]. The rise of the progressive is considered in the literature to be the consequence of several factors, such as *colloquialization* (i.e. linguistic features associated to the spoken language become common in written language), the development of new forms (modal and passive uses) and the occurrence of non-standard uses (i.e. stative verbs in the progressive form) (Collins 2008: 228). The variety of meanings is partly justified by the fact that the progressive is still evolving (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 202), and in this process new meanings are acquired as others decay.

New varieties of English seem to play an important role in the development of extended uses of the progressive form, which, in turn, is connected with the intrinsic evolution accomplished by each particular variety. According to Kachru's Concentric Circle model (1985: 11-36; 2005: 13-14) the South and Southeast Asian Englishes belong to the Outer Circle, where English functions as a second language (L2), developing its own rules for spoken language, but relying on the grammar of native varieties for written texts. If Schneider's Dynamic Model is considered instead, Indian and Hong Kong English are classified as belonging to "phase 3", though in an advanced state of *nativization* moving towards the next phase, while Singapore English is considered to be in "phase 4", already dealing with the process of *endonormative stabilization* (Schneider 2007: 160). Previous studies, such as Collins (2008), Sharma (2009), Van Rooy (2014) and Schilk and Hammel (2014), and more recently Rautionaho (2014), have done research on the question of the progressive aspect in regional varieties. Particularly interesting is the corpus-based investigation carried out by Collins (2008) on nine varieties of English, belonging to both the Inner and the Outer Circle. However, even though several 'variables'[3] are analysed, his results do not seem to be conclusive as to in which variety "the progressive [has] advanced the furthest" (Collins 2008: 246); and, in addition, he finds it difficult to explain the ordering within the Southeast Asian group. One possible explanation could be the restricted set of data used in his study, only 120,000 word samples from the *International Corpus of English* (henceforth ICE), half from conversation and half from printed written registers. More recently, Rautionaho (2014) has studied the progressive in the ICE components of two native varieties (British and American English) and six non-native varieties (Irish, Jamaican, Indian, Philippine, Singaporean, and Hong Kong English) in detail. However, she only used samples from the spoken section of the corpora, from the *private conversation* section in particular. Therefore, research into the use of the progressive in non-native varieties still lacks a complete study that would encompass a larger set of data both from speech and from writing.

In the light of this, this paper attempts to extend the scope of previous studies by analysing the progressive in the complete ICE corpora of three Asian varieties of English, i.e. Hong Kong, India and Singapore, taking British English as a point of departure, with the following objectives: a) to find out if the frequency of the progressive is a distinctive feature among those varieties; b) to analyse its distribution according to tense, subject person and voice; and c) to evaluate the factors affecting the distribution of the progressive.

2. Methodology

The source of analysis comes from the ICE. These corpora fulfil the concept of *comparable corpora* required for a synchronic study, differing only in the territory where language examples were collected[4]. For this study the complete POS-tagged versions of the following ICE components were used: Hong Kong (HKE), India (IndE), Singapore (SingE) and British (BrE). Thus, each of the ICE corpora contains samples of approximately one million words, compiled since 1990 from native speakers aged 18 or above. Each corpus has 500 texts of approximately 2000 words each, both spoken and written (60% and 40%, respectively), with a slight emphasis on private conversations in the spoken mode. This analysis uses the complete ICE corpora, with the exception of extra-corpus material, which was removed from all the corpora[5]. Table 1 reproduces the word count of the ICE components.

	HKE	IndE	SingE	BrE
Spoken	735,082	693,463	625,112	643,015
Writren	496,473	387,713	402,710	428,826
Total	1,231,555	1,081,176	1,027,822	1,071,841

TABLE 1. Word-count for the ICE components analysed

The instances were automatically retrieved by means of AntConc 3.2.4, a freely-available software from the Antlab website (Anthony 2011). A wildcard combination was used to retrieve all the structures containing any form of the verb *to be* occurring with a present participle (*-ing* form). The queries allowed up to a maximum of four words as intervening material between the verb *to be* and the *–ing* form, giving room for different types of examples such as negatives and interrogative clauses, among others. Next, manual disambiguation was needed in order to ignore non-progressive forms *sensu stricto*, such as the catenative construction *to be going to*, and adjectives ending in *–ing* that appeared mistagged (e.g. interesting, boring). Examples of the progressive structures used in this study can be found in Table 2.

(Auxiliary) + *be* form + *-ing* main verb	Tense, mood, aspect, voice
am/'m, is/'s, are/'re + *-ing*	Present progressive active
was/were + *-ing*	Past progressive active
*can/could/may/might/must/shall/should/will/would + be + *-ing*	Modal progressive active
to be + *-ing*	to-infinitive progressive
has/have/had + been + + *-ing*	Present/past perfect progressive active
am/'m, is/'s, are/'re/was/were + being + past participle	Present/past progressive passive
can/could/may/might/must/shall/should/will/would + have + been + *-ing*	Modal perfect progressive

TABLE 2. Types of retrieval classified according to tense, mood, aspect and voice (following Leech et al. 2009)

In addition to these main forms, retrievals included up to four words between the verb *be* and the *–ing* participial, such as adverbs (including *not*) or noun phrases (as in questions). There were no retrievals for the perfect progressive construction in passive voice, e.g. *(s)he has been being taken*.

The non-parametric test Log-Likelihood index (G^2) was applied in order to determine whether the results obtained from each corpus differed significantly in each variety. The calculations were performed using an Excel spreadsheet designed by Paul Rayson and available for downloading at the UCREL website[6]. This index indicates to what degree two samples are different, the higher the log-likelihood, the more significant the difference between both frequencies (Rayson and Garside 2000). Frequencies were then normalized (*n.f.)* according to the total number of words of a given corpus or the number of words in a particular section, e.g. dialogue, as appropriate, according to the following equation:

n.f. = Number of retrievals * 10,000/ word count (whole corpus or corpus section)

3. Results

3.1. The progressive across the Asian varieties of English

The overall normalized frequency of the progressive in the four corpora is presented in Table 3, classified in terms of the variety and section (speech and writing). The data show that as overall BrE has the highest value, followed by IndE, SingE and HKE. The log-likelihood index (Table 4) confirms that the results obtained from HKE are significantly different from the others at a level of $p<0.001$, just as SingE is from BrE, whereas IndE is dissimilar from SingE and BrE at a level of $p<0.05$ and $p<0.01$, respectively. These varieties are observed to differ in their use of the progressive, insofar as HKE seems to be more distant from BrE, while IndE is the most similar, and the smallest difference is to be found between IndE and SingE.

	HKE		IndE		SingE		BrE	
	raw freq.	*n.f.*	raw freq.	*n.f.*	raw freq.	*n.f.*	raw freq.	*n.f.*
Spoken	3032	41,25	4454	64,23	3533	56,52	4165	64,77
Writren	1353	27,25	870	22,44	1308	32,48	1393	32,28
Total	4384	35,60	5324	49,24	4842	47,11	5558	51,85

Table 3. Distribution of the progressive in terms of register variation. *n.f.* stands for *normalized frequency*

	HKE	IndE	SingE	BrE
HKE		249.46***	176.53***	343.80***
IndE			4.98*	7.27**
SingE				23.88***
BrE				

TABLE 4. Log-likelihood index values for each corpus pair[7]

Although most previous studies analysing the progressive in World English varieties have related the occurrences of the progressive to the number of words in the corpus using the M-coefficient (Collins 2008; Sharma 2009; Schilk, 2014; van Rooy 2014), which is in fact the same as the *n.f.*, others prefer to consider the frequency of the progressive construction in relation with the number of verbal phrases (VPs) in the corpus (Smitterberg 2005; Aart, Close & Wallis 2010; Rautionaho 2014). In particular, Rautionaho (2014) has counted the number of VPs present in a fraction of 100,000 words obtained from the spoken section of the ICE corpora in native and non-native varieties. Considering that her selection is representative of the whole corpus and that VPs are homogeneously distributed within each corpus, the V-coefficient was estimated for the data obtained in this study. Thus, Figure 1 shows the values for coefficients in both the Asian varieties and BrE.

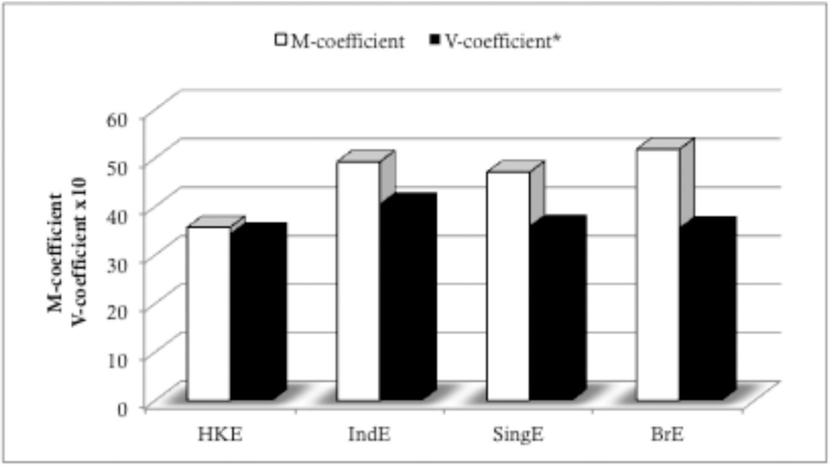

FIGURE 1. M-coefficient and V-coefficient for the progressive in the ICE corpora studied. Note that the V-coefficient must be multiplied by 10

According to our data the M-coefficient shows that the progressive is more frequent in BrE, followed by IndE, SingE and HKE. However, if the V-coefficient is considered, the order changes and IndE has the highest value, followed by SingE, BrE and HKE. The M-coefficient data of this study differs slightly from those presented by Rautionaho (2014), because in her study the order from the highest to the lowest value is IndE > BrE > SingE > HKE. This difference could be attributed to the fact that Rautionaho did not included the *to*-infinitive + progressive construction, which in fact is significantly higher ($p<0.001$) in BrE than in the other varieties considered. Thus, it is clear that the use of one index or the other (type of relative frequency) could slightly influence the results obtained.

3.2. Distribution of the progressive in the spoken and written registers

The frequency of the progressive is higher in the spoken than in the written sections, in all the corpora studied with ratios (*n.f.* spoken/ *n.f.* written) varying from 1.52 in HKE to 2.86 in IndE (Fig. 2). Once again, IndE and BrE present similar frequencies of the progressive, notably in the spoken language, with *n.f.* values of 65.23 and 64.77, respectively.

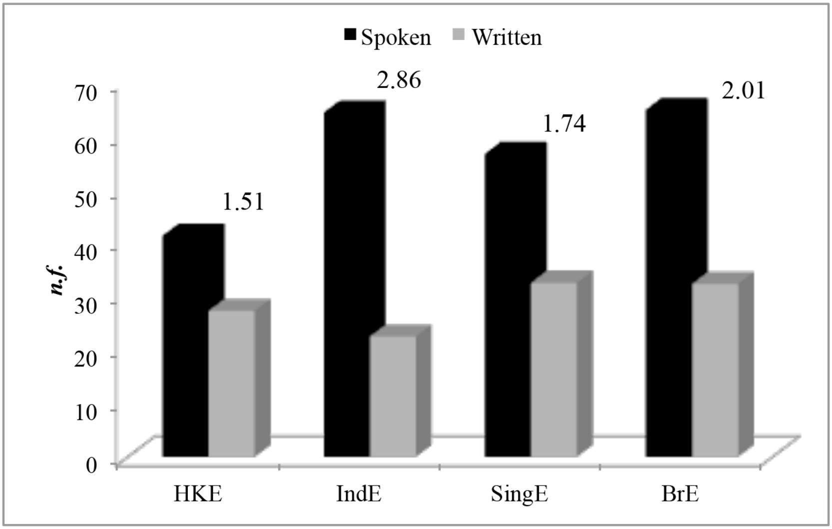

FIGURE 2. Distribution of the progressive in the spoken and written components. (The numbers above the bars indicate the spoken/written ratio)

Contrariwise, IndE has the lowest frequencies of the progressive in the written form (22.44), followed by HKE (27.25), while SingE and BrE present the highest values, 32.48 and 32.28, respectively. While IndE is considered to be syntactically close to the native varieties (particularly BrE), it also exhibits a higher degree of formality, "with a preference for certain syntactic forms" (Sailaja 2009: 39). This could explain the low proportion of the progressive in the writing samples in comparison with the other varieties, such as in *social letters*. Thus, while SingE frequency of the progressive is 112.44 in *social letters* (347 positive retrievals), IndE only shows a value of 52.00 (170 cases).

The spoken register of ICE also distinguishes between dialogue and monologue, the former taken from private and public conversations, such as phone-calls, classroom lessons and parliamentary debates (the latter divided into scripted and unscripted situations, for instance, broadcast talks and commentaries). The data show that the progressive is differently distributed in the spoken samples in the Asian varieties (Table 5). Thus, while in IndE and SingE the progressive is more frequent in dialogue than in monologue (with a ratio of 1.73 and 1.47, respectively), in HKE the use of the progressive seems to be slightly favoured in monologues (ratio 0.88). The phenomenon is found to present a higher frequency in public than in private conversations in HKE, with a *n.f.* of 41.74 and 37.63 in each case, while the opposite occurs in IndE and SingE (Fig. 3). Within the monologues, however, the unscripted samples show a higher proportion of the progressive than the scripted ones in all corpora.

	HKE		IndE		SingE	
	raw freq.	*n.f.*	raw freq.	*n.f.*	raw freq.	*n.f.*
	Spoken					
Dialogue	1771	39,32	3209	77,35	2441	64,69
Monologue	1261	44,30	1245	44,69	1092	44,07
	Written					
Printed	1016	27,05	522	18,72	847	28,03
Non-printed	336	27,81	348	31,96	461	45,86

TABLE 5. Raw and normalized frequencies of the progressive in the sub-sections of the Asian varieties corpora

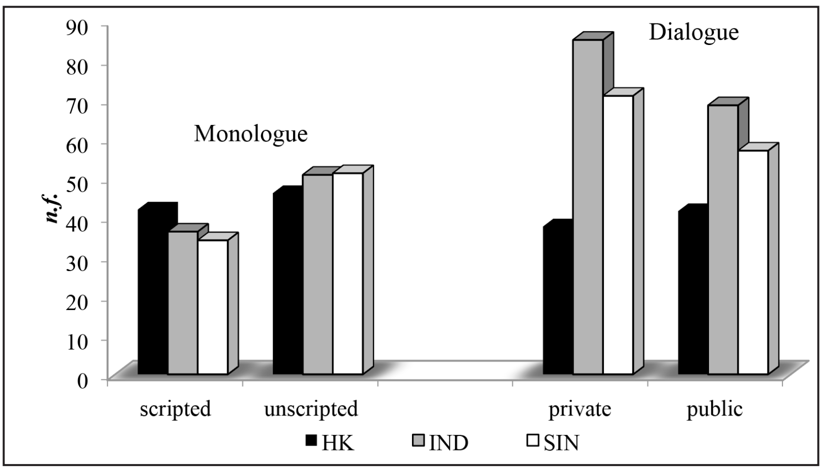

FIGURE 3. Distribution of the progressive within the speech samples

The written component of ICE can also be further divided into printed and non-printed material, the former being more formal in terms of register. The three Asian varieties analysed have higher frequencies of the progressive in the non-printed section: 45.86, 31.96 and 27.81 for SingE, IndE and HKE, respectively.

However, while in IndE and SingE the proportion of the progressive in the printed samples is approximately half of the findings in the non-printed, in HKE the distribution between each part is almost equal. The progressive predominates particularly in *social letters*, *creative writing* and *press reports* in all the corpus components, which stand out for being more colloquial registers or having adopted colloquial features (Kranich 2010: 102-103).

3.3. Distribution of the progressive by tense and voice

This section discusses the distribution of the progressive across the English verbal paradigm, considering the following verbal constructions: present and past simple, present and past perfect, modal and *to* infinitive, in the active and the passive voices, all of them across speech and writing. As shown in Figure 4, the progressive is clearly associated with the present simple[8] tense in all the varieties, both in the active and in the passive voice, though with slight differences. Thus, in the active voice (Fig. 4.a) IndE has the highest frequencies of the progressive aspect in the present simple, whereas HKE presents the lowest values, not only in the present but also in all the verbal constructions under scrutiny.

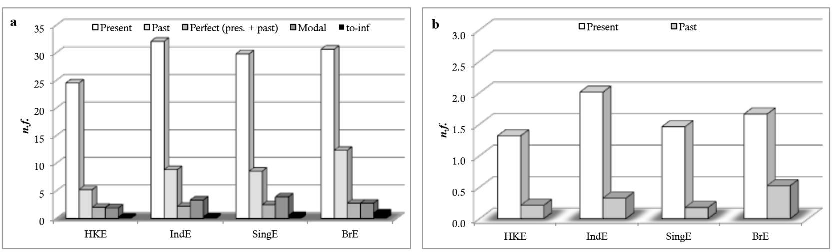

FIGURE 4. Distribution of the progressive aspect across the verbal paradigm, active (a) and passive voice (b). Note that Present and Past refer only to simple progressive, Perfect includes both present and past, and within Modal the few cases retrieved of modal perfect progressive are included[9]

Concomitantly, the statistical analysis confirms that HKE differs significantly from IndE, SingE and BrE at a level of $p<0.001$ in the use of the progressive in the present and past simple and modal construction. Conversely, IndE and SingE where not significantly different for any verbal construction at a $p<0.001$, and both varieties differed from BrE for the past simple progressive, the modal construction, and the *to*-infinitive progressive only in the case of SingE.

The past simple progressive in the active voice shows the highest frequency in BrE, a figure that is significantly different from all the Asian varieties ($p<0.001$). In turn, while IndE and SingE show similar values for the past simple progressive, 8.84 and 8.57, respectively, HKE again stands out with the lowest figure (5.23). Considering the proportion of present and past simple uses in the active voice, the data show that HKE is more reluctant to use the past simple progressive, given that the ratio present/past is significantly higher in HKE than in BrE, 4.69 and 2.48, respectively. On the other hand, IndE and SingE have similar ratios, 3.63 the former and 3.48 the latter. Regarding the differences between spoken and written texts in this matter, BrE exceeds the Asian varieties in both sections, while IndE shows less use of the past simple progressive in the written samples than in the spoken ones. HKE and SingE maintain a similar proportion for the spoken and the written progressive (Figure 5).

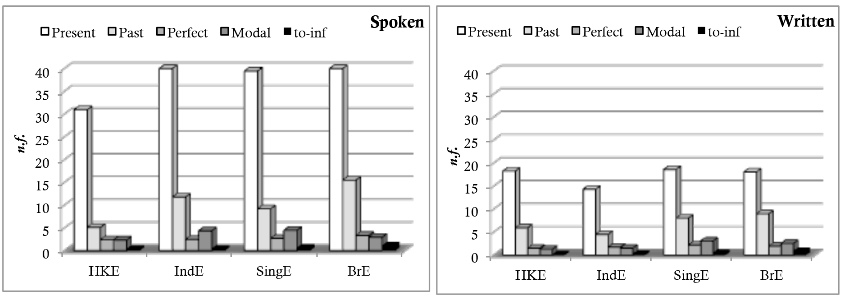

FIGURE 5. Distribution of the progressive for the spoken and written section of the corpora (active and passive voices considered)

The perfect progressive only occurred in the active voice as no structure with the form *have/has been being* + past participle was retrieved. The frequency of the perfect progressive forms, both present and past, show a similarly distribution among the corpora. Thus, BrE has a *n.f.* of 2.79, SingE of 2.51, IndE of 2.22 and finally HKE with 2.16. In the same vein, values for the spoken and the written sections show a similar distribution among the varieties. However, while BrE presents the highest frequency in the spoken language, SingE and IndE slightly exceed the rest of corpora in the written texts (Figure 4). These results agree with previous studies, which in general find a small proportion of perfect progressive, and no significant difference among the varieties analysed (Collins 2008: 233, Rautionaho 2014: 121). Some examples of perfect progressive are shown below:

(1) *Since* the start of the Industrial Revolution air pollution *has been creating* biological deserts around industrial centres (ICE-GB, W2A-030)

(2) We *have been trying* to resolve problems (ICE-IND, S1B-036)

(3) Eighteen year old Noi *has been working* here *for just over a year* (ICE-SIN, S2B-025)

(4) *I've been eating* seafood *every* day (ICE-HK, S1B-045)

(5) Uh this is different uh from uh what we'*ve been doing all the time* in the past (ICE-HK, S2B-048)

The perfect progressive expresses a situation in progress that started somewhere in the past but that is still unfinished in the present. It focuses particularly on the duration of the event, which seems "to invite the use of temporal adverbials" (Kranich 2010: 140). According with the examples presented above, the co-occurrence with temporal adverbials is common but not strictly necessary, as in example (2). In other cases, rather than being used to emphasize the duration of the event, as is the case in (1) and (3), the adverbial indicates repetition, as in (4) and (5). The question of perfect progressive co-occurring with adverbials has been addressed by Rauthionaho (2014). Her analysis based on conversation samples concludes that SingE seems less prone to use adverbials of time modifying the perfect progressive than other OC and IC varieties (Rauthionaho 2014: 122-125). It would be interesting to extend the analysis to other type of spoken samples as well as written texts, in order to test Smitterberg's hypothesis, which postulates that in those varieties where the progressive is more integrated the need for a temporal marker is lower (2005: 188).

The combination of modal + progressive appears more frequently in SingE and IndE than in BrE and HKE, particularly in the spoken language (Figure 4), where SingE has a frequency of 4.46, IndE of 4.37, BrE of 2.94 and HKE of 2.34. This construction can be further unfolded according to which modal verb is more or less frequently combined with the progressive. Within the modals, the construction *will* be *+-ing* form is considered to be one of the 'special' uses of the progressive, (Leech et al. 2009: 139), as it can be applied to an event in progress set in the future (examples 6 and 7), or referring to a future situation not in progress (examples 8 and 9). See examples below:

(6) By the time you arrive, *I 'll probably be having* my final exams (ICE-HKE, W1B-010)

(7) *They all will be doing* development work and then when users have problem they wo n't call us directly […] (ICE-SIN, S1A-045)

(8) Matthew has just finished his exams and *will be leaving* for a short trip, either Thailand or Indonesia. (ICE-SIN, W1B-008)

(9) So uh and why I am asking it now and not when the final printout is out because uh *I'll be asking* for funds in April or May (ICE-IND, S1B-071)

The analysis of the data shows that this combination, also called the futurate progressive, represents between the 40% and the 60 % of all the modal progressives, and that this proportion changes among the varieties and field (spoken or written). Thus, as a whole the construction *will* + progressive was favoured in the Asian varieties in comparison with BrE. In SingE the modal *will* represents 64.5 % of the total modal progressives, followed by IndE with 62.15%, HKE with 55.27% and BrE with just 40.60%. In addition, all the Asian varieties show a higher percentage of *will* + progressive in the spoken than in the written samples, while BrE presents the opposite situation.

In turn, the use of the *to*-infinitive progressive, e.g. *to be asking*, presents the lowest values in all the corpora, appearing more frequently in BrE than in the Asian varieties, both in speech and writing. Thus, for the whole BrE corpus the percentage of *to*-infinitve progressive is 2.11% out of all verbal constructions analysed, followed by SingE with 1.38%, HKE with 1.00% and IndE with the lowest value, 0.85%. However, in BrE this construction is more common in speech than in writing, the difference between the native and the non-native varieties is larger in the written section, by a factor of 1.9 in comparison with the speech. To sum up, BrE uses more *to*-infinitive progressive constructions than the Asian varieties, particularly in written texts. The non-finite progressive is normally used to express an action that is repeated with a progressive meaning, as is shown in examples 10, 11, and 12. However, in other cases it is used to present an action in progress with the emphasis in the action as in example 13.

(10) to treat an individual who is diagnosed *to be suffering* from deviance (ICE-HK, W1A-012)

(11) Because we don't want *to be saying* you know the same thing (ICE-HK, S1A-053)

(12) He seemed *to be following* Gary Schofield everywhere (ICE-GB, S2A-004)

(13) And they are supposed *to be writing* in their English medium uh in exams or whatever projects (ICE-SIN, S1A-071)

The progressive appears in the passive voice less frequently in our data, not only in terms of its total frequency but also in terms of the overall distribution of tenses. Thus, only 2 passive uses have been identified, namely: present and past. Once again the progressive in the passive voice shows higher frequencies in IndE, followed by BrE and SingE with very similar values for the present passive, and finally HKE presenting the lowest frequencies in both present and past progressive forms (Fig. 3.b). The statistical analysis proves that in the passive voice HKE shows differences with respect to IndE in the use of the present progressive, and with respect to BrE past ($p < 0.001$), whereas no difference is found between HKE and

SingE. For IndE no statistical difference appears if compared with BrE, and only a slight variation is found from SingE in the present tense (*p*< *0.05*). Finally, SingE and BrE only differs in their past use of the passive progressive at a level of *p*< *0.001*.

A further analysis of the passive constructions shows that SingE has the highest values for the present vs. past ratio, while BrE presents the lowest. In fact, the three Asian varieties present similar ratios: 8.33 for SingE, 6.23 for HKE, 6.20 for IndE, while BrE retrieves only 3.18. These results agree with the fact that Outer Circle (OC) varieties try to avoid more complex syntactic structures as in the case of the combination of past tense, passive voice and progressive aspect. As Rautionhao (2014: 106) proposed "the fact that present tense progressives are more frequent in OC varieties may be regarded as indication that the progressive is not as well established in OC varieties as it is in IC [Inner Circle] varieties". Thus, according to our data HKE presents the highest proportion of the present simple progressive in relation with all the progressive forms of the paradigm, with a 72.34%. SingE and IndE have similar proportions, 63.30% and 65.15%, confirming the closeness of these varieties, while in BrE the percentage of present simple progressive decreases to 62.32%. Consequently, it seems that the progressive is more uniformly distributed among the verbal paradigm in the native variety (BrE in our case) than in the non-native Englishes, as HKE, IndE and SingE.

3.4. Distribution in terms of subject person and number of the present active progressive

The distribution of the progressive in terms of subject person and number has been analysed in the present simple active voice (Figure 6). Again, the greatest differences are found between HKE in comparison with IndE and BrE. Thus, HKE and IndE significantly differ at a level *p*< *0,001* for 1st person singular and 3rd person plural (both pronoun and NPs). On the other hand, HKE and BrE are different at the same level of probability for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular (pronoun). Moreover, SingE presents statistical differences (*p*< *0,001*) with HKE and IndE for the 2nd person singular. Finally, IndE and SingE have similar values to those of BrE.

All the corpora present the higher frequency of the progressive associated with the 3rd person singular NPs, followed by the 1st person singular, apart from SingE that shows a higher use of the 2nd person. In addition, the lowest frequencies of the progressive are found with the 3rd person plural pronoun. IndE has a higher use of the progressive than the rest of varieties for the 3rd (NPs) and the 1st person singular (7.79 and 5.48, respectively). The variability among the corpora can be analysed considering the standard deviation (*SD)*. The *SD* shows that the spoken samples have more variability, while the written ones are more conservative regarding the choice of subject person in the progressive constructions when varieties are compared. In turn, the 2nd and the 1st person singular are more irregular in terms of the distribution of the progressive, and the 1st person plural and the 3rd person plural NPs are more stable (Table 6).

The proportion of each subject person occurring in speech and writing shows a heterogeneous distribution among the Asian varieties, proving that the progressive aspect is used differently. Thus, in SingE the first and the third person singular (pronouns) seem to be less frequent in speech than in writing if compared with IndE and BrE; the ratios for spoken v. written being 1.45 and 2.69 for SingE, 2.89 and 6.20for IndE and 2.34 and 3.09 for BrE.

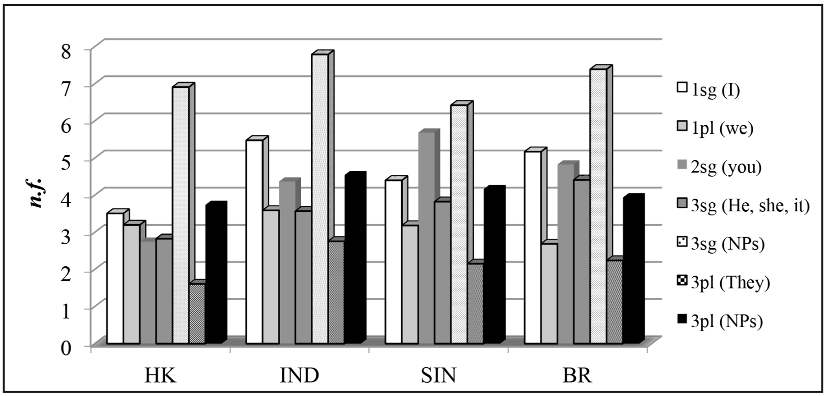

FIGURE 6. Distribution of the progressive by subject person and number in the present simple (active voice)

	n.f. average	*SD*
1sg (I)	4,64	0,88
1pl (we)	3,16	0,37
2sg (you)	4,40	1,23
3sg (He, she, it)	3,66	0,66
3sg (NPs)	7,13	0,59
3pl (They)	2,19	0,47
3pl (NPs)	4,09	0,35

TABLE 6. Average values of *n.f.* and Standard Deviation (*SD)* of the distribution of the progressive in all the corpora

The high proportion of the progressive with the 3rd person singular and plural NPs in all the varieties seems to agree with the diachronic tendency shown by the progressive to co-occur more frequently with non-agentive and/or inanimate subjects (Kranich 2010: 143). However, the agentive and/or animate subjects continue to be the preferred choice for progressive constructions, and of these, animacy seems to weight more than agency (c.f. 146). As the main function of the progressive is to express a dynamic situation, an event in progress, this obviously requires the input of energy supplied usually by an animate and agentive subject. However, other combinations are possible, for instance [- animate, + agentive] or [+ animate, - agentive] in metaphorical uses (Hundt 2004: 50). Although this analysis goes beyond the aim of the present study, an overview of the 3rd person singular NPs group shows that the vast majority correspond with inanimate subjects, while the question of agency is more evenly distributed. The fact that SingE has a lower proportion of the progressive in the 3rd person singular NPs and a higher proportion in the 2nd person seems to indicate a tendency in this variety towards agency and animacy, though this should be further contrasted by analysing each case in particular. The types of possible combinations of the progressive with animate/inanimate and agentive/non-agentive subjects occurring in the 3rd person singular NPs group are illustrated in the following examples:

(15) *Prof. Nadkarni is arranging* accommodation for two days (ICE-IND, W1B-004) [+ animate, + agentive]

(16) If the *government was acting* on its own the clear message to us or to Beijing is that it does not want to take any responsibility for making a decision or any risk of giving the impression that *Hong Kong is acting* too independently or *trespassing* on Beijing's prerogative (ICE-HK, S2B-031) [- animate, + agentive]

(17) Premchand shows how *the daughter-in-law of a man is dying* (ICE-IND, S1A-006) [-animate, -agency]

(18) The hope of owning a bigger flat *is becoming* more and more like an impossible pursuit (ICE-SIN, W1B-022) [- animate, - agentive]

4. Conclusions

This paper deals with the use of the progressive form in some South and Southeast Asian English varieties, namely Hong Kong, India and Singapore, to find out whether the progressive aspect can be identified as a grammatically distinctive feature in those varieties. The data used as source of evidence come from the *International Corpus of English*, which has a selection of comparable corpora for the varieties surveyed, designed with the same structure and chronology, and of a similar dimension.

Our study has allowed us to draw the following conclusions. First, the distribution of the progressive aspect is not homogenous across the South and Southeast Asian varieties of English, insofar as HKE and IndE are found to present the lowest and the highest occurrence, respectively. The highest frequency found in IndE could be justified, at least partially, as a result of basilectal influence, as has been pointed out by Sharma (2009) in her analysis of the progressive co-occurring with stative verbs. She postulates that the fact that Hindi (the main substrate language for IndE speakers) compulsorily marks all imperfectives is transferred to IndE, producing an overuse of the progressive among Indian speakers of English. Although in terms of frequency of the progressive IndE appears close to SingE and BrE (see Table 5), the functions addressed by the progressive in each variety could be different and they should be further investigated. In particular it would be interesting to investigate further those non-standard uses (i.e. stative verbs occurring in the progressive form in speech and writing), or the preference of some verbal forms (i.e. modal progressive and futurate uses).

In turn, SingE, although with a high frequency of the progressive, both in the spoken and in the written forms, seems to be more constrained than IndE. The basilectal transfer is also contemplated by Sharma (2009) as a plausible cause, considering "the restricted use of imperfective marking in Mandarin (as compared with Hindi)". Certainly the wide range of substrate languages spoken in the area, such as Baba Malay, Bazaar Malay, Cantonese, Hokkien and Mandarin (Deterding 2007: 3), makes it difficult to draw reliable conclusions. On top of that, SingE is presently in an advanced stage of development compared with the other Asian varieties, achieving its *endonormative stabilization* phase according to Schneider's Dynamic Model (2007). This model considers that a certain variety develops through a dynamic process by constructing a particular linguistic identity, which is the result of the encounter between the local/native languages and the transplanted variety. The *endonormative stabilization* supposes that the population shares a common sense of nationhood, which is reflected in the language by the acceptance of linguistic norms, increase of linguistic self-confidence, the emergence of local dictionaries and the development of a local literary creativity (Schneider 2007: 160). In this context, the difference in the use of the progressive in relation with the other varieties could be, at least partially, based on the development of a singular linguistic identity as a result of the dynamic evolution of languages in contact.

It remains an open question why HKE should have such a low proportion of the progressive, having reached the same stage of development as IndE in Schneider's model and with both of them being OC varieties. It seems difficult to find one particular reason, and we have to recognize that probably many factors intervene in this case, historical, basilectal influence, and SLA features. Our data agree with those of Rautionaho (2014) placing HKE in the lowest position of the frequency of occurrence of the progressive. In her study, she proposes two main reasons for HKE's underuse of the progressive. One is again basilectal influence, since Cantonese, the main substrate language for HKE corpus speakers, has an optional marker for the progressive. Consequently, HKE speakers do not feel the need to mark progressivity. The second possible cause is the occurrence of an inflected form with progressive meaning, i.e. *be* + base form of the main verb, which could replace the 'typical' progressive. However, the low number of VPs found in HKE corpus by this author (10,416) seems to indicate that, in general, verbal constructions are less used by HKE speakers, and for some reason the progressive form in particular even less. The other intriguing question about HKE is the relatively high proportion of the progressive in the written as compared with the spoken section. The low spoken/written ratio indicates that the progressive is particularly restricted in speech, but not in writing, with similar values to those of SingE for instance. Within the written section, HKE has a similar distribution of the progressive contrasting with the other varieties that present a significantly larger proportion of the progressive in non-printed samples, the latter being considered as more colloquial in style.

Secondly, the results show a higher occurrence of the progressive in the spoken domains. The spoken/written ratio ranks the varieties as follows: HKE (1.51) < SingE (1.74) < BrE (2.01) < IndE (2.86). In the case of HKE, this result is justified by the low frequency of the progressive in speech and a relatively high proportion (similar at least to the other varieties) in writing. On the other hand, IndE presents the lowest occurrence of the progressive in writing and the highest in speech. It can be hypothesized that written IndE remains attached to previous formal norms of the native variety, and consequently it is less prone to use the progressive. The distribution of the progressive among the sub-sections of the corpora seems to confirm that this form is associated with a colloquial use. In this vein, dialogues outnumber monologues, and within dialogue, private conversations present a higher frequency than public ones, while the unscripted outnumbers the scripted monologues. The same pattern is found in the writing section, where non-printed samples have a higher proportion of the progressive in comparison with printed registers. The phenomenon of *colloquialization* could have contributed to the expansion of the use of the progressive from the more informal spoken language to written texts (Mair and Hundt 1995: 118). This would explain the cases of SingE and HKE, which have a relatively high proportion of the progressive in written samples.

Thirdly, the distribution of the progressive across the verbal paradigm presents the same pattern among the varieties under scrutiny. Thus, the progressive is ranked as present simple > past simple> modal > perfects > *to*-infinitive in descending order of frequency in the active voice (speech and writing considered). However, while the modal progressive is more frequent in IndE and SingE as compared with BrE, the latter outnumbers the Asian varieties in the use of the *to*-infinitive construction. It seems that the high proportion of the modal progressive in IndE and SingE is due to the extended use of the construction *will + be –ing*, which is more frequent than constructions with modal auxiliaries other than 'will' in these varieties. In addition, all the Asian varieties studied present a significantly lower proportion of the past simple progressive than the native variety. This could be explained by second language acquisition features, as L2 speakers could have more difficulties in combining tense and aspect, since the progressive is described as troublesome for L2 learners according to Swan and Smith (2001: ix).

Fourthly, the distribution by subject person and number shows that the progressive form is more likely to occur with singular persons (NPs >1st person > 2nd person), even though this fact should be further validated considering the relative contribution of each person to the whole set of data. Previous studies, such as Leech et al. (2009) also find a rather erratic distribution of the progressive in this respect. In turn, the high proportion of NPs subjects occurring with the progressive shows a tendency in non-native varieties towards the use of inanimate and/or non-agentive subjects, which was also found in native varieties (Kranich 2010: 143).

To conclude, our results agree with previous studies arguing that the distribution of the progressive that emerged is a distinctive feature of non-standard (Outer circle varieties) varieties of English. Thus, while in HKE the progressive appears rather constrained, IndE shows the other side of the coin with an extended use of the phenomenon, SingE remaining in-between. In addition, lexical differences have been found in the use of certain verbs in the progressive, which in the case of IndE may be due to an extended (non-native) usage. Although these differences have been attributed mainly to basilectal transfer, this does not explain the high frequency of the progressive found in the native variety, here BrE. Therefore, other factors may have played an active role, such as the transference of spoken features to the written forms by means of *colloquialization* and the development of new uses of the progressive, such as its extension to non-aspectual meanings or non-standard uses, which should be further investigated.

Notes

[1] The origin of the progressive has also been postulated from other perspectives. Thus, it has been observed to derive from the locative construction *be* + a preposition and gerund as in *he wæs on huntende* (Leech *et al.* 2009: 120); or ever as an adjectival derivation, which eventually lost the adjectival dimension to acquire verbal ones, ending up as a verb form (Nuñez-Pertejo 2003).

[2] Another common finding is that the progressive is more frequent by far in spoken than in written registers, and also particularly associated with the present tense and the active voice.

[3] Collins (2008) offers a detailed study of the progressive in terms of speech and writing, the verbal paradigm, the semantic classification of verbs, special uses, grammatical environment, and contraction.

[4] For more information about the ICE project see Greenbaum 1996, Greenbaum and Nelson 1996.

[5] Following the helpful suggestions of the reviewers, the speaker Z <Z>, a native speaker appearing in the HKE, was removed as well as the other extra-corpus material (marked as <x>/</x>) in all the corpora used.

[6] (http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html)

[7] "*" indicates a significant difference at the level of $p<0.05$ (critical value 3.84), "**" at the level of $p<0.01$ (critical value 6.63) and "***" at a level of $p<0.001$ (critical value 10.83).

[8] The terminology applied follows the one proposed by Quirk (1985), in which the term "simple" contrasts "perfective" uses, both in the present and in the past tenses. Accordingly, the present simple progressive (i.e. he is examining) signals the difference with the present perfective progressive (i.e. he has been examining), and the past simple progressive (i.e. he was examining) does the same with the past perfective progressive (i.e. he had been examining) (Quirk 1985: 189). Another nomenclature is the one proposed by Biber et al, where the term "progressive aspect present/past tense" equates to the "present/past simple progressive" mentioned before, and the "perfect progressive aspect" refers to the "perfective progressive" uses (1999: 460-461)

[9] Modal perfect progressive only retrieved 8 cases for SingE, 5 for IndE, 4 for BrE and 2 for HKE.

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Reviews

**CONTRASTIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.
FUNCTIONAL AND CORPUS PERSPECTIVES**

M. Taboada, S. Doval Suárez and E. González Álvarez
Sheffield: Equinox, 2013.

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Situated firmly within "the new wave of contrastive linguistics", as set forth at the *Sixth International Conference on Contrastive Linguistics* (Berlin, 2010) and carefully outlined in the introduction by the editors, the present volume offers fifteen thematically and methodologically varied contributions to the contrastive study of different languages, which are coherently organized around four different topics: (i) discourse markers; (ii) information structure; (iii) registers and genres; (iv) and phraseology. Since the fifteen chapters have as their main objective the comparison and contrast of two languages from different theoretical perspectives, so as to draw theoretical generalizations concerning the differences and similarities between them, they make, all in all, a good contribution to this renewed interest in theory that pervades the field of Contrastive Linguistics nowadays. This is a notable departure (except in the case of chapter 7 by Doval Suárez and González Álvarez and chapter 14 by Rica Peromingo) from the clearly pedagogical orientation that was the distinguishing feature of the earliest constrastive studies published in the 50s, mainly after the works by Fries (1945) and Lado (1957), whose principal aim was no other than to compare the differences between the student's mother tongue and the language he was in the process of learning in order to predict potential areas of difficulty and, therefore, of possible interlinguistic errors that could be, in this way, corrected and avoided.

Discourse markers are the central subject-matter common to the first four chapters of the book. Couched in Mann and Thompson's (1988) Rhetorical Structure Theory, the first one by Taboada and Gómez-González ("Discourse markers and coherence relations: Comparison across markers, languages and modalities") examines the distribution, realization and position of different types of concessive discourse markers in two English and Spanish corpora (a written corpus, part of the Simon Fraser University Corpus, and a spoken one, part of the CallHome set of corpora), to show that the differences in their usage are more pronounced across genres than across languages.

Taking the phenomenon of pragmatic triangulation as its starting point, the second contribution to the volume by Romero Trillo ("Pragmatic triangulation and mis-understanding: A prosodic perspective") offers, after Halliday's (1967, 1970) and Cruttenden's (1997) Nuclear Tone Theory, an acoustic analysis of the discourse markers *mhm, ok, yeah* and *yes* in 5 out of the 50 interviews in the Spanish section of the *Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage*, which reveals significant differences between the pitch and tone used by native and non-native female speakers of English.

In chapter three Stenström ("Spanish *Venga* and its English equivalents: A contrastive study of teenage talk") offers a valuable sociolinguistic comparison of the various uses of *venga* in the *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid* (*COLAM*) with their equivalents in the *Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (*COLT*), which demonstrates that *come on* is the closest equivalent to *venga* in its directive and reactive functions and that elements such as *well, okay, right* and *allright*, are, in turn, its counterparts in its evaluative function.

In chapter four ("Discourse markers in French and German: Reasons for an asymmetry") Adam and Dalmas present an exploratory study that looks for the German functional equivalents of the French discourse markers *dis donc, tu vois* and *écoute* in a corpus of written texts and their translations, which suggests, due to the different degrees of pragmaticalization observed in these markers, that the comparison between languages only makes sense on the functional level.

The following five chapters shape the second section of the volume, which is devoted to information structure. It opens with the probing contrastive study, based on Tavecchio's (2010) corpus, presented in chapter 5 ("Thematic Parentheticals in Dutch and English") by Hannay and Gómez-González, in which interesting differences concerning the frequency, grammatical realization, rhetorical effect and discourse functions of English and Dutch thematic parentheticals are put forward.

In chapter 6 ("Word order and information structure in English and Swedish") Herriman offers an analysis of fronting, postponement by extraposition, existential sentences and clefting in English and Swedish which has important consequences for the information structure of these two languages, since it reveals, contrary to expectation, that the syntactic order of their clause elements is different.

In the contribution that follows (Chapter 7: "The use of it-clefts in the written production of Spanish advanced learners of English") Doval Suárez and González Álvarez carry out a Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis (Granger 1996; Granger et al. 2002) on *it*-clefts in a corpus of argumentative essays extracted from the Spanish component of ICLE and the American and British university component of LOCNESS. The results are enlightening from a contrastive viewpoint, owing to the syntactico-semantic and pragmatic differences observed in the behaviour of *it*-clefts in the speech of native and non-native speakers of English.

In chapter 8 ("Annotating thematic features in English and Spanish: A contrastive corpus-based study"), Arús, Lavid and Moratón describe the preliminary results of the empirical study designed to test in English and Spanish some contrastive features of the category of Theme, as designed in the Systemic Functional Linguistic tradition (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 and Lavid et al. 2010), through corpus analysis and manual annotation, which is part of the CONTRANOT project.

In chapter 9 ("Topic and topicality in text: A contrastive study of English and Spanish narrative texts") Hidalgo and Downing present the findings derived from the exhaustive English-Spanish contrastive analysis of topic organization they develop in a corpus of comparable and parallel narrative texts, in which special emphasis is given to the similarities found in the two languages and across genres concerning Topicality (aboutness and frames setting topics), on the one hand, and Info Status (givenness of the discourse referents), on the other.

The third part of the volume comprises four chapters about discourse and genres. It opens with the text-based English-German contrastive analysis of cohesion developed by Kunz and Steiner, after Halliday and Hasan's (1976) theory, in two subcorpora of the *CroCo* corpus (Chapter 10: "Towards a comparison of cohesive reference in English and German: System and text"), in which especial emphasis is given to the contrasts observed between the English neuter pronoun *it* and its German counterpart *es*, on the one hand, and the set of demonstrative pronouns in the two languages, on the other, in the original and translated texts as well as in the two types of register (fiction and essay writing) analysed.

In chapter 11 ("Genre- and culture-specific aspects of evaluation: Insights from the contrastive analysis of English and Italian online property advertising"), Pounds presents a contrastive analysis of expressions of positive evaluation, as outlined in Martin and White's (2005) APPRAISAL framework, in a corpus of English and Italian online property descriptions, where evaluation and evaluative strategies are shown to be both genre- and culture-specific.

Chapter 12 ("Contrastive analyses of evaluation in text: Key issues in the design of an annotation system for attitude applicable to consumer reviews in English and Spanish") by Taboada and Carretero also deals with evaluative language; specifically, with the part of the CONTRANOT project that focuses on the coding scheme designed for the subcategory of Appraisal known as Attitude (cf. Martin 2000, Martin and White 2005) in a small corpus of just 32 reviews, varied in terms of language, kind of evaluation and product evaluated, which, as such, only points, at this stage of the research, to some preliminary conclusions concerning the quantitative difference between the tokens of Attitude attested in English and Spanish and their similar distribution and polarity.

Also part of the CONTRANOT project is the contribution on modality offered in chapter 13 ("An annotation scheme for dynamic modality in English and Spanish") by Zamorano-Mansilla and Carretero, where a series of annotation experiments in a corpus of 40 English and Spanish examples with the modality expressions *must/deber*, *possibly/posiblemente* and *have to/tener que* and *can/poder* in the present and past tenses, extracted at random from the BNC and *Corpus del Español* (20th century), respectively, is described. Alhough deontic, epistemic and dynamic modality are shown in them to display a similar behaviour in the two languages, some disagreement between the annotators as regards dynamic modality and its relationship with the other two modality types has been found, calling thus for further research in this specific area.

The final section of the book contains two chapters that focus on phraseology. In chapter 14 ("Corpus analysis and phraseology: Transfer of multi-word units") Rica Peromingo accounts, first, for the over- and underuse of the unexpectedly abundant presence of multi-word units (cf. Biber 2004 and Biber et al. 1999, 2004) in English argumentative texts extracted from the ICLE and the CEUNF corpora, if compared with their real frequency of occurrence in the native corpora LOCNESS and SPE, thus demonstrating the mother tongue's influence on the learner's production. At the end of the chapter some methodological indications about how to teach these lexical units in the EFL class are provided.

And in chapter 15, "Lying as metaphor in a bilingual phraseological corpus (German-Spanish)", in order to identify the affinities and divergences between German and Spanish when it comes to understanding reality, Mansilla explores the conceptual metaphors related to lying, deceit and falsehood in the 1430 German and Spanish phraseologisms found in the SPEAK/BE SILENT (HABLAR/CALLAR) corpus that is part of the FRASESPAL project. The findings obtained prove that, despite the versatility of the concept of lying and its variants in the two languages, German and Spanish follow similar cognitive models to designate the various facets of lying, thus reinforcing the cognitive theories developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Dobrovol'skij (1995).

In my view, the present volume is, all in all, a very valuable and original piece of work for two main reasons: first, because the diversity of European languages dealt with in the book (Dutch, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish and English, of course), together with the variety of methodological strategies (ranging from concordancing and careful annotation to painstaking qualitative analysis) used to analyse the different discourse phenomena dealt with, show that the contrastive analysis of languages can be approached from very different angles. And second, because, due to the preliminary character of almost all its chapters, it opens some interesting new lines of research within the field of Contrastive Linguistics. Notice at this point that it revolves around very diverse discourse issues from corpus and functional perspectives which up to now have been almost completely disregarded within the contrastive linguistic tradition, thus calling for further contrastive studies of this type.

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Abstracts

IS THE GET-PASSIVE REALLY THAT ADVERSATIVE?

Eduardo Coto Villalibre

The characteristics commonly attributed to central *get*-passives in the relevant literature include the possibility of taking an overtly expressed agent *by*-phrase, a dynamic meaning conveyed by the lexical verb, an animate and human referent who is at the same time responsible for the action expressed in the clause, and an adversative semantic implication of the past participle.

This paper focuses on one of the abovementioned features: the semantic implication of *get*-passives, that is, whether the event described in the clause is beneficial or favorable for the subject (*get awarded*, *get elected*, *get promoted*), adversative or unfavorable for the subject (*get arrested*, *get killed*, *get shot*), or semantically neutral (*get printed*, *get sent*, *get written*). Data collected from a corpus-based analysis of the spoken British English component and other spoken ESL components of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) will be deployed to argue against those claims which define the *get*-passive as a predominantly negative or adversative construction in Present-Day English.

Keywords: *get*-passive, semantics, adversative, beneficial, neutral.

Entre las características que se le atribuyen comúnmente en la bibliografía pertinente a las pasivas con *get* se incluyen la posibilidad de llevar un agente explícito introducido por la preposición *by*, un verbo léxico que expresa un significado dinámico, un referente animado y humano que, a su vez, es responsable de la acción expresada en la cláusula, y un participio pasado con una implicación semántica adversa.

Este estudio se centra en una de esas propiedades: la implicación semántica de las pasivas con *get*, es decir, si el suceso descrito en la cláusula es beneficioso o favorable para el sujeto (como en *get awarded*, *get elected*, *get promoted*), adverso o desfavorable para el sujeto (como en *get arrested*, *get killed*, *get shot*), o semánticamente neutro (como en *get printed*, *get sent*, *get written*). Con los datos derivados del estudio de corpus del componente oral de inglés británico y de otras variedades de inglés del *International Corpus of English* (ICE) se intentará rebatir aquellas afirmaciones que sostienen que la pasiva con *get* es una construcción predominantemente negativa o adversa en inglés contemporáneo.

Palabras clave: pasiva con *get*, semántica, adversa, beneficiosa, neutral.

MAKING SUGGESTIONS WHILE COLLABORATING IN L1 ENGLISH: COMMON STRUCTURES AND STRATEGIES

Anne Edstrom

The present study examines English suggestions that surfaced naturally during a collaborative writing task in a Spanish class. Students' limited L2 (second language) oral skills made it necessary for them to speak in their L1 (first language), English, while creating a written product in Spanish. Given the interactive nature of the assignment, making suggestions was a collaborative gesture; to remain silent was to be off-task, uncooperative, or uncommitted to the group's success. This article explores the syntactic structures, pragmatic strategies, and redressive actions used by native speakers of American English when making suggestions. The data indicate that participants made frequent use of modals and did not use the more formulaic strategies included in some lists and taxonomies (Koike 1994; Martínez-Flor 2005).

Keywords: Speech acts, suggestions, collaborative writing, pragmatic strategies, syntactic structures.

La presente investigación examina las sugerencias que surgen de forma natural y espontánea en inglés durante una tarea colaborativa de escritura en una clase de español. Las limitadas destrezas orales de los estudiantes en su L2 (segunda lengua) hizo necesario que hablaran su L1 (primera lengua) mientras producían una tarea escrita en español. Debido a la naturaleza interactiva intrínseca en esta actividad, hacer sugerencias se consideró un acto colaborativo y quedarse callado se interpretó como estar distraído, poco cooperativo o no muy implicado con el éxito del grupo. Este artículo explora las estructuras sintácticas, estrategias pragmáticas y acciones correctivas utilizadas por los hablantes nativos de inglés estadounidense cuando hacen sugerencias. Los datos indican que los participantes usan con frecuencia verbos modales y que no usan expresiones formulaicas incluidas en algunas listas y taxonomías (Koike 1994; Martínez-Flor 2005).

Palabras clave: Actos de habla, sugerencias, escritura colaborativa, estrategias pragmáticas, estructuras sintácticas

A MARCH TOWARDS REFORM: THE METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF "REFORM" IN KING ABDULLAH II'S LANGUAGE

Ahmad El-Sharif

Reform has recently become an imperative topic in Jordanian politics. After waiting long for tangible political and economic programs to be initiated by political parties, King Abdullah II of Jordan introduced his vision of reform. Reform is a priority, and this is plainly reflected in King Abdullah II's "reformist" discourse. This paper adopts a critical linguistic approach to metaphor analysis to study King Abdullah II's employment of metaphorical language to accentuate his authority, dominance, and ideologies in the implementation of a vision of reform. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of a corpus of King Abdullah II's discourse demonstrates extensive use of metaphors from the conceptual domains of path, war (and conflicts) to conceptualise reform. It is found that the choice of such metaphors reflects King Abdullah II's belief in implementing reform while maintaining a stable political and social system. This vision adopts a pragmatic and realistic position that is not deluding Jordanians or making them expect instantaneous positive outcomes from the reform process.

Keywords: Metaphor, reform, corpus, Jordan, King Abdullah II, critical metaphor analysis.

El concepto de reforma se ha convertido en un tema esencial en la política de Jordania. Tras esperar durante largo tiempo que los partidos políticos iniciasen programas políticos y económicos tangibles, el rey Abdalá II de Jordania introdujo su visión de reforma. La implementación de reformas es una prioridad, y esto se refleja claramente en el discurso reformista del rey Abdalá II. Este artículo adopta un enfoque crítico al análisis de la metáfora para estudiar el uso del lenguaje metafórico por parte del rey Abdalá II para acentuar su autoridad e ideología en la implementación de su visión de reforma. El análisis cualitativo y cuantitativo de un corpus de discursos del rey Abdalá II muestra un uso extensivo de metáforas de los dominios conceptuales de camino y guerra (y conflictos) para conceptualizar la idea de reforma. La elección de estas metáforas refleja la creencia del rey Abdalá II en la necesidad de implementar reformas al mismo tiempo que se mantiene un sistema social y político estable. Esta visión adopta una posición pragmática y realista que no lleva a los jordanos a esperar resultados positivos instantáneos del proceso de reforma.

Palabras clave: Metáfora, reforma, corpus, Jordania, rey Abdalá II, análisis crítico.

AN INTRODUCTION TO GRAPHOLOGY: DEFINITION, THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

Eva Gómez-Jiménez

The present paper aims at presenting some fundamental ideas that clarify the concept of graphology as a linguistic level of analysis. Departing from the lack of a theoretical apparatus at this level, this article explains what graphology means, what has been previously published on this matter and how this can be categorized into different sub-levels of study according to Levenston (1992) and Lennard (2005). This paper takes for granted Firth's (1957) belief that all branches of linguistics are concerned with meaning; and that graphology should therefore receive due attention from linguists as all the other linguistic levels (i.e. lexis, grammar or phonology) have. The results of this research indicate that graphology as a system has been neglected both in theoretical and in practical terms. Further work in this field is therefore needed in order to facilitate the analysis of visual elements in literary and non-literary texts.

Keywords: graphology, graphemics, spelling, punctuation, typography, layout.

El objetivo de este trabajo consiste en presentar algunas nociones fundamentales para clarificar el concepto de grafología como nivel lingüístico de análisis. Partiendo de la ausencia de un marco teórico que aborde esta cuestión, este artículo explica qué significa "grafología", qué se ha publicado sobre esta cuestión y cómo se puede categorizar en distintos niveles de análisis de acuerdo a los esquemas propuestos por Levenston (1992) y Lennard (2005). El presente estudio parte de la idea de Firth (1957) de que todos los niveles lingüísticos de análisis están vinculados al significado; por tanto, se defiende la premisa de que la lingüística debe prestar atención a la grafología tal y como sucede con los demás niveles. Sin embargo, los resultados de esta investigación indican que la grafología sigue desatendida tanto a nivel teórico como práctico, lo que demuestra la necesidad de

seguir trabajando en este campo para facilitar el análisis de los elementos visuales en cualquier tipología discursiva.

Palabras clave: grafología, grafémica, ortografía, puntuación, tipografía, diseño.

SYNCHRONIC ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRESSIVE ASPECT IN THREE VARIETIES OF ASIAN ENGLISHES

Soluna Salles Bernal

The purpose of this study is to analyse the frequency of use of the progressive aspect in three varieties of Asian Englishes, namely Hong Kong, India and Singapore, considering British English as a point of departure. The use of the progressive will be researched in comparable corpora (*International Corpus of English*) considering its distribution in the English verbal paradigm and subject person, both in the written and spoken components. Main results indicate that IndE has the highest frequency of the progressive, and Hong Kong English the lowest, when non-native varieties are compared. In all cases, the progressive is more frequent in the spoken than in the written section, and it preferably occurs in the present simple tense. English varieties present significant differences regarding the distribution of the progressive by tense and subject person. Several factors are discussed as possible reasons for such variation.

Key words: Asian Englishes, progressive aspect, Hong Kong English, Indian English, Singapore English, British English.

Este estudio tiene como principal objetivo el análisis de la frecuencia de uso del aspecto progresivo en tres variedades de inglés asiático, Hong Kong, India y Singapur, considerando el inglés británico como punto de referencia. El uso de la forma progresiva será investigado en los corpora del *International Corpus of English* (ICE) según su distribución en el paradigma verbal y del sujeto, para los componentes hablado y escrito. Los datos obtenidos indican que la mayor frecuencia de uso del progresivo corresponde a la variedad de inglés Indio, mientras que el inglés de Hong Kong tiene la menor proporción. En todos los casos el aspecto progresivo es más frecuente en el inglés hablado que en el escrito, y particularmente en el tiempo presente simple. Se encontraron diferencias significativas en la distribución del progresivo en función del tiempo y del sujeto entre las variedades de inglés asiático analizadas. Diversos factores son considerados como posible causa de la variabilidad encontrada.

Palabras clave: inglés asiático, aspecto progresivo, inglés en Hong Kong, inglés en India, inglés en Singapur.

Notes for contributors

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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Double quotation marks should be used for citations. Single quotes may be used to draw attention to a particular item in the text. Italics are used for foreign words, or for emphasis. References in the text to publications should include the author's surname, the year of publication, and, if necessary, page numbers, as in the following examples:

"…narrative to their function" (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 12).

…following Blakemore (1987: 35),…

…perform a distinctive function in discourse (Blakemore 1987).

…this issue has received a lot of attention by relevance theorists (Blakemore 1987, 1992; Wilson and Sperber 1993).

Should part of the original text be omitted, this will be made clear by inserting […], NOT (…).

Bibliographical references

Bibliographical references should be included in alphabetical order at the end of the manuscript and under the heading WORKS CITED. Authors' full first names should be used unless the authors themselves customarily use only initials. Set the author's last name(s) in small caps. References to two or more works by the same author in a single year should be accompanied by a lower-case a, b, etc. after the year of publication, both in the reference list and in citations in the text. References to books should include the place of publication and the publisher's name, and references to articles in journals should include volume, issue number (if necessary) and page numbers. Titles of books and journals will be written in italics. Titles of articles and of book chapters will be placed in double inverted commas.

Examples:

Monographs:

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Author's Surnames(s), Author's first name(s). (Year of 1st edition) Year of edition actually used. *Title in italics.* Place: Publisher.

Editor's Surnames(s), Editor's first name(s). (ed.) Year. *Title in italics.* Place: Publisher.

First Author's Surnames(s), First author's first name(s), Second author's first name(s) Second Author's Surname(s) and Third author's first name(s) Third Author's Surname(s). Year. *Title in italics.* Place: Publisher.

Author's Surname(s), Author's first name(s). Year. *Title in italics.* Trans. Translator's initials. Translator's surname(s). Place: Publisher.

Chapter or article in a monograph:

If only one chapter or article has been used:

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Author's Surname(s), Author's first name(s). Year. "Title in double inverted commas". In Editor's surname(s), Editor's first name(s) (ed.): 00-00. (The reference of the edited book should be written, in full, as a separate entry).

If the book is a compilation of another author's works:

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Article in a periodical or journal:

AUTHOR'S SURNAME(S), Author's first name(s). Year. "Title in double inverted commas". *Name of journal in italics* number (volume): 00-00.

Citations on electronic sources:

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If no author is given begin the entry with the title of the document, inserted in alphabetical order with the rest of the references.

Examples:

GERLACH, John. 1989. "The Margins of Narrative: The Very Short Story. The Prose Poem and the Lyric". In Lohafer, Susan and Jo Ellyn Clarey (eds.) *Short Story Theory at a Crossroads*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana U.P.: 74-84.

NEALE, Steve. 1992. "The Big Romance or Something Wild? Romantic Comedy Today". *Screen* 33 (3): 284-299.

SAFRAN, Steve. 2007. "E&P: VT paper should be considered for Pulitzer". <http://www.lostremote.com/index.php?tag=virginia-tech>. Accessed July 25, 2008.

"Stars Slate Bush at Relief Event". 2005. BBC News. (September 19). <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/4260182.stm>. Accessed February 21, 2010.

TURBIDE, Diane. 1993. "A Literary Trickster: Thomas King Conjures up Comic Worlds". *Maclean's* (3 May): 43-44.

WILLIAMS, Tennessee. 1983. *La gata sobre el tejado de zinc caliente*. Trans. A. Diosdado. Madrid: Ediciones MK.

The following norms should also be taken into account:

- Endnotes, which should appear before the Works Cited list, should be as few and short as possible, and their corresponding numbers in the main text should be typed as superscripts.
- Additional comments should appear in between long dashes: (—) rather than (-); —this is an example—, leaving no spaces in between the dashes and the text within them.
- There should be no full stops after interrogation and exclamation marks.

- Inverted commas should never appear after punctuation marks (eg. “this is correct”, but “this isn’t.”).
- Current (CG Times or Times New Roman) typefaces should be used, and special symbols should be avoided as much as possible.
- “&” should be avoided whenever possible.
- Generally speaking, punctuation and orthography should be coherent (British or American style) all through the article. For example: “emphasise/ recognise” rather than “emphasize/ recognise”; “colour/ colour” rather than “colour/ color”.

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