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On Some FSP Aspects of the Internet Chat (With Special Regard to Presentation Scale Sentences)

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Abstract
In the framework of the theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP) – summarised in Firbas 1992 – every sentence principally implements one of the so-called dynamic semantic scales, which functionally reflect the distribution of communicative dynamism and operate irrespective of word order. Generally speaking, Firbas distinguishes two types of the dynamic semantic scales: the Presentation Scale, in which a context-independent subject is presented on the scene, and the Quality Scale, where a specifying quality is ascribed to the subject. The present paper, focusing on the Presentation Scale sentences, sets out to discuss those that appear within the register of the Internet Chat. It strives to throw some light on their structure, function and their syntactic typology, with special regard to the textual qualities of this highly specific genre. The analysis offered deals with an authentic sample corpus of ca 6,300 words.

Keywords
Presentation; Scale; FSP; Firbas; Internet; Chat

Introduction
The present paper proposes to shed light on the operation of basic principles of the Firbasian theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP) within the sub-genre of the Internet Chat. In today's globalised and digitalised world, electronic communication seems to have taken over a substantial part of human interaction, supplying thus some of the "natural" communication channels. The language of on-line Internet chatgroups then occupies a somewhat specific place, being definitely a register *sui generis* (Crystal 2001: viii-ix). As such, it has been proven to manifest a number of highly peculiar graphical, syntactic, lexical make-up; for the sake of conciseness, only the most typical features of Internet chatting are enumerated here: use of abbreviations, emoticons, puns, playful spelling and orthography, capitalisation, intentional "errors", illogical sequences, use of interjections and expletives and other emotionally coloured lexical netspeak features, information value of consonants as opposed to vowels, problematic turn-taking, "spoken-written" character, intimate or even taboo topics discussed etc. (Crystal 2001; Hurtová 2010)
The principal topic of the present paper is the FSP analysis of a sample corpus of an Internet on-line chat-room, conducted with special regard to some typical aspects of the given sub-genre in terms of the theory of functional sentence perspective. Especially, the way phenomena are presented into communication (communicated via the so-called Presentation Scale sentences) will be discussed in greater detail, including a preliminary semantic syntactic typology of Presentation sentences.

1. Research corpus
The FSP analysis will exploit the sample corpus of a chat-room on-line discussion, covering about 6,300 words and their FSP analyses, creating thus a body of ca 1000 basic distributional fields, i.e. basic interpretative units in FSP, which are technically counted as finite clauses. The data were collected on 21st March 2008 from 4 o'clock p.m. to 5 o'clock p.m. in the chat-room titled *'Talkcity – 20s'* on www.talkcity.com. It will be worth noting that the expression 'room' means here a virtual space that is bounded just by the number of logged-on participants who share the same need to communicate. For the sake of transparency, individual entries of participants (chatters), i.e. contributions were numbered successively 1-1000. Within every entry, the first expression in bold stated after the number is the nickname of the contributor; what follows is the contribution itself. All language phenomena were, of course, kept in their original form, including emoticons, taboo language or errors. Below is a sample, and randomly selected part of the corpus under investigation:

538. AllyKay: *give a BIG HUG to ((((((((((Joop))))))))))*
539. CHARM300000: *listening to pink floyd*
540. elisa3: *it wasnttttt my fault*
541. april: *nooo when you gotta you gotta* :o)
542. elisa3: *yes thats right*
543. AllyKay: xRobotx, why did you ignore me?
544. xRobotx: *It was determined by my programming*
(…)

In harmony with Crystal's classification (2001), the corpus data can be characterised as a synchronous group, which is happening in real time; the participants typically use nicknames, and there is no moderator. Unlike asynchronous groups, in which the time of communication "is postponed" (Crystal 2001: 11), the communication moderated, and the purpose if which is perceived as more-or-less serious and, partly, didactic (ibid. 130-133), the main advantage of the synchronous groups is celerity. Participants simply enter a chat-room and they are able to communicate with other users straight away. The message, or data, is "sent to the specific address, which function is the same as of the middleman, and then the message is sent on the screen which is permanently refreshing" (ibid. 130). This process happens within milliseconds. It means that all the participants are able to see the sent message in a very short time. It follows that these interactions are "the cause of most radical linguistic innovation" (Crystal 2001: 130) such as abbreviations and emoticons mentioned above.
A vital quality of synchronous groups is that the participants – both to remain anonymous and to better express their (dis)likes / e-identity – do not commonly use their real names but their nicknames. Incidentally, according to Bechar-Israeli, the latter reason for using nicks only is shared "by almost half of a population of Internet chat users" (qtd. in Crystal 2001: 161).

2. FSP

It has been generally accepted that from the point of view of information processing, the sentence is the field of syntactic semantic relations, and, as such, is co-governed by the degrees of communicative dynamism (CD) distributed over its individual elements (see Firbas 1992, 1995, Svoboda 1989, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, Adam 2009). Combining the approaches adopted both by structuralist and functionalist approaches, the theory of FSP draws on the findings presented by the scholars of the Prague Circle. Representing one of the branches of linguistics dealing with information processing, it explores how a piece of information is produced in the act of communication, and also how different elements are given different communicative prominence, i.e. are foregrounded or backgrounded to achieve the author's communicative intention.

First, it will be necessary to outline the basic fundaments and terminological *terminus a quo* of the theory of FSP. As has been hinted above, the core of Firbas' theory of FSP lies in the functional approach towards sentences; they are viewed as phenomena operating at the very moment of utterance (Firbas 1992: 118). Firbas claims that every meaningful element of communication is a carrier of communicative dynamism and hence pushes the communication forwards. By a degree of communicative dynamism of an element, he understands its relative communicative value within the utterance in the act of communication. In other words, the sentence is "a field of semantic and syntactic relations that in its turn provides a distributional field of degrees of communicative dynamism (CD)" (Firbas 1992: 7-8). According to FSP, sentence elements serve as communicative units with different degrees of CD. The degrees of CD are determined by the interplay of FSP factors involved in the distribution of degrees of CD. The FSP factors (formative forces) are (1) linear modification, (2) context, and (3) semantics. In spoken language, the interplay of these factors is logically joined by a fourth factor – intonation (Firbas 1992: 14-16). According to the different degrees of CD, one may divide a distributional field into two basic parts: theme and non-theme (which is subdivided into transition and rheme); the theme is not necessarily associated with the initial position in the sentence.

As early as the initial stages of his FSP research, Firbas came up with the idea of the so-called dynamic semantic scales that are implemented in sentences (thoroughly treated in Firbas, 1992: 109-110). In the framework of FSP every sentence implements one of the dynamic semantic scales: Presentation Scale (Pr-Scale) or Quality Scale (Q-Scale) respectively, which functionally reflect the distribution of communicative dynamism and operate irrespective of word order. It follows that the phenomenon of presentation, which is under investigation in the present paper, is projected into the so-called Presentation Scale. The Presentation Scale includes three basic dynamic semantic functions. Firstly, every act of communication is set by the scene (the dynamic semantic function (DSF) of a Setting; abbreviated as Set) of the action, i.e. typically temporal and spatial items of when and where the action takes place. Secondly, the existence or appearance on the scene is typically conveyed by a verb (Presentation of Phenomenon; Pr) and, thirdly, the major, most dynamic element (Phenomenon; Ph) is literally ushered onto the scene. Cf. a prototypical sentence implementing the Presentation Scale in its interpretative arrangement, i.e. from the least to the most dynamic elements:

(1) And now (Set) ***a very curious thing*** *(Ph)* <u>*happened*</u> *(Pr).*

Setting	Presentation of Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
(Set)	(Pr)	(Ph)
theme	transition	rheme
And now	*happened*	*a very curious thing*

Figure 1 - Structure of Presentation Scale

3. Syntactic-Semantic Classification of Pr-sentences

It should be noted first that at times the research results apparently manifest a considerably limited FSP applicability within the sub-genre. Such a claim is due to the following syntactic semantic qualities of the Internet chat: (i) formal lack of "sentences" as proper distributional fields; (ii) somewhat chaotic verbal and situational immediately relevant context; and (iii) fragmental character of communicative units, including units with opaque semantic content. Cf. contributions 147-153, for instance:

147. Mama: *lol*
148. sugastiletto: *weeeeeeeeeeeeee!*
149. OzeJames: *lol*
150. CHARM300000: *wait a sec*
151. Mama: *a bay bay*
152. CHARM300000: *is she here?*
153. malibu25: *!smooch Oze*
(...)

Admittedly, it was possible, nonetheless, to carry out a full-fledged FSP analysis. The corpus data were processed in terms of different syntactic subtypes (cf. Adam, 2010 and Dušková, 1998, 2008) and, as a result, four separate syntactic patterns were identified and labelled as Subtypes 1-4 (see below). Out of all 1000 basic distributional fields in the corpus, 21 instances of sentences that implement the Presentation Scale were identified, which represents 2.1 percent (vs. 979 occurrences of Q-scale). Obviously, the incidence of Pr-sentences in the corpus under investigation is – due to stylistic qualities – extremely low. In comparison with other text registers studied in terms of the occurrence of Pr-scale sentences in other corpora, the Internet chat definitely ranks among the sub-genres with the lowest incidence of Pr-sentences:

(Sub-)genre	Incidence in %	Reference Sources
Internet chat	1-2	Adam 2011
E-mails	2-3	Hurtová 2010
biblical poetic text	3-6	Adam 2009
fiction narrative	5-8	Adam 2006, 2010; Hurtová 2010; Řezníčková 2009
biblical narrative	9-12	Adam 2010
technical text	> 30	Řezníčková 2009

Figure 2 - Incidence of Pr-sentences across genres

3.1 Subtype 1: Existential construction

By far the most frequent subtype of Pr-Scale sentences is typically represented by the existential construction (in fiction narrative usually ca 60 percent). The existential *there*-clauses represent a somewhat specific phenomenon in the area of FSP interpretation. Firbas speaks of "permanent obviousness" (permanent presence) of the *there*-constructions in the immediately relevant context (Firbas, 1992: 24). He argues that this construction, "though semantically very weak, is not totally stripped of all meaning, ...and acts as an indicator of a scene expressed by a genuine adverbial of place" (Firbas, 1992: 24). It follows that the existential construction explicitly indicates existential predication, which is a constitutional component of the syntactic-semantic structure of the Presentation Scale (cf. Dušková, 2008). Consequently, the existential *there* is invariably assigned the Set-function and is entirely context-dependent.

It is also worth mentioning that the existential *there*-clauses are specific in their linear modification, i.e. word order arrangement: unlike most sentences that implement the Pr-scale, in the existential clauses the notional subject is invariably postponed towards the end of the sentence. In other words, the Phenomenon is not presented in the initial part of the sentence, but on the contrary, it actually represents the culmination peak of the information structure; the English grammatical principle requiring the SVO wording is thus overridden by the linear modification FSP factor.

In the corpus under examination, three occurrences of a classical existential construction ere detected. Cf. examples 2 and 3 below (NB: the presentational verb phrase is underlined and the subject presented – the Phenomenon – is in bold; the number in parentheses behind the quote refers to the item in the corpus; if there is no specific reference, the example is taken form Adam 2010):

(2) <u>there was</u> an episode about her being googled (780)
(3) <u>There are</u> three wires. (976)

In example (3), for instance, the notional subject (*three wires*) is context-independent and conveys the information towards which the communication is perspectived. Thus, it carries the highest degree of CD and performs the Ph-function. The verbal element is then transitional and mediates between the theme and the non-theme. In the corpus data, the classical *there+be* construction is never realised as *there*+verb other than *be* as is sometimes the case in narratives. Cf. example 4:

(4) Out of the hair <u>there stuck</u> two horns.

3.2 Subtype 2: Rhematic subject in preverbal position

The second most recurring subtype of the Pr-Scale sentence pattern within narrative texts may be described as that with a rhematic subject in initial, preverbal position (usually scoring ca 20%); it is undoubtedly the prototypical, "canonical" type connected with the Presentation Scale:

(5) And now a very curious thing <u>happened</u>.

In it, the initial sentence element is typically represented by a context-independent subject, which is only then followed (in concord with the requirements of the English word order principles) by the verb, which expresses existence or appearance on the scene. The sentence may be also opened with a scene-setting temporal or spatial thematic adverbial.

Expectedly, this syntactic configuration was not detected in the corpus at all, the reason being most probably the stylistic marking of formality and purely written register of English. The point is that the word order of this subtype actually violates the end-focus principle observed in English. If fully implemented, linear modification induces the sentence elements to manifest a gradual rise in CD in the direction from the beginning to the end of the sentence. It should be recalled at this point that while e.g. in Czech the FSP linearity principle represents the leading power governing the syntax of sentences (i.e. the further an element is in the sentence the more prominence it carries), in English the prominent word order principle is the grammatical one. The English sentence has to satisfy the requirements of ordering the individual sentence elements in accordance with their syntactic functions.

3.3 Subtype 3: Fronted Adverbial & S–V Inversion

In this subtype, an adverbial is fronted and the subject is highlighted following thus the principle of end-focus (unlike Subtype 2); as a result, subject-verb inversion takes place. The subject is, of course, context-independent and the verb fulfils the role of presentation on the scene.

(6) Behind them <u>were</u> coats hanging on pegs.

Such presentation constructions are usually used in literary style and, therefore, their incidence in the corpus is considerably low (2 occurrences). Cf.:

<u>(7) Here are</u> the 5 most recent ones (694)
<u>(8) heres</u> my another favorite song (856)

Both the sentences in 7 and 8 exemplify the use of the fronted adverbial *here*. At first sight, it may seem to perform an analogous role to the existential *there*; however, it is not so grammaticalised and carries without any doubt locative meaning.

Subtype 4: Locative Th-subject & Rh-object

By far the least frequent subtype of Pr-Scale sentences (1% in the corpus) is modelled by a peculiar transitive construction that – at least at first sight – seems to implement the Quality, rather than the Presentation Scale, displaying a thematic subject and a rhematic object. Nevertheless, such an approach would adopt only a surface stance. In its deep structure (stipulated both by FSP and its semantic roles), "the scene-setting nature of the subject (the theme) finds expression in adverbial construction, while the phenomenon appearing on the scene (the rheme) assumes the syntactic function of a subject" (Dušková, 1998: 40).

(9) The road <u>carried</u> a lot of traffic.
(10) The banner <u>bore</u> a red rampant lion fluttering in the breeze.

This interpretation may be corroborated by two other corresponding syntactic variants of (9), cf. Dušková 2008:

(9a) ~ There was a lot of traffic on the road.
(9b) ~ On the road there was a lot of traffic.

Symptomatically enough, the corpus findings offer no example of the subtype featuring the locative Th-subject with Rh-object. This fact may be explained by means of a high degree of informality as well as the dual, spoken-written nature of the Internet chat; though written, it is obviously highly informal. Generally speaking, the relative incidence of the four subtypes typically occurring in texts appears to be dependent on the text genre and register. Whereas the corpus under discussion – the Internet chat – prototypically manifests a very low number of Pr-sentences with a considerably limited variety of semantic syntactic subtypes, the fiction narrative, for instance, displays totally different numbers. E.g. religious written discourse generally displays higher percentage of Pr-Scale sentences, such as ca 12% in New Testament gospels (see Adam, 2010). On top of that, there is a apparent difference between genres in terms of individual subtypes: whereas the fiction narrative prefers the existential construction (64%), other text types manifest preference of the rhematic subject in preverbal position (e.g. in biblical narratives with theological load it is ca 76% vs. 21% of existential constructions; see Adam 2010).

4. Specific FSP Features of Internet Chat

As has been noted above, the sub-genre of the Internet chat features, on the other hand, other characteristic qualities and specific presentation strategies (techniques) of its own. Apart form stylistic markers, also presentation on the scene is expressed in additional ways that are not observed in other genres under the author's investigation. Below is a tentative outline of the genre-specific (and potentially presentational) techniques detected within the Internet Chat in the corpus under investigation.

4.1 Ellipsis

Especially in the subtype 1, i.e. the existential constructions, the existential phrase as such (i.e. the thematic and the transitional section) is frequently implied (elliptical) and, as a result, we observe cases of grammatical ellipsis. Sometimes, such ellipsis is manifested within interrogative sentences (see example 11):

(11) Any ladies in brooklyn ny here? (604)
[= Are there any...]
(12) BREAKING NEWS!!!!!!!!!! (3)
[= There / Here is...]
(13) too many hot chicks!!! (259)
[= There / Here are...]

Altogether, the corpus contains 13 occurrences of an elliptical version of the existential construction. A special sub-category of Subtype 1 with grammatical ellipsis is represented by single-rheme sentences in which both he Pr-verb and all thematic elements in the sentence are ellipted (see also 12 and 13). This, basically due to the principle of language economy, often happens when a new chatter enters the discussion, often fostered by means of emoticons (as in 14):

(14) malibu25: :o)) (166)
[= malibu25 is entering the discussion]
(15) OzeJames: malibu (168)
[= here's malibu25!]

In such a highly informal, hasty, playful and down-to-earth genre, the information presented in an elliptical form may of course be recovered from the immediately relevant situational and also experiential contexts (cf. Hurtová 2010 on ellipsis and FSP in e-mail communication). Hurtová claims that in electronic mail, "the fact that the writers tend to use more straightforward language, writing briefly and to the point, means that from the viewpoint of FSP, certain distributional fields can be considered defective" (Hurtová 2010: 26). The communicative units of transition proper and the theme are thus only implicit. And it is usually possible to "deduce or infer such items" (ibid.). It is in full compliance with the fact that the only mandatory communicative unit that must be inevitably present in every distributional filed is the rheme.

4.2 Emoticons

Emoticons (i.e. the functional blend of emotion + icon) are another characteristic feature of personal (and thus subjective) and informal interaction observed in the Internet chat (and other recent digital way of communication such as Skype, e-mail, Facebook, Twitter and the like). Graphically, co-signalling modality in the broad sense, they actually substitute real verbally non-conveyed emotions (such as sadness, happiness, surprise, expectations, excitement or even ambiguity), facial expressions and mood of the addressers (Kunc 2008; cf. Hurtová 2010: 28). They traditionally consist of punctuation marks such as colons, semi-colons, commas, and parentheses, but recently also animated emoticons have been favoured by the Internet users. It may be of interest that out of 48 emoticons in the transcript male contributors used emoticons nearly twice as much as females; in the on-line communication under discussion, men generally tend to be more visually oriented than women who prefer verbal expression. On top of that, emoticons can completely change (re-evaluate) the meaning of a sentence; see for instance the following model dialogue:

(16) A: Hello, how are you?
B1: I am fine :o) [= I am really fine, I mean it]
B2: I am fine :o([= I ma not fine, I am being ironical]

Apart from pure evaluating the sentence or the surrounding context of situation, emoticons are capable of giving a full answer or reaction (see 17; cf. section 4.1):

(17) hotmale4u25: hey ladies (203)
OzeJames: i cant keep up (204)
OzeJames: :o((205)

Sometimes, in harmony with Hurtová's (2010) observation concerning e-mail communication, emoticons "suggest the way in which the sentence should be perceived and the notional content of the verb (and other elements) should be interpreted" (ibid. 28). See e.g. 18 in which surprise or ironical demur:

(18) april: thats weird, she didnt waste time getting remarried (581)
courtney_29: yeah i couldnt get around it (582)
elisa3: ya 3 months after the divorce (583)
courtney_29: :O)) (584)

4.3 Capitalisation

In addition to the classic use of capital letters in proper names, acronyms or the nominative form of the singular first-person pronoun *I* along with its contractions (capitalised just occasionally), capitalisation serves in chatting as a means of emphasis. The contributors stress what they consider to be crucial. The emphasis in the following extract (quoted in Kunc, 2008: 39), for instance, suggests that the contributor, apparently a deployed American soldier in Iraq, has not drunk for a long time, but he "has a certain desire to do so in order to repose" (ibid. 39):

(19) Frozen_Insane: well im off..to go start drinking... (70)
Frozen_Insane: later people (71)
ArmyGuy05: Must BE NICE (72)

Compare one more example, in which an element of the message is intensified, yet not entirely reevaluated (the terminology is intentionally corresponding to that used by Firbas in relation to prosodic prominence in spoken discourse):

(20) xRobotx: AllyKay give a BIG HUG to (((((((((Joop))))))))) (549)

Thus, intensification through capitalisation carries certain additional meaning. It provides emotive markedness to sentences and so otherwise semantically neutral elements may be given extra emotive load, such as ironical or equivocal character.

Apart from the added emphasis, from the point of view of FSP it seems crucial to note that capitalised items can act as powerful rhematizers par excellence. Rhematizers are items that are capable of reevaluating the distribution of CD (for details on rhematizers – or focalizers – see above all Firbas, 1964, 1992 and, for summary, Hajičová, 2010). In other words, through such reevaluating intensification an element may acquire a totally different prominence and though being e.g. thematic, can become the rheme proper of the field. Cf. the following extract, in which the participant nicked **Mama** poses a rather ambiguous question with the taboo content implied only; the functional re-evaluation is achieved via capitalisation (NB: the data were collected three days before Easter). Incidentally, in order to underscore the meaning of her question, she uses in the next line an emoticon, which could be interpreted also as mischievous and frivolous (cf. Kunc, 2008: 39-40):

(21) Mama: so Charm where are you hiding YOUR eggs this year? (233)
Mama: :o) (234)
CHARM300000: lol Mama (235)

Though under neutral conditions and in the given context, the communicative unit *you* would be the carrier of the highest degree of CD (to differentiate the addressee from the previous one), by capitalisation the contributor stresses *YOUR* within the communicative unit *your eggs*. Thus, the distribution of CD over the units and the aforementioned lewd (though riddling) meaning is achieved.

Conclusion

To conclude, research has shown that presentation as such is in the Internet chat extremely limited; rarely only is there an explicit presentational construction, usually manifesting the existential phrase. Other ways of presentation are implicit, vague, and one can identify them rather between the lines. Typically, Internet chat contributions display single rhemes, whereas the themes and transitions tend to be elliptical. Intensification as well as re-evaluation is achieved through substitutive items, such as emoticons, punctuation, capitalisation, etc. Such elements serve as additional communicative units or evaluative items. The reasons for the aforementioned features consist in both stylistic and pragmatic nature of the register of the Internet chat, namely dense information structure, language economy, the fact that presentation taken for granted. Verbal presentation is rather neglected since it is believed to be a "waste of time"; its function is partly taken over by mere entering the discussion, such as in the laconic "presentational" information contributed by **Frozen_Insane:** *back* (10). That is also why the Quality Scale is strongly preferred – in the post-modern hasty pace of life the communication is entered *in medias res* and so no explicit introduction is needed.

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On genre problems in (political) discourse

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Abstract
This paper is an attempt to identify some basic-level conceptual and theoretical problems underlying the mainstream genre theory, which adversely affect the analysis of rapidly-evolving, complex and hybrid genres such as modern political communication. Having discussed these problems, I proceed to the account of political communication as such, which I suggest should be viewed as not only the analytic "problem", but also a field whose analysis could potentially revise the existing principles of the genre theory. In particular, I suggest such an analysis should focus on the conception of (political) genre as (i) abstraction, (ii) activator and realizer of context, (iii) flexible macrostructure, (iv) social field entity, (v) assigner of interpersonal roles.

Keywords
communicative genre; genre theory; political genre; political communication; genre analysis

1. Introduction

The concept of genre in linguistics[1] has been addressed within several research disciplines and empirical fields. The most notable contributions come, apparently, from Systemic Functional Linguistics (e.g. Halliday and Hasan 1989; Halliday and Martin 1993; Eggins and Martin 1997; Martin and Rose 2008), (new) rhetorical studies (e.g. Bazerman 1988; Freedman and Medway 1994), applied linguistics (e.g. Swales 1981, 1990; Bhatia 1993), discourse community studies (e.g. Barton 1994; Bex 1996), linguistic pragmatics (e.g. Levinson 1992), and Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1993, 1995; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Wodak and Meyer 2009). Arising from these disciplines is a rather intuitive notion of genre, a common sense (e.g. Gruber and Muntigl 2005) that discourse involves conventional use of stable utterance groups which follow recognizable patterns that suit the accomplishment of certain social goals.

Notwithstanding this consensus, the theoretical diffusion of work on genres has caused a great many questions to remain unanswered. To mention but a few – what components or stages do the utterance patterns comprise? What is their order and how does it change across different discourse domains? What are the conventional characteristics that typify a given genre and how much categorial fuzziness can be allowed in genre classifications? And finally, speaking of genre typologies, whose recognition counts the most in identifying a genre – the communicator's or the analyst's?

One goal of the following sketch is to suggest[2] that the above questions might not find an answer at all unless/until a number of "basic" questions surrounding genre theory are resolved in the first place. As a matter of fact, despite the diversity of approaches to genre analysis, several observations and research postulates are – all too easily! – accepted as common (Gruber and Muntigl 2005). This often puts the analyst on a fallacious track, creating analytic problems at the level of particular research fields, especially political discourse or, more generally, discourse of the public communication space. In 2-6, I briefly revisit five of such observations, which I refer to as "Controversies". The other goal is to point to political discourse as a field which is, on the one hand, clearly "problematic" when it comes to individual analysis itself, but, on the other, offering a lot of in the way of upgrading genre theory in general. Thus, in 7 I posit a claim (which also serves as a concluding point) that genres in political communication essentialize central problems in genre theory and their in-depth account is necessary for the theory's functioning and development.

2. Controversy I: Genres as abstractions

Genres are often viewed as abstractions, i.e. as clusters of conventionalized and predictable ways of goal-oriented communicative acting arising from imperatives posed by constantly evolving socio-cultural situations. This view presupposes a dynamic relation between the functional and the linguistic side of genres; over time, functions are realized in an increasingly stable agglomeration of form (Giltrow and Stein 2009). Different discourse domains (from those involving highly predictable, transactional texts (Eggins 1994) to those involving less predictable, interactional texts (Coupland 2000)) are, at a given moment of time, at different stages of generic evolution and thus call for different analytic procedures and sensitivity. For instance, the fixed structure of appointment in a hairdresser's salon is easier to abstract and generalize upon linguistically, than the evolving, hybrid structure of political interviews. The existence of such differences, often within the same social domain (e.g. political discourse where some forms of interaction are more conventionalized than others), leaves the analyst at the methodological crossroads. S/he can collect comparable linguistic data and attempt to find in them common, predictable, goal-oriented elements that are characterized by similar realizational patterns (Corbett 2006), or intuitively assume typical communicative functions hosted by the genre social context and then support the postulate through data search and systematization. Both approaches – which can be described as data- and theory-driven, respectively – are on their own workable ways to structure individual analyses, yet for the generic picture of the entire discourse domain – such as political communication –

[1] It is beyond the scope of this short paper to discuss work on genres in literary studies (which goes back to at least the 18th century when the term *genre* was borrowed from French), albeit one cannot deny the influence of that work on esp. early language studies. Establishing the literary-linguistic analytic link is usually attributed to Mikhail Bakhtin, whose many ideas and observations (concerning genres' heterogeneity, stability, predictability, etc.; cf. Bakhtin 1952-53 [1986]) are still under constructive scrutiny by contemporary theorists (see Corbett 2006).

[2] This is a tentative statement as of today. See Cap and Okulska (2012) for an extensive account and better substantiated claims.

one needs to put them in synergetic relationship. Conclusions regarding the "macro-genre" of the domain must rely on the data potential to elaborate on better established "component" genres, but also on the theory potential to propose data regularities among new, evolving or highly complex or hybrid genres. In such global considerations it seems quite pointless to emphasize which of the genres within the domain are "fixed enough" or ceasing to evolve or expiring, and which will continue to change, hybridize and migrate.

3. Controversy II: Genres and situational contexts

Genres are said to activate certain situational contexts and to be realized in these contexts. In other words, distinctive, familiar agglomerations of language data inform the participant (and, indirectly, the analyst) of being "in a genre" and make him/her assess and/or contribute to, the unfolding discourse in a specific way. Interestingly, in the case of complex and heterogeneous discourse domains (e.g. political communication), tracing the activation of a situational context and tracing its realization are two analytic endeavors of potentially different caliber. Contexts get normally activated through relatively stable and predictable language forms, and they may indeed be realized by similarly conventionalized forms, however they may also be realized by forms which diverge from the typical features of the genre. For instance, the US presidential inaugural (Cap 2002) will be immediately identified by its tone-setting introduction, the act of thanking the predecessor, the act of invoking continuity of beliefs and ideals, etc., all of which are relatively stable characteristics that make the addressee (and the analyst) approach the entire current manifestation of the genre (i.e. the whole speech) in the way most congruent with the recollection of the earlier manifestations. Still, there is no guarantee that the speaker will continue in the same manner his predecessors did; one should reckon with substantial alterations of content and style in the policy-setting segments as they can shape the distinctive identity – which is what the political speaker usually strives for. So, in methodological terms, analytic challenge and the division of analytic labor associated with context-activation and context-realization are frequently unequal and it is only the study of vast, generically complex discourse domains that can bring this discrepancy to light.

4. Controversy III: Genres as flexible macrostructures

Text linguistics (e.g. Dressler ed. 1978; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981; Petöfi ed. 1988), early studies in text and discourse comprehension (e.g. van Dijk 1980; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (esp. Hasan 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1989; Martin 1992; Martin and Rose 2008) have all contributed to the perception of genres as flexible macrostructures, monologic as well as dialogic patterns involving both obligatory and optional elements ("stages") occurring in a set order (see also Labov 1972, Ventola 1987, as well as Brown and Yule 1983 (esp. ch. 4) and McCarthy and Carter 1994 (esp. ch. 1, 2)). For instance, news reports in the press characteristically consist of a headline, followed by a lead paragraph that summarizes the story, followed by a variable number of component paragraphs that spell out details. This specific characterization of a news report makes explicit the analytic problem pertinent to the general account of genres as flexible macrostructures. Since we do not know the number of paragraphs "acceptable" for a typical news report, we cannot judge whether/when the consecutive "optional" paragraphs (start to) detract from its conventional generic description. The accumulation of optional elements/stages in a macrostructure, which results from the macrostructure's openness to realize its global function with the aid of extra language forms, could thus lead to a theoretical (typological) problem. The more flexibly a macrostructure behaves in accommodating new topics and the sub-functions they carry, the lower becomes the level of generality (Werlich 1979; Longacre 1983) in describing the macrostructure as a genre; simultaneously, the more sub-genres arise that need their own, separate analytic treatment. Such implications of genres' flexibility were duly acknowledged in the 1990s in studies bridging the work on genres with the earlier work on prototype theory (see, for instance, Paltridge's (1995) interpretation of Rosch (1973)),[3] but, surprisingly enough, the later research seems to have abandoned the issue. Nowadays, attempts to account for specific functions of various genres and their change in the emerging, complex forms of social communication are highlighting it with new full force.

5. Controversy IV: Genre relations in a social field

As may seem obvious at this point, genres are related to other genres in the social field in which they are relevant. There are fields – such as scientific communication (Bazerman 1988; Swales 1990; Valle 1997) or legal communication (Bhatia 1993) – where at least some of them exist side-by-side, contributing independently, in a modular manner, to the "hyper-genre" (Giltrow and Stein 2009) of the field. For instance, "article" and "review" are two genres in the scientific written communication which rarely overlap in terms of (the sequence of) the language forms involved. The functions these forms perform can also be described as different; while articles are usually vehicles for conveying their authors' original ideas, the traditional function of reviews is to provide summaries (rather than thorough evaluations) of the ideas proposed by others.[4] However, in most cases, and especially within complex, hardly delimited, and dynamically constructed social fields, genres do not merely co-exist; they migrate through intertextual routes (e.g. Lemke 1985), colonizing the many different, particular situations that make up the field (see, e.g., Bazerman 2000). For example, a committee meeting in an organization often yields suggestions that get later incorporated in a written policy document (Ramallo, Lorenzo Suarez, Rodriguez-Yanez and Cap 2009). The major corridor of change is thus *intertextuality* (Plett ed. 1991; see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Wodak 2000; Fairclough 2006), and the driving force is the fluid and shifting character of genres occupying the complex and fast-evolving social fields. The analytic consequences are easy to observe: it may be straightforward to theorize, a priori, upon the content and the function of a political speech, just from its context and the general expert knowledge the analyst possesses, but what if the speech is received in the online multimodal embedding which involves music and image on a par with the speech text? (recall Obama's "Yes, We Can" clip in the 2008 US presidential campaign). Do the standard methodological pre-

[3] For further discussion of generic prototypes see, e.g., Wierzbicka 1983, 1989, 1990, 1999; McCarthy and Carter 1994; Witosz 2001; Vergaro 2002.

[4] Recently, though, some scientific journals have proposed a hybrid form, *review article*, which demonstrates a fine balance between the summarizing, evaluative and novel content. Examples of such journals in the field of linguistics include *International Review of Pragmatics* and *Pragmatics and Society.*

conceptions still obtain or, more probably, a laborious data-driven investigation is necessary that will pile up the heterogeneous cues and turn them into a conclusion that both enriches the conception and applications of the principal genre (i.e. the political speech), and advances the idea of a new or related (sub-)genre (e.g. multimodal political advertising, involving the text of the speech as one of its constituents).

6. Controversy 5: Genres and interpersonal roles

Genres are said to assign interpersonal roles; using specific language forms by a genre participant tends to reflect and foster his or her distinctive identity and the role s/he has performed, performs, and may continue to perform, in social interactions with other participants. This is, however, no hard-and-fast rule; again (viz. 2 above), transactional discourses will invoke interpersonal roles far more predictably than interactional discourses do. A customer-retailer interaction involves, usually, language forms that are unlikely to redefine or modify the original, "opening" roles; for instance, one can hardly expect the customer to start persuading the retailer to buy one of his/her (retailer's) products for his/her (retailer's) own household use (though, hypothetically, it *could* happen). The topos of persuasion is normally reserved for the retailer and it constitutes (together with the relevant language forms) one of his/her professional identity elements. It is, in fact, an element that is *supposed* to get manifested anytime a professional encounter takes place. In contrast, many aspects of interpersonal roles in public discourse get only activated "on-demand", in situations which invite the communicators to (temporarily) suspend their prototypical roles and assume other roles which seem more relevant and more rhetorically effective at the given moment. For example, in TV studio debates, participants often defy the standard arrangement whereby they should respond, in a set order, to questions asked by the host. Instead of performing their prototypical roles throughout the debate, they react to what they consider the needs of the current situation and adopt, for example, a non-prototypical, more adversarial stance by asking questions directly to each other. Thus, they frequently employ language forms which transgress the conventional boundaries of the principal genre (i.e., here, the studio debate) and enter the territory of the "on-demand" genre, the interview in fact. The conclusion is that, especially in complex public discourses, genre interpersonal roles should be regarded as hierarchies of behavioral patterns, involving more and less typical and expected behaviors, manifested through different language arsenals.

7. Analyzing "political" genres: a way to revise genre theory?

The problems signaled in 2-6 call for a research domain whose characteristics are such that studies in this domain do not only yield empirical findings at the domain's level, but also contribute, "upwards", to superordinate assumptions of the controlling theory, i.e. genre theory, or "theory of linguistic communicative genres", in our case. In the following I claim that this condition is met by the domain of political communication – notwithstanding its being itself "problematic" in actual analysis.

Political communication can be taken to encompass all communicative acts whereby (representatives of) different social groups and institutions pursue their (particular) interests, needs, aspirations, and values (Fairclough 2006; Okulska and Cap 2010). The pursuit of political goals always forces individuals or groups to assume both cooperative and competing positions in social interaction, thus upholding or contesting the existing power differential. On this view, "political communication" occurs within and between at least the following three domains: the state political system at national and trans-national level (e.g. government(s), parliament, political parties, elections, debates), the highly diversified sphere of governmental and non-governmental social institutions as well as the "grassroots" initiatives (businesses, NGOs, educational organizations, workplaces, etc. – but also extraparliamentary campaigns and social movements), and the media system. The role of the media is often to connect the former two, by constantly "depoliticizing" the settled practices of the stabilized political structures of the state and simultaneously "politicizing" the unstable, fluctuating, emergent tendencies and interests of the "lifeworld" or "civil society" (Muntigl 2002; Fairclough 1995, 2006).

Research in political genres is thus far best documented at the level of (mediatized) national politics; traditionally, such forms as political speeches (Cap 2002, 2008, 2010; Schäffner ed. 1997; Sauer 2002; Fairclough 2000; Muntigl 2002; Graham, Keenan and Dowd 2004; Charteris-Black 2005; Dedaić 2006; Reisigl 2008; Bastow 2010; El-Hussari 2010), election posters (Richardson and Wodak 2009), policy papers (Muntigl et al. 2000; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2010), (parliamentary) debates (Bayley 2004; Fetzer and Lauerbach eds. 2007; Wodak 2009; Ilie ed. 2010), and political interviews (Blum-Kulka 1983; Greatbatch 1988, 1998; Heritage and Greatbatch 1991; Okulska 2004, 2006a, 2006b; Fetzer and Lauerbach eds. 2007) have received most attention. This is rather unsurprising given the relatively stable language characteristics of these genres, but one could argue that such an apparent stability has been a constraining factor in the particular studies, rendering many of them self-contained. For instance, it has been demonstrated extensively enough how genres of (trans-)national politics borrow from other genres in the public sphere, and how they typically behave when migrating through various media channels.

Despite these limitations, current research in genres in political communication – defined as broadly as above – not only poses important questions but also promises findings for the theory of communicative genres in general. Here are the two main arguments, which should be considered this paper's conclusion.

Argument A:

The heterogeneity of political genres essentializes the cornerstone issue in the genre theory, i.e. proposing typologies and hierarchies for which adequate methodological procedures could be designed and followed. Researching political genres is, without exaggeration, a continual struggle to maintain analytic consistency, in the face of all the possible evolutions a given genre is capable of. Let us take the process of mediatization as an obvious example. Is it possible for a genre to retain its distinctive features once it has felicitously migrated into the media domain? Or has the migration resulted in the new important distinctive features which can no longer be accounted for within the original theoretical framework of the genre? Recall the earlier argument: the analyst could theorize a priori, based on his/her expert knowledge, upon the form and function of a political speech *as such*, but do his/her pre-postulates and the research agenda still obtain if the speech is received in, say, an online multimodal embedding which has music and image accompany the speech text? It would seem logical to assume that the functionality of the particular language forms making up the text got affected/enhanced by the accompanying multimodal elements; thus, one way to proceed could be to identify the common function carriers at the textual and the extra-textual levels. That way, however, by altering the original methodological procedure to capture a new data instance, we virtually endorse a new generic being. Which is by no means a random possibility since in the area of political communication there are systematic connections between non-mediatized and (potentially) mediatized genres (policy documents vs. broadcast political speeches (live-announcing the policies); press releases vs. news conferences and media reports; etc.), and the more the material moves along such "chains" or "networks", the less is left of its "original" generic features.

Argument B:

Analysis of genres in political communication creates the need to revisit the central issues the genre theory has agreed upon, esp. with respect to properties taken as common to all or most of the communicative genres (viz. sections 2-6). This is not to say that political genres undermine the rationale for the consensus as a whole; nonetheless, they exhibit cases which might need special treatment and extra caution on the part of the analyst. There are, as has been indicated in 2-6, at least five such case categories. First, abstracting the distinctive features of a political genre, both functional and linguistic, requires assessing the genre from a diachronic, evolutionary perspective, in order to judge its current liability (or a lack thereof) to a specific kind of inquiry which involves, in each situation, a uniquely appropriated ratio of theoretical pre-conception and data analysis. Second, political genres make explicit possible differences in the analytic challenge posed by the two usually disparate yet often fallaciously equated language formulas, of i) context-activation and ii) context-realization (thus prompting extra focus on the latter). Third, they cast the much-desired light on the theoretically unsound contradiction between the conventional stability of generic macrostructures, and their actual, situation-determined openness to accommodate optional language forms (as parts of optional stages in goal accomplishment). Fourth, political genres elucidate extremely well the many complex relations (and their research repercussions) that may hold within any set of genres occupying a social field, the kinds of connection that range between modular co-existence and hybridity. Fifth, analysis of genres in political communication refines the core conception of interpersonal roles in the genre theory; political genres do not assign stable or permanent interpersonal roles, they rather assign prototypical roles but at the same time allow frequent and often systematic shifts between the "center" and the "periphery" so to say, thus activating and sanctioning hierarchies of communicative acting.

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An Investigation of the Interpersonal; Dimension of Email Exchange in a Cosmopolitan Educational Setting: Questions of Power and Culture

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Abstract
The focus of this paper is the affective response of the lecturer recipient of student emails. The interest in emails stems not only from the fact that they are an increasingly common means of student-lecturer interaction, but also because, unlike more traditional forms of written and spoken communication, conventions regarding emails are still somewhat fluid. This may explain why emails may be a serious source of misunderstanding, especially at the interpersonal level. According to recent research published in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, people have only a 50-50 chance of ascertaining the 'tone' of any email message. The study also suggests that people think they have correctly interpreted the tone of email they receive 90 percent of the time. A worrying mismatch.

Keywords
Internet, chatgroups, linguistic norms, linguistic creativity, linguistic and social behavior, discourse.

Introduction

The function (speech act) selected as the focus of attention is 'requests'. The notion of speech acts can be traced back to work on linguistic discourse undertaken by J. L. Austin in 1955 (Austin, 1962) and further refined by Searle (1969, 1975) and others in the 1960s and 1970s. Whilst Austin and Searle both claimed that speech acts operated by universal pragmatic principles, others, such as Green (1975) and Wierzbicka (1985), were of the view that they varied in conceptualization and verbalization across cultures and languages. Ervin-Tripp (1976) emphasized the important social implications of speech act performance, and Brown & Levinson (1978) and Leech (1983) proposed that this performance was ruled by universal principles of cooperation and politeness, a claim that may well be put to the test during the course of this research project.

The main reason for a focus on 'requests' is that they represent one of the most face-threatening acts (FTA) (Brown and Levinson 1978). FTAs are said to potentially 'damage' the face, of one or both of the interactants, face being seen as either 'negative': the desire not to be impeded or imposed upon, or 'positive': the desire to be liked, admired, respected, etc. The protection of face is said to be of interest if good interpersonal relationships are to be maintained, and cooperation between interactants is therefore essential.

The initial hypothesis to be tested in the research is that international/EU students, when making requests of their lecturers vie email, are disadvantaged in some way by their language 'deficit' and/or unfamiliarity with cultural conventions regarding emails, as well as, more importantly, the appropriate framing of requests. The hypothesis was to be tested by assembling a database of authentic student emails and, drawing on previous studies, attempting to identify a number of potential impact features, that is to say, features to which the response of the lecturer recipient could be attributed. This was to be complemented by surveys, interviews and focus groups conducted with both students and lecturers, each stage of the research being informed by the findings of the previous stage.

Initial pilot study

In June 2009, an initial online pilot survey was constructed and distributed via Survey Monkey to 84 members of academic staff in the School of Languages and Area Studies at the University of Portsmouth. Of the 84 questionnaires, 29 were completed and returned, a return rate of 34.5%. The purpose of the pilot survey was twofold. Firstly, in somewhat broad brushstrokes, it was designed to obtain initial information regarding certain phenomena central to the research project, namely the frequency with which lecturers are contacted by students via email; the purpose of the contact; the appropriateness of the 'tone' in which requests are expressed; the source of, and lecturer response to, inappropriately-expressed requests. The second purpose of the survey, an initial stage in the incremental research design, was to elicit information that would inform and feed into further components of the primary research, With this in mind, an 'Any comments' section was added to the end of the survey, in the hope that respondents would contribute valuable insights both in terms of information as well as the content and format of the survey itself.

The first two questions were designed to measure the importance of emails as a means of student-lecture communication and the main purpose of student emails. With regard to the first question on a Likert scale of 1 (very frequently) to 5 (very infrequently), more than 50% of the respondents answered 'very frequently'. The overall average was 1.68, indicating that email communication from students was extremely common. This may not be solely attributable to the mere existence of the technology, but in part the consequences of a higher and ever-increasing student-staff ratio and the decreasing number of contact hours which characterize many contemporary degree courses in the UK. Whatever the reason, it is clear that email has become central to student-staff communication and therefore merits closer scrutiny.

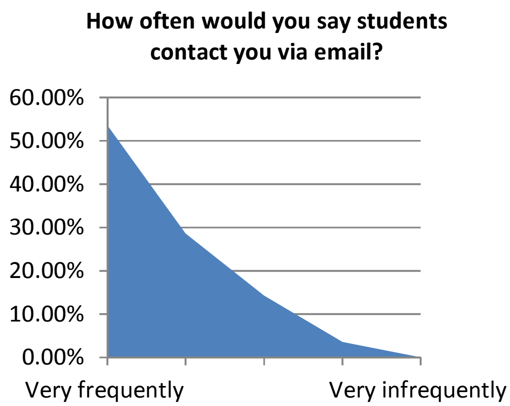

Figure 1

Question 2 (see Figure 2) established that requests were the predominant function of student emails. The vast majority of the respondents selected two 'request' options, 44.8% judging requests for information to be main purpose of student emails, and 34.5% identifying requests for a service comprising, an overall total of 79.3%.

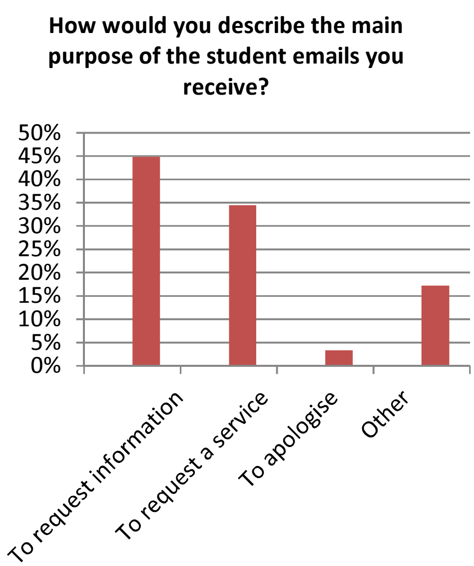

Figure 2

Question 3 (Figure 3) asked respondents to describe the 'tone' of the language in which information or a service was requested. The word 'tone' was used as shorthand for 'interpersonal, sociocultural and socialpragmatic appropriateness', the former term being considered more accessible, and sufficiently synonymous with the latter, to elicit useful responses.

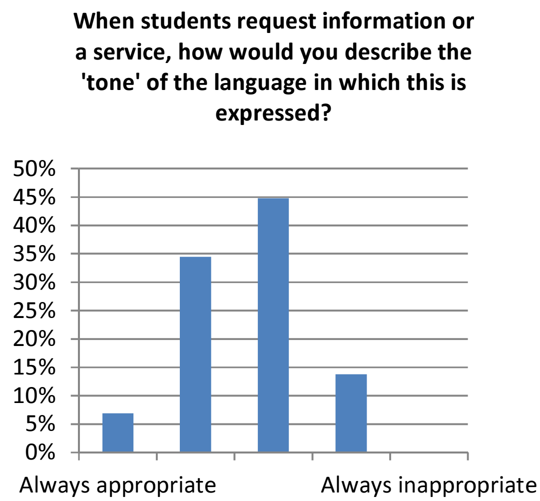

Figure 3

Using a Likert Scale, The overall average rating average of 2.66 indicated that, whilst the 'tone' of the emails was adjudged to be marginally more appropriate than inappropriate, the degree of inappropriateness was significant and, therefore worthy of more in-depth investigation.
The objective of Question 4 (Figure 4) was to ascertain the extent to which lecturers attributed inappropriately expressed emails to any one particular group of students, the hypothesis being that International and EU students face greater appropriateness challenges than their home student peers. Whilst the responses to neither confirm nor disprove the hypothesis, they do suggest that home students, particularly undergraduates, may well have some way to go before the way in which they request information and services is deemed by their lecturers to be appropriate. Indeed, the possibility that lecturers are less forgiving when receiving emails from home rather than from international/EU students - something that further research could well confirm - means that home student inappropriateness may, in fact, turn out to be a more serious problem.

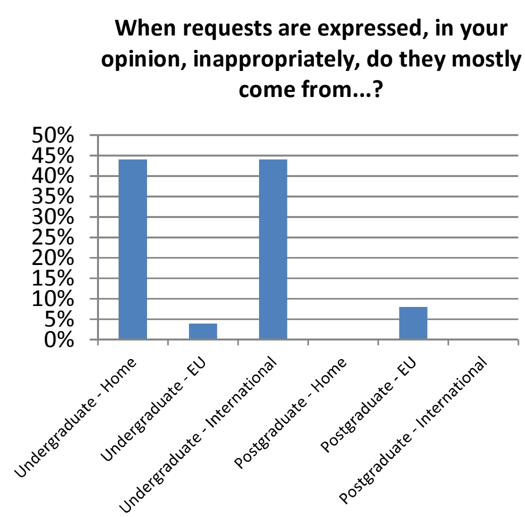

Figure 4

The final question (Figure 5) represents an initial, somewhat crude, attempt to measure the effect of inappropriateness, the central focus of the overall study. The individual ratings, along with the overall rating average for this question (2.75), suggest that, whilst levels of irritation are not alarming, they are significant.

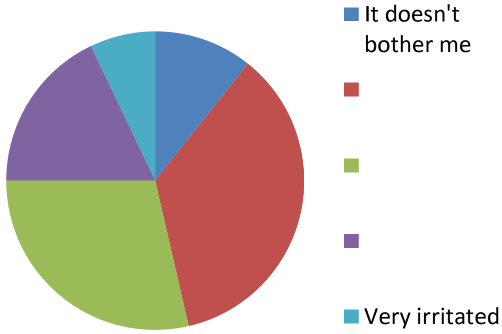

Figure 5

In summary, the initial survey provided confirmation that emails were an increasingly common form of student-lecturer interaction, that the main purpose of emails were requests, that the tone in which requests were expressed, by home as well as International/EU students, was not always appropriate, and that lecturers sometimes found this irritating. Qualitative data provided by respondent comments suggested that the nature of the request could be as inappropriate and/or irritating as the way in which the request was expressed and that the phrase "'tone' of the language" was therefore inadequate or even misleading.

Alongside the initial pilot study, a database of 50 authentic student emails, 36 from International/EU students and 14 from home students, and all containing requests, was collected. The purpose of these database, sent to four members of staff over a six-month period in 2009, was to facilitate the identification of the impact features mentioned above, as well to provide sample emails for further stages of the research. The framework to be used was based initially on a project entitled The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP), carried out by Blum-Kulka et al in the late eighties (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989).

Towards a framework

The CCSARP is not only of interest here due to its focus on requests, a speech act which, despite its richness in terms of sociolinguistics and cross-cultural pragmatics, Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper considered to have received inadequate empirical attention. A further usefulness of the studies was the establishment of a set of coding categories, identified under the broad headings of 'Alerters' (attention-getters) , 'Head Acts' (the 'request proper': explicitly direct, conventionally and nonconventionally indirect, including internal modifications, strengthening or mitigating, and requestor/requestee perspective), and 'Supportive moves' (strategies, external to the Head Act (HA), designed to aggravate or mitigate). Despite significant differences between the context of the CCSARP (non-authentic written discourse completion) and thatof the current study, these categories form a useful initial framework.

The relevance and applicability of the coding framework used by the CCSARP is underlined by the fact that it has been employed effectively in a number of studies dealing with email requests. This includes an investigation into the formulation of low and high-imposition requests in emails written by native and non-native speakers of English to members of faculty (Biesenbach-Lucas, 2007). Biesenbach-Lucas describes the CCSARP coding framework as permitting "a…thorough analysis of politeness devices at the syntactic and lexical level" all of which "serve to mitigate the force of the request and thus assure compliance through greater politeness".

In a study by Trosborg (1995), said to build on the work of Austin (1962), Searle (1969, 1976), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), House and Kasper (1981), and Blum Kulka and Olshtain (1984), request strategies are divided into four categories. These categories correspond quite closely to those of the CCSARP, the main difference being the division of conventionally indirect strategies into hearer- and speaker-oriented conditions, with their echoes of requestor/requestee roles in Blum-Kulka et al's concept of 'perspective'. Trosborg's classification of internal and external modification, the latter corresponding to the CCSARP's 'supportive moves', is close enough to that of the CCSARP not to warrant any further comment.

A study undertaken by Schauer (2004) investigated the pragmatic development of German learners of English. Schauer's data showed that Alerters and Head Acts were used by all the German learners and English native speakers. With regard to External modification (Blum, House and Kasper's 'Supportive moves'), Grounders were also used by all the participants. Schauer does not find the ubiquity of these three components particularly surprising as "it appears to be their very nature to provide the basic building blocks for a request" (Schauer 2004, p264). Overall, as Schauer hypothesized, the use of other Supportive moves appeared to correlate with increased exposure to English.

Authentic email data

Turning now to the authentic email data, an attempt is made to apply the framework established by Blum-Kulka et al. The category 'Alerter' is clearly in need of some adjustment if it is to reflect the new context, and this is achieved by the introduction of a somewhat broader category. Biesenach-Lucas (2005), in her study of communication topics and strategies in e-mail consultation, uses the term 'Relational' to refer to "communication topics whose primary purpose is to maintain the social relationship between the parties involved in the interaction", in other words interpersonal features, and this term is used here to refer to salutations (openings), identifiers (*I am…*, etc.), polite enquiries, appreciators and valedictions (closings), often found in this particular order.

Turning initially to opening and closings, one might surmise that students would be somewhat unlikely to employ a salutation which contravenes existing conventions governing written correspondence. However, "since e-mail is a relatively new medium for communication", whereby "set phrases for informal greetings and closings are still being established". (The Free Dictionary), there may well exist enough combinations within the 'Dear (or the more informal 'Hello', 'Hi') + name' range to enable the sender to make some kind of statement on the interpersonal level. At first sight, the preponderance of 'Dear/Hi/Hello + name' salutations might seem to suggest that this is a somewhat fruitless component. However, the existence in the data of 13 different combinations, including the minus option, suggests that the salutation does indeed have a degree of significance as a marker of interpersonal communication and, as such, needs to form part of the classification scheme.

Dear' Alerters (salutation/opening)

Alerter	**Number**
Dear + first name	19
Dear + title + first name	1
Dear + title + surname	1
Dear + title + first name + surname	1
Dear + first name + surname	1
Dear + title	1
Dear + Teacher	1
Total	**25**

'Hi/Hello' Alerters (salutation/opening)

Alerter	**Number**
Hi + first name	11
Hi + title + surname	1
Hi	2
Hello + first name	5
Hello	3
Total	**22**

Figure 6

With regard to valedictions, or the closing, as with the opening, this, to a certain extent, is governed by social protocol. However, if there exists a correlation between linguistic diversity and the interpersonal dimension of communication, the data suggests that the closing, including as it does a relatively wide range of sign-off phrases, may be a more significant component than the opening.

Closing	**Number**
Name	18
Regards + name	10
Best wishes + name	4
Yours	2
Kind regards + name	1
Cheers + name	1
Yours sincerely + name	1
Yours faithfully + name	1
Best regards + name	1
Kindest regards + name	1
Sincerely yours + name	1
All the best + name	1
Kindly + name	1
Yours + name	1
Greetings + name	1
No closing	5
Total	50

Figure 7

With regard to the other 'Relational' features, identifiers were present in 42% of the emails, polite enquiries in 12%, and appreciators in 66%, suggesting that, with the possible exception of polite enquiries, these features may all contribute to affective response.
The next component one might expect to feature are supportive moves. As already suggested, the context in which the data is being gathered dictates that these are more likely to be of the *mitigating* rather than *aggravating* variety. Based on the findings of the CCSARP and Trosborg studies, and bearing in mind the focus on email communication in the current research, the presence of Preparators, Precommitments, Disarmers, Grounders and Imposition Minimizers was anticipated.
Preparators and Precommitments, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, were almost completely absent (2%) from the email data. It is very likely, as suggested above, that these external modifiers are more characteristic of two-way conversational discourse. Disarmers, which feature prominently in Schauer's research, were, with a mere 4%, also hardly in evidence. This, however, was not the case with Grounders, the external modifier which provides reasons, explanations or justifications for the request. As with the CCSARP and Trosborg studies (where they are referred to as Supportive Reasons), Grounders were extremely prominent, being found in 82% of the emails, 85% of these preceding and 15% subsequent to the Head Act. Finally, Imposition Minimizers represent a somewhat imprecise category, as the strength of the imposition reduction can vary quite considerably. Undifferentiated Imposition Minimizers were present in (14%) of the emails.
A feature of a large majority of the emails was the postponement of the Head Act until the latter part of the email, the ground being prepared, so to speak, by 'Relational' features and, even more importantly, supportive moves, in particular Grounders. As already recorded above, the CCSARP study, identified conventionally indirect strategies as the most common of the three levels of directness. 'Directness' it will be recalled, refers to the "degree to which the speaker's illocutionary intent is apparent from the locution" (Blum-Kulka et al, 1989, p 278). Of interest here is the extent to which the widespread use of conventional indirectness, as well as the less common direct and nonconventionally indirect strategies, is replicated in the pilot study, in which 72% of the emails were written by students operating in a language that was not their mother tongue.
Of the Head Acts in the pilot study, 66% were conventionally indirect, 26% direct and 8% nonconventionally indirect. A comparison between these findings and those of the CCSARP study is shown in the Figure 8 below

Strategy	Australian English	French	Hebrew	Argentinian Spanish	Pilot study
Direct	9.8%	24%	33.4%	39.6%	26%
Conventionally Indirect	82.4%	68.9%	58.6%	58.4%	66%
Nonconventionally Indirect	7.8%	7.1%	8%	2%	8%

Figure 8

Sample size for the pilot study is necessarily small, and the findings, therefore, need to be treated with appropriate caution. However, it is perhaps worthy of note that whilst the findings are not inconsistent with the overall range found in the CCSARP, there is a clear discrepancy between those relating to Australian English, and those of the pilot study. Despite the absence of studies that compare pragmalinguistic features of Australian English and British English (the variety of English used by requestees), the greater use of direct strategies 'at the expense of' conventionally indirect strategies may be of significance. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that the CCSARP deals with spoken as opposed to written email data. A study into how native and non-native speakers of English formulate low- and high-imposition requests in emails to faculty, carried out by Biesenbach-Lucas (2007, p59), shows that "far more requests are realized through direct strategies as well as hints than conventionally indirect strategies typically found in comparative speech act studies". Whilst this is not confirmed by the pilot study data, it does perhaps explain the relatively high use of conventional indirectness vis-à-vis the Australian English data.

With regard to request perspective, identified in the CCSARP study as oriented towards the speaker (requestor), hearer (requestee), both, or neither (impersonal), in the absence of precise contextualization it is impossible to know which approach will be perceived by the requestee as most appropriate. However, bearing in mind the lower status of the student vis-à-vis the member of faculty to whom he or she is writing, and the fact that requests are inherently imposing, circumvention of the requestee as actor, thus potentially diminishing coerciveness, may be a preferred strategy.

Of the 50 emails in the current study, 50 were requestor-oriented, 40% requestee-oriented, 4% both, and 6% impersonal. Avoiding the placement of obligation on the requestee, at least as far as the pilot study is concerned, is therefore not a particularly popular strategy.

Having identified key features of the pilot study and set the findings within the context of previous studies, it is time to return to the central focus of the current study: the affective response of the requestee. In other words, what particular features of the email request impact positively and negatively on the lecturer recipient? The main candidates, thus far, are as follows:

- **Relational features:** aspects of social protocol represented by openings and closings, identifiers, polite enquiries and appreciators.
- **Supportive moves:** reasons, explanations or justifications for the request and/or mitigation of the imposition.
- **The Head Act:** Levels of directness + request perspective.

Affective response study

The affective response of the lecturer recipient is addressed by a study carried out by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1996), which draws heavily on the work by Blum-Kulka et al. The supposed 'deficit' of the learner of English may well have been at the forefront of the researchers' minds, as the email requests, sent to the two researchers over the course of a year, were written by both native speaker and non-native speaker students. These emails were assigned by the recipient and a non-recipient faculty member to one of two categories: PAR (Positive Affect Requests) or NAR (Negative Affect Requests), the latter often perceived to be rude and/or inappropriate, at times even provoking a desire on the part of the recipient not to accede to the request.

Whilst a majority of the Head Acts in the NAR requests, produced by both NSs and NNSs, are clearly identifiable as being 'direct', this is not the case with PAR requests. This finding is not inconsistent with the data gathered by Biesenbach-Lucas in her 2007 study. Commenting on the widespread use of direct forms such as '*I want*' or '*I need*', Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (p58) write "The students' choice of the forms reflect an apparent overestimation on the part of the faculty member's level of obligation to comply: a conflict of institutional right and obligations". The level of directness, however, was only one of the factors informing judgements regarding the appropriateness of the email request.

Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig understand direct requests as students communicating their own wants and needs rather than putting forward negotiable preferences, thereby appearing to leave the recipient with no choice but to comply with the request. They are of the view that this conflicts with the role of the higher status lecturer, who should not be put in a position that would seem to exclude the possibility of negotiation. The absence of mitigation, exemplified by forms such as '*I want*' or '*I need*', extremely common in NAR requests, is, in an institutional setting such as academia, therefore perceived as potentially problematic.

Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1996, p60) conclude that whilst certain quantitative differences may contribute to perceptions of requests, "we cannot predict that the presence or absence per se of particular forms results in a request evaluated as PAR or NAR". In other words, the Head Act and its range of internal modifications, identified above as potentially impacting either positively or negatively on the lecture recipient, may not be quite as significant as originally envisaged.

In the Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig study, Supportive moves are considered to be of importance. However, before turning to these, the level of imposition is investigated, the hypothesis being that high imposition requests are more likely than their low imposition cousins to be assigned to the NAR category. Their findings indicate, however, that, in the case of NS requesters, there is no correlation between degree of imposition and NAR/PAR judgements, imposition as a potential impact feature being trumped, so to speak, by the NS's judicious use of mitigators. Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig therefore discount imposition as a major decisive factor, and turn to what they describe as an 'analysis of content'.

Although similar to the 'supportive moves' category described above, Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig's 'content' categories are somewhat more sensitive to the specific status differences and institutional roles of the participants, whereby "students are in the position of having to perform face-threatening, potentially status noncongruent speech acts" (p67). This is hardly a surprising phenomenon when the different contexts of the two studies are taken into consideration.

Time

One of the characteristic features of a request sent to a member of faculty, particularly those identified as being high imposition, is the commitment of time. Being a valuable commodity, it seems likely that requests which impinge significantly upon the lecturer's time will be perceived more negatively than those that can be dealt with rapidly and with minimum inconvenience.

Acknowledgment of imposition

Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig's data suggests that, with regard to the requestee's affective response, the requestor's acknowledgement of imposition (also referred to as 'cost to faculty') may be of greater significance than the actual degree of imposition.

Explanation

The third analysis of content component identified by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig is referred to as 'the proferred Explanation for the request'. Covering much the same ground as Blum-Kulka et al's 'Grounders', these explanations are divided into 'institutionally-oriented' and 'student-oriented', the former category focusing on the needs/demands of the institution and the latter foregrounding student needs and wants.

Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig conclude that a positive or negative evaluation of student email requests is not attributable to one single feature but to the interaction of all the features outlined above. Returning to our impact candidates and factoring in the content categories identified by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig, as well as the findings from the initial pilot study, we now have the following:

Relational features: aspects of social protocol represented by openings and closings, identifiers, polite enquiries and appreciators.

Level of directness of **Head Act**

Supportive moves (specifically 'Grounders'): reasons, explanations or justifications for the request and/or mitigation of the imposition. Institutionally-oriented and student-oriented. Expectation regarding the commitment of time, including timeframe. Acknowledgment of imposition/cost to lecturer

Second pilot study

Having identified a set of features that would seem to impact on the affective response of the lecturer recipient, a programme of research to measure the effect of these factors on University of Portsmouth academic staff was constructed. The first stage of this programme, carried out in June 2010, was a second online survey conducted with lecturers in the School of Languages and Area Studies at the University of Portsmouth.

The parameters of the study were very similar to those operating in an initial study conducted in June of the previous year, in that Survey Monkey was again used as the platform for the questionnaire survey. The survey was divided into two parts, the first part eliciting recipient preferences regarding a variety of impact features, and the second part inviting affective responses to six student email requests, carefully selected on the basis of the presence or absence of certain impact factors. The survey, separated into two parts, was again distributed to colleagues within the School of Languages and Area Studiesational Studies (EIS) Division. A return rate of 43.8% and 38.3%, respectively, was achieved, the completion rate discrepancy being due to the fact that several colleagues did not realize the survey was in two parts.

It will be recalled that the June 2009 survey established that lecturers were contacted by students on an extremely frequent basis. The survey also confirmed that requests, for both 'information' and 'service', were the main purpose of these emails, representing 44.8% and 34.5% respectively. The 2010 survey took this one step further by asking respondents (Figure 9) to identify various types of request in terms of their frequency (1 = very frequent; 5 = very infrequent).

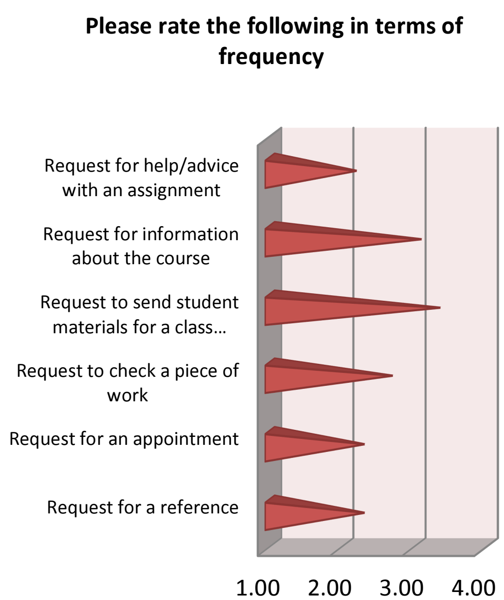

Figure 9

Further respondent comments suggested that certain requests, for example for references, tended to be more frequent at certain times of the year. Finally, there appeared to be a degree of irritation with requests for information that was readily available in the unit handbook.

Respondents to the 2009 survey were asked to describe the 'tone' of the language in which requests were expressed and, whilst the results clearly demonstrated a significant degree of inappropriateness - a factor which the relevant question was designed to measure – additional, qualitative comments proved to be somewhat more revealing. There was clearly little unanimity on the part of the respondents with regard to the definition of 'appropriateness', resulting in as many judgements appearing to be based on the appropriateness of the request itself as on the language in which the request was expressed.

The two possible understandings of 'appropriateness' were, therefore, factored into the 2010 survey, respondents being asked (see Figure 10) to identify the main factor which contributed to their judgement of the request as inappropriate. The three possible contributory factors included in the question were designed to measure 'inappropriate request' (options 2 and 3) and 'inappropriate expression' (option 4). A further option, 'others', was also made available.

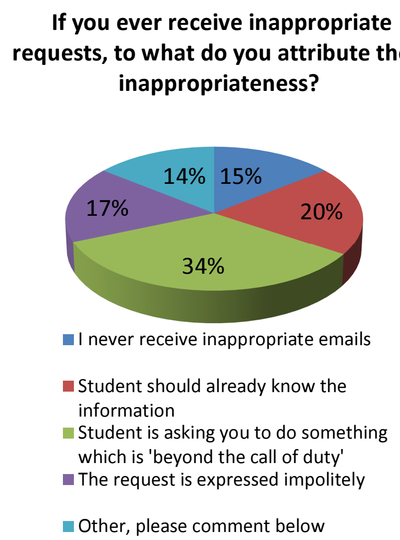

Figure 10

The fact that 54.3% of the respondents attributed inappropriateness to options 2 and 3, as opposed to the 17% who identified option 4, suggests that the inappropriateness of the request is perceived as being more problematic than the way in which it is expressed. Additional comments tended to be elaborations or explanations of the option choice rather than the identification of conspicuously inappropriate requests or inappropriate expression. Interestingly, several respondents stated that they would liked to have had the opportunity to tick more than one box, suggesting that inappropriateness may, at times, be attributable to a combination of two or more of the listed factors.

Turning now to relational features, survey respondents were asked to express a preference for how they were addressed by students in emails. Of the six options, 'Dear + first name', with 64.9%, proved to be overwhelmingly the most popular. The remaining 35.1%, as can be seen in Figure 3 below, selected, in descending order of preference, 'Hi + first name', 'Dear + title + surname', 'Hello + first name' and 'Hello + title + surname'.

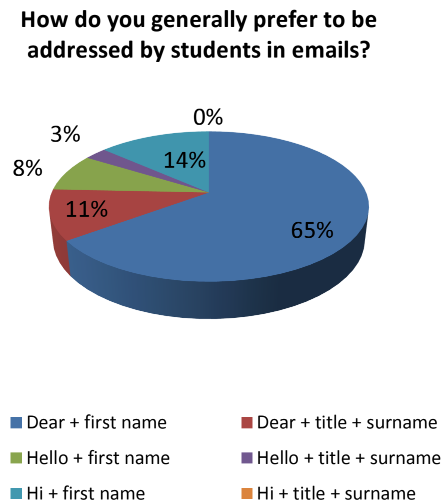

Figure 11

Two main themes emerged from the additional, qualitative comments, contributed by over 50% of the respondents. Significantly, despite having committed themselves to a particular preference, nearly half were keen to point out that the way in which they were addressed by students in emails was of no great consequence.

It was interesting to see whether the 'reflection of developing relationship' and 'no particular preference', so conspicuous in the qualitative 'salutation' data, were as prominent in the 'valediction' data, the purpose of which was to measure lecturer preferences regarding the way in which students ended their emails (See Figure 12). Here, two of the six options stood out, 'Regards + name' and 'Best wishes + name', both being selected by 35.5% of the respondents. 'Name only' was selected by 20.6%, and 'Kind regards + name', 'Yours sincerely + name' and 'Cheers + name' were each chosen by one single respondent.

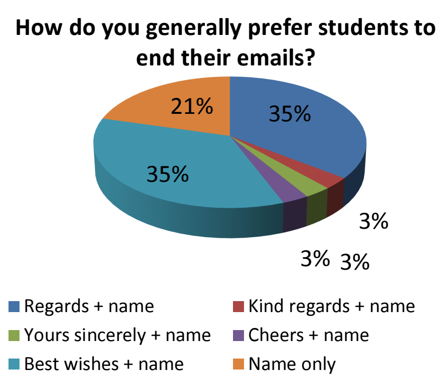

Figure 12

Additional comments were contributed by just under half the respondents, the vast majority of whom foregrounded the absence of any particular preference. Interestingly, two of the qualitative comments above tie in very neatly with two of the comments contributed in response to the question regarding salutations, namely "Just depends on the students and why they are writing" and "Depends on how well I know the student and depends on what kind of email it is", suggesting that the purpose of the email may also play a role when making decisions regarding the appropriateness of both the salutation and valediction.

The next question in the survey (Figure 13) focused on the Head Act. Six possible formulations were available and respondents, using the same Likert Scale as for the frequency question above, were asked to rate them "in terms of the way in which the request was expressed". The only Head Act where the appropriateness was appeared questionable was "I want to make an appointment to see you", with a mean of 3.08 and 'very appropriate' rating of 8.1%, contrasting starkly with a rating of 75.7% for the "Can I please make an appointment?" formulation.

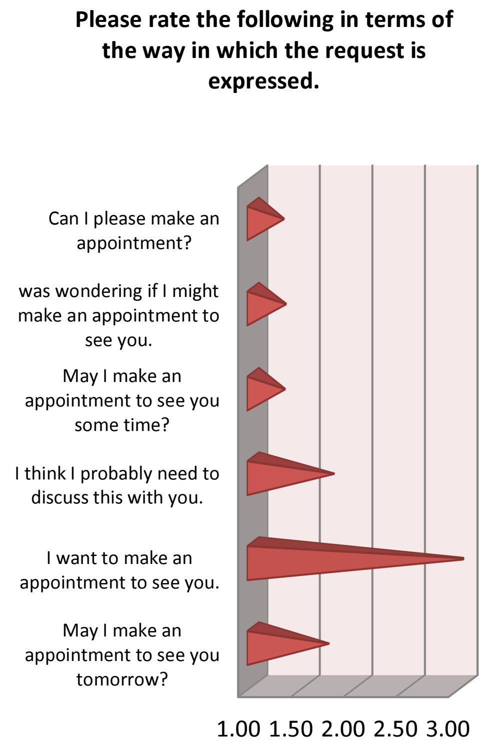

Figure 13

Seen within the Head Act framework proposed by Blum-Kulka et al, it probably significant that the four formulations adjudged to be largely appropriate all belong to the level of directness referred to as conventionally indirect. The somewhat lower 'very appropriate' rating for the "I think I probably need to discuss this with you" Head Act, may be explained by its location on the conventionally and nonconventionally indirect strategies cusp, lecturers possibly expressing preference for less oblique requests. Equally significant is the fact that the formulation considered the least appropriate falls into the category of direct strategy. It will be recalled that, in the pilot study, which analysed 50 emails, direct strategies were used by only 26% of the students - possibly a somewhat high percentage when seen against the 9.8% associated with users of Australian English in the CCSARP study - whereas conventionally indirect formulations, with 66%, clearly represented the students' preferred strategy. Recipient responses to the Head Acts in this study suggest, therefore, that student preference and lecturer preference are reasonably well aligned.

Also of interest are the lecturer responses to the two somewhat similar Head Acts, "May I make an appointment to see you some time?" and "May I make an appointment to see you tomorrow?" The former HA received a 'very appropriate' rating' of 75% and the latter 54.1%. Since the only difference between these two HAs are the adverbials 'some time' and 'tomorrow', recipients would appear to be more 'comfortable' with an open-ended timeframe than one which is stipulated by the student. This confirms the findings of the Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig study, according to which a lecturer rather than a student-determined timeframe was a common feature of positively-evaluated emails.

Alongside the issue of a timeframe, several of the comments revealed a certain tolerance or forgiving attitude on the part of the lecturer recipients, especially when evaluating emails from International students. It will be recalled that, in the 2009 pilot study, exactly the same number of inappropriately-expressed requests were identified as coming from home as from international students. Assuming that the former possess greater sociopragmatic competence than the latter, this finding, considered at the time to be somewhat surprising, may be explained by this forgiving attitude.

The timeframe formed the basis for the next survey question (Figure 14), which asked respondents whether they expected this to be determined by the student, left up to the lecturer, left open for negotiation or governed by some other arrangement. The data here represented an even more powerful confirmation of determination of timeframe as an impact feature. Not a single respondent was of the opinion that the timeframe should be 'determined by the student', approximately two thirds (67.6%) expressed a preference for student-lecturer negotiation, and slightly less than a third (29.7%) felt it should be 'left up to the lecturer'.

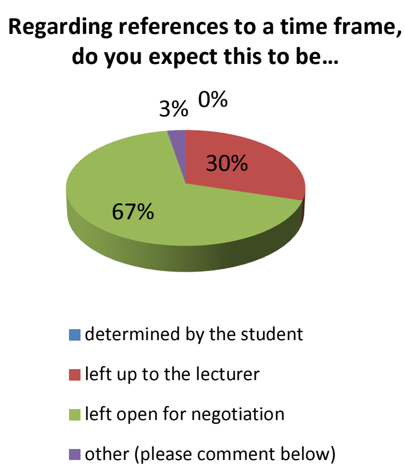

Figure 14

Several qualitative comments regarding a timeframe underline a preference for this to be determined by the lecturer rather than the student.

The next question in the survey was designed to test the Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig finding, which discounted imposition, or the degree of imposition, as a major impact feature. As can be seen in Figure 15, respondents were asked whether there was any correlation between the imposition of the request/cost to the lecturer and their affective response to the student email.

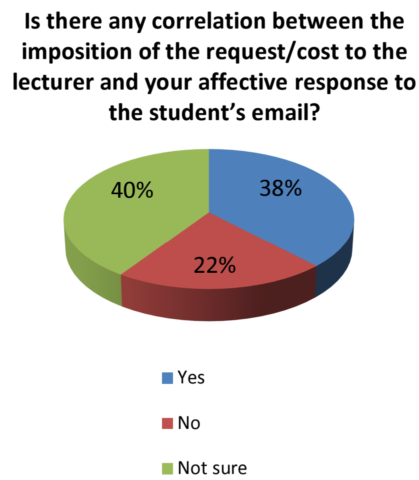

Figure 15

The response to this question was, as expected, far from conclusive, a high preponderance of respondents (40.5%) selecting the 'not sure' option. This may be attributable to an incomplete understanding of what was being asked or, even more likely, an inability or unwillingness to isolate imposition from a variety of other features. Regarding the two remaining options, 37.8% answered 'yes' and 21.6% 'no', suggesting that, as concluded by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig, imposition, or degree of imposition, whilst having some effect on affective response, may not be a particularly significant factor.

Of the 10 additional, qualitative comments, three contained the word 'depends'. For one lecturer it depended on how busy he or she was, for another it depended on what the request was and who it was from. For a third, it depended on the lecturer's knowledge of the student and whether or not there was any recognition of the fact that he or she may have other commitments. This last response reminds one of the acknowledgment of imposition/cost to faculty impact feature, the absence of which was said by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig to be partly responsible for the negative evaluation of student email requests.

Other comments referred to a combination of imposition and the appropriateness of expression, suggesting as has already been proposed, that affective response is rarely if ever attributable to one single impact feature.

The final Part 1 survey question (see Figure 16 below), again employing a 1 (Very important) to 5 (very unimportant) Likert Scale, required respondents to rate the importance of the student i) providing a reason for/explanation/justification for their request and ii) thanking the lecturer. Regarding the former, synonymous with 'grounders' identified initially by Blum-Kulka et al, the rating of 1.84 suggests this is an extremely significant impact feature.

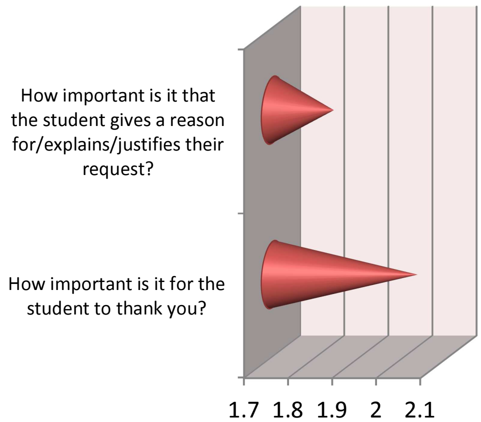

Figure 16

The importance of the student thanking the lecturer, with a rating of 2.03, whilst not considered quite as important, is clearly not an insignificant feature, especially when one considers that nearly one third (30.3%) of the respondents rate this as 'very important'.
In the second part of the survey, respondents were required to rate six emails in terms of their immediate affective response. The emails were a mixture of authentic and contrived (written by the researcher), the objective being to include a wide range of impact features. Quantitative data was obtained by measuring responses registered on a ten-point scale ranging from 1 (very acceptable) to 10 (very unacceptable), whilst qualitative data was provided in the form of respondent comments.
The emails were as follows

1. hello Richard I am Lily. I want to discuss with you that whether I can change my topic of the critical literature review. I intend to do something about journalism instead of "what is the social status of transsexual people in the western society?",for my master degree I want to study journalism. However, I don't know which aspect of journalism is doable, I will really appreciate it if you could think of a topic for me. Thank you very much. Best Wishes Lily

2. Dear Ma, I am writing this email to let you know how I felt when I saw my result. I did all you asked us to do in the presentation and course work, I even took my coursework to tutor centre to mark for me and got good feedback. I took note during the presentation class which I followed stricly. I never missed any of your class just because I dont want to miss any important information. I would appreciate if you can please review my work again Ma, as this will affect my final grade. I was expecting 65 upward, but I got 57.2 which is a C. I would really be greatful if you can please review my work again and can possibly get a 60, that will keep me on track. Thank you for your kindness Ma, you ve taught us a lot and am so happy to be part of your class. Regards Obinawe

3. Dear Bill, I am thinking about changing the topic of my critical literature review and was wondering whether I might be able to come and discuss this with you some time. As I am hoping to do a master's degree in journalism, I think it might make more sense to do my literature review on a journalism-related topic rather than the topic originally chosen. I am not, however, very sure which aspect of journalism I should focus on, and would, therefore, very much appreciate your advice. Many thanks Sarah

4. Hello David, how are you doing. My name is Wang Jing Yao, my student number is 654321, I failed the Business 5 latst semester, I got 39.25 points , which is very nearly to pass . Last semester I failed Distribution as well , that I just need to submit a report during the resit , and I have already submitted Distribution report last week. I have passed all subjects this semester, so can you just let me pass, the Business 5, I am in china now, I don't want to join the graduation, and I don't want to back to uk if possible , because the plan tickt is not cheap in sumer holiday, and it is not very necessery. Wish you happy everyday, your lovely student ! Wang Jing Yao

Email 1 is an interesting mixture of positive and negative features. Whilst the salutation may not be ideal, the valediction, identifier and appreciator are likely to have 'scored well'. Moreover, the institutionally-oriented grounder is a very acceptable feature, as is the absence of a timeframe. These positive aspects are, however, offset by the early positioning of the first Head Act as well as its direct strategy. The hope or expectation that the lecturer might supply a topic, as well as the failure to mention the imposition or cost, may also have brought the rating down. Bearing all these features in mind, the Acceptability Rating of 5.26, (see Figure 9 below) was not unexpected. Of particular interest here is the rating spread, suggesting that judgements regarding acceptability may be more subjective than was previously believed to be the case.

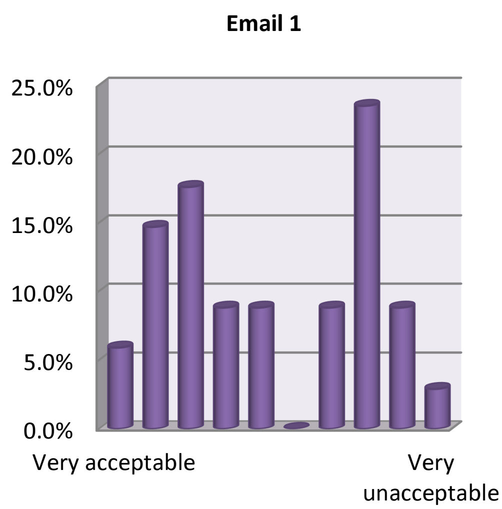

Figure 17

With regard to the qualitative data (64.7% contributed comments), it is immediately evident that, with one or two minor reservations, respondents found the expression of the request largely acceptable. Many of the respondents, however, were far less happy with the nature of the request, the section 'I will really appreciate if you could think of a topic for me' attracting a significant degree of disapproval.
The second email, written by the researcher, represents an attempt to improve on the first by replacing several of the potentially negative features with positive ones. In order to keep other variables constant, the email, in many ways, mirrors the previous one, alterations being

confined to the expression rather than the nature of the request.
The changes to the email were as follows. The salutation 'Hello' was replaced by 'Dear', the identifier was omitted, a grounder was placed before the first Head Act, the Head Act was transformed from direct to conventionally indirect, the timeframe was left open for negotiation, the imposition/cost to the lecturer was lessened, the appreciator was retained, and 'Best wishes' was replaced by 'Many thanks'. In view of the preponderance of positive impact features, it is unsurprising that this email, with 1.91, (see Figure 89 below) was rated far more positively than the previous one. However, it is unclear which of the changes listed above contributed most significantly to this very different lecturer recipient response and to the much reduced range of responses which reflects a greater consensus on the part of the respondents.

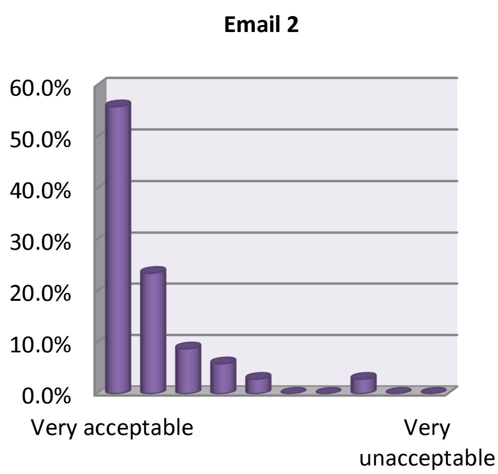

Figure 18

Turning to the additional, qualitative statements, the feature which received the most mention was that which attracted the greatest attention in the first email: student expectation regarding the role of the lecturer, and the consequent imposition. The comment "There is too great an expectation that the lecturer will do the thinking about the new subject", made in response to the first email, contrasts sharply with several of the comments made in response to the email from Sarah.
Email 3 opens with a somewhat unusual salutation, at least in the context of UK HE, 'Ma' apparently being a term commonly used to address a teacher in the student's country of origin. The salutation is followed by an extremely comprehensive grounder, the further one reads, the less the subsequent request comes as a surprise. With regard to the Head Act, the student uses a conventionally indirect strategy, despite the use of 'can' rather than the hypothetical 'could'. The Head Act is followed by a lengthy appreciator, and ends with an appropriate valediction. In other words, apart from the student-oriented nature of the grounder and absence of an acknowledgement of imposition, there is little if anything about the expression or the format which explains the extremely negative affective response rating. It is, therefore, the actual request to which one turns for an explanation.
The student is requesting that his or her mark be increased and, in doing so, is directly questioning the lecturer's judgement. Moreover, in all probability, he or she is asking the lecturer to flout university regulations. These are very serious and sensitive issues, which go very much to the heart of the lecturer's professionalism and integrity. Whilst the amount of mitigation communicated via the grounder suggests that the student is aware of the enormity of what is being requested, it is perhaps no surprise that this mitigation has little or no effect on the response of the lecturer (see Figure 19). In fact, certain aspects of the grounder may even contribute to this negative response, being understood as representing a somewhat devious strategy designed to influence the lecturer rather than a genuine explanation of the request. Furthermore, the final, perhaps exaggerated, appreciator may also be seen as contributing to this strategy.

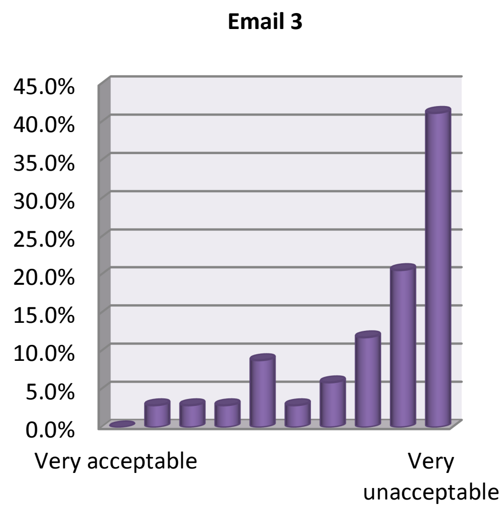

Figure 19

Several of the additional, qualitative comments support the interpretation that it is the nature of the student's request, rather than the absence or presence of key impact features and the language in which these are is expressed, which is responsible for the low negative response rating. Other comments focus solely on the unacceptability/inappropriateness of the request. The extent, however, to which a cultural explanation influences the lecturer's response, appears inconsistent. The affective response to Email 4 (see Figure 20), an average of 8.88, is even more negative than that for the previous email. To what exactly is this attributable? With regard to relational features, the email starts off with a somewhat less preferred salutation, 'Hello + first name', and includes a polite enquiry 'how are you doing', before moving on to an identifier. The grounder which precedes the request proper could be said to provide even less support or justification for the request than was the case with Email 3, and the grounder which follows the Head Act is somewhat unlikely to recommend the request to the lecturer. The Head Act is somewhat direct, the use of 'just' rather than the downgrader(?) 'please' possibly compounding the negative effect. Finally, the closing "Wish you happy everyday, your lovely student!" may well be perceived as inappropriate and even frivolous and insincere. The language, whilst not being particularly accurate, is at all times, comprehensible.

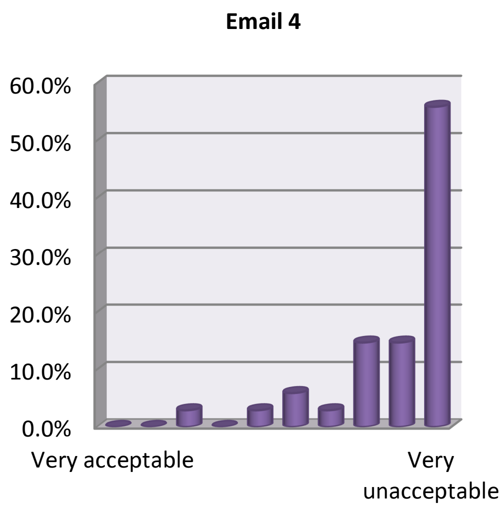

Figure 20

Qualitative comments were somewhat similar to those for Email 3, although mention of disrespect and of the weakness of the rationale located in the grounder are an additional feature of Email 4.

Review of pilot studies

It will be recalled that the objective of the second pilot study, building on information gathered in the initial study, was to measure the effect of features believed to influence the affective response of the lecturer recipient, identified above as potential impact features. However, before summarizing these effects, and drawing conclusions that will inform further stages of the research, it is useful to remind ourselves of some of the important considerations emerging from the first study.

Firstly, at the time, it was thought that the amount of contact the lecturer had with the two groups, International/EU and home students, would need to be established. Secondly, responses indicated unambiguously that 'inappropriateness' would need a more precise definition, the preference being for a sub-division into two categories, 'expression' and 'request', the former representing, at that stage, the focus of the research. A third consideration was the use of the term "'tone' of language", which was thought to be somewhat imprecise, as was the lack of descriptors at various points on the Likert scale used in certain of the survey questions. The elicitation of examples of features adjudged by lecturers to be inappropriate, where possible accompanied by explanations, were a further consideration. Finally, lecturer response needed to be measured more precisely, inappropriacies being graded in terms of their strength, i.e. the extent to which they contributed to a negative affective response.

Dealing with these considerations in reverse order, a more precise measurement of lecturer response was achieved in three ways. The first strategy was to present features for evaluation in two different formats, initially as individual components and, subsequently, as contextualized components within complete emails. The second strategy entailed the use of a broader Likert scale, allowing for greater differentiation, and the third, the provision of a 'comments' section, providing respondents with an opportunity to add qualitative comments. With regard to the elicitation of features adjudged by lecturers to be inappropriate, this was, to a great extent, accomplished by the inclusion of a comprehensive selection of these features in the survey, explanation of these judgements more often than not being provided by respondents in the comments section.

The term "'tone' of language", partly because of its imprecision and partly its exclusivity, was dispensed with, respondents being asked to attribute perceived inappropriateness to either the actual request or to the language in which the request was expressed. This also addressed the issue of the imprecise definition of the term 'inappropriateness'. As far as a lack of interim descriptors on the Likert scales was concerned, further desciptors were considered unnecessary, the labeling of the two poles being deemed perfectly adequate.

Finally, whilst information regarding the relationship between the student and lecturer was clearly of interest, and was expected to feature in the respondent comments, a conscious decision was made, in the second pilot study, not to differentiate between international/EU and home students. This was largely due to the fact that the separation of home and International/EU students might have implied that the researcher was expecting to identify the former group as being at some kind of disadvantage. Whilst that may have been the case in the relatively early stages of the research process, subsequent data suggested that home students, perhaps because of a more forgiving attitude adopted by lecturers in receipt of emails from international/home students, might face the greater challenge with regard to appropriateness. This was, for example, largely borne out by the findings of the initial study, where as many of the emails adjudged to be inappropriate came from home as from International/EU students.

Returning to the results of the second pilot study, contrary to the researcher's original expectations and intuition, inappropriateness, in the opinion of the respondents, was predominantly a consequence of the actual request rather than the way in which the request was expressed. However, the use of the word 'predominantly' does reflect the existence of sufficient evidence to suggest that the way in which the request is expressed may have an important mitigating function. In other words, an email likely to meet with a certain degree of recipient disapproval owing to the inappropriateness of the request, may well meet with less disapproval if the request is accompanied by, embedded in, or 'embellished' with, a number of mitigating features.

A further finding emerging from, or at least reinforced by, the pilot study was the twofold dimensionality of these features, probably most appropriately referred to as function and form. The fact that these features have functional labels may explain the reluctance, in this thesis, to employ the word 'language', generally associated with 'form'. Whilst form may influence affective response, as, for example, in the choice of salutation or direct/indirect strategy in the head act, it is the presence or absence of the functional feature rather than the form by which it is realized which exerts the strongest influence. In fact, as long as the necessary function is recognizable as such, the writer of the email may well 'get away with' a divergent form, particularly in the case of the international/EU student who, as mentioned above, may well be the beneficiary of a forgiving attitude of the part of the lecturer.

Conclusion

Clearly there is still some way to go before a final set of impact features can be identified and, even then, one would still expect a large number of largely subjective variables that render it nigh on impossible to predict the affective response of lecturer recipients of student request emails with any great degree of accuracy. However, the pilot studies do provide a very solid foundation on which to build, and it is the findings of these studies which inform the subsequent components of the research: a university-wide survey of academic staff, followed by individual qualitative interviews; a student survey and interviews; and, finally, focus groups with both staff and students. At the end, one would hope to be in a position to furnish students with a greater of understanding of how to communicate their requests in emails in a way which is most likely to meet with a positive response from the lecturer recipient. Furthermore, it is believed that the lecturer recipient can also be a beneficiary, through gaining a more informed understanding of their affective response. All in all, the understanding gained by both parties can contribute significantly to the student-lecturer relationship in an era in which email has become a ubiquitous form of communication.

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The Concept of Path in Telic Events with Verbs of Manner of Locomotion

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Abstract
The paper deals with the types of path in telic (end-bounded) motion events expressed by means of verbs which encode a manner of locomotion. It shows that the character of path is linked in principled ways with the character of telic motion. Deriving from verbal semantics and the semantics of noun phrases designating a locus, it identifies four types of the construal of the path, with each type displaying a specific internal structure.

Keywords
Manner verbs; telity; atelicity; path; scalar vector; bipolar vector; extent

Introduction

The present paper looks into the types of path in telic (i.e. end-bounded) motion events with verbs which encode a manner of locomotion. It demonstrates that the different construals of path are an outcome of the interplay of two factors, namely, the semantics of verbs and the semantics of path phrases, which encode the locus. As to the semantics of verbs: what plays a significant role is a lexical semantic structure of a verb and that verb's potential to express (a)telicity. These two aspects of verbal semantics are closely related. In addition, there are principled connections between the (a)telicity of a verb and its internal temporal structuration (i.e. its inherent lexical aspect). As to the semantics of path phrases: prototypically, they take the form of prepositional phrases. Prepositionless phrases represent variants of their prepositional counterparts; they are significantly less frequent. The character of the path is determined (or, rather, co-determined) by the semantics of the preposition and the semantics of the nominal expression.

The analysis presented here is primarily focused on telic (end-bounded) motion events expressed by means of verbs of manner of locomotion. Atelic motion events are taken into consideration when necessary, to contrast them with telic motion events.

1. The Vendlerian Classification of Verbs

Vendler (1967) proposed the now classic categorization of verbs based on time schemata. He identified four classes of verbs, namely, states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. States lack internal phasal structuration (e.g., 'knowing geography' does not consist of phases following one another). By contrast, dynamic verbs (activities, accomplishments and achievements) involve internal phases. Activities do not proceed toward a terminus (goal), i.e. they do not include a 'climax' (*walk, swim, push a cart*, etc.), whereas accomplishments (*run a mile, build a house, write a novel, deliver a sermon*) "proceed toward a terminus which is logically necessary to their being what they are" (Vendler 1967: 101). In contrast to activities and accomplishments, achievements occur at a single moment of time (*reach the top, recognize someone, be born, win the race*).

Verbs which proceed toward a terminal point are commonly termed 'telic' because they include *telos* (aim, goal). Verbs which do not include *telos* are termed 'atelic'. The terms used to to refer to the telicity of events vary, depending on the frame in which the interpretation is set, e.g. 'bounded events' (Declerck 1979), 'terminative events' (Verkuyl 1993) or 'delimited events' (Tenny 1994).

Both activities and accomplishments can combine with the progressive. There is, however, a major difference. Consider:

Activity:
He ran. x *He was running.*
The sentence with the progressive passes an entailment test (cf. Dowty 1979): it entails that "He ran".

Accomplishment:
He ran to the store. x *He was running to the store.*
The sentence with the progressive does not pass an entailment test: it does not entail that "He ran to the store".

Achievements are incompatible with the progressive (* *He was reaching the top*) because they designate punctual events, i.e. "events effectively without duration" (Quirk et al. 1985: 208).[5] Nevertheless, some achievements do have duration. Defining achievements in terms of their limited duration is thus, in some cases at least, not quite adequate.[6]

In sum, the basic notions on which the Vendlerian classification is based are the following: stativity/dynamicity, telicity and punctuality. By virtue of their nature, states exclude telicity and dynamicity. Activities are dynamic, atelic (they do not include *telos,* i.e. they are not directed at achieving a certain aim) and are not punctual (*walk, swim*). Accomplishments are dynamic, telic (they include *telos*) and are not punctual (*walk to the store, run a mile*). Achievements are dynamic, punctual (as mentioned, the punctuality of a verb should be understood as underlain by its 'internal

[5] Some achievements can combine with the progressive - in this case the repetition of an event is implied, not its gradual progression. For example, *He was knocking at the door* implies a series of knocks.

[6] To give a clear example, consider 'nodding one's head'. This event does take some time because two (relatively long) kinetic phases are involved (cf. the use of *slowly* in *He slowly nodded his head*). A closer look reveals that the crucial factor distinguishing achievements from accomplishments is not their short duration but their internally compact character. By this it is meant that achievements encode events which must go through all their phases for them to be what they are meant to be. In other words, the presence of all the phases is a requirement that must be met (that is, if the head went down but not up, we would have 'bowing one's head', not 'nodding one's head'), cf. Kudrnáčová (2002).

compactness') and are either telic (*reach the top, walk into the store*) or atelic (*jump*).[7]

2. Manner Verbs vs. Result Verbs

The internal structuration of verbs in terms of their inherent temporal contour is linked in principled ways to their lexico-semantic structure. It cannot be overlooked that the potential unboundedness of a motion event is underlain by an inherent processuality (in the sense 'non-resultativity') encoded in the verb. Inherent processuality is, in actual fact, an attribute of verbs termed 'manner' verbs by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998). Manner verbs can be exemplified by the verbs *walk, run, jog* or *swim*. These verbs lexicalize the type of activity (the type of process) and abstract (when not complemented by a path phrase) from the resulting location. By contrast, 'result verbs' (*come, enter*, *leave*, *arrive*) lexicalize the result and abstract from the type of the activity (the type of process) which leads to the desired aim (cf., e.g., Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998 and Talmy 1985).

Processuality encoded in manner verbs tends to correlate with atelicity (with the absence of *telos,* i.e. a goal towards which the activity is directed). By the same token, resultativity encoded in result verbs tends to correlate with telicity (i.e. with the presence of *telos*). For example, *walk* in *He walked* is an atelic verb, whereas *come* in *He came* is a telic verb (in this sentence the spatial reference point representing the resulting location is borne by the context, i.e. the verb is used deictically).

Needless to say, atelic motion verbs can combine with path phrases which encode the desired spatial end-point. In this case, the verbs change their categorial status and shift into the telic class. Consider, for example, the telic motion situations expressed in *He ran to the park, He walked into the kitchen, He swam across the river.*

As is well known, apart from prepositional phrases expressing a resulting location (e.g., the *to*-path phrase, the *into*-path phrase or the *across*-path phrase) telicity can be coerced by punctual temporal adverbials. By the same token, atelicity can be coerced by a durative temporal adverbial. Consider the telic meaning of *The plane descended in several minutes* with a punctual temporal adverbial and the atelic meaning of *The plane descended for several minutes* with a durative temporal adverbial (on the dual classification of the verb *descend* see esp. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1992: 261).

The correlation between the 'manner' status of a verb and its atelicity (and between the resultative status of a verb and its telicity) is a mere tendency. The absence of reference to a concrete manner of motion is not a guarantee that a given verb belongs to a result class. For example, the verb *approach* is inherently atelic, in spite of that fact that it does not specify the manner in which the motion is carried out. Therefore, the sentence *He approached the house* does not entail that the mover reached the house. The expression *the house* thus functions as a mere point of orientation, not as a resulting end-point.

Or, to provide another example, the verb *go* lexicalizes a process (not a result) although it does not provide information about the manner of motion. Rappaport Hovav and Levin´s view that this verb belongs to the 'result' class must therefore be rejected (cf. Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 102). Certainly, it cannot be denied that 'going somewhere' can be carried out in many different ways (the sentence *He went to town* may thus be used to encode a situation in which one walked or used some means of transportation). Nevertheless, the verb *go* is atelic because it lexicalizes a process, not a result. When a resulting location is to be expressed, an appropriate path phrase must be used. Consider motion situations in (1), which do not specify resulting locations (i.e. which encode the events as unbounded processes), and motion situations in (2), which specify resulting locations:

[1] *He went.*
He went along the river.
He went towards the river.

[2] *He went to the door.*
He went into the kitchen.
He went across the field.

3. Path

A path is a one-dimensional piece of space that has a direction (on this see esp. Jackendoff 1996). That is, directionality converts a static piece of space into a path.

Four types of the construal of the path in telic motion events are identified below; each type displays a specific internal structure.

3.1 Path as Scalar Vector

A motion event whose path is encoded in the prepositional phrase with the preposition *to* (as is the case in, e.g., *He walked to the store*) represents a canonical motion situation whose path has the character of a scalar vector. It is oriented and has a certain magnitude (i.e. it covers a definite stretch of space), which are the two constitutive attributes of vectoriality.

Note, however, that the magnitudinal character of the path is of a very special kind in that it can only be posited in relative, not absolute terms. The reason must be sought in the fact that the resulting location (expressed by the nominal expression in a *to*-prepositional phrase) has a relative position in that it is posited via reference to the starting point. This means, too, that the changing positions of the mover on the path have a relative status in that they can only be specified via reference to some other points in space (via reference to the end-point of the motion). That is, they can only be specified in relative, not absolute terms.

The path expressed in a *to*-path phrase (*He ran to the store*) is end-bounded, with the end-point being represented by the nominal expression. Naturally, the path can only be bounded if it is delimited at both its poles, i.e. if it is delimited by the starting point of the motion and its end-point. In *He ran from the kitchen to the bathroom* both the starting point and the end-point are explicitly expressed. In *He ran to the store* the starting point is not expressed directly but is borne by the context. That is, the starting point can be expressed directly in a given sentence or is inferred from the context.

From the facts adduced thus far it it follows that it is the *to*-prepositional path phrase that "measures out" the motion event over time, not the spatial end point. Using Tenny's terminology, the bounded path expresses "the implicit scale in the measuring-out of the event" (Tenny 1995: 38).[8] That is, it is the path that is the bearer of the boundedness and scalarity of the event, not the spatial end-point denoted by the nominal expression *the store* (cf., e.g., Tenny 1995). In other

[7] Atelic achievements are also termed 'semelfactives' (Smith 1991).

[8] As Tenny observes (2000: 299), *to the park* is an indirect argument.

words, the spatial end-point does not function as a "measuring-object" (which is, as mentioned above, in line with its relative position).

The scalar character of the *to*-path classifies this type of path as a sub-type of incremental theme. This point needs a somewhat lengthy explanation.

The term 'incremental theme' is used by Dowty (1991) to designate a patient participant whose quantity increases (as in 'writing a letter') or decreases (as in 'eating an apple') in the course of the activity. The incremental theme undergoes a change of state "in distinguishable separate stages, i.e. subevents" (Dowty 1991: 568). Dowty´s 'incremental theme' corresponds to Krifka's 'gradual patient' (Krifka 1992). According to Krifka, there is a homomorphic mapping between objects and events: every individual part of the entity is mapped onto a corresponding part of the activity. In other words, there is a correlation between the successive changes in the state of the entity and the successive stages of the activity. When applied to motion events, this means that "the progress of the event can be measured in increments of distance traveled" (Tenny 1995:38). That is, the path in motion events like *He walked to the store* represents an incremental theme (on the event-path homomorphism see esp. Jackendoff 1996 and Krifka 1998).

The scalar (incremental) character of the vector as encoded in the *to*-path phrase thus makes it possible to express a situation in which only a certain portion of the path was traversed - cf. the use of the expressions *halfway* or *partway* in

[3] *He ran partway (/halfway) to the store.*

The possibility of using these modifiers serves as evidence of the incremental nature of the path. Tenny (1995, 2000) observes that the use of *partway* (*halfway*) attests to the fact that the *to*-path measures out the motion event over time, which implies that the motion event involves a gradable progression. Deriving from the scalar character of this type of motion event, we may say that the modifiers *partway* and *halfway* specify the 'degree' to which the telic motion event took place.[9] The modifiers *halfway* and *partway* grasp the fact that a given motion covered only a certain portion of the distance between the starting point and the end point. In this respect, then, they render the motion as end-bounded, which explains why these modifiers cannot be used with the progressive, cf.:

[4] * *He was partway (/halfway) running to the store.*
[5] * *He was running to the store partway (/halfway).*

The fact that only a certain portion of the path was traversed can also be expressed by means of the expressions of the *half of the distance* or *almost the whole distance* type. Consider:

[6] *John ran half of the distance to the store.*
[7] *John ran almost the whole distance to the store.*

In this connection a remark concerning the expression *all the way* is in place. Consider first:

[8] *John ran all the way to the store.*

As can be seen, *all the way* does not grasp the fact that the distance to the store was covered in its entirety. The sentence means that the whole distance to the store was covered by running, and not by, let us say, walking.

At this point in the discussion, let me add a remark concerning the difference between the path encoded in the *to*-phrase and the path encoded in the *towards*-phrase. The path expressed in the *to*-path phrase has a scalar character (cf. the argumentation offered above), which differentiates this motion event from a motion event whose path is not bounded but merely oriented (as is the case in the motion event whose path is expressed by means of the *towards*-phrase). Consider the contrast between

[9] *He walked to the store.*
and
[10] *He walked towards the store.*

The event in (9) is telic (bounded), whereas the event in (10) is atelic (unbounded). That is, although the latter motion event is oriented, it does not have a definite magnitude because the spatial point encoded in the nominal expression in the *towards*-path phrase represents a mere point of orientation, not the end-point of the motion (the same is valid for the variant encoded in *He walked in the direction of the store*). On the correlation between a bounded event and a bounded path (and between an unbouded event and an unbounded path) see, e.g., Tenny (1994), Jackendoff (1996) or Krifka (1998); on some of the implications following from the telicity of the motion whose path is encoded in the *to*-path phrase and from the atelicity of the motion whose path is encoded in the *towards*-phrase see also Kudrnáčová (2008: 27-28 and 97-101) .

3.2 Path as Bipolar Vector

The path expressed in the *into*-path phrase represents a bipolar variant of the path expressed in the *to*-path phrase. Consider the difference between (11) and (12):

[11] *He ran to the store.*
[12] *He ran into the store.*

The path expressed by means of the *into*-prepositional phrase has a bipolar structure in that it lacks an intermediate phase (on this see Kaufmann 1989 and Beavers 2002). Its two segments are construed as extreme positions, i.e. they are placed in sharp opposition. This means, among other things, that the motion is presented as penetration into a place (on this see Kudrnáčová 2006). The upshot is that the graduality of the motion is suppressed - cf. the questionability of the use of the progressive in *He was running into the store for three seconds.*

By contrast, the path expressed by means of the *to*-prepositional phrase is construed as including an intermediate phase (cf. Beavers 2002) , which makes it possible to profile the graduality of the motion – cf. the possibility of the use of the progressive in, e.g., *He was running to the store for two minutes.*

3.3 Path as Extent

Consider first:

[13] *He jumped the fence.*
[14] *He swam the lake.*
[15] *He swam the English Channel.*
[16] *He climbed the ladder.*
[17] *He climbed Mount Everest.*

In these motion events the path is specified by the expressions *the fence, the lake, the English Channel*,

[9] One may not only 'run to the store partway', but also, e.g., 'close the door partway'. Parsons (1994: 121-122) analyzed 'partway closed' as formed through the direct application of the predicate operator *partway* to *closed.* In other words, the result is that the door is partway closed, not that it is closed. *Partway* and *halfway* in directed motion events operate in the same way.

the ladder and *Mount Everest.* Closer scrutiny reveals that this type of path is construed as an extent, not as a vector. Let me offer an explanation. Both the extent of motion and the vector of motion have a certain magnitude, i.e. they both include a definite amount of space passed over. That is, they both represent a definite stretch of space consumed in the course of the motion. There is, however, a difference between the two types of path. The path construed as the extent of the motion is pre-determined, so to say, by the 'extent' (in the sense 'the bounded one-dimensional magnitude') of the entity expressed by the nominal expression in the direct object position. Put in plain words, the 'width' ('length' or 'height') of an entity (*qua* a place) encodes the distance that is traversed. That is, the path as an extent is a distance between the spatial boundaries of an entity. To put it another way, the entity´s magnitude determines the magnitude of the motion (naturally, the 'magnitude' of both the entity and the motion is linear, i.e. one-dimensional).

From the facts adduced so far it follows that the entity functions, using Tenny's terminology (e.g., Tenny 1995), as a 'measuring-object' and, as such, it takes up the direct object position. Recall that if the path is construed as a vector, the spatial end point does not function as a measuring-out object. It has a relative status (related to this is the relative value of the mover´s positions on the path, cf. the argumentation offered in section 3.1). This is also the reason why the location representing the end-point is expressed in an oblique path phrase.

At this point in the discussion it should be added that the direct object position in motion events in which the path has the character of an extent can also be taken up by an expression of measurement:

[18] *He ran a mile.*
[19] *He has only walked five metres.*

As with the path determined by the magnitude of entities (places), the path encoded in *a mile (five metres)* represents a (one-dimensional) magnitude which determines the (one-dimensional) magnitude of a given motion.

Owing to an absolute construal of the path (the path represents an extent of the motion), the graduality of the motion (the segmentation of the motion into individual kinetic quanta) is, to a certain degree at least, suppressed. Symptomatically, the use of the progressive, which takes "a snapshot of an event in progress whose temporal boundaries are not in view" (Jackendoff 1990: 101), requires a specific context. Consider, e.g., the motion situations encoded in *He was swimming the Channel, He was climbing Mount Everest, He was running a mile.* The progressive is significantly less conceivable when a durative temporal adverbial is used:

[20] *He was running a mile for three minutes.*
[21] *He was swimming the Channel for six hours.*
[22] *He was climbing Mount Everest for several days.*

3.4 Path as both Vector and Extent

Consider first:

[23] *He jumped over the fence.*
[24] *He swam across the lake.*
[25] *He swam across the Channel.*
[26] *He climbed up the ladder.*
[27] *He climbed up the hill.*
[28] *He walked across the street.*

In these motion events the path is construed as both vector and extent. The path is an extent in that its magnitude (in the sense 'one-dimensional end-boundedness') is pre-determined by the spatial boundaries of a given entity (*the fence, the lake, the Channel, the ladder, the hill* and *the street*). At the same time, the path involves vectoriality in that it is explicitly oriented – note the use of path phrases employing prepositions encoding the orientation of the motion (*over, across* and *up*). Needless to say, the orientation of the motion in these motion events cannot be put on a par with the orientation of the motion events encoded in, e.g., *He jumped to the window* or *He swam to the other end of the lake.* As discussed above, in the latter type of motion events (i.e. in motion events whose path is construed as a vector), the entity expressed by the nominal expression does not represent the (one-dimensional) magnitude of the motion. It merely marks the end-point of the motion by virtue of its position with respect to the starting point of the motion.

It is evident that sentences in which the entity marking the spatial boundaries of the motion is in the direct object position (e.g., *He jumped the fence, He swam the English Channel*) have a somewhat different meaning than sentences in which the entity marking the path of the motion forms part of a prepositional phrase (*He jumped over the fence, He swam across the English Channel*). Although both the prepositionless and the prepositional variants allow a telic reading, the former may imply that the movement is "considered a significant achievement" (Dixon 2005: 300). To illustrate the difference between the two variants, Dixon (ibid.) points out the contrast between, e.g., *She swam the English Channel* and *She swam across the millstream.*

An explanation along similar lines is offered by Schlesinger (1995). Consider the difference between

[29] *Jill jumped the fence.* (Schlesinger 1995: 177)
and
[30] **Jill jumped the stool/the gutter.* (Schlesinger 1995: 177)

As opposed to 'jumping the fence', 'jumping the stool (/the gutter)' is not considered to be a feat, hence it requires a path preposition.

A different explanation is offered by Taylor (1995). Taylor does not evaluate the contrast between constructions with a preposition and their prepositionless counterparts as a semantic one but as "an idiomatic property of individual lexical verbs" (1995: 210).

Admittedly, certain manner of motion verbs do not allow the omission of a preposition:

[31] *The child crawled across the floor.* (Taylor 1995: 211)
[32] * *The child crawled the floor.* (Taylor 1995: 211)

However, given the fact that the omission of a preposition may be accompanied by a change in the verb's status in terms of its (a)telicity, Taylor's claim loses (some of its) validity. Let us consider the motion event expressed in *He walked the street.* As opposed to the motion event encoded in, e.g., *He swam the lake* the former event does not yield a telic reading. These motion events thus cannot be put on a par with one another. Consider also:

[33] *He walked the street for an hour.*
** He walked the street in an hour.*
[34] *He swam the lake in twenty minutes.*
** He swam the lake for twenty minutes.*

The street in (33) does not represent an entity (construed as a place) whose spatial boundaries mark the temporal boundary of a given motion. In other words, the atelicity (end-unboundedness) of this motion event is correlated with the unboundedness of the place representing the path of the motion (this correlation is, needless to say, an outcome of event-path homomorphism).

Conclusion

The paper looks into the character of path in telic (end-bounded) motion events with verbs of manner of locomotion. These verbs lexicalize a specific manner of motion and are atelic. When used with an appropriate path phrase, they shift into the category of telic verbs (these encode events that have a climax). The paper demonstrates that the character of the path is linked in principled ways to the semantics of the motion verb (in terms of its graduality, scalarity and boundedness) and to the semantics of the path phrase (the character of the path is determined - or, rather, co-determined - by the semantics of the preposition and the semantics of the nominal expression).

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The Changing Face of Facebook: Building Reflexivity into Automated Online Discourse Routines (Mark W. Lencho)

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Abstract
Current work in discourse analysis is based on the idea that context is dynamic, and that communicative interactions which occur in some context also necessarily change that context, which in turn shapes and influences the communication in never-ending give and take (Gee 84). This paper shows that the fluidity of the identities of "discourse routines" and the nature of the context in which they occur extends even to the ostensibly rigid protocols of interaction between user inputs and the sets of automated admin instructions that instigate and respond to those inputs.

Keywords
Discourse Analysis--Reflexivity, Internet Linguistics, Internet—Social Aspects, Facebook (Firm), Online social networks, Technology—Social Aspects

1. Introduction

A vantage point for reflecting on user interactions with Facebook (=FB) is the notion many discourse analysts endorse: that in any linguistic interaction social positioning is at least as important as communicating information. Let us take from current work in sociolinguistics as well the idea that the context of an interaction is always negotiated in an ongoing discursive struggle. My main contribution in this paper is animated by a pun inherent in brand name of the currently most popular social media platform in the world: social positioning in the form of this discursive struggle is always organized around an advertised advance valuation—"face value"—contesting with a deduced, retrospective valuation, or "book value." The true nature of any discourse routine at any moment in time is located somewhere in between, and always subject to further negotiation. In a digital context, the dynamic process of context valuation and morphing identity leaves an indelible footprint, and can be replicated with each reiteration of online discourse routines.

2. Case Study #1: What it means to say "good-bye"

Say you wish to remove your FB account. It would not be unreasonable to bring many of the felicity conditions associated with saying "good-bye" among friends in the real world to the act of departing from FB in the digital world. That is, departures are cooperative events where the felicity conditions assert among other things that leave-takers reflect and assist one another to a mutually agreeable, respectful, simple-to-accomplish outcome. Assuming that the process in a well-designed system like FB is intuitive, you click on "account" in the ever-present toolbar in the upper right hand corner of the FB screen.

This click yields a dialogue box with four choices, one of which is "Account Settings," which, if you click on it, presents, along with eight other choices, the option of "deactivating" your account.

Clicking to deactivate your account. you confront the first challenge to the preconception of the ease and friendliness of the routine: before following your instruction, FB makes an argument inviting you to second guess yourself, asking "Are you sure you want to deactivate your account?" and warning that deactivating your account will disable your profile and remove your name and picture from everything you have shared on FB. What follows is an array of images of friends from your friends list. Attached to each is a comment that implies disapproval of your intention, and an injunction to provide an explanation: "Mary will miss you. Send Mary a message." "Rebecca will miss you.

Send Rebecca a message." "Katka will miss you. Send Katka a message . . . ."

In fact, you cannot leave FB without giving it a reason for your action by clicking on one of a list of buttons that explains your behavior in FB's terms or that asks you to provide further explanation. Clicking on one of these buttons, you are met with a dialogue box that explains how you can address your problem without leaving FB.

Having your motivations questioned and then addressed in a way that guides you to a different outcome of staying connected rather than departing, you recognize that you are no longer part of a cooperative exchange, but instead an adversary in an argument.

Soldiering on undeterred, you click to "confirm," that you wish to deactivate your FB account. FB then asks you to retype your password, and then, after confirming your password, to enter two coded words from a captcha it provides for you in a second security check. Submitting the matching security check words will finally succeed in "deactivating" your account, which FB confirms with the following message:

"Your account has been deactivated. To reactivate your account, log in using your old login email and password. You will be able to use the site like you used to [!]"

So after running the gauntlet of hurdles to get disconnected, you find that "deactivating" your account is akin to simply logging off a session. And when you log on to FB the next time you will see that all of your pictures, profile, and history of activity—all of the information you have placed on FB over the span of your account with them--remain as if never disturbed. You discover that when FB threatens to "remove your name and picture from everything you have shared on FB," what it means by "remove" is just to cover (some) things until you log back in.

That is, when FB threatens you with removing your name and picture, it means pretty much just that: even after you are "deactivated," all of your messages on FB remain on your correspondents" message boards, though instead of being accompanied by your profile picture, there is only the ghostly shadow of the picture that once inhabited the spot. Other people's photos of you remain, even those in which you are tagged. Depending on your or your friends" privacy settings, even such things as your status updates and comments in the FB News Feed stay put. In fact, FB tells you that your friends can invite you to events, tag you in photos, and ask you to join groups, despite your being deactivated (you can click a special button to disable this function as well).

In the final analysis, "deactivating" doesn't even make as much of a ripple as adding a new friend or clicking a "like" button: there is not even a word of it on your "Recent Activity." Your removal and reinstatement has been processed without even a whisper to your friends.

3. Reframing "good-bye" as "breaking up"

When we say "good-bye" in English, it is usually just temporary. In Slovak, there is a special form of farewell that means "good-bye forever" (also used as a respectful way of addressing seniors): "Zbohom" (literally „God be with you"). So let us say that you have tried to remove your FB account by "deactivating" it only to discover that all of your information remains behind, just where you left it, to pop up the next time you log in.

In fact, there is no automated way to remove your FB file without first doing the online equivalent of crying "help"!

So you visit the FB Help Center, and perhaps notice that the most commonly asked question is "How do I permanently delete my account?" Clicking there, FB again attempts to dissuade you from what it describes as "effectively disappear[ing] from the Facebook service." Perhaps a more reasonable course to take, it advises, would be to "deactivate," but if you decide to disappear from the service, you should note that your account will be (and this FB underscores by writing in bold print) "**permanently deleted with no option for recovery."** You are informed that you must again click to "submit a request . . ." which, if you make bold to do, results in a string of warnings: "You will not be able to reactivate your account or retrieve any of the content or information you have provided." Undeterred, you again click "submit," and FB ominously responds with the first of a series of the incredulous replies "Are you sure?" proceeding to ask you to verify your password and to supply two security code words. If your resolve has not been sufficiently shaken, you click on "okay". . . .

Only to find out that once again your have merely "deactivated" your account, and that a permanent removal requires a 14 day waiting period! You are reminded that you may cancel this process (so much for not being able to reactivate your account). Still want to delete? Fatalistically now, you tap "okay" yet again, at which point you are given a timeline for when your account will be deleted. The timer has been engaged; you are scheduled for deletion. FB repeats, "Are you sure?" giving you the option to cancel or confirm your deletion. Swallowing gravely, you tap "confirm."

At this point, if you can't help but wonder what FB limbo looks like, you see what happens when you try to log back in to your account. You are greeted with the reassurance that your account is (only) deactivated (e.g. momentarily covered), but scheduled for deletion. More repercussions are described: if you do not stop this process, do you know you will lose your photos in addition to your account? (So much for not being able to retrieve any of your content or information you have provided) FB's final plead: "please log into Facebook before [XX/XX/XXXX]"; you will then remain connected.

Leave taking, at first thought a potentially simple, cooperative, easy, mutually respectful process has been turned into something quite adversarial, complex, frustrating, and ultimately uncertain. In FB's current Statement of Rights and Responsibilities, section 2.2, there is a warning that "removed content may persist in backup copies" (Login Terms). Eliot Schrage, Vice President of Global Communications at FB, writes that "even after you remove information from your profile or delete your account, copies of that information may remain viewable elsewhere . . . ." He goes on to point out that "[a]dditionally, we [FB] may retain certain information to prevent identity theft and other misconduct even if deletion has been requested." Using the metaphor of a cost-benefit analysis helps us make sense of the leave-taking process. Taken at face value, the sign-in page at FB describes its users as "connected." A retrospective assessment from a user trying to break away from FB may instead opt to characterize this connectedness as feeling more like having been captured. Connected? Captured? Just like we rarely pay either face value or book value for a used car we wish to buy, so do these two valuations stake out the space within which the discourse routine of leave-taking FB is reflexively and provisionally defined and redefined with each successive iteration.

4. Case Study #2: What "one world" means.

The last of FB's 10 Guiding Principles is that the "service should transcend geographic and national boundaries and be available to everyone in the world" (Login Principles).

Since anywhere between 93% and 96% of the world's people do not know English, FB's wish to be the world's social network has sparked its interest in translation. FB's translation tool was launched in 2008 with some fanfare, according to James Kirkpatrick in his book on the history of FB which served as the basis of the Academy Award nominated film *The Social Network* (4794). By 2010 translated versions of FB reached 75 languages (Kirkpatrick)

The face value of FB content is that it is the expression of the people, determined in grass roots fashion, harnessing the entire community of FB users. Kirkpatrick observes that in this way "adding new languages . . . costs Facebook virtually nothing" (4802). He goes on to give the impression that the crowd of translators can thus assert their own particular ingenuity to creatively echo FB's new modes of communication, such as poking. Kirkpatrick quotes Zuckerberg, FB CEO, commenting on his hands off approach: "I"m proud that I wasn't even involved. . . . This is what you hope for when you"re building an organization . . . . That there will be people who will just build things that fit so well with the values of the company without you even having to say anything."(4809).

Curious to view how FB has conquered the linguistic diversity of the world, I open my internet portal, and, clicking on the languages icon in the low left corner of the screen, I count 77 languages now available, which includes such options as Canadian French, two versions of Portuguese, Simplified and Traditional Chinese, and English written upside down or in "Pirate" form ("What be troublin" ye?"). However, when I scroll through these languages, I see that 32 are still in "beta" form—a trial run anticipating full-release at a later date.

Anyhow, that still leaves 45 languages to choose from. I begin to explore FB, heading for the "help" function. Clicking on icons in "help," I am greeted with instructions in English, along with a list of alternative languages to address this lack of coverage of Slovak: 24 alternatives other than Slovak for help with "registration," 14 others for "networks," 4 for "payment terms" . . . .

Checking FB's platform policies, promotion guidelines, copyright, intellectual properties, page terms, and rights and privileges pages, I discover that there are no alternative languages listed for the English presentation that is provided. Kirkpatrick writes that in 2010 FB had 300,000 words of content. The translation application lists that now 126,478 of those words and phrases have been translated into Slovak. It is interesting that, by some magic of arithmetic, my translation application proclaims that this ratio of 126,478 to 300,000 translates to "96% complete."

Odder still, is the headline that greets the user upon opening the translation app:

"The translation of Slovak is now complete."

We are left to surmise that though the advertised face value of "one world" is the diversification of FB to address the linguistic diversity of the world, a "book value" assessment of the penetration of other languages on the FB platform reveals that the linguistic heterogeneity of FB is rather skin deep, and that much of the most important fine print--that is, the FB content which has any legal implications--shows FB's "one world" to have a very strong English accent.

5. Case Study #3: What it means to "vote"

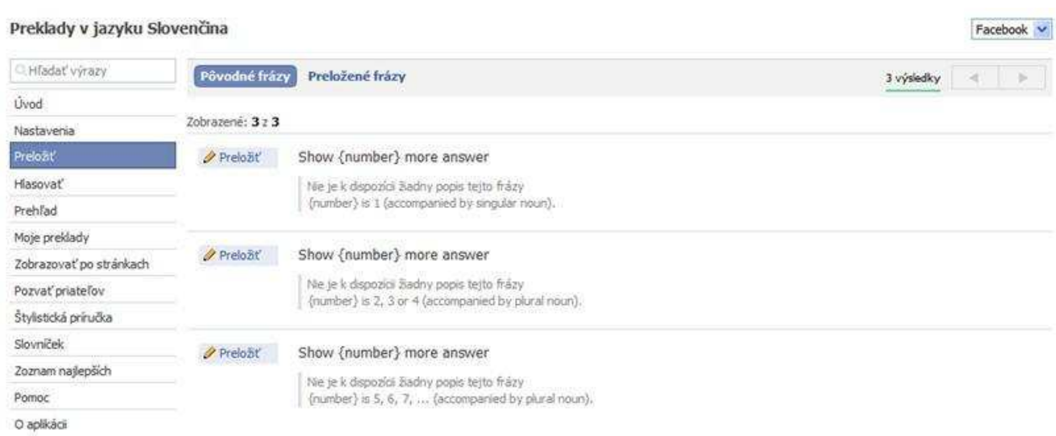
Voting has to be one of the least consequential things we do—at least from the standpoint of affecting an election. My vote has never changed an election, at least directly. And the closest I've ever come to influencing even indirectly an election was to canvas a neighborhood trying to drum up support for a bond issue to build a new high school where I live in Whitewater, Wisconsin. I knocked on some doors, encouraged other citizens that seemed positively disposed to the cause, and saw the bond pass later on that month by 27 votes.

Yet the concept of voting resonates in America. With every change of administration in Washington D.C. and in our statehouses, we brag about the peaceful transfer of power, almost as if the actual policies and conduct of the new power wielders is incidental. However, we are now being told in the aftermath of the 2010 Republican sweep that "elections have consequences," the nature of which we can examine by looking at the function of voting in FB.

Let us return to what David Kirkpatrick describes as one of the most significant of FB's product innovations: open culture platform translation driven by voting informed choices (4792). Translations are collected and then arranged in a list to be voted on by a translation team consisting of FB users who are supposed to be native speakers of the target language. Translation thus speeds along. Kirkpatrick points out that the French version was completed by 4,000 users in less than two days (4802).

Voting is an ongoing process and will continue indefinitely as long as the dynamic environment of FB continues to change. According to Michal Burger, the acting administrator at FB headquarters in Palo Alto for the translation project for Slovak, when someone adds new text to the FB site, expressions appear in the translation application for normal users to translate, usually along with some context, but often without (personal communication, 3/12/2011):

Even with provided context, strings posted for translation can be quite challenging („Babby is formed"--Is it a test phrase inadvertently sent to the translation community or an urban dialect riff on the notion that the user has committed and error?). Some rudimentary grammatical structures are available to mediate between languages, so that, for example, distinctions of grammatical gender in inflectionally rich Slovak and the three way case sensitivity to quantification of the target language can be reflected in the Slovak translations:



In this manner, translations are collected and then presented to users of the translation application for a vote.

Users may vote for or against each alternative listed. According to Burger, "translations are automatically chosen after they get „enough" positive votes, [sic] there's actually a very complicated formula that determines this. It takes into account both positive and negative votes, votes of other translations, and the „trustworthiness" of people who voted on them" (personal communication, 3/9/2011).

Though the translation is described as "automatic," some of the decision making clearly comes from the side of the site administrators, both in the design and implementation of the delivery system for translation and even on a manual, case-by-case basis. Burger again: "Translation admins (such as me) can override this decision [=voting outcome ML] and unlock a given phrase for translation again, or choose a different translation" (personal communication, 3/9/2011).

Kirkpatrick writes, "Rather than ask its own employees or contractors to spend precious years translating the site's three hundred thousand words and phrases into numerous other languages, Facebook turned the task over to the crowd and found an enormous amount of wisdom there"(4794). However, internal control and the ability to override voting outcomes show that the translations are not quite as grass roots as Kirkpatrick leads us to believe. The 20 or so most widely used languages have professional translators employed by FB to administer and assert quality control over the translations (Burger 2/26/2011). Other languages supported on FB, like Slovak, have FB employees administering translation as an informal add-on to their normal, unrelated workload. Because FB wants to get such things as the Help Center, Statements of Policy, and the Developer Sites right at a higher level of accuracy, Burger indicates that languages without support of professional translators may remain forever untranslated in this regard (personal communication 3/9/2011).

If voting on translations of FB shows at least some user control of site content, it is an open question whether voting on other aspects of FB is similarly consequential. That doesn't mean there aren't other interesting, perhaps more important consequences, at least from the perspective of site administrators. Kirkpatrick describes how Mark Zuckerberg has used voting as a strategy for redirecting user blowback on a range of site innovations. In February 2009, Zuckerberg was hit with an angry insurrection over change in FB's Terms of Service, which expanded FB"s rights to its users" content into perpetuity (Kirkpatrick 5334). Threatened with lawsuits from various consumer protection organizations and buffeted by criticism from the blogosphere and mainstream press, as well as a 100,000 member user group "People Against the New Terms of Service," Zuckerberg responded by conceding some infelicities in the style of presentation, invited users to offer suggestions, and announced revised documents in the subsequent week, along with an invitation to vote against them prior to their becoming official.

Zuckerberg proposed that a negative voting outcome in an election in which at least 30% of FB users participate would be binding and force further revision. As FB had, at the time, more that 200 million users, this meant that it would take a vote involving 60 million users in order to defeat any measure, a quantity vastly beyond the numbers of people that had on various occasions weighed in on any controversial development (and 600 times the number of complaints directed at the original change in Terms of Service).

The subsequent vote (in favor of the new changes but involving only 660,000 votes) defused the controversy and mollified detractors, who were brought into the process of dialogue about changes. Zuckerberg resolved to handle criticism with similar such votes in the future, launching a "Facebook Site Governance Group" as a resource to disseminate votes and to invite user collaboration (Kirkpatrick 5362).

Kirkpatrick quotes Zuckerberg: "History tells us that systems are most fairly governed when there is an open and transparent dialogue between the people who make decisions and the people affected by them" (5353).

Voting as a form of dialogue in order to justify the agenda of decision makers and to allay users" attempts to undercut those decisions—this is revealed as an alternative model of the function of "voting." It"s more important for the election to *happen*, regardless of outcome. In this way, decision makers can declare buy-in (=face value of voting), while asserting their will with a more accommodating "electorate" to deal with the outcome, regardless of their self-interest in the consequences (=book value of voting).

The book value arising from taking into consideration controls placed on the scope, process, and consequences of voting on FB yields the impression that much FB content is determined under classically proprietorial conditions. As Michal Burger says, "Facebook simply cannot grant users the ability to provide their own translations but at the same time be held responsible for the provided content" (personal communication 3/12/2011).

What is the face value of the user admin relationship in FB? FB users are empowered to shape the organization of FB content. Opposed to this we may be left with the impression of the following book value of this relationship: FB users are complicitly disengaged from the organization of FB content.

6. Case Study #4: What does the right to privacy mean?

As Americans living in Slovakia, my pregnant wife and I had to get used to a different set of personal boundaries: during our first month in town, the local police paid us a visit to inspect our apartment; at the clinic, our doctors would conduct obstetric examinations in an open space where other expectant mothers and health personnel would be moving about; driving on the roads, we would occasionally be flagged over by police checkpoints, just for a routine check-up to see that our documents were all in order; after my visa period expired, my employer was contacted by the police to have them explain why we were still in town. It puts a particular slant on what it means to be connected. As we have seen in our survey of the exit protocol for getting out of FB, the site design argues to keep us forever connected. Removing an account is a multi-step process, organized as an extended guilt trip, implemented only after extended time delay.

In some respects this FB desire for us to remain connected is reminiscent of the "open" relationship between people in Slovakia and the service and law enforcement sectors.

FB's commitment to openness can be viewed in the evolution of sharing policies, which have grown more and more permissive, as FB becomes increasingly ubiquitous. Mark Zuckerberg, whose FB profile indicates his commitment to "breaking things," "revolution," and "openness," has said that he is "building a web where the default is social" (Schonfeld). The website Openbook provides a visualization showing how "social" translates into who you share your information about yourself with under FB's default setting, and how the circle of sharing has grown since the inception of FB ("The Evolution of Privacy on Facebook").

A countervailing force is a desire for personal sanctuary, which gets played out in the FB world in the demand for privacy. FB users appreciate the functionality that FB affords, yet they wish to retain their private space as well. This dialectic between sharing and discretion has resulted in the proliferation of privacy settings, increasing user control over his privacy, while making it ever more challenging to exactly calibrate an enhanced level of discretion (Gates, see appendix 1). Where users don't think of everything, site design guarantees that they will be overexposed. "Thinking of everything" becomes increasingly complex; therefore, the ranks of the overexposed grow proportionately. This predicament suggests itself as the existential, person-by-person reality of FB's "revolution" in process, breaking down barriers and ushering in ever advancing personal exposure as a social norm.

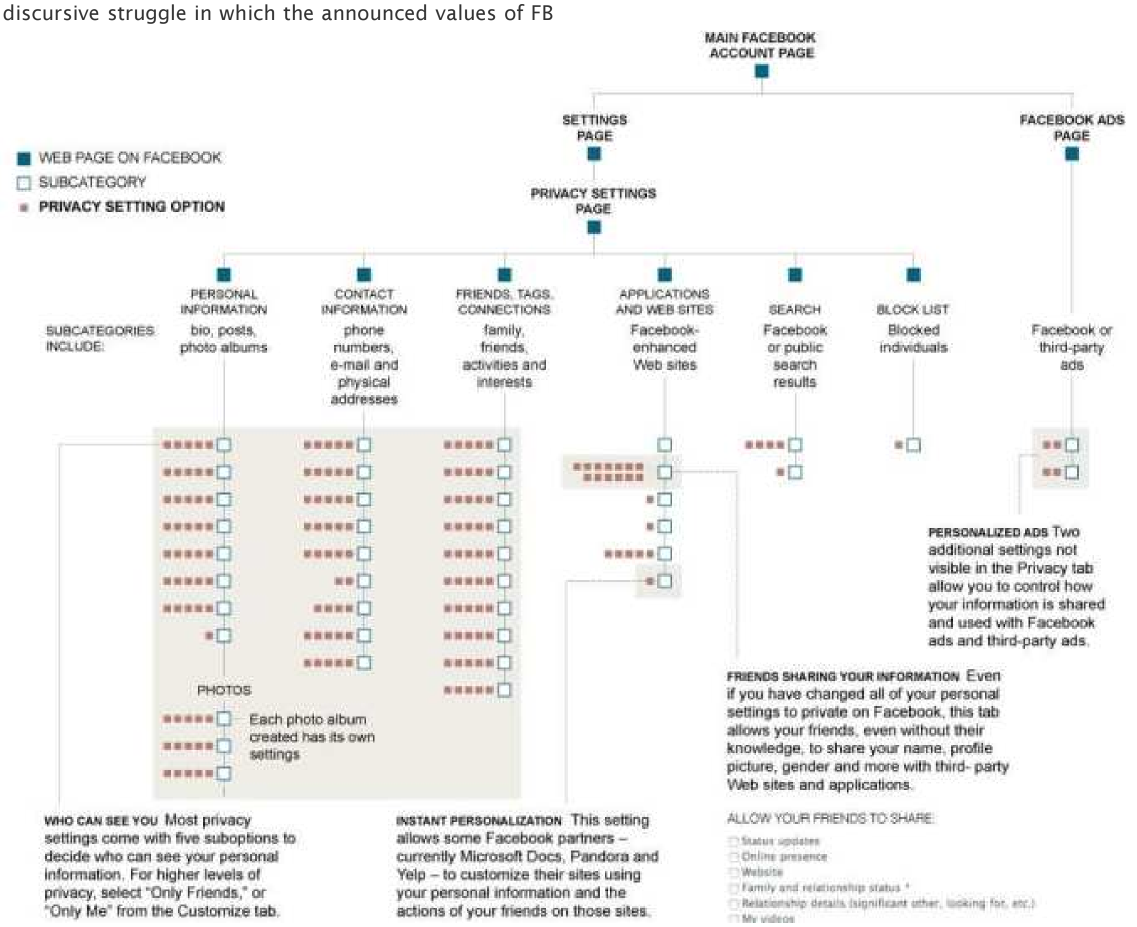
The struggle over privacy is the most high-profile problem for the community of FB critics. In terms of our cost-benefit analysis: we see a perennial conflict over the advertised face value of FB as an engine for helping its users share with others. "Sharing" turns into "overexposure" from the perspective of privacy advocates who point out that the book value of FB connectivity is the inevitable exposure of FB users to others whom they wish to keep from monitoring their information.

7. Conclusion

Logging on to FB, we are told that "Facebook helps you connect and share with the people in your life." Highlighting the positive effects of this new connectedness, FB has been implicated in everything from bringing deadbeat dads to justice for delinquent child support, to facilitating life-saving organ transplants, to the democratization of the Arab world.[10] Yet, investigating discourse routines on FB ranging from translating to voting to controlling our private information, to deleting our account, we unveil a discursive struggle in which the announced values of FB are given a different valuation, where "sharing" means being "exposed," where being "connected" is akin to being "captured," and where involvement (like voting) is a type of neutralization. However, our particular brand of cost-benefit analysis insists that this "book value" is not the final valuation. In a truly dialectal process, the "truth" is somewhere in the space between "face value" and "book value." Keeping in mind two fundamental principles of discourse analysis: that there is no single "neutral" or true perspective (every contribution "builds" towards a particular valuation of social goods) and that discourse is never stable (relationships are always changed with each encounter), we see even in the comparatively rigid relationship of a FB user interacting with design features of the FB platform the indelible footprint of the chameleon, brokered nature of human discourse.

Appendix I

The complicated structure of privacy options in FB (Guilbert Gates)



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Perceived Interactivity in Children Internet Advertising

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Abstract
Focusing on six food and beverage companies' official web pages, the objective of the present paper is to analyze verbal and non-verbal devices that enable the children internet users to recognize their control over the message being communicated. The term perceived interactivity embraces here the extent of acceptability and controllability with which any web page visitor is provided. The paper discusses the notion of personality and other projected roles as well as the customization of specific lexico-grammatical and pragmatic features regarded as unique in the sociolect of the given target group, but modified to the persuasive needs of advertising discourse.

Keywords
advertising, internet, interactivity

1. Introduction

In our consuming society, children represent a very vulnerable target group. Its vulnerability results from the fact that children are not very difficult to influence, especially by what is offered them by mass media. Even though there are several psychological factors that have an impact on children's decision-making processes, companies targeted at young consumers have developed a number of tactics and strategies of arousing considerable interest in their products. The desire for a particular product is of course stimulated by well-organized marketing campaigns, including advertisements. The role of an advertisement is to highlight those features that differentiate a particular product from a competing commodity available on the market. Among those features are definitely thoroughly developed combinations of visual and functional aspects of a product, but what advertisers accentuate even more are the social values the possession of a product involve. In other words, the satisfaction of a consumer's social needs guarantees a success of advertising communication.

The development of internet has enlarged producers' range of marketing devices. Besides investing money in internet advertising, companies also concentrate on managing their profiles on their official web sites, and recently also on social networks. Even though an advertisement and a web site represent two different marketing instruments, there are certain features that overlap these two categories, such as promotion of a product, enhancement of its image, etc. Unlike the discourse of advertising, the discourse of a web page enables a consumer to be free to decide when to use and thus visit a particular official web page. Unlike a TV viewer, for instance, an internet user has also the right to decide what type of product information as well as what amount of product information he or she wants to receive. Besides factual product information, a visit to a web site provides a consumer with a possibility of a number of entertaining activities such as playing games, watching a movie, creating short videos, virtual visit to a company shop, etc. Furthermore, a web page offers to get in touch and to keep in touch with other consumers, to share their opinions about the product and the company, to recommend an appropriate variety of a product, to provide immediate product feedback, etc. In other words, besides being a promotional tool a web page also functions as an instrument of maintaining a social contact with a consumer whenever he or she feels like 'communicating' with the company and/or with other consumers. Consequently, an official web page of a children-oriented product/company functions as a source of both advertisement and entertainment.

On the other hand, producers and companies have to keep in mind that besides children the other visitors who will definitely consider their official web sites are those responsible for their offspring's internet activity. Therefore, official web pages of products targeted at underage consumers take the adult visitors into consideration, and as such are designed as parents-friendly. For example, some of the analyzed pages offer a main menu which instructs children and parents to follow the appropriate direction, as Figure 1 illustrates:

Figure 1 – Nestlé Nesquik Main Menu User-Directing Division

2. Analyzed Material

The material under investigation is represented by six official web pages of the world largest food, nutrition and beverage companies, namely Nestlé, General Mills, Kraft and PepsiCo Inc. The individual products whose official web sites are analyzed are as follows:

- Chips Ahoy! (http://www.nabiscoworld.com/chipsahoy/),
- Cinnamon Toast Crunch (http://www.cinnamontoastcrunch.com/index.html),
- Honey Nut Cheerios (http://www.honeydefender.millsberry.com/),
- Nestlé Nesquik (http://www.nesquik.com/Default.aspx),

- Quaker Mix-Up Creation Oatmeal (http://www.quakeroats.com/products/oatmeal/mix-up-creations.aspx), and
- Teddy Grahams (http://www.nabiscoworld.com/teddygrahams/).

As written above, a company's official web page can be considered a type of an advertisement since like 'regular' advertising, one of its objectives is to persuade the consumer to buy the product. Moreover, some of the pages analyzed, especially those of General Mills, pay children internet users' attentions to the fact that what they are seeing is actually an advertisement, claiming "Hey kids, this is advertising", which is 'carried' by an animated airplane located in the upper right corner of the pages concerned.

By choosing these particular food and beverage companies, the author follows up her own research of American TV commercials presented in her doctoral thesis (see Pelclová, 2010). Compiling the corpus of the final thesis, the author discovered that the most frequent broadcast commercials for children were those promoting breakfast cereals, cookies and drinks offered by the companies mentioned above. In order to extend the research, the paper presents an initial study of **perceived interactivity** in children internet advertising represented by the official web sites. The term perceived interactivity refers to the extent to which a child internet user is able to realize that he or she is actively involved in human-machine type of interaction. It is important to realize that it is rather difficult to measure the extent of interactivity without a detailed research of an adequate number of volunteers that would participate in such a project (discuss e.g. researches by Sundar and Kim, 2005 or Bellman, Pribudi and Varan, 2005 that measured the extent of interactivity in terms of effectiveness and persuasiveness). It is not the objective of this paper, though. As a result, the present paper studies those linguistics items of face-to-face interaction, with regard to non-linguistic features, that might be considered crucial for increasing the level of interactivity in an official web page of a company targeted at children. At the same times, children recognize those linguistic aspects as corresponding with their own sociolect, and thus as more acceptable.

The verbal material under investigation consists in both factual product information and entertaining aspects. The lexical and the visual items under investigation can be found on the main menu pages as well as on all the possible subpages to which the visitor is redirected.

3. Discourse of Children Internet Advertising

The discourse of advertising represents a **persuasive** discourse type. Following Jakobson (1960), the primary function of advertising communication is the **conative** function since the advertiser, the author of the message, orders the consumer, the recipient of the message, to buy the product or service being advertised. However, this command is hardly ever communicated explicitly; instead, the command is hidden beyond the suggestions, recommendations, jokes, advice etc. (cf. Cook, 1992, Hermerén, 1999). The implicitness of the primary function is also reflected in the speech acts used. Since the direct appeal *buy the product* is considered aggressive and inefficient, and thus dispreferred, the advertiser employs rather non-ordering or non-commanding speech acts such as representatives and expressives. They enable the advertiser to disguise and background his or her intentional meaning. However, it does not mean that advertisements do not work with directives at all. On the contrary, the discourse of advertising is jaded with directives, but unlike the primary directive *buy the product*, the preferred ones are those that convey a high level of beneficial effect on the consumer. For example, the consumers visiting the web page of Quaker Mix-Up Creation Oatmeal are encouraged to "Create you own oatmeal" or "Mix any 2 packets of Quaker Mix-Up Creations together and stir up some tasty fun"; or those visiting the Cinnamon Toast Crunch site are appealed to "Meet the crazy squares" or "Play click-a-lick! and other crazy games", etc.

Of course, the advertiser has a number of persuasive strategies and techniques that help him or her to disguise the primary function of advertising. One of the most effective strategies is to differentiate a product from similar or identical products available on the market. Besides a distinctive product design, logo and slogan, the differentiation results in assigning **special attributes** to a particular product. For instance, in 2003, Pepsi Vanilla distinguished its vanilla flavor drink in a TV commercial campaign by using the qualifying "the not-so-vanilla vanilla" attribute, with visual references towards a competing product by Coca Cola (discuss the video of Pepsi Vanilla commercial available online).

3.1 The concept of personality

However, the strategy of creating unique product attributes is rather applicable to adult consumers than to children. Instead of differentiating and emphasizing its uniqueness, a children-targeted product is often related with a particular **personality**. In other words, producers and companies develop a character that functions as **a product representative**. This character is to a certain extent personalized, which means that it has characteristic features, especially the positive ones, typical of human beings. Those characters thus become heroes that are worth copying, imitating and following. Consequently, children do not long for a particular product as much as they long for a personality related with this product. A personality, such as Tony the Tiger directly associated with Kellog's Frosted Flakes or Disney's characters appearing in advertisements for a number of children commodities, is recognized as being original, ideal and superior. As far as the social needs are concerned, the possession of such a personality satisfies those needs and enhances the owner's position within his or her in-group community. The concept of personality is, according to Kline (1997), "the best way to differentiate a product without depending on brand-name recognition or the retention of product attributes".

Considering the products under investigation, they are also connected with personalities. For example, the personality representing Honey Nut Cheerios is an animated bee called Buzz. He is introduced as a "Defender of the Honey", a hero who, with a little help of other characters such as Beenita and Bixbee, and of the web page visitors as well, defends and protects the hive from which the best honey used for the product is gained. The cookies Chips Ahoy! are represented by a single cookie with rich chocolate chunks. Even though this character is not given a name, it has a humanized face. Its facial expressions and 'delicious' look makes it a nice and friendly personality. Moreover, this character accompanies the visitor to every link and site available on the web page. Even though some of the products analyzed are related with 'real' characters and heroes, while others are related 'only' with nameless product-shaped creatures, a notion of personality is presented in each official web page concerned. In the discourse of advertising focused on young consumers, children do not need to remember a product name; but what they do remember is the personality related with it. In this sense, the personality equals the product.

3.2 Social Maintenance

Concerning the differences between traditional media advertising and internet advertising, here represented by official web pages of food and beverage companies, the former can only initiate the consumer's interest in the personality and thus the product, while the latter enables an internet user to reveal more facts about the personality. Browsing a web page offers the consumer to discover the privacy of the personality, to become part of the team, to get in touch with other fans and consumers, as well as to be kept updated about the product/company news and to check the upcoming events and launches.

Even though a web page can be visited by a number of consumers at the same time, every visitor is treated as an individual. The tendency towards the individual approach is another feature typical of advertising discourse. Therefore, aspects of face-to-face interaction can be found in both traditional media advertising discourse and internet advertising discourse (IAD). However, the possibility of getting in touch with other consumers via the same medium through which a product is promoted and even exactly at the same time when the others are visiting the web page results in the fact that official web pages operate with two types of social maintenance: a) the advertiser's individual approach towards an internet user represented by a simulated face-to-face interaction; and b) the user's maintenance of social contact with members of the same values and attitudes.

4. Interactivity in Children IAD

Before approaching to the concept of interactivity in children internet advertising discourse (IAD), it is important to clarify the distinction between the two misleading terms, that is the interaction in IAD and the interactivity in IAD.

4.1. Interaction and the Distinction Between the Enacted and Projected Roles

Since every interaction is realized between at least two participants, the interaction in IAD is presented as an interaction between the producer/company/advertiser on one hand and the consumer/visitor/internet user on the other. However, following Cho and Leckenby (as cited in Liu and Shrum, 2002, 54), a visit to a web page means that the internet user is entering an interaction with a computer, not with a real human participant. In other words, whenever a child looks at an official web page of his or her favorite breakfast cereals, he or she is involved in a **user-machine interaction**.

Of course, for every human being the most natural interaction is the human-human interaction, or interpersonal interaction that is materialized in the discourse of face-to-face conversation. This type of conversation has its specific features that enable the interlocutors to be actively involved in modifying the message being communicated. Owing to the use of the medium of spoken channel, a face-to-face interaction has its characteristic linguistic features observable at all linguistic levels, such as the complexity of grammatical structure, dominance of discourse markers, elliptical constructions, indirect speech acts, exaggerations, the use of non-standard language, etc. (cf. Biber et al., 1999, Leech and Svartvik, 2002, etc.) Moreover, the authenticity of the linguistic features is enhanced by the support of paralinguistic features, which also represent an indispensable part of this particular discourse. Therefore, features of spokenness are implemented in the user-machine interaction, because they background the presence, and thus interaction of a machine while foregrounding the human aspect. This is the aspect that makes the user-machine interaction more acceptable.

As mentioned above, advertising communication operates with primary and secondary functions. Its primary function, the persuasion to buy a product, is hidden beyond its secondary functions, such as entertaining, advising, expressing thanks for the loyalty, image enhancement, etc. Moreover, advertising communication is a public, one-way communication, which means that the advertiser addresses millions of consumers who are deprived of the possibility to perform their contribution, both verbal and non-verbal, towards the development of the communication. The deficiency of immediate feedback is immense in traditional media advertising, while in internet advertising, it is compensated by the fact that the internet user can immediately perform the intended illocution, which is the purchase of the product.

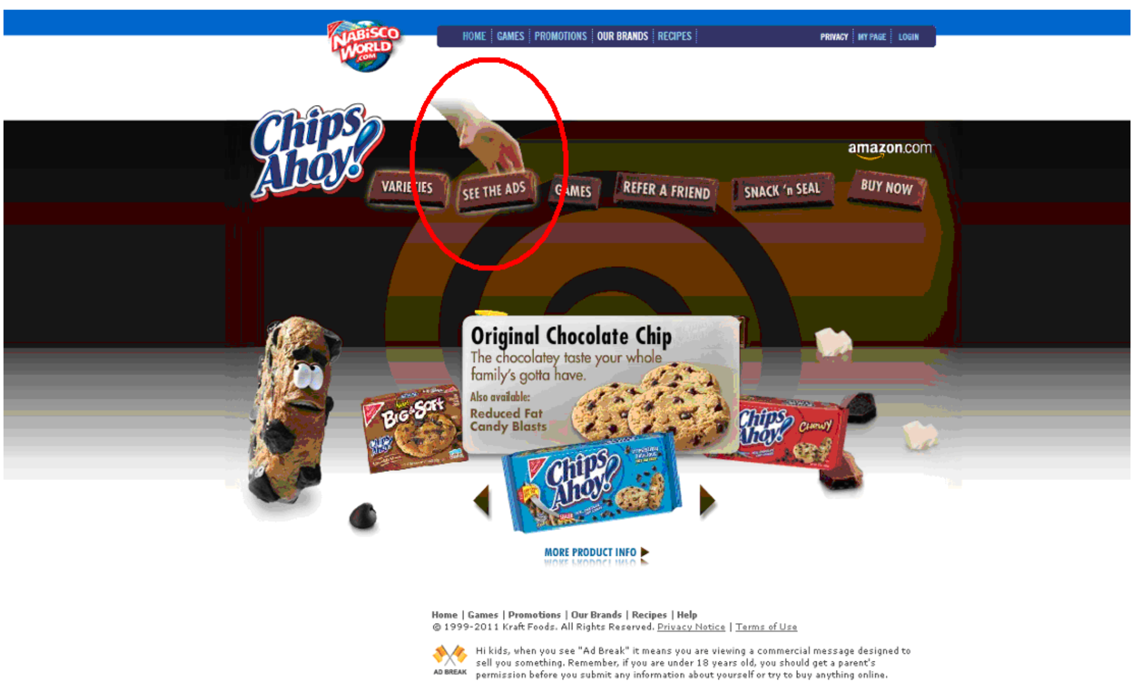
Considering the primary and secondary functions, the interaction in advertising is realized at two levels. In terms of Leech's (1966) study, advertising communication comprises the primary advertising situation and the secondary advertising situation. From the point of view of pragmatics, the advertiser and the consumer participate in **the primary speech event** and **the secondary speech event**. While the former refers to the persuasive intention, the latter refers to the non-persuasive one. In other words, the primary speech event is realized between the advertiser and the consumer, while the latter between the characters used in a particular advertisement to which the primary participant of the consumer can be projected. Following Halliday's speech roles (1985: 68), Thompson and Thetela (1995) distinguish between two sets of roles that can be assigned to participants involved in advertising communication. The two sets correspond with the distinction between the primary and secondary speech events and their intentions. Since the primary speech event conveys the persuasive intention, the first set of roles, the '**enacted roles**', refers to the role of **the persuader** and the role of **the persuadee**. In secondary speech event, however, the primary participants feature the '**projected roles**', which means that the persuasive attributes are blurred. In other words, the persuader accommodates the persuadee to a non-persuasive situation, in which both participants perform different roles. For instance, the persuader usually performs a role of a product information provider while the persaudee has a rather non-responsive role of a product information accepter. Applying this role distinction to IAD, the persuader's projected role is performed by the personalized characters such as Nesquik Bunny, Honey Nut Cheerios Buzz, Teddy Graham, the Quaker and the characters of the cookie guy and crazy squares, while the persuadee's projected role is performed by the internet user visiting a web page who is drawn into the interaction with the characters depicted. To be more specific, consider the Honey Nut Cheerios web page and the entertainment it offers: when playing the 'Save the Honey Express' game, the persuader is projected onto the character of Buzz, while the persuadee is projected onto the role of Buzz's friend who helps him to finish the game successfully. The child thus has to solve several problems like opening the doors by cutting the wires in a correct order, and he or she communicates with Buzz via a special device called Buzz communicator. The interaction between a child user and Buzz is supported by replicas such as "We've got it", "Okay, good idea", "Hmm… you're right", "Awesome great job! On to the next train", "Wow, this is cool", etc., all uttered by Buzz. In "Make a Movie!" link on the Cinnamon Toast Crunch page, the persuadee is projected onto the role of a movie maker, while the persuader can be present in the characters of crazy squares featuring in the created movies, as well as in the instructor who provides the persuadee with instructions and suggestions such as “Pick 2 squares”, “Pick your bowl!”, “Wanna add milk?” etc.

As illustrated above, the projected roles differ in accordance with the product as well as with the functions of links provided on the web pages. On the other hand, irrespective of the product and links, the enacted roles remain the same. On top of that, the projected roles of at least one of the primary participants are to a certain extent visualized and voiced. The level of visuality or visibility as well as the extent of verbalization is rather high in children IAD. However, the level decreases in the traditional media advertising discourse since the traditional media are not equipped with such a technology enabling a high level of visualization, motion, verbalization as well as immediacy.

4.2 Perceived Interactivity

Considering the discourse of internet advertising, the term interactivity refers to the extent to which the persuadee can be interactive with this medium, which means to what extent the persuadee can have a dialogue with the machine and the program conducting the official web page.

As written above, the user-machine interaction customizes the features of human-human interaction. The employment of features of face-to-face interaction results in what Kim and Du (2006) identifies as a **three-dimensional interactivity**. The first dimension is characterized by **perceived control**, which means that the internet user does not need to do any special action to avoid internet advertising, unlike the TV viewers or magazine readers. In other words, the internet user is free to decide whether he or she wants to enter the advertising communication offered and thus to be involved in IAD. The perceived control is highly distinguishable especially in intended visits to web pages. Considering the pages in question, not only are children internet user offered several activities, but it is them who control and govern which links and which activities to follow. In Chips Ahoy! web page, the perceived control over the governance is intensified by a hand that copies the moves of the mouse over the menu offers; the hand is meant to illustrate a real physical usage of the child user’s hand selecting an appropriate item, see the pictures below:



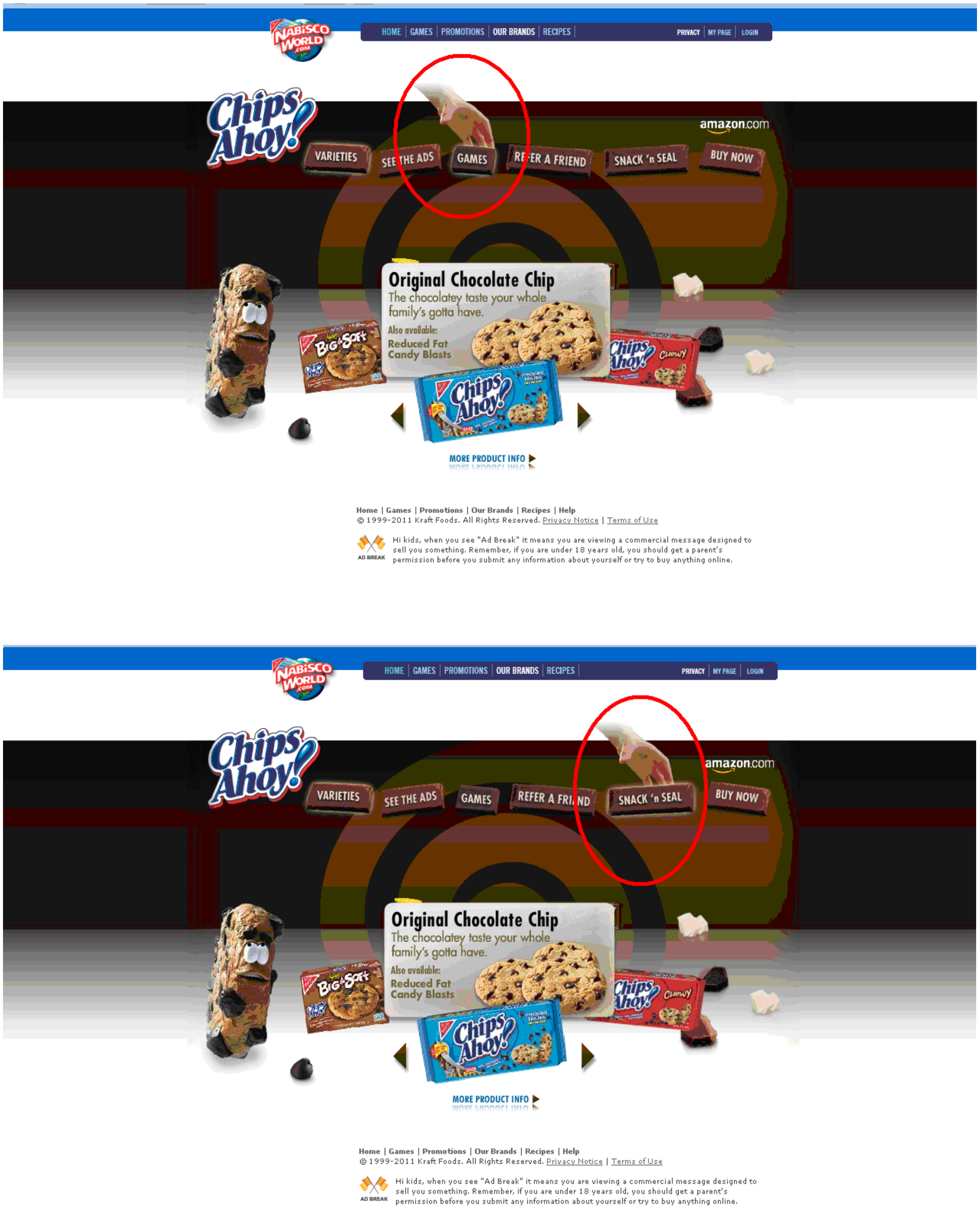


Figure 2 – Imitating the User's Hand Movement

Another type of perceived control can be found, for instance, in Teddy Grahams web page. In the parents section, the adult users can read Teddy's stories. Moreover, they are offered to use their offspring's name in order to make the child be more involved in the interaction, see the figure below:

Figure 3 – Control over the Characters in Teddy's Stories

In terms of projected roles (see above), parents become the story creators, the narrators, while their children, the addressees of the story, become one of the characters, even heroes, in the adventures.

The dimension of the **perceived responsiveness** consists in the fact that internet allows its user to provide an immediate feedback, either implicit or explicit, to a received message. The user can thus buy the product immediately or share his or her experience with other consumers. Besides the purchase and the social contact, this dimension also includes the **responsiveness** realized **at the level of secondary speech event**. As written above, the discourse of advertising prefers beneficial appeals. Considering the distinction between the enacted and projected roles, the appeals can be identified as pragmatic devices that shift the persuadee into a projected role that is indicated by the propositional content of the directive speech act used. For instance, in Honey Nut Cheerios web page, the persuadee is appealed "save the honey express", which indicates that the persuadee's role will be that of a hero. "Roll over the General Store" (Teddy Grahams) makes the persuadee be projected onto a role of a virtual shop visitor where he or she can learn about Teddy's family. Besides the function of shifting devices, those appeals have another pragmatic function, and that is the maximizers of the persuadee's benefits.

The third dimension Kim and Du (2006) speak about is the dimension of **perceived personalization**. This dimension refers to the employment of features of spokenness, both linguistic and paralinguistic. Following the recent studies of spoken language (see above), the linguistic features typical of the discourse of face-to-face conversation found in the analyzed material are mostly represented by **novel expressions**. Those are mainly reflected in **innovative qualitative adjectives** such as "chocolatey chips" (Chips Ahoy!), "cinnamon-y crunch" (Cinnamon Toast Crunch), "apple-tastic" or "banana slamma oatmeal" (Quaker Mix-Up Creation Oatmeal), and **innovative proper names**, e.g. "Beenita", "Mumbee", "Bixbee" (Honey Nut Cheerios). Those expressions are structured as a mixture of lexical metaphor with a part of a phonological form of a foundational word. Not only are the puns typical of advertising discourse in general, but they also reflect the tendency towards word playfulness and thus originality of expressions observable among the target group, children.

Considering inserts, defined as linguistic items inviting the hearer to participate in the development of an interaction, the persuader prefers **attention signals** such as "hi" and "hey". Examples of **interjections** can be found as well. For instance, when switched to a bedtime version, the character of Teddy alerts children "Shh, Teddy's asleep" (Teddy Grahams). A great number of interjections appear in games, especially on the Honey Nut Cheerios page, see above. Besides single lexical items, the **expressive function** can be also observed in the **level of syntax**, e.g. "Okay, good idea" or "Awesome great job" (Honey Nut Cheerios) or "Happiness is as easy as Nesquik" (Nestlé Nesquik).

Considering pragmatics, the face-to-face interaction is also governed by the participants' effort to be cooperative and at the same time, to be polite. The observance and/or violence of these pragmatic principles, as introduced by Grice (1975) and further developed by Leech (1991), are highly context-dependent, which might result in preferring the observance of the politeness principles over the non-observance of the cooperative principle in face-to-face interaction. In the analyzed material, the persuader has a tendency to keep them in balance, which means that the persuader follows the appropriate cooperative maxims in order to provide as much product information as possible, but simultaneously, the persuader endeavors to observe all the persuadee-oriented maxims to the highest degree. In other words, the persuadee's benefits (as discussed above), as well as his or her praise, e.g. "That's totally fresh, nice match" (Chips Ahoy!), contribute towards personalization of the interaction.

Besides linguistic devices, the perceived interactivity is also supported by the non-linguistic tools. Those are represented by the physical appearance of the characters such as Buzz, Nestlé Bunny, crazy squares, etc. Since the characters display a certain level of personalization and humanization, they perform physical and kinetic acts typical of human-human interaction such as body language represented by changes in facial expressions or gestures, e.g. inviting gestures as illustrated in the figure below:

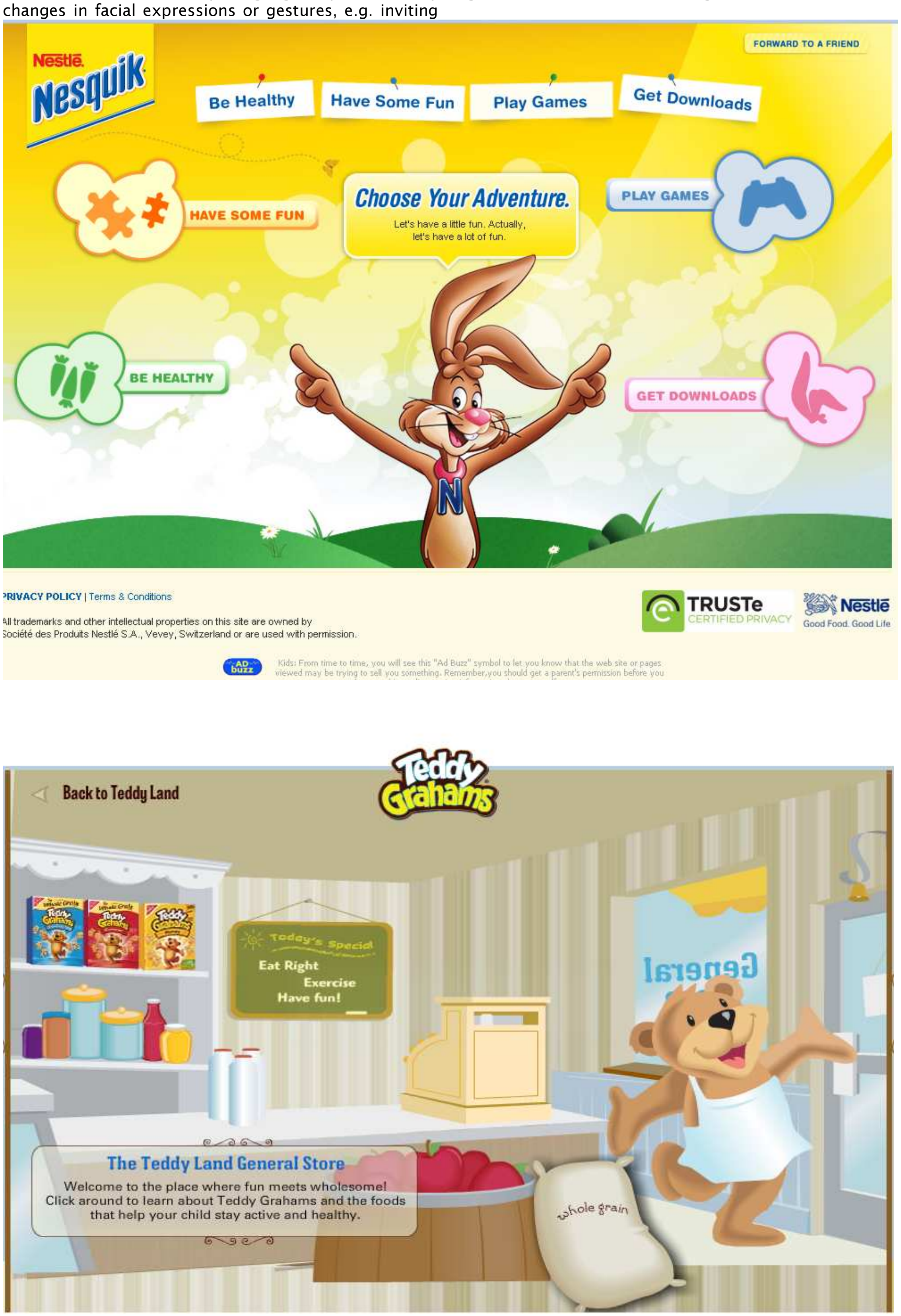


Figure 4 – The Personality's Inviting Gestures

Another instance of non-linguistic devices can be found in the vernacular, the **non-standard use** of language, here realized by the transcription such as "The chocolatey taste your whole family's gotta have" (Chips Ahoy!) or "Wanna add milk?" (Cinnamon Toast Crunch).

5. Conclusion

The present paper focuses on linguistic features that are indispensable in children internet advertising discourse (IAD) for modifying the impact of human-machine interaction. The paper also considers the importance of the non-linguistic, namely the paralinguistic features that are employed with the same function as the linguistic ones. The children IAD is here represented by six food and beverage companies' official web sites that are identified as a type of advertising the primary function of which is to persuade a child to buy the product being advertised. Like in a traditional media advertising discourse, the subordinated secondary functions in IAD are those of entertainment and company/product image enhancement.

The term interaction in IAD conveys the user-machine type of interaction that customizes features of human-human interaction. Concerning the speech roles, the participants involved in children IAD differ in their projected roles while their enacted roles remain the same. The term interactivity refers to the extent to which the machine and the internet program allows the persuadee to take an active part in the interaction. In order to maintain a **symmetrical relation** between the persuader and persuadee's projected roles, the persuader is projected onto a role of an animated character with several positive characteristic features. The notion of personality is important for product recognition, since the personality equals the product being advertised. Besides the visualized personality, the persuader utilizes a number of visual effects that evoke physical performances of human-human interaction.

From the point of view of linguistics, the three-dimensional perceived interactivity is supported by the **metaphorical use of language**, found especially in product qualifying attributes and in labeling of the projected roles. The persuader also has a tendency towards the overuse of **directive speech acts**. Not only do they observe the persuadee-oriented politeness maxims, but they also shift the participants from their enacted roles into their projected roles in the interaction concerned. Furthermore, the face-to-face interaction is intensified by the use of **expressive** speech acts, **inserts** and instances of **vernacular language.**

The offer of a wide variety of actions the persuadee can perform on the web page, the projected roles of symmetrical relation, plus the imitation of features typical of social dialect of the target group enables the persuadee to take an **active control over the perception of the message** being communicated. On the other hand, it is important to realize that a web page is programmed in a particular way that does not allow the persuadee to modify its content, and thus the persuadee **cannot participate in negotiating the meaning** of the message being communicated (except for the contribution in chat rooms available, of course). This is further reflected in the fact that the persuadee cannot invest his or her face in the user-machine interaction to such an extent as he or she does in a real, spontaneous human-human interaction. That might be interpreted as another challenge for advertisers – to think about the way of improving the face investment and maintenance in the discourse of interactive advertising.

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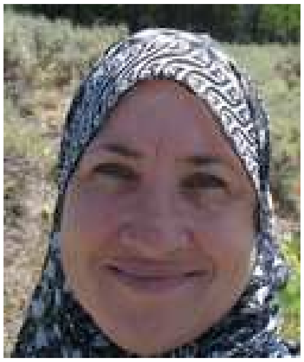

The Language of Adult Social Networks

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Abstract
Discourse analysis of a sample of Facebook wall posts and photo comments showed that Arab users extensively use colloquial Arabic written in Arabic script or transliterated in Roman script. Standard Arabic is less commonly used. Some use English to communicate with friends. Facebook discourse is also characterized by invented spelling with a stretch of long vowels and punctuation marks. Arabic numerals such as 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 are used to transcribe Arabic phonemes for which no equivalent graphemes are available in English script. The linguistic forms used by Arab adults in social networks are similar to those used by young adults in other languages such as Chinese and Japanese. Young Arabs reported that these forms are trendy in Internet communication which is informal and casual. Some have difficulty expressing themselves in Standard Arabic. New educational and linguistic policies for reinforcing the use of Standard Arabic among the young generation need to be established.

Keywords
English, Arabic, social networks, language, discourse

1. Introduction
Arabic is the native language of more than 300 million people living in 22 Arab countries extending from Morocco in the west and the Gulf States and Iraq in the east. Muslims, who are not native speakers of Arabic, learn it as a second or foreign language as well.
Linguistically, Arabic is diglossic with two forms: A Standard form and a colloquial form. The Standard form is learnt at school and is the language of print media and news T.V. stations such as Aljazeera and BBC Arabic. It is also commonly used by the educated Arabs in formal situations such as conferences and interviews. On the other hand, the colloquial form is used in informal settings when talking to family members and friends, when shopping or communicating about daily life issues. Each Arab country has its own general dialect and several sub-dialects within the same country.
Orthographically, Arabic requires a right-to-left non-Roman alphabet script. Compared to English, Chinese, and Indonesian, Arabic constitutes a minority language on the Internet as only 7.3% of the total Arabic-speaking population use Facebook as of March 2011, compared to 54% in Norway, 52% in Singapore, 50.5% in the USA, 51% in Hong Kong, 48% in the UK, 46% in Sweden, 44% in New Zeeland, 34.8% in Malaysia and 14.2% in Indonesia. However, the number of Arab people using the Internet in general, and social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, and MySpace, in particular, is increasing.
The daily use of the Internet shows that new forms of communications and discourse have emerged in e-mail messages, online discussion forums, blogs, chats over MSN, Yahoo and Blackberry Messengers, online message boards, and social networks such as Facebook and Twitter. One would wonder in what ways online language differs from face-to-face and written languages. A review of the literature has shown a plethora of studies that investigated Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) such as e-mail, online forums and online message boards in English such as Gerrard and Nakamura (2004), Palfreyman and Al-Khalil, (2003), Su (2003), Sugimoto and James (2000) and Wright (2004). On the contrary, studies that investigated discourse of CMC by Arab Internet users are very few. For example, a study by Warschauer, El Said & Zohry (2006) examined English and Arabic language use in online communications by a group of young professionals in Egypt. The study found that English is overwhelmingly used on the Web and in formal e-mail communication, whereas a Romanized version of Egyptian Arabic is extensively used in informal e-mail messages and online chats.
Since 2004, social networking platforms such as Facebook, Twiter and MySpace are becoming more and more popular online communication forms among young adult users. Yet studies that explore the linguistic forms and discoursal features of online communication in adult social networks such as Facebook and Twitter are lacking. Therefore, the present study aims to examine the linguistic and paralinguistic features of Arab adult communication in social networks such as Facebook, to identify those features, to find out whether those linguistic and paralinguistic features vary according to sex, educational level, age, occupation, situation, type of relationship with the person with whom the user is communicating, and to find out why Arab users of Facebook prefer to use those linguistic and paralinguistic devices.
The study of the linguistic features of CMC among social network users is especially interesting as Arabic is a diglossic language and utilizes a right-to-left complex script with a non-Romanized alphabet. Subrahmanyam, Reich, Waechter & Espinoza (2008) also indicated that little is known about young people's activities on these sites and how their networks of "friends" relate to other online and offline networks. Allman (2009) added that when investigating the myriad issues within multilingual Internet communication, Arabic use online presents unique insights and sheds light on innovative strategies for dealing with technological marginalization and the universality of certain cross-linguistic digital communication trends.
Furthermore, the investigation of online discourse deepens our understanding of the online communicative behavior, in that we encounter types of communicative events that have not previously been researched. At the same time, this study shows the importance of noting the characteristics of the specific language forms used by Arab adults in social networks and the sociocultural context of its use, to better understand the emerging patterns of Facebook communication.

2. Data Collection
2.1 The Facebook Discourse Sample
A random sample of 50 male and female Facebook users who are native speakers of Arabic was selected.

The sample included Facebook users coming from different Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, USA, Canada, UAE) and speak a variety of dialects, represent different age groups (18 years to over 50), some are students studying in Arab countries and some are studying abroad and use English as a medium of instruction. Some are professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers, executives, computer scientists…etc). For each of the fifty users, wall messages and comments posted over a period on 4 weeks and all of the photo comments in each users' photo album were collected. Thus the corpus of Facebook discourse included 11,160 messages and comments.
The unit of discourse analysis chosen was the single post or comment regardless of its length and number of sentences contained in it. Each message or comment was analyzed and categorized in terms of the language styles used (English, Standard Arabic, Romanized Arabic, colloquial messages in Arabic script, mixed styles), spelling, vocabulary, grammar, punctuation features, and paralinguistic devices used. Data in each category were tallied and percentages were computed for the whole sample. Results of the analysis will be reported quantitatively and qualitatively.

2.2 Questionnaire-Surveys

The sample of Arab Facebook users selected was surveyed and asked open-ended questions about the reasons for using colloquial Arabic, for transliterating Arabic messages in Romanized script, for inserting Arabic words in English messages and English and French words in Arabic messages and for using invented spelling and punctuation. Responses are reported qualitatively.

3. Results

3.1 Features of Facebook Discourse

Analysis of the wall messages and photo comments posted by the sample of Arab users of Facebook in the present study showed that 72% of the messages and photo comments were in casual and informal colloquial Arabic, 15% were in English and only 12.5% were in formal Standard Arabic. In 29% of the messages Arab adult users posted their comments in colloquial Arabic written in Arabic script, as in the following:

- اهلين ماشاء الله على صورتك لذيذة وانتي صغيرة يحافظ اللهم صلي على النبي وكيف حالك طمنني عنك وايش صار معاكي في خصوص التوظيف والله أستخيري وشوفي والله حرام تتعبي نفس في الجامعه وبعدين لا قدر الله مايوظفوكي من دحين .... وأسفة على التطفل والإزعاج ونتقابل على خير فمان الله
- انت انسان حساس ومبتحبش تزعل حد منك .. رغم ان ممكن يضيع حق حد بسبب عدم صراحتك .. بس انت اكتر حاجة بتكرهها انك تشوف حد فى وضع محرج.. الحق حق برضو
- وي وي يا بنت اهجدي انتى وهيا سبتو الدنيا كلها وجين تضاربو بالفيس قدام الناس اه منكم متى تكبرو وتعقلو

Surprisingly, 43% of the messages are fully Romanized, i.e. transliterated using the English alphabet. Arabic numerals are used to transcribe Arabic phonemes for which no equivalent graphemes are available in English such as 7 for ح, 8 for ق, 6 for ط, 3 for ع, as in the following examples:

- *shklyk zy el2mar felsora dy ya hoba…..*
- *Mashallah allah y7fa6'hom*
- *3o8balna ya rab*
- *3izzee la m3laish 5al el rashaash fe awgat o5ra ;) :****

Romanized colloquial Arabic is characterized by non-standard spelling, i.e. spelling variations of the same word by different users as in *'7abeebte', 'habibti'* or *'7abeebti'*; faulty spelling as in *'Ghowata'* and *'3arth'*; deletion or lengthening of long vowels as in *'3alek', '7loomi'* ; use of lower case in sentence initial position, is the pronoun *'i'* and in proper nouns such as *'rana', 'zainab*.
Interestingly, English and/or or French words are transliterated in Arabic letters (.5%) as in: *انقلش، رايتنج، ستايل، قرامر، ريدنج، التيتشر*
Standard Arabic is not used in casual everyday conversation among users of the social network, but used when citing verses from the Quran, Prophet Mohammed's Hadiths, sayings, proverbs, lines of verse, literary excerpts and when reporting news headlines. For example:

- السعآدات التي .. تضعها في جيوب الآخرينّ ,سَ تعود يوماً .. لـ تختبئ في جيوبك عندما تحزن ! *
- فما كل من تهواه... يهواك قلبه ولا كل من صافيته... لك قد صفى
- ربيّ . . أهدِي قلْبِيّ وأحباءي [مفآجأه جمِيلہ] .. نعِيشُ بعدَهَآ عِدة أيآمَ لا نكآدُ نصدقہَآ . .

Users who are proficient in English, are studying abroad, those who communicate with foreign friends, who are professionals using English at work, and students using English as a medium of instruction use English for posting messages and photo comments as in:

- *lol!! REALLY NICE!!!! thanx to make me on the 4th place!!! :))*
- *Happy Birthday to u Happy Birthday Happy Birthday To u :D Wish u all the best in your life . Enjoy and have lots of fun in your special day :D ^____^*

A new form of code-switching was noted in some Facebook messages posted by Arab adults, i.e. a mixture of English and Arabic, or French and Arabic words is used. Here, Romanized Arabic words are inserted in English messages as in the underlined words and phrases in the following examples:

- *Khalto Habeebti… I miss you, and hope you are doing well… Keefik? I am so happy that you are on facebook and you keep in touch…. Keeef Iowa… do u see Rami and the family… All the love min Nablus…*
- *come on 7aram 3alek malek and miss u reham mwah*
- *Naif :(it's just wedding arrangement stuff ! allah ye3een :***

English, French and/or Italian words are also inserted in Romanized Arabic messages as in the underlined words and phrases in the following examples:

- *Allah y5leekom 4each other*
- *Dyala ,, Allah yebarik feek ya rab :* merci merci cousin*
  Faro7a thanx,, love ya
- *thanx amiga Ala'a ;)*
- *7ayaty ranosha betjanini miss u kteeeeeeeeer*

Analysis of the Facebook data also showed that Arab participants in the present study use invented, non-standard spelling. Slang words are spelled in invented ways that deviate from Standard Arabic spelling, as in "يا حافظ" instead of "يحافظ"; "في أمان الله" instead of "فمان الله"; "في بيوتهم" instead of "فبيوتهم"; "في منسي" instead of "فمنسي"; "يوظفوكي" instead of "هي"; "هيا" instead of "تكبروا"; "تكبرو" instead of "يوظفوك"; "جين" instead of "جايين". They tend to spell words phonetically as they pronounce them, especially in cases of juncture within phrases. In some cases, the attached form of Arabic letters in word medial position is used in word final position. Diacritics are misplaced in others as in: *ثبوتـ لكـ انكـ لهـ منهـ بسمهـ امانهـ عنكبوت، آنمآ الدنيآ فنآء تقريبآ يوميآ*. Such spelling deviations and errors reflect inadequate linguistic competence in Standard Arabic and make words difficult to decode and comprehend.
In addition, fully capitalized words and stretches of long vowels within English and/or Arabic words are extensively utilized as a paralinguistic device to convey

emotions such as surprise, excitement, emphasis, yelling. For example:

- *معقوووووووووووول، بااااااااااااااااي.*
- *THAAAAAAAAANKS U ARE REALLY MY FREINDS!!! <u>MWAAH</u>*
- *MUNAAAAAAAAAAAA LA TFDA7INI LO0O0O0O0L*
- *mesaa2 el 5eeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeer!!1loo0o0olz*
- *3ARTH O5TI SA7!LOOOOL*
- *<u>OMG</u>!7ARAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAM!*
- *zainab we rana 3asoooooooooooool*

Moreover, Facebook communication is characterized by the non-standard use of punctuation marks and asterisks, use of stretches of parentheses, exclamation marks and commas, or combinations of different types as in the following:

- *ranaaa you look sooo cute 7abibti,,,how's everything?and saifooo :):)*
- *Enjoy and have lots of fun in your special day :D ^____^*
- *lol!! REALLY NICE!!!! thanx to make me on the 4th place!!! :))*
- *3izzee la m3laish 5al el rashaash fe awgat o5ra ;) :****

Such stretches of punctuation marks are used as a paralinguistic device to show emphasis and emotions.

Another paralinguistic device that Facebook Arab users have invented is use of words such as "*<u>MWAAH</u>* and ههههههههههه", spelled as '*mwah'* or *'MWAAH"* to imitate the sounds of a kiss or long laugh to which no onomatopoeic words exist in Standard Arabic. For example:

- *THAAAAAAAAANKS U ARE REALLY MY FREINDS!!! <u>MWAAH</u>*
- *come on <u>7aram 3alek malek</u> and miss u reham <u>mwah</u>*

"D, OMG, lol, Loooool, REALLY" are extensively used as paralinguistic devices to show emphasis, admiration, excitement and other emotions.

3.2 Differences in Linguistic and Paralinguistic Forms

Data analysis has revealed no difference in the linguistic and paralinguistic forms used according to sex, age, educational level or profession of the message writer. It was noticed that the same person may use different linguistic forms (English, Standard Arabic, or colloquial Arabic or mixed styles) with different people, in different situations, and for different purposes. However, the linguistic forms described above vary depending on the purpose of the communication (casual, informal, political, religious, literary and so on), the relationship or social status of the person with whom the message writer is communicating (rector, professor, writer, journalist) and type of relationship between them (close, distant, formal or informal).

3.3 Reasons for Style Mixture in Facebook Discourse

The subjects reported that Facebook communication is casual and informal and is similar to face-to-face communication. Therefore it is more suitable to use colloquial Arabic rather than Standard Arabic. It is also easier for them to express themselves in slang and colloquial Arabic rather than Standard Arabic which is more formal and inappropriate for casual communication. They like to write the way they speak and prefer to express their opinions in the spoken language. Some believe that using the colloquial form is effortless, whereas use of Standard Arabic requires attention to structure, spelling and formal use of the language. Some expressed their inability to use Standard Arabic as they have difficulty figuring out the correct spelling and grammar, despite the fact that they had used Standard Arabic in the public schools for 12 years and studied all content course such as math, science, geography, history, social studies, religion, and poetry, grammar, reading, and composition courses in Standard Arabic.

As to Romanized Arabic and inserting English words in Arabic messages and Arabic words in English messages, the excessive and non-standard use of punctuation marks and invented spelling, they thought using this style was fun and trendy in Internet communication and reported that they have no problem understanding and deciphering what others transliterate and that such devices aim to show emotions and give the same effects as tone of voice, facial expressions, and eye contact in face-to-face interaction.

Some subjects indicated that they do realize that differences in the local dialects used by Arab users of Facebook, coming from different Arab countries, may limit understanding, communication and interaction among users from those countries when they communicate in colloquial Arabic, compared to written and oral communication in Standard Arabic which is understood all over the Arab World.

4. Discussion

Findings of the present study are consistent with findings of a study by Warschauer, El Said & Zohry's (2002) that investigated the linguistic features of e-mail and chat language use by Egyptian Arabic speakers. As in the present study, Warschauer, El Said & Zohry found that English is overwhelmingly used by Arab professionals on Web and in formal e-mail communication and that a Romanized version of Egyptian Arabic is extensively used in informal e-mail messages and online chats.

Findings of the present study are also consistent with findings of other studies that investigated online communication in English, Japanese and Chinese using online message boards, a Bulletin Board Systems and e-mail. For example, Kelly (2007) analyzed CMC discourse interactions in samples of on-line conversations from different online message boards occurring within a large multi-national organization. Although the topics for the boards were discrete and unrelated, participants in the different message board systems used non-standard written linguistic features which suggest more casual, face-to-face-like interactions. Those included omission of pronouns and copulas, non standard punctuation such as <!!>, <@?@>, stylistics including emphasis markers such as *really* and capitalization to indicate YELLING.

In another study, Nishimura (2003) explored the linguistic and interactional properties of informal asynchronous computer-mediated communication (CMC) in Japanese in Bulletin Board Systems (BBS) messages. Findings showed innovative uses of *kanji*, other scripts and punctuation, and the incorporation of informal spoken features. Young Japanese users of BBS were found to employ colloquial language online as if conversing offline to interact with their fellow participants in their Internet community. Nishimura also found that the young Japanese employ a variety of flexible options to address readers who have varying degrees of familiarity and involvement. Their use of language resembled that of informal spoken Japanese with genuinely creative orthography. As in the present study, the young Japanese use varying degrees of style mixture in CMC depending on their feeling of involvement and closeness to other users.

In a study based on a 70,000-word corpus of electronic mail (email) and ICQ instant messaging texts collected from a group of youngsters in Hong Kong, Lee (2002 and 2007) identified the following language-specific features of CMC: Cantonese-based shortenings, common grammatical 'errors' such as inappropriate verb forms and lexical choice, subject omission, code-mixing, and creative orthographic representations of Cantonese. In addition, significant differences were found between email and ICQ texts in terms of the distribution of linguistic features. Those features were used more frequently in synchronous communication via ICQ.

Finally, the reason for using those linguistic and stylistic features of Facebook language given by Arab users of Facebook in the present study are similar to the features described by other researchers such as Nishimura 92003), Lee (2002 & 2007), and Kelly (2007).

5. Recommendations

Findings of the present study showed some common features of Internet language, in general, and Facebook language used by Arab users which is mainly characterized by colloquial Arabic written in Arabic script and Romanized colloquial Arabic using the English alphabet with numerals such as 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 to transcribe Arabic phonemes for which no equivalent graphemes are available in English, inserting Romanized Arabic words in English messages and English and/or French words in Romanized Arabic messages. Slang words are spelled in invented ways such as using stretches of Arabic and/or English long vowels within a word and stretches of the same punctuation marks or combinations of different ones as paralinguistic devices to show emotions and emphasis.

Although, this new linguistic phenomenon is not unique to Arabic-speaking users in CMC, and is also common among young adults using other languages such as English, Chinese and Japanese, these new forms of CMC may weaken the users' linguistic competence and performance in Standard Arabic, who might resist using Arabic script and Standard Arabic spelling and structure in communication in the future. Calls for Romanizing the Arabic language script, and normalizing the use of the colloquial form in spoken and written communication might be encouraged in the future. Therefore, raising young Arab's awareness of these linguistic phenomena by the media, by setting new educational and linguistic policies for reinforcing the use of Standard Arab among the young generation, especially college students is of ultimate importance. Studies that investigate the effects of using the Internet linguistic forms described in the present study on academic achievement and the proficiency level in Arabic among college and high school students are needed.

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Building a corpus of spoken courtroom discourse for a single-case study

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Abstract
The article presents methodological considerations on creating a small representative corpus. The corpus was designed to serve the needs of a single case study. The article deals with the question of representativeness of the data and the difficulties that arose with the process of tagging and categorizing tags. It also considers the flexibility and user-friendliness of the corpus that was based on a simple but efficient system of tagging.

Keywords
corpus, court discourse, corpus linguistics

Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics as a field has been constantly developing since the 1980s. It has introduced novice methodological considerations into traditional research methods used in linguistics (e.g. the criteria of sampling and representativeness). Technological development has also changed the approach to data and enabled researchers to analyse bigger quantities of data, include various types of data, and add new data whenever necessary. Informal and spoken language became readily available to researchers due to the growth of internet use by ordinary speakers. The development in the hardware allowed the processing of extensive data samples, which helped advance improvements in the qualitative analysis methodology. The flexibility and open-endedness of corpora made researchers consider sampling and representativeness as the basic criteria for building a corpus. Nowadays, corpora are being used as a verifiable and credible basis for an empirical analysis of naturally-occurring data (Conrad 2002: 77).

Corpora differ typologically according to such variables as size (mega-corpora and mini-corpora), modes (written mode, spoken mode with audio/video recordings), languages (monolingual, multilingual, parallel), purpose (sample corpora, corpora for comparison, special corpora), normativeness (standard, non-standard varieties) [McCarthy, O'Keeffe 2010; Tognini Bonelli 2010]. Corpora have long been used for compiling dictionaries, language learning and teaching purposes, research in literary studies and translation studies. The use of corpora has now been firmly established as a reliable tool in forensic linguistics for authorship analysis (Cotterill 2010). Corpus linguistics has even fought its way into pragmatics with corpora being used for studying turn-taking management, discourse markers and speech act formulas (Rühlemann 2010).

Another trend that has recently emerged is the use of corpora for discourse analysis purposes. Corpora used for discourse analysis combine corpus-based procedures with other research methods such as conversation analysis, semantic-pragmatic analysis (Thornburry 2010: 274). The starting point is to identify features that can easily be quantified (271). The bottom-up approach leads from frequency lists to identification of regular patterns and speculation on the role of formal features for specific communicative purposes in the given context (276). The corpus-based approach thus provides discourse analysts with objective tools for a detailed analysis of a discourse variety.

Building a corpus

When building a corpus, there are many organisational and methodological aspects that need to be considered. The organisational aspects include collecting, saving and labelling texts. Once the texts are gathered, it is important to save the materials with the header and annotations that contain all the relevant information about the texts (Reppen 2010).

What is more important though is that the methodological aspects need to precede the organisational matters. It is essential to consider the following three criteria: sampling, balancing and representativeness of the texts that are to be included in the corpus (Nelson 2010: 56). These criteria need to be considered in connection to the size of the corpus. In general, the smaller the size of the corpus is, the more importance the three above-mentioned criteria gain. Small specialised corpora (such as described in this article) need to be planned very thoroughly.

Koester (2010) emphasises that representativeness is of special significance for small corpora since it is important to ensure that "the range of linguistic distributions found in the target situation are reproduced in the corpus" (70). Representativeness is secured by two factors: situational context and linguistic context (Koester 2010: 69–71). Both are interdependent. Generally speaking, situational variability and representativeness should be established first since linguistic representativeness cannot be defined without situational context. The criteria of sampling the corpus and balancing also go hand in hand as both refer to choosing the appropriate extracts that represent a wide range of typical situations (70). By meeting all the above-mentioned requirements, the limitations of small corpora can be counterbalanced with their advantages: better contextualisation of the data and better opportunities for a multi-focal analysis.

Data

The corpus described in this article is based on the data from the non-jury libel case McDonald's Corporation v. Helen Steel and David Morris. Steel and Morris had to represent themselves for the lack of financial means; they were accused by McDonald's UK and US of publishing and distributing a leaflet called "What's Wrong with McDonald's? Everything they do not want you to know". The leaflet contained criticism of McDonald's business practices: deceptive information on the nutritional value of their meals, unfair employment practices, advertising directed at children, bad animal treatment, etc. The case was tried in the UK High Court and it lasted from June 1994 till December 1996.

The corpus was created with the aim of analysing cross-examination questions and strategies used by the two litigants-in-person, Steel and Morris. Their cross-examination questions and strategies were contrasted with those of the professional lawyer representing McDonald's, Mr. Rampton, QC. When preparing the corpus, the situational context was considered alongside the linguistic context. The most important topic of the trial was the part on nutrition. Linguistically, it was also the most relevant topic since both sides were aware of the importance of nutrition and did their best in order to win this part of the trial. The cross-examination samples included in the corpus were thus extracted from cross-examination of the key expert witnesses on nutrition (these include cross-examination conducted by the two litigants-in-person as well as the professional counsel Rampton).

The sample of the counsels' cross-examination includes 1 167 cross-examination questions, whereas the sample of the defendants' cross-examination numbers 4 390 cross-examination questions. Since the study concentrates mostly on the pro se litigants, the sample of their cross-examination is almost four times bigger than the sample of Rampton's cross-examination. There are no linguistic studies on self-represented litigants, therefore the main aim of the corpus was to provide a verifiable source for further analysis of pro se litigants' cross-examination questioning. The language of professional lawyers has been analysed in many studies (Woodbury 1984; Danet et al 1980; Philips 1987; Harris 1984; Luchjenbroers 1997); it was thus possible to supplement the findings from these studies in order to see whether Rampton's cross-examination was typical of other lawyers.

Cross-examinations conducted by Steel and Morris were extracted from three periods: their very first cross-examination conducted in July 1994, their later cross-examinations in July and September 1994, and cross-examinations they conducted towards the final stages of the case in May 1996. The fact that the pro se litigants' cross-examination samples are distributed throughout the trial makes it possible to find out whether they made any progress in their cross-examination questioning. The table below shows the distribution of cross-examination questions in the corpus.

	Steel & Morris	**Rampton**
July 1994	1 108 questions asked (1 witness cross-examined)	1 167 questions asked (3 witnesses cross-examined)
July and September 1994	1 299 questions asked (2 witnesses cross-examined)	
May 1996	1 983 questions asked (3 witnesses cross-examined)	
Total	**4 390 questions asked (4 witnesses cross-examined)**	**1 167 questions asked (3 witnesses cross-examined)**

To summarise it, the representativeness of the corpus is secured by four factors. Firstly, cross-examination samples were chosen in view of the importance of witnesses for the trial since it is likely that the key witnesses were given more attention and that the cross-examiners tried harder. Secondly, the predominant majority of witnesses in the sample are expert witnesses, which guarantees that, for instance, the differences in the treatment of witnesses (e.g. in the expected length of replies, cf Cotterill 2003: 159) are minimised. Thirdly, the fact that Steel and Morris's cross-examinations were extracted from three different periods allows viewing these periods separately without concealing any variations. Fourthly, the information on lawyers' cross-examination questions and strategies is available in other sources (e.g. Woodbury 1984; Danet et al 1980; Philips 1987; Harris 1984; Luchjenbroers 1997), so it was sufficient to look at a smaller sample of Rampton's cross-examination.

The corpus was created with the help of Jan Pomikálek (from the Centre for Natural Language Processing, the Faculty of Informatics, Masaryk University) who divided the utterances in the transcripts into individual sentences. For each sentence, there was a speaker assigned (Rampton, Morris, Steel, judge, witness). Each sentence was then automatically assigned one of the following categories according to the type of an utterance: 'q' for questions, 'a' for answers, and 'o' for utterances that are neither questions nor answers. The category of questions and answers is a broad division. Sentences uttered by cross-examiners or the judge were assigned the category of questions only in case the next speaker was the witness. The sentences uttered by witnesses were assigned the category of answers. The category 'other' was assigned to the rest of the utterances which were neither questions nor answers.

Speakers and types of utterances were tagged automatically. The corpus was then tagged manually with tags for different types of questions (e.g. open wh-questions, routinized wh- questions). It is only questions with these manual tags that were incorporated into the statistics results.

The extract below shows the original transcripts the way they were downloaded from the internet pages McSpotlight. On the internet pages, the transcripts appear page by page since they were scanned from the court transcripts.

Day 005 - 04 Jul 94 - Page 05

____

1 MR. MORRIS: Are our documents up with Mr. Preston?
2 A.What am I looking for?
3 MR.RAMPTON: You are looking for a blue document with a
peacock blue spine. (Handed).
4 MR. MORRIS: Could we arrange for the defendants' documents to
5 be placed in the witness area as well?
6 MR.JUSTICE BELL: Yes. You can move them over at mid-day or
7 this evening. As each volume comes up, it can be put in one of those slots there.
8 MR.MORRIS: There should be a complete set really there.
9 MR.JUSTICE BELL: Yes. We do not need to také time to carry them up now. As a
volume goes, it can stay up there; it
10 can be moved across this evening.
11 MR.MORRIS: An inch an half of the text at the top of the page it says about directors?
12 A.Yes.
13 MR.JUSTICE BELL: I have not been given a reference yet.
14 MR.RAMPTON: It is bundle 6 of the bright blue files and it is document No. 189. The
tab in my volume just says 89 not
15 189.
16 MR.JUSTICE BELL: Yes, thank you.
17 MR.RAMPTON: It is some kind of printout from somebody called Extel Financial.
18 MR. JUSTICE BELL: Yes.
19 MR. MORRIS: Undertheword "Directors"?

20 A.Yes.
21 Q. I count about 14?
22 A. Well, there are 12 and there are two non-executive, I think, shown there.
23 Q. Yes. Of those 14, I count nine are in brackets (USA); is that correct?
24 A. It means are USA citizens, yes.
25 Q. How many of those USA citizens are not residents in this country?
26 A. At the point in time this was written four were residents of America; the rest were
all resident here.
27 Q. So on the non-executive position, is that Mr. Allin?
28 A.Yes, he was a resident here.
29 Q. So four out of the first 12 were non-resident, so four out of eight of the US origin
directors were non-resident?
30 A.Five -- let us see here, Caniloopoone, Newmantwo, Quinlanthree, Kepfafour, Turner
five – five were

The above-mentioned page from the scanned transcripts appears in the corpus in the following way:

MR. MORRIS:
<s type="gy" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="">
Are our documents up with Mr. Preston?
</s>
A.
<s category="a" speaker="witness" note="">
What am I looking for?
</s>
MR. RAMPTON:
<s category="o" speaker="Rampton">
You are looking for a blue document with a peacock blue spine.
</s>
<s category="o" speaker="Rampton">
(Handed).
</s>
MR. MORRIS:
<s category="o" speaker="Morris">
Could we arrange for the defendants' documents to be placed in the witness area as well?
</s>
MR. JUSTICE BELL:
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
Yes.
</s>
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
You can move them over at mid-day or this evening.
</s>
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
As each volume comes up, it can be put in one of those slots there.
</s>
MR. MORRIS:
<s category="o" speaker="Morris">
There should be a complete set really there.
</s>
MR. JUSTICE BELL:
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
Yes.
</s>
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
We do not need to take time to carry them up now.
</s>
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
As a volume goes, it can stay up there; it can be moved across this evening.
</s>
MR. MORRIS:
<s type="" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="">
An inch an half of the text at the top of the page it says about directors?
</s>
A.
<s category="a" speaker="witness" note="">
Yes.
</s>
MR. JUSTICE BELL:
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
I have not been given a reference yet.
</s>
MR. RAMPTON:
<s category="o" speaker="Rampton">
It is bundle 6 of the bright blue files and it is document No. 189. The tab in my volume just says 89 not 189.
</s>
MR. JUSTICE BELL:
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
Yes, thank you.
</s>
MR. RAMPTON:
<s category="o" speaker="Rampton">
It is some kind of print out from somebody called Extel Financial.
</s>
MR. JUSTICE BELL:
<s category="o" speaker="judge">
Yes.
</s>
MR. MORRIS:
<s type="n" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="">
Under the word "Directors"?
</s>
A.
<s category="a" speaker="witness" note="">
Yes.
</s>
Q.
<s type="d" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="">
I count about 14?
</s>
A.
<s category="a" speaker="witness" note="">
Well, there are 12 and there are two non-executive, I think, shown there.
</s>
Q.
<s type="tt" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="">
Yes.
</s>
<s type="at" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="">
Of those 14, I count nine are in brackets (USA); is that correct?
</s>
A.
<s category="a" speaker="witness" note="">
It means are USA citizens, yes.
</s>
Q.
<s type="rw" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="">
How many of those USA citizens are not residents in this country?
</s>
A.
<s category="a" speaker="witness" note="">
At the point in time this was written four were residents of America; the rest were all resident here.
</s>
Q.
<s type="gy" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="so">
So on the non-executive position, is that Mr. Allin?
</s>
A.
<s category="a" speaker="witness" note="">

Yes, he was a resident here.
</s>
Q.
<s type="d" category="q" speaker="Morris" note="so">
So four out of the first 12 were non-resident, so four out of eight of the US origin directors were non-resident?
</s>
A.
<s category="a" speaker="witness" note="">
Five -- let us see here, Caniloopo one, Newman two, Quinlan three, Kepfa four, Turner five -- five were non-residents out of the 12; seven were resident.
</s>

Each sentence starts with an identification of the sentence in angle brackets (i.e. <s category="" speaker="" note="">). In case of questions, there is one more additional slot for types of questions (i.e. <s type="" category="" speaker="" note="">). The ending of each sentence is marked with '</s>'.
The following table shows the abbreviations used as tags for the four slots (i.e. type, category, speaker, note). The additional slot called 'note' was used for additional comments and pragmatic or semantic tags (e.g. politeness features).

Type (tagged manually)	'wh' for open wh- questions 'rw' for routinisedwh- questions 'gy' for grammatical yes/no questions 'ny' for negative grammatical yes/no questions 'd' for declarative questions 'r' for reverse polarity tag questions 's' for same polarity tag questions 'at' for agreement tag questions 'n' for non-clausal questions 'tt' for third turns
Category (tagged automatically)	'q' for questions 'a' for answers 'o' for other (utterances that are neither questions nor answers)
Speaker (tagged automatically)	'Rampton' 'Steel' 'Morris' 'judge' 'witness'
Note (tagged manually)	'i' for interruptions 'so' for so-prefaced questions/answers 'but' for but-prefaced questions/answers 'f' for false starts 'p' for politeness strategies or special pragmatic aspects 'e' for echoing the response 'ji' for judge interference 'm' for instances when the judge acts as a mediator 'a' for instances when witnesses avoid answering questions 'c' for instances when witnesses contest for control 'q' for questions asked by witnesses 'r' for instances of witness refusal to answer questions

Sentences assigned a 'type' of 'tt' were counted as third turns, not as questions, but the slots for categories were automatically tagged as 'q' (questions). The slot for 'notes' was used to fill in additional information on pragmatic or semantic features. Even though this information was not necessary for the primary aims of the research, the flexibility of the designed system provides an opportunity for the corpus to be used later for further semantic-pragmatic research. There could have been more slots for other categories since the designed system is flexible.

Problems with tagging
As mentioned earlier, the materials were extracted from court transcripts, which are supposed to be a verbatim record of everything said in court. Their verbatimness and exactness is, however, unachievable due to the nature of spoken language (Fraser 2003, Eades 1996, Walker 1986). Walker (1990: 214–221), a former court reporter, reports on differences that interfere between the two distinct media. The differences lie in the linearity of written communication versus the non-orderliness of spoken communication as well as the grammaticality of written communication versus the presence of non-verbal features in spoken communication.
These specific features of written communication had to be taken into account when tagging the questions. There was a frequent problem with tags. Sometimes they were attached to the sentences (e.g. 'That was your aim, wasn't it?', 'He was the manager, is that right?') and sometimes they were introduced as a separate sentence (e.g. 'That was your aim. Wasn't it?', 'He was the manager. Is that right?'). Without the audio recordings, it was not possible to distinguish whether there was a pause in the question and whether the court reporter had a reason for dividing the question into two utterances. It was thus necessary to decide whether the questions in the latter set of examples ('That was your aim. Wasn't it?', 'He was the manager. Is that right?') would be counted as tag questions (similarly to questions 'That was your aim, wasn't it?', 'He was the manager, is that right?') or as yes/no questions. Since semantically, syntactically and functionally they are very similar to tag questions, they were counted as such (i.e. in the corpus, both types of questions were tagged as tag questions, e.g. 'That was your aim, wasn't it?' as well as 'That was your aim. Wasn't it?'). The punctuation included by the court reporter was thus disregarded.

Problems with classification of questions
For the statistical analysis of the questions occurring in the corpus, it was necessary to categorise questions and assign tags to different categories. The classification of questions is subject of much debate among linguists. Difficulties stem from the fact that it is virtually impossible to combine formal, interactive and pragmatic criteria into a single definition or classification of questions (see Stenström 1984: 24–33). A widely cited classification of questions is by Quirk et al. (1972). Quirk et al. claim to categorise questions according to the type of answers they elicit. The authors delimit three main categories: yes/no questions ('Is it black?'), wh- questions ('What is it?), alternative questions ('Is it black or white?'). Tsui (1994: 77) argues that their classification rests on the formal criteria rather than the type of answers expected. Otherwise, as Tsui claims, the authors would not single out the category of alternative questions since this type of questions is like wh- questions in terms of the type of answers required (e.g. the answer 'By bus' can follow the wh- question 'How shall we get there?' as well as the alternative question 'Shall we go by bus or on foot?'). So the category of alternative questions as defined by Quirk et al. combines the formal syntactic criteria with the answer type criteria.

In spite of the inconsistencies, the same categorisation is chosen in a more recent influential English grammar book – Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 867). Their terminology, however, better reflects the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the type of answers expected: polar questions (for yes/no questions), alternative questions, and variable questions (for wh- questions). Huddleston and Pullum (2002) emphasise that yes/no questions and alternative questions require only minimal replies and classify them as closed questions. Wh- questions are then open questions as they do not limit the response boundaries to such an extent as closed questions.

During cross-examination, closed questions become especially important as counsels aim to restrict witnesses in their replies. Studies on cross-examination questions (Woodbury 1984, Berk–Seligson 1999, Gibbons 2003, Rigney 1999) reflect the frequency of closed questions by separating two more major categories of closed questions: declarative questions ('This is it?') and tag questions (e.g. 'It's nice, isn't it?'). Quirk et al. as well as Huddleston and Pullum consider these types of questions within the category of yes/no questions. To sum it up, open questions are thus wh-questions, whereas closed questions are alternative questions, yes/no questions, declarative questions and tag questions.

The classification of cross-examination questions adapted for the purpose of the corpus aims to combine several criteria into one single classification. Questions are first divided into categories on the basis of formal criteria (wh- questions, yes/no questions, declarative questions, tag questions and non-clausal questions). The five broad categories shown below reflect the formal criteria while the subcategories combine formal criteria with the functional ones. The category of alternative questions (e.g. 'Did you see it or not?') was omitted for the purposes of this dissertation since alternative questions occurred only several times in the analysed sample. The terminology for the categories and types of questions is adapted from Quirk et al. (1972), Gibbons (2003), Woodbury (1984), Philips (1987), Harris (1984).

1. wh- questions
1.1 open wh- questions (e.g. What is the point of your book?)
1.2 routinised wh- questions (e.g. When did you develop your interest in psychiatry?)
2. yes/no questions
2.1. grammatical yes/no questions (e.g. Do you have any connection with the animal rights organisation?)
2.2. negative grammatical yes/no questions (e.g. Is that not an argument in favour of eating fish?)
3. declarative questions (e.g. That is a task which can easily be performed by an intelligent layman?)
4. tag questions
4.1. reverse polarity tags (e.g. You would encourage us to do it, would you not?)
4.2. same polarity tags (e.g. Your devotion to vegetarianism springs entirely, does it, from a concern for human health?)
4.3. agreement tags (e.g. When you tell people not to eat fish, it is not the fish you are worrying about, it is the people; is that right?)
5. non-clausal questions, (e.g. Socio-psychological causes?)

Since the formal criteria were the primary ones for the categorisation, questions such as 'Can you tell us more about it?' were tagged as yes/no questions, even though they function as invitations for an open narrative. In the qualitative part of the analysis, it was thus important to point out that there are distinctions in the function of formally-classified yes/no questions ("Did you do it?" v. "Can you tell me more about it?").

The above-mentions classification scale reflects the types of questions that occur in the analysed sample (hence the inclusion of non-clausal questions and the exclusion of alternative questions) and the aim of the quantitative analysis (i.e. to deal with the differences between the pro se litigants and the counsel as far as the occurrence and use of major question types are concerned).

Advantages of the corpus-based approach

The study conducted on the basis of the corpus shows that the pro se litigants used approximately twice as many open questions; their closed questions were too broad and invited lengthy replies from witnesses; their turn-taking management was conversation-like and allowed witnesses to interrupt them; they were not successful with limiting witness replies and witnesses often digressed from the response boundaries specified in the pro se litigants'questions (see Tkačuková 2010).

The study also shows that specialised small corpora provide discourse analysts with tools for objectifying their findings. By using the corpus linguistics methodology, researchers are forced to look at their materials from different perspectives. First, the materials are studied intuitively in order to make the right choices and include representative and well-balanced samples into the corpus. Second, the significant features are specified, tagged and quantified. Third, the quantitative analysis leads to a qualitative analysis combining discourse analysis approach with other research approaches, e.g. conversation analysis, semantic-pragmatic analysis. Starting on a general intuitive basis, the analysis thus leads back to a bottom-up approach and secures helps to secure informative and objective findings.

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Recenzie/Reviews

Interactive Discourse Markers in Spoken English

(Povolná, R., Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno 2010)

Review by Martin Mačura, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia

The book *Interactive Discourse Markers in Spoken English* presents a very wholesome perspective on the role of discourse markers in spoken communication. Starting by presenting the model of spoken communication, the author ushers us into the principles of spoken dialogue, information interchange and the reasons why it is necessary to investigate spoken English. In the introductory chapters, solid foundations are also laid on how spoken language contributes to human communication; attention is also paid to the differences between spoken and written communication.

A short subchapter in the book gives us an overview of the research data, comprising of a selection of transcripts from the London Lund Corpus, including face-to-face conversation, telephone conversation discussions and public speeches. Each of these is described from a more detailed viewpoint, portraying its individual functions, strategies and outcomes. The data from the corpus are analyzed from the viewpoint of interactive discourse markers, that is, phrases such *as I think, I mean, you see*, and verbs like *know, think* and *mean*, and other structures.

The book is especially valuable because it synthetizes the individual viewpoints on discourse markers and it also presents us with a very profound analysis of previous research endeavors in this area. Namely, opinions of authors such as Quirk, Greenbaum, Leach, Svartvik, Bieber, Crystal, Urbanová, Stenstrom, Swan, Schiffrin, Schourup, Fraser, Poldauf, Aijmer, Andersen and others etc. are presented side by side with the (often very divergent) terminology these authors use.

Interactive discourse markers are further classified from the viewpoint of their pragmatic function based on the criteria such as the syntactic type, the I/you orientation, turn position, prosodic features and the situational context. This typology is supported with examples from the corpus. Also, the pragmatic functions of interactive discourse markers (appealer, inform marker, emphatizer, monitor, opine marker, marker of certainty, marker of emotion) are examined and presented.

The final chapters are dedicated to the function and role of discourse markers in establishing coherence and cohesion and their indispensable role in politeness. Coherence and cohesion are first introduced as theoretical concepts, as viewed by reputable authorities such as Halliday, Hasan and Widdowson. The concept of coherence is also applied on spoken English. The effects of discourse markers on politeness are examined on the background of the cooperative principle, politeness theory (Grice), conversational maxims and politeness strategies.

I praise the book for its coherent and methodological approach in examining the above issues, its complete coverage of theoretical opinions on the topic and, last but not least, practical application of corpus data to illustrate the theoretical points and concepts. I envisage its use both in the classroom and on the desk of a researcher.

Academic Writing in Europe: Empirical Perspectives

(Schmied, Josef (ed.) CUVILLIER VERLAG, Göttingen 2011)

Review by Gabriela Miššíková, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia

The volume on Academic Writing in Europe summarises the research and teaching experiences resulting from recent projects pursued by a team of scholars and researchers from the Czech Republic, Italy and other countries in Europe as well as in China, Malaysia and Armenia. Professor Josef Schmied from Chemnitz University, Germany, the leading personality of this series of projects, has evoked an intense discussion on the problem of the academic writing component in MA and PhD programmes required by the so-called Bologna process. He proposes a comparative approach to academic writing so that all participating universities can join the discussion, share common grounds, exchange experiences and express ideas on such problems as the further expansion of English as the language of science and international cooperation. As J. Schmied points out "…there seems to be a standardising trend in international writing that discourages national styles and traditions in specific disciplines and genres, but, on the other hand, new opportunities have arisen that English departments and English graduates can use to prove their "usefulness" in an ever more utilitarian society and view of universities and maybe even sell their "services"…" (iii).

The volume consists of nine papers covering a broad variety of relevant issues. The opening paper Academic Writing in Europe: a Survey of Approaches and Problems by Josef Schmied sketches the new understanding of academic writing that has developed over the last two decades, from a text-based to a writer- and reader- oriented perspective. Addressing a set of specific problems the author suggests that English departments in Europe consider new opportunities arising from an empirical and discourse- and genre- based approach in research and teaching. Identifying particular differences between academic writing and other genres, Susanne Wagner investigates the use of concessive markers in academic writing. In her paper Concessive and Contrastives in Student Writing she attempts to establish frequency differences between academic sub-genres on the basis of large reference corpora (the British National Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English) comparing them with specialised corpora of academic writing. The analysis reveals striking significant differences between native and non-native writing. Christoph Haase investigates a corpus of academic English for modal items in permutations of adverbs and auxiliaries in the paper Modal Indeterminacy and Evidentiality in Adverbial Expressions: A Culturome in Academic Writing? The resulting data enable a quantitative view on collocational strength between the studied items, which further supports a theory of a complex relationship between truth-value commitment on the side of the author and evidentiality as an independent way of expressing scientific facts.

Using corpus-based method Guliana Diani in her paper Interpersonal Metadiscourse in English and Italian University Lectures: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Person Markers presents the results of her analysis and comparison of the quantitative and qualitative use of interpersonal metadiscursive devices across the two languages. The analysis offers evidence of cross-cultural variation in use of person markers and the verbs associated with them expressing stance. The preference of the 1st person singular pronoun followed by verbs of stance has been observed in both Anglo-American and Italian lecturers in their university classroom. The problems of academic discourse descriptions as informational-regulatory texts are discussed by Sara Gesuato in her study Content and Wording of Academic Course Descriptions. The author observed that some sections on policies/requirements of long ACDs show more involvement with the readership, as well as clearer indication of what teachers expect from students, than the short ones. This suggests analysing long ACDs as distinct from short ones. A socio-cognitive enquiry into the analysis of a corpus of academic textbooks on Islamic Finance in English is presented by Mariarosaria Provenzano in her paper Identity Markers in The Academic Discourse in English on Western-Islamic Finance: Two Case Studies. The author applies the concept of Appraisal Framework introduced by Martin and White (2005) to two case studies focused on recognizing the writers´ illocutionary intent.

The role of academic writing within the English for specific purposes discipline became the focus of the study by Larissa D´Angelo entitled Disciplinary Cultures in Academic Posters. The author points out that much attention is traditionally paid to the "open genre network" of academic writing while conference posters presentations have received relatively little attention from researchers. Thus the aim of the presented analysis is to advice how to understand different academic cultures influence, underlying patterns, text-audience relations, and communicative purposes of academic posters. A comprehensive analysis of the presence of conjunctive adverbials is presented by Irena H lková in her paper Conjunctive Adverbials in Academic Written Discourse: a corpus Analysis Based on a Sociolinguistic Approach. Conjunctive adverbials contribute to the overall lucid stratification of a text and thus to its coherence. The analysis, based on a research article corpus of 50 published papers from five different academic disciplines, brings interesting findings relevant in classification of sub-register of research articles. The volume closes by the study of pragmatic dimension in academic communication. In her paper Hedging in Research Articles: Humanities and Social Sciences Compared Martina Malášková explores the importance of hedging devices in academic prose. She sees hedges as polypragmatic devices that fulfil a variety of functions in discourse. The results of the study point our formal and semantic differences in hedging devices used in the fields of study compared.

The volume on Academic Writing in Europe shows a variety of personal styles of individual scholars and as such is an excellent example of culture-specific writing itself. The authors involved have raised relevant questions and highlighted intriguing aspects of the studied topic. They managed to initiate further debate and development of this fascinating topic. The volume can be used as a valuable guidebook for MA and PhD students as well as teachers and scholars interested in the English language and linguistics.

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