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ARTICLE

Development of EFL Students' Writing in Secondary Education

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	The aim of this paper is to explore and measure language learners' performance in L2 writing production using the complexity, accuracy, and fluency constructs. A total of 123 secondary education students took part in the study. Results are manifold. In the first place, they show that the measures of fluency, accuracy, grammatical and lexical complexity progress in a significant way: fourth grade students outperform first graders in the aforementioned measures. Secondly, fewer correlations between the writing measures used and the general quality of the compositions are found among the older students than among the younger ones, indicating that the correlations change depending on learners' age. Thirdly, 1st year students exhibit a higher ratio of errors, both in general and also by error category, although only two types decrease significantly in 4th year students: syntactic and spelling errors. Lastly, we find that errors tend to develop in a non-linear way.

1. Introduction

Writing is, alongside with reading comprehension, listening comprehension, and speaking, one of the skills comprised in the learning of a foreign language (FL). In order to help both students to a better--and easier--language acquisition and practitioners to have a clearer understanding of how this works, it is fundamental to get to know the way it develops along the different stages of language learning. Writing has been a useful tool to assess learners' language competence in a

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foreign language classroom. As Weissberg states, writing seems to reflect better than speech the emergence of new morphosyntactic forms and the development of grammar[1]. As Verspoor, Schmid, and Xu argue, written texts show active language use on the part of the second language (L2) user in all its facets, including the use of vocabulary, idioms, verb tenses, sentence constructions, and errors[2].

Larsen-Freeman sees language as a complex, dynamic system, and language use/acquisition as dynamic adaptedness to a specific context, and regards this view as a useful way of understanding change in progress, such as that which occurs with a developing L2 system[3]. This emergentist view sees learner language development not as discrete and stage-like, but more like the waxing and waning of patterns. She assumes that progress cannot be totally accounted for by performance in any one subsystem. She states that linguistic subsystems, dimensions of language proficiency (fluency, accuracy, and complexity), and even individual elements of language interact in ways that are supportive, competitive, and conditional. They are supportive in that development in one of these subsystems, dimensions, or elements might depend upon the development in another. However, while mutual, the relationship is not necessarily symmetrical, in that after a while, the development in one subsystem may have a competitive relationship with development in another, so that, for example, at one point in time, higher performance in one dimension of proficiency, say accuracy, can seemingly detract from performance in others, like fluency and complexity[3].

Written proficiency as a subset of language proficiency is also complex and cannot be totally accounted for by performance in any one subsystem or dimension of language proficiency. A way of understanding this complex phenomenon is therefore through an exploration into its multi-dimensions. Many researchers contend that the pivotal aspects of L2 writing performance can effectively be captured by the complexity, accuracy, and fluency (CAF) constructs[4]. As Rosmawati explains: "Being predominantly operationalised as a set of quantitative measures, the triad not only offers better perceptibility of development (evidenced by the changes in the numerical value of the indices) but also allows for better comparability across studies."[4] In a search for reliable measures to evaluate L2 development, the notions of complexity, accuracy, and fluency (CAF) were proposed as the principal constructs to capture the multidimensionality of the constructs in L2 performance[5][6][7][8]. Research has shown that these three dimensions are robust indicators of a learner's written competence[9][10][11].

Fluency gauges "how comfortable the second language writer is with producing language"[11]. Accuracy can be defined as the absence of deviations from a particular linguistic norm, it is "the ability to be free from errors while using language to communicate in either writing or speech"[11]. Grammatical complexity means that "a wide variety of basic and sophisticated structures are available and can be accessed quickly"[11], and lexical complexity means that "a wide variety of basic and sophisticated words are available and can be accessed quickly"[11]. Therefore, complexity describes the learners' language knowledge while accuracy measures the appropriateness of language use, and fluency the automaticity of language use. These three constructs, as a triad, gauge the learners' development as a whole[4].

The aim of this paper is to explore and measure language development by gauging the progress in learners' performance in L2 production. In order to understand stages in language development, we will carry out an exploration into the multi-components of written development using the complexity, accuracy, and fluency constructs. All of these measures have generally shown improvement as proficiency increases[12][10][11]. We will compare the written competence of first and fourth grade secondary education students. There has not been much work published to date specifically on the comparison of the written production of these groups of students in the Spanish context and this paper intends to shed some light on this question.

2. Literature Review

Among the earliest studies, Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman examined grammatical complexity and accuracy in the written English of two groups of advanced adult foreign language learners divided according to their performance on a placement test (pass and non-pass group)[13]. Both groups showed similar complexity scores as measured by the number of clauses per T-unit. The analysis of errors, scored as syntactic, morphological, or lexical-idiomatic, revealed similar patterns of error distribution[13]. The smallest difference between groups was shown in syntactic errors. The greatest difference between groups was their production of lexical-idiomatic errors, which was significant. The difference in morphological errors was only weakly significant. Both groups produced the greatest number of errors in grammatical morphemes, with fewer errors in lexical choice, and the smallest number of errors in syntax[13]. In sum, findings suggest that these advanced language learners showed relative strength in syntax but relative weakness in morphology.

Other cross-sectional studies are those of Carlisle

(1989), Lorenzo and Rodríguez (2014), and Yang, Lu, and Weigle (2015). Carlisle analysed the writing of Hispanic 4th and 6th graders in a bilingual program and compared their writing with that of Hispanic students in a submersion program and native English speakers in a regular program[14]. The variables investigated were rhetorical effectiveness, overall quality of writing, productivity or total number of words written, syntactic maturity defined as the average number of words per T-units, and error frequency. Results revealed that the sixth graders had significantly higher scores than did the fourth graders on all the variables except for error frequency. However, the correlation was negative, indicating that older students tended to make fewer errors. An analysis of the correlation between measures showed that rhetorical effectiveness correlated significantly with the overall quality of writing, and that productivity, syntactic maturity, and error frequency correlated significantly with rhetorical effectiveness and the overall quality of writing[14].

Lorenzo and Rodríguez approached the appearance and evolution of academic written language structures in a second language, in formal bilingual contexts[15]. The authors analysed a corpus of historical narratives of subjects from the third year of secondary education to the second year of post-compulsory secondary education (baccalaureate). The study employed complexity measures, among them the mean length of sentence, mean length of clause, clauses per sentence, verb phrases per T-unit, dependent clauses per clause, coordinate phrases per clause, complex nominals per T-unit, and complex nominals per clause. The lexical complexity analysis used 25 different measures such as diverse type-token ratio measures, variation of different parts of speech, verb sophistication, and lexical range. Results showed that learners in the lowest grades produced an amalgamated language, characterized by a lack of dependent clauses, T-units, and coordinate phrases[15]. However, this language skill was consolidated in higher grades as all measures examined improved. Although changes were continuous they were nevertheless unstable, with higher peaks reaching significance levels in the uppermost course[15].

Yang et al. focused on syntactic complexity, which was conceptualized and measured as a multi-dimensional construct with interconnected sub-constructs[16]. They examined the relationship between ESL writing syntactic complexity and writing quality, as well as the role of topic in the relationship. The participants were ESL graduate students who wrote two argumentative essays on two different topics. The authors found syntactic complexity as measured by mean length of sentences and mean length of T-unit to be a significant predictor of writing scores across the two topics[16].

Longitudinal studies are also to be found in the literature, for instance those of Knoch, Rouhshad, and Storch (2014) and Knoch, Rouhshad, Oon, and Storch (2015). Knoch et al. (2014) found significant writing development but limited to certain measures in students who had spent some period of study abroad[17][18]. Knoch et al. examined students' ESL writing proficiency following a year's study in an Australian university[17]. The study used a longitudinal design and investigated writing development using global writing scores, as well as measures of accuracy, fluency, grammatical and lexical complexity. Accuracy was measured via the percentage of error-free clauses and the percentage of error-free T-units. Fluency was measured by counting the number of words in each essay. Grammatical complexity was measured via the number of words per T-units, the number of words per clauses, and the number of clauses per T-unit. Lexical complexity measures included percentage of words from the Academic Word List (AWL), lexical sophistication, and D-value (D-value is a measure of lexical richness which is derived by computing a set of type/token ratios for each text)[17]. The results of the study showed that global scores of writing showed no change over time. The only significant improvement participants in the current study showed was in their fluency (measured via text length). That is, they could write longer texts in the time allowed. There were no observed gains in accuracy, syntactic and lexical complexity[17].

Knoch et al. (2015) examined undergraduate students' L2 (ESL) writing proficiency following a three-year degree study in an L2-medium university. The study used a test-retest design which required participants to write a 30-minute argumentative essay on the same topic at the commencement and at the end of their degree program. A range of measures was used to assess writing, including global and discourse measures (accuracy, fluency, complexity). Accuracy was measured via the percentage of error-free T-units and clauses. Fluency was measured by counting the number of words for each essay, by the number of T-units, and T-unit length, i.e., the average number of words per T-unit. Grammatical complexity was measured via the average numbers of words per clause, clauses per T-unit, and the ratio of dependent clauses to all clauses. For lexical complexity, three different measures were used which included percentage of words from the Academic Word List, lexical sophistication, and average word length[18]. Consistent with Knoch et al. (2014), global scores of writing did not improve significantly over the three years of degree study. In terms of the discourse measures, also consistent with Knoch et al. (2014), fluency (measured via word count) increased significantly over

three years of degree study, suggesting that participants were able to produce more words within the same allotted time, whereas accuracy, grammatical and lexical complexity did not change over time[18].

Navés, Torras, and Celaya (2003) and Godfrey, Treacy, and Tarone (2014) also report longitudinal studies, but comparing the performance of different groups. Navés et al. (2003) investigated the development of the written production of six groups of primary and secondary education learners using fluency, accuracy, and complexity measures[19]. For fluency, they employed eight measures, such as the total number of words, the total number of clauses, or the total number of sentences. For accuracy, they took into account the error-free sentences, the percentage of error-free sentences, and the number of rejected units. For grammatical complexity, they used twenty-seven features, such as the number of subordinated clauses, the number of coordinated clauses, the number of non-finite nodes, the ratio of clauses per sentence, the ratio of non-finite nodes per clause, the ratio of non-finite node per sentence, and the ratio of subordinated clauses per clause. Finally, they employed 13 measures of lexical complexity, such as noun tokens, noun types, adjective tokens, adjective types, primary verb types, open class words, or lexical density[19].

One of the main findings of this study is that there seemed to be two different patterns of development in EFL written production depending on learners' age[19]. Pattern I shows almost no interlanguage development between the first three groups of younger learners (aged below 12) and then a steady increase in the older groups (aged above 12) for most syntactic complexity measures and for adverbs (lexical complexity). Pattern II shows a steady development in the first four groups of younger learners (aged below 14). This development stops in the older groups (aged above 14) for accuracy, fluency, and some lexical measures. Another relevant finding was that accuracy, fluency, syntactic and lexical complexity do not develop in tandem, but correlate differently depending on the learners' age group and the strength of the relationship between the measures in the four components[19].

For their part, Godfrey et al. examined the writing of eight university learners of French – four during study abroad and four in on-campus courses – over the period of a semester[20]. This study applied measures focused on the complexity, accuracy, fluency, and form‑function relationships of writing samples collected at the beginning and end of the semester. The measure of fluency was the total number of words per essay. Accuracy was measured by counting the percentage of correct instances in which a student had to make a decision about gender. Syntactic complexity was analysed with a clause/T‑unit analysis[20]. Results showed that progress toward more advanced academic L2 writing occurred for both groups of students, although in different ways. Students in both groups improved their fluency in writing, as measured by length of their essays, but the domestic group seemed to increase essay length more than the study abroad group did. On a measure of accuracy, the study abroad group increased both their use of French gendered nouns and their accuracy in gender marking more than the on‑campus group did. A T‑unit analysis showed that, while both groups increased the syntactic complexity in their writing, the domestic group improved more than the study abroad group did. Both groups' use of linguistic forms and expressions to make supported claims and use of appropriate discourse markers improved, while the on‑campus group increased their hedging of such claims more than the study abroad group[20].

Other studies adopt a dynamic perspective. In this view, CAF constructs are treated as dynamic (sub)systems, whose growth is expected to be non-linear and displays a high degree of variability as the expression of development[3][21] (Larsen-Freeman, 2006, 2012). Some of these studies, namely Larsen-Freeman (2006) and Rosmawati (2014), examining written development over a period of time, found out significant improvement in the groups studied, together with a great degree of individual variability and fluctuations[3][4].

Larsen-Freeman (2006) examined the oral and written production of five Chinese learners of English, comparing group and individual performances over a six-month period[3]. The measures used were fluency (average number of words per T-unit), grammatical complexity (average number of clauses per T-unit), accuracy (the proportion of error-free T-units to T-units), and vocabulary complexity (a sophisticated type-token ratio-word types per square root of two times the words). Findings showed that over a six-month period, participants were writing more fluently and accurately, and their writing had become more complex in grammar and in vocabulary. However, whereas group averages could be represented by a more or less smoothly ascending curve, some individual performances regressed and progressed, and others remained somewhat unchanged over time. The rate of change fluctuated for different participants at different times and the largest rate change occurred for accuracy.

Rosmawati (2014) explored complexity and accuracy development in the academic writing of an advanced L2 learner during her postgraduate study in Australia over one academic semester[4]. The data were coded for syntactic and grammatical complexity as well as accuracy. The

measure employed to gauge syntactic complexity was a frequency count of sentence types (simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex sentences). To measure overall grammatical complexity this study employed a word per finite-verb ratio, which took into account complex noun structures besides measuring subordination and coordination. Two accuracy measures were also used, namely, error types and overall accuracy ratio, which consisted of the number of error-free clauses compared to the number of clauses. The errors detected in the sample texts were coded as global errors, local errors, and mechanical errors. The results suggested that both complexity and accuracy development were highly variable, non-linear, and idiosyncratic. The student produced simple, complex, and compound-complex sentences, although their distribution was not, at all, balanced. In terms of accuracy development, her writing showed a great degree of variability with visible fluctuations, although it seemed to have improved toward the end of the semester. The interaction between complexity and accuracy, too, was dynamic and non-linear. The two constructs were competing for a period of time before changing their interaction towards a positive supporting relationship.

Another longitudinal investigation adopting a dynamic perspective, but in this case examining three languages, was that of Yang and Sun (2015)[22]. These authors (2015) investigated the development of complexity, accuracy, and fluency in five undergraduate multilingual learners' L1 (Chinese), L2 (English), and L3 (French) writing throughout an academic year[22]. All the writing samples were analysed in terms of fluency (mean number of words per T-unit), accuracy (the proportion of error-free T-units to total number of T-units), lexical complexity (Guiraud's index: word types divided by the square root of the word tokens), and grammatical complexity (mean number of clauses per T-unit). Non-linear and dynamic developmental processes and a great deal of variation were identified in inter-individual's (between individuals) L1, L2, and L3 writing as well as in intra-individual's (within one individual) L1, L2, and L3 writing via CAF analysed. Results also demonstrated that CAF components correlated with each other in multilingual learners' writing over time. The interplay was especially conspicuous between lexical complexity and grammatical complexity, indicating a strong competitive relationship within each pair[22].

Finally, other two studies conveying a dynamic approach were carried out by Verspoor et al. (2012), and Thewissen (2013). Verspoor et al. (2012) analysed texts written by a group of learners of English as an L2 in their first and third year of high school[2]. They investigated 64 separate variables involving sentence constructions, clause constructions, verb phrase constructions, chunks, the lexicon, and accuracy measures across five different proficiency levels, from beginner to intermediate[2]. Findings showed that at the higher proficiency levels all measures looked at improved: more complex constructions at all levels emerged and fewer errors occurred. Results also showed that measures of sentence length, lexical complexity, the total number of dependent clauses, chunks, and errors, and the use of present and past tense distinguished between proficiency levels of writing expertise. However, almost all specific constructions showed non-linear development, variation, and changing relationships among the variables. The data suggest that learners who go from level 1 to 2 are especially busy learning words; after a certain threshold of vocabulary has been reached, the learners seem to focus more on syntactic complexity between levels 2 and 3, which continues a bit between levels 3 and 4, but there it is mixed with lexical measures. After most syntactic constructions are in place, there is a focus again on lexical matters between levels 4 and 5[2].

Thewissen investigated second language accuracy developmental trajectories via an error‐tagged version of an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learner corpus. Learner essays were annotated for errors and they were rated according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages descriptors for linguistic competence[23]. This study showed that it was lexis that progressed most strongly from the intermediate to the advanced levels. Findings showed a non-linear developmental pattern as only two error types displayed a linear, progress-only type of development (viz., the total errors and lexical single errors). Progress and stabilization and stabilization-only patterns accounted for 94% of all error types. Progress-only and regressive types of development, however, constituted the exception rather than the rule[23]. This study also suggests that both stabilization and regression should not in and of themselves be negatively interpreted and may in fact at times be the result of growing L2 capacities, such as increasing levels of complexity, especially at the more advanced levels.

The literature reviewed above reveals that the analysis of the measures used to assess written competence shows significant improvement across proficiency levels as well as over time. The studies also show a reduction in the number of errors as proficiency increases. Moreover, studies reveal various correlations between the writing measures used. In order to help research in this field so that practitioners achieve a better understanding of L2 writing development, we decided to gather further data regarding the secondary education stage.

3. Empirical Study

3.1 Aim of the Study

The present study aims to analyse and compare the written competence of two groups of secondary education students at different proficiency levels. Written competence is characterised, as stated above, by three dimensions of language proficiency: fluency, accuracy, and complexity. We assume that foreign language writers will write more fluently, or write more in the same amount of time, write more accurately, or produce fewer errors in their writing, and write more grammatically and lexically complex sentences as they become more proficient. Despite this assumption, we decided to compare two groups at different levels as we wanted to explore the progress from one level to the other in specific measures of writing, fluency, accuracy, grammatical and lexical complexity. The following research questions are the focus of the study:

1. Is there a significant difference in writing between both groups in every measure? If not, which measures (if any) – fluency, accuracy, grammatical complexity, lexical complexity – progress in a significant way in both levels?

2. Is there a significant relationship between the overall grade and the measurements – fluency, accuracy, grammatical complexity, and lexical complexity? Is there a significant relationship among the measurements –fluency, accuracy, grammatical complexity, and lexical complexity? (e.g., fluency-accuracy; accuracy-grammatical complexity; fluency-grammatical complexity; and so on).

3. Which level makes more overall errors? What kind of errors – syntactic, morphological, or lexical – has the largest percentage in each level? Does the overall number of errors decrease significantly? Which subtypes of errors decrease significantly in the levels? Do some errors increase instead of decreasing significantly?

3.2 Participants

To limit variation caused by predictors such as L1, age, aptitude, and task as much as possible, the present corpus was controlled for these factors[10]. A total of 123 students, belonging to 2 different levels of secondary education (1º CSE = 69; 4º CSE = 54) at a state-funded private school in a city in northern Spain took part in the study. Although a few of the participants were not native Spanish speakers, all of them could speak Spanish fluently.

3.3 Method

During the month of January of 2015, students were asked to write an essay in English. The topic of the essay for all of them was "The Television" and they were told they could deal with any particular issue regarding that topic they wanted to write about.

3.4 Procedure

To measure fluency, we counted the total number of words. In addition, we used sentence length (total number of words divided by total number of sentences) and clause length (total number of words divided by total number of clauses) as measures of the fluency of writing. For accuracy, the measures used were error-free clauses ratio (total number of error-free clauses divided by total number of clauses) and errors per word ratio (total number of errors divided by total number of words). As additional measures, we also calculated the number of syntactic, morphological, lexical, punctuation, and spelling errors divided by the number of words. Regarding the grammatical complexity measures, we used the sentence complexity ratio (total number of clauses divided by total number of sentences). Finally, for lexical complexity we used the ratio of the number of word types to the square root of two times the word tokens.

Errors were analysed and scored as syntactic, morphological, or lexical following Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman[13]. Thus, syntactic errors consisted of errors of word order, errors resulting from the absence of constituents, and errors in combining sentences. Word-order errors included errors in the order of major constituents (such as pragmatically unacceptable deviations from SVO) and minor constituents (such as adverb placement). Errors resulting from the absence of constituents included deletion of a major constituent (subject, verb, or object), and sentence fragments that lacked finite verbs. Errors in sentence combining included errors in complementation. Morphological errors included errors in nominal morphology (plural, case, possessive, and person), errors in verbal morphology (tense, subject-verb agreement, and passive formation), errors in determiners and articles, errors in prepositions, and errors in derivational morphology (e.g., lack of suffixes, etc.). As lexical errors, we counted lexical-idiomatic, or vocabulary errors.

3.5 Results

Research question 1: Is there a significant difference in writing between both groups in every measure? If not, which measures (if any) – fluency, accuracy, grammatical complexity, lexical complexity – progress in a significant way in both levels?

As we can see in Table 1, there is a significant difference in fluency between first year and fourth year students. This occurs in all the fluency measures of writing used: (a) total number of words or total length (M=79.72, M=194.50; Kruskal-Wallis test, $p<0.01$), (b) sentence length (M=13.10, M=18.47; Kruskal-Wallis test, $p<0.01$), and (c) clause length (M=7.09, M=7.77; Kruskal-Wallis

test, p<0.05). There is also a significant difference in accuracy as measured by error-free clause ratio (M=0.15, M=0.25; Kruskal-Wallis test, p<0.05) and by errors per word (M=0.25, M=0.15; Kruskal-Wallis test, p<0.01). We also found a significant difference in grammatical complexity as measured by sentence complexity ratio (M=1.88, M=2.43; Kruskal-Wallis test p<0.01). Finally, there is a significant difference in lexical complexity as measured by word variation (M=1.80, M=2.48; Kruskal-Wallis test, p<0.01). We can affirm that fourth year students are more fluent and accurate writers than first year students, and their writings are more grammatically and lexically complex.

Table 1. Difference in CAF measures across levels.

		n	Mean	Median	s. d.
Fluency Total n. words	1st year CSE	69	79.72	76.00	33.36
	4th year CSE	54	194.50	189.00	55.65
Fluency Sentence length	1st year CSE	69	13.10	11.00	6.33
	4th year CSE	54	18.47	18.13	5.58
Fluency Clause length	1st year CSE	69	7.09	6.52	2.36
	4th year CSE	54	7.77	7.23	1.98
Accuracy Error-free clause ratio	1st year CSE	69	0.15	0.09	0.16
	4th year CSE	54	0.25	0.25	0.18
Accuracy Errors per word ratio	1st year CSE	69	0.25	0.21	0.14
	4th year CSE	54	0.15	0.15	0.06
Grammatical Complexity	1st year CSE	69	1.88	1.66	0.79
	4th year CSE	54	2.43	2.31	0.70
Lexical Complexity	1st year CSE	69	1.80	1.87	0.56
	4th year CSE	54	2.48	2.39	0.69

Research question 2: Is there a significant relationship between the overall grade and the measurements – fluency, accuracy, grammatical complexity, and lexical complexity? Is there a significant relationship among the measurements – fluency, accuracy, grammatical complexity, and lexical complexity? (e. g., fluency-accuracy; accuracy-grammatical complexity; fluency-grammatical complexity; and so on).

A Pearson correlation coefficient was carried out to find out the correlations between the global score and the rest of writing measures used. As we can see in Table 2, in the first year of CSE, ten out of twelve measures are significantly related to the general quality of the composition. The only exceptions are a measure of fluency (sentence length) and the grammatical complexity measure (sentence

complexity ratio). In the fourth year of CSE, seven of the twelve measures are significantly related to the general quality of the composition, namely, one fluency measure (total number of words) and all the accuracy measures with the exception of punctuation errors ratio.

Table 2. Correlation between global scores and writing measures.

	First year		Fourth year	
	p	p value	p	p value
Composition score – Number of words	0.386	<0.001	0.333	0.014
Composition score – Sentence length	-0.045	0.715	-0.047	0.732
Composition score – Clause length	-0.255	0.035	-0.224	0.102
Composition score – Error-free clause ratio	0.688	<0.001	0.799*	<0.001
Composition score – Errors per word ratio	-0.775	<0.001	-0.805	<0.001
Composition score – Syntactic errors	-0.608	<0.001	-0.405	0.002
Composition score – Morphological errors	-0.465	<0.001	-0.665	<0.001
Composition score – Lexical errors	-0.345	0.004	-0.384	0.004
Composition score – Spelling errors	-0.385	0.001	-0.415	0.001
Composition score – Punctuation errors	-0.267	0.026	-0.076	0.585
Composition score – Sentence complexity ratio	0.148	0.224	0.132	0.342
Composition score – Word variation	0.575	<0.001	0.263	0.055

With respect to the correlations among writing measures, we found that measures interact in different ways depending on the grade. The following are the significant correlations found in the first year of CSE:

Fluency-Accuracy: We found a significant correlation between total number of words or total length and errors per word ratio (p=-0.519, p<0.001), between total number of words or total length and error-free clause ratio (p=0.3359, p<0.05), and between clause length and error-free clause ratio (p=-0.2917, p<0.05). Significant correlations were also found between total number of words and syntactic errors ratio (p=-0.5272, p<0.0001), total number of words and lexical errors ratio (p=-0.2942, p=0.0141), and total number of words and spelling errors ratio (p=-0.3281, p=0.0059). On the other hand, punctuation errors increase alongside with clause length (p=0.3304, p=0.0056). Fluency and accuracy appear to go

hand in hand. In other words, the more fluent learners are, the more accurate their writing tends to be in general and specifically regarding syntax, lexis, and spelling. The only exception is punctuation errors; it seems that clause length poses punctuation problems to students.

Accuracy and Lexical Complexity: Error-free clauses and errors per word ratio significantly correlate with lexical complexity (p=0.2850, p<0.05; p=-0.4497, p<0.001). We can then say that accurate writers write more lexically complex texts, which is corroborated by the number of errors by type students make. There are significant negative correlations between syntactic errors and lexical complexity (p=-0.4179, p<0.05), lexical errors and lexical complexity (p=-0.4972, p<0.0001), and spelling errors and lexical complexity (p=-0.2458, p<0.05). All these data mean that students who write lexically complex texts commit less syntactic, lexical, and spelling errors.

Fluency and Lexical Complexity: Total length correlates with lexical complexity (p=0.4686, p<0.001). The longer the compositions, the more lexically complex they are.

Accuracy and Grammatical Complexity: Error-free clause ratio is correlated with grammatical complexity (p=0.2565, p<0.05). The more accurate the compositions, the more grammatically complex they are.

Fluency and Grammatical Complexity: Sentence length is correlated with grammatical complexity (p=0.7900, p<0.001). The longer the sentences, the more grammatically complex they are.

With respect to fourth grade, we found the following correlations:

Fluency-Accuracy: We found a significant correlation between total length and error-free clause ratio (p=0.2916, p<0.05) and between total length and errors per word ratio (p=-0.4358, p<0.05). Accurate and fluent writing continue to go hand in hand when learners are older. This is corroborated by the significant correlations found between total number of words and syntactic errors ratio (p=-0.3004, p=0.0273), and the total number of words and morphological errors ratio (p=-0.3630, p=0.0070). Therefore, we can state that the longer texts the students write, the more accurate they are both in general and regarding syntax and morphology.

Fluency and Grammatical Complexity: Total length and sentence length significantly correlate with sentence complexity ratio (p=0.2956, p<0.05; p=0.7674, p<0.001). The longer the compositions, the more grammatically complex they are. Clause length significantly correlates with sentence complexity ratio, although the correlation is negative (p=-0.3108, p=0.0222). The shorter the clauses, the more grammatically complex compositions are. This

could be explained by the fact that the participants at the higher level wrote more coordinated clauses as well as far more, and more complicated, subordinated ones.

Research question 3: Which level makes more overall errors? What kind of errors--syntactic, morphological, or lexical--has the largest percentage in each level? Does the overall number of errors decrease significantly? Which subtypes of errors decrease significantly in the levels? Do some errors increase instead of decreasing significantly?

With respect to the mean percentage of errors by number of words, we find that the highest percentage of errors is in the first year students' compositions (M=0.2458; M=0.1470). We observe that the distribution of errors is virtually the same for both groups, that is, both groups made the same types of errors with the same frequency regardless of how many errors they made. As we can see in Table 3, first and fourth year students exhibited a higher ratio of syntactic errors (M=0.0500; M=0.0237), followed by morphological (M=0.1017; M=0.0785), lexical (M=0.0258; M=0.0134), spelling (M=0.05; M=0.02), and finally punctuation errors (M=0.02; M=0.01).

When we analyse the development of errors from first to fourth grade we find that only two types of errors show a significant difference between groups: syntactic errors and spelling errors. As competence progresses, syntactic and spelling errors diminish in a significant way. Morphological, lexical, and spelling errors also diminish though not in a significant way. For their part, punctuation errors do not change.

Table 3. Percentage of error types per word ratio.

		n	Mean	Median	s. d.	P
Syntactic errors	1st year CSE	69	0.0500	0.0348	0.05	P=0.03
	4th year CSE	54	0.0237	0.0195	0.02	
Morphological errors	1st year CSE	69	0.1017	0.0928	0.06	p=0.07
	4th year CSE	54	0.0785	0.0720	0.04	
Lexical errors	1st year CSE	69	0.0258	0.0116	0.06	p=0.01
	4th year CSE	54	0.0134	0.0115	0.01	
Spelling errors	1st year CSE	69	0.05	0.030	0.05	p<0.01
	4th year CSE	54	0.02	0.016	0.02	
Punctuation errors	1st year CSE	69	0.02	0.01	0.02	p=0.70
	4th year CSE	54	0.01	0.01	0.01	

Let's now focus on error subtypes. Table 4 and Table 5 show the mean percentage of morphological and syntactic error subtypes in first and fourth grade. As we can see, all syntactic errors decrease from first to fourth year students, and one syntactic error subtype (missing constituents:

Table 4. Distribution of morphological errors in first and fourth grade.

Morphological errors			First year		Fourth year	
			Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Nominal morphology		Plural	0.010049	0.000	0.0073	0.0048
		Case	0.0013	0.000	0.0009	0.000
		Possessive	0.000568	0.000	0.000677	0.000
		Person	0.001295	0.000	0.000500	0.000
Verbal morphology	Subject-Verb agreement	-s omitted	0.004586	0.000	0.005483	0.00421
		-s overgeneral.	0.000567	0.000	0.000581	0.000
	Tense	Ill-formed	0.011280	0.000	0.003636	0.000
		Misuse	0.008769	0.000	0.011446	0.00843
	Passive	Passive	0.000405	0.000	0.000334	0.000
Articles		Incorrect article	0.000909	0.000	0.000161	0.000
		No article	0.003109	0.000	0.002071	0.000
		Unneces. article	0.018894	0.009709	0.014226	0.00804
Determiners		Incorrect deter.	0.004440	0.000	0.006384	0.00512
		No determiner	0.000350	0.000	0.000097	0.000
Prepositions		Incorrect prep.	0.010754	0.000	0.007671	0.00586
		No preposition	0.002683	0.000	0.001533	0.000
		Unneces. prep.	0.001536	0.000	0.001039	0.000
Derivational morphology			0.003300*	0.000	0.001786*	0.000

Table 5. Distribution of syntactic errors in first and fourth grade.

Syntactic errors			First year		Fourth year	
			Median	Mean	Mean	Median
Word order		Major	0.008739	0.000	0.000876	0.000
		Minor	0.005766	0.000	0.004489	0.0019
Embedding	Complements		0.001233	0.000	0.000909	0.000
Fragments and missing constituents	Fragments		0.015711	0.000	0.007489	0.0044
	Missing const.		0.016699	0.01098	0.004196	0.000
	Repeated const.		0.002201	0.000	0.001191	0.000

M=0.016699, M=0.004196, p<0.01) decreases in a significant way. On the other hand, in the case of morphological errors, although first year students also tend to commit more morphological errors, there are six morphological error subtypes with a higher mean in the fourth year of CSE. In addition, one morphological error subtype (incorrect determiners: M=0.004440, M=0.006384, p<0.05) increases significantly.

We observe some similarity in the distribution of morphological error subtypes between first and fourth year students. The use of unnecessary articles, tense misuse, the use of incorrect prepositions, nominal morphology (plural), and the use of incorrect determiners are among the most frequent errors in both grades. Absence of determiner is the least frequent error in both grades. There is less similarity in the distribution of syntactic error sub-

types between the two groups, although missing constituents and fragments are very frequent in both grades.

4. Discussion

The comparison between first and fourth graders allows us to identify how the four indicators of writing proficiency (fluency, accuracy, grammatical and lexical complexity) develop within a school setting. Our study shows that the measures of fluency, accuracy, grammatical and lexical complexity progress in a significant way. We observe that fourth grade students outperform first graders in all the measures of writing used. These results in a secondary-level context support previous findings by Carlisle (1989), Larsen-Freeman (2006), Verspoor et al. (2012), Rosmawati (2014), Godfrey et al. (2014), Lorenzo and Rodríguez (2014), and Yang and Sun (2015) that, although in different contexts and with students of different levels of competence, show significant writing differences among course levels and a tendency towards improvement in written competence[14][3][2][4][20][15][22]. They are also partly in line with the results of Knoch et al. (2014, 2015) that showed significant writing improvement in fluency or text length[17][18].

With respect to the correlations between the writing measures used and the general quality of the compositions, fewer correlations are found in the older students than in the younger ones. It seems that a possible accuracy-complexity trade-off effect may be operating from first to fourth year with increasing risk taking (i.e., increasing complexity) affecting significant improvement (i.e., accuracy). For instance, the case for clause length, which is correlated significantly with the overall score in the 1st year but not in the 4th could be explained by the fact that, compared with the lower stage students, the participants at the higher level wrote more coordinated clauses as well as much more, and more complicated, subordinated ones. The difficulty posed by that fact could have affected scores negatively. Similarly, the results for lexical complexity, which also correlated significantly with composition scores in 1st CSE but not in 4th, could be explained by the fact that fourth year students have already acquired a large vocabulary and try to make use of it. It would appear that those of them who take more risks trying to express their ideas in written form make more lexical mistakes. This agrees in part with Verspoor et al.'s (2012) results[2], which showed that students focus on lexical matters at the higher stages of high school, so maybe the group in our study was trying to adjust the vocabulary acquired over some time.

For their part, the correlations found between the vari-

ous measures of written competence used change depending on learners' grade. Thus, we can affirm that in both groups the more fluent learners are, the more accurate and grammatically complex their writing tends to be. However, we find a significant correlation between accuracy and lexical complexity, fluency and lexical complexity, and between accuracy and fluency only in the first year group, showing that in this grade longer compositions are more accurate, and longer and more accurate compositions induce more lexically complex essays. These findings are consistent with results by Navés et al. (2003) that showed that the correlations between measures depended on learners' age group[19]. In fact, in line with Navés et al., we can perceive a significant relationship between fluency and grammatical complexity, which grows stronger in the higher level[19]. With a completely different pattern, but in line also with Navés et al.'s results, we find that the correlations between fluency and accuracy, and between accuracy and lexical complexity, seem to diminish as students get older, especially in the second case, in which the relationship disappears[19]. In the case of fluency and lexical complexity, Navés et al.'s results did not show a clear relationship, whereas in our study the correlation existing in 1st CSE disappeared in 4th CSE[19].

First year students exhibited a higher ratio of errors in general and in each of the specific error categories. We observe that, as proficiency increases, so does the learners' overall level of accuracy in English. However, only two types of errors showed a significant difference between groups: syntactic errors and spelling errors. First and fourth year students commit mostly morphological errors followed by syntactic, lexical, spelling, and, finally, punctuation errors. This is in part consistent with Larsen-Freeman's (1983) report that morphological errors were the most common in both an oral task and a written task across a variety of competence levels[24]. It also agrees with Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman (1989) that showed that two groups of advanced learners produced the greatest number of errors in grammatical morphemes[13].

It seems that as competence progresses, syntax improves, whereas students continue to show incomplete and variable acquisition of grammatical morphemes. As we have seen, all syntactic errors decrease from first to fourth grade and one syntactic error in particular, the absence of constituents (subjects, verbs, objects), significantly decreases, pointing to better overall discourse management at fourth grade. On the other hand, some morphological errors like the incorrect use of determiners, the incorrect use of the possessive, incorrect subject-verb agreement, tense misuse, or incorrect derivational morphology contin-

ue to pose problems for fourth year students. With respect to determiners, the surprising significant increase in this error subtype at level four could be partly explained by the much more frequent use in fourth year students' essays of these items, as a further revision of the compositions shows. In addition, Thewissen found out that the incorrect use of determiners was strongly associated with the lower intermediate B1 level and markedly decreased by the time learners reached the B2 upper intermediate level[23]. In our study, fourth year students are at a low intermediate B1 level, which could explain the regression trend displayed by these errors.

In the case of the possessive, subject-verb agreement, and tenses, the non-progressive tendency is disappointing, as a great deal of time and effort is spent on these grammatical items in the students' curriculum. With respect to tenses, Thewissen also found out that tense usage constituted a rather improvement-resistant area for her EFL groups[23]. A series of studies based on different learners and methodologies all show that tenses remain a weak area, even for more advanced groups[25][26][27][28][29][30]. While tense errors were found to be improvement-resistant in spite of the strong pedagogical attention they receive in secondary education, it is possible that errors in derivational morphology might be improvement-resistant partly because, with the exception of the formation of the comparative and the superlative, it is not a central concern in the classroom.

With respect to lexical progress, there is not a significant increase in lexical competence as proficiency increases, unlike the results obtained by previous studies[2][23]. In part, this could reflect the proficiency level of the groups investigated here. As Thewissen found out, lexis progresses most strongly from the intermediate to the advanced levels[23]. Similarly, Verspoor et al. argue that students focus on lexical matters at the higher stages of high school[2]. Our students, who are at a low intermediate level, may have not acquired enough command of the main areas of syntax and grammar to leave room for lexis to develop.

In addition to grammar, syntax, and lexis, the present study also traced the developmental trajectories displayed by errors in important L2 areas such as punctuation and spelling. In line with a previous work by Thewissen[23], our study shows that spelling errors diminish in a significant way as proficiency increases. On the other hand, and also in agreement with Thewissen[23], punctuation errors remain an improvement‐resistant feature across proficiency levels. This error, which involves missing punctuation markers and the confusion between two punctuation markers, shows no sign of improvement as proficiency increases. This constitutes a key finding, as spelling and punctuation tend to be under-researched areas in second language acquisition and teaching, especially from a developmental perspective.

In general, we find that, in line with results by Thewissen[23], errors tend to develop in a non-linear way. Although there are more instances of error progress type of development, we also find instances of error stabilisation and regression type of development. Following Thewissen's argument[23], we state that stabilisation and regression should not be negatively interpreted in the sense that a significant amount of learning has not taken place. Although errors remain in terms of raw occurrences, they may in fact at times be the result of growing L2 capacities with increasing risk taking, or a sign that increasing complexity is at play.

Gathering information about errors not only in grammar, but also lexis, syntax, spelling, and punctuation contributes to a greater understanding of the difficulties encountered by students at different levels of proficiency in the L2 areas that play a significant role in L2 writing. As we have seen, as proficiency increases, writers make fewer mistakes. However, older writers still encounter difficulties as only two types of errors significantly decreased: syntactic errors and spelling errors.

5. Conclusion

The present study has aimed at identifying the development shown by two EFL groups, showing a significant trend of development in written competence from first to fourth grade in both groups, indicating that the measures of fluency, accuracy, and grammatical and lexical complexity progress at the same rate.

Nevertheless, we can clearly perceive changing relationships among the constructs used to measure second language writing--namely, complexity, accuracy, and fluency--, and, in turn, between them and the holistic writing scores in the two analysed levels. This irregular pattern can be explained in Larsen-Freeman's (2006) terms: "We need a more dynamic view of language and of its learning" as "the messiness is not 'noise', but rather a natural part of dynamically emergent behavior assembled by the individual."[3] In fact, as other practitioners have already stated when referring to SLA development, progress in constructs such as the ones studied here – CAF – is highly variable and not linear, and shows different patterns[4].

This developmental dynamism in levels and, mainly, in individual students poses a great challenge to specialists. As Verspoor et al. state: "Language develops in so many dimensions simultaneously and there is such a great deal of variation in the way learners behave that […] we should look at change in all directions […] making sure

that all sides have developed equally."[2]. This developmental variation in individual students will be the research aim of subsequent studies.

Besides identifying the development shown by the EFL groups, the present work has also contributed to the field of written competence development in other ways. Thus, in addition to grammar, the study has also shown the developmental path errors follow in important L2 areas such as lexis, syntax, spelling, and punctuation, all of which have received scarce developmental attention to date.

Moreover, this study has presented a number of insights for EFL learners, insights that are encouraging on the whole as progress was a regular trend among the learners being studied, who mainly learned English in an instructed rather than in a naturalistic setting.

Finally, we acknowledge some limitations of the present study. Although the groups of participants selected for the study were as homogeneous as possible, some variables such as out-of-school exposure to English or socio-cultural family background could not be controlled. New studies will have to be carried out in the future taking these variables into account, so as to confirm the results obtained in the present study. Alternatively, groups of learners and even individual learners could be followed longitudinally to see the way their writing develops across different SLA stages.

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ARTICLE

Request Realisations in Cameroon Pidgin English

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	Pragmatic investigations into Cameroon Pidgin English are rare and works on requests are non-existent. This study sets out to outline the rules that underlie requests in this language and the lexical and structural features that arise from them. The informants were 30 fluent Pidgin English speakers who were found communicating in Pidgin in public settings and who were willing to complete a writing exercise. The instrument used was a collection of ten request fragments that had occurred in natural Pidgin conversation. These informants were asked to compose a possible conversation between two familiar equals in which one of these fragments like "Put the potatoes in the bucket" could fit squarely. The frame adopted for data analysis was Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's 1984 research on requests and apologies, whose aim was to specify the particular pragmatic rules of use for a number of languages including English and German. The analysis revealed that the constituents of a request utterance were the same as the previous researchers had identified. The most frequent request strategy type used was "reference to preparatory conditions" (31.57% of 38 utterances) followed by "hedged performatives" (26.31%).

1. Introduction

Pragmatics research on Pidgins and Creoles, in general, and Cameroon Pidgin English in particular, are rare. Specifically, the speech act of requests in Cameroon Pidgin English has not attracted the attention of researchers. This study aims to tackle requests in this language, with the focus on the way request conversations are constructed, the strategies that its fluent speakers use to realise request acts, and the lexical and syntactic features that these speakers regard as appropriate. The following questions guided the investigation: What are the constituents of a typical request act? What common request strategy types are used? What syntactic and lexical

features are used in the formulation of requests? What is the overall discourse structure of a request conversation? The theoretical and methodological frames for this study are Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's work (1984) which guided the study of requests in many cultures and languages including English, Danish, French, and German, as well as others[1]. The study will specify the pragmatic rules of use that fluent speakers follow to make appropriate requests in Cameroon Pidgin English. Ultimately, it will facilitate the identification of universal features and of cross-linguistic differences in the realisation of requests. The work is divided into four sections labelled: background to the study (2), theoretical frame and literature review (3), research

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design (4), and analysis and discussion (5). These are considered in turn below.

2. Background to the Study

Pragmatics is the study of the rules that govern the use of language in social interaction. Over the years, research interests in this level of language analysis have taken two directions. One direction is the use of language in social interaction in various cultures (cross-cultural pragmatic research) as can be illustrated by works like Awad Mohamed Youssef (2012)[2] and Mouad Mohammed et al (2015)[3]. The other direction is the rules that learners of a language need to know in order to communicate successfully in that language (interlanguage pragmatic research) as can be illustrated by works like Alireza Jalilifar (2009)[4] and Salvesen (2015)[5]. The present work, which falls in the latter division, focuses on the realisation of request in one specific language, i.e., Cameroon Pidgin English.

A request may be regarded as a demand for something from somebody or as a favour that the speaker is asking from the listener. To make a request therefore means to express a want that the listener has to satisfy for the benefit of the speaker. Requesting is a speech act, just like giving orders, making promises, or making complaints. When a speaker produces an utterance in an interaction, he or she expects the listener to react either verbally or non-verbally. At the centre of investigations on requests are four researchers, i.e., Austin, Searle, and Brown and Levinson. Austin (1962), in an in-depth study of speech acts, pointed out that in communication many things can be done with words including asking, thanking, ordering, requesting, warning, and threatening[6]. These are examples of speech acts which speakers perform when they make utterances.

Austin's speech act theory was refined by Searle (1969) who observed that each speech act has at least two parts, i.e., locutionary and illocutionary[7]. A locutionary act is the mere act of speaking or making an utterance, whereas an illocutionary act is the act that is realised through the force of the utterance such as thanking or warning. He identified a third act called perlocutionary act, which tends to evoke some effects on the listeners or the audience. Focusing on illocutionary acts, he found that they can be grouped into five types which he labelled representatives, directives, expressive, commissives, and declarations. Requests, which fall under directives in this classification, are: "an attempt to get hearer to do an act which speaker wants hearer to do, and which it is not obvious that the hearer will do in the normal course of events or of hearer's own accord"[7]. In his 1976 work, he grouped requests into three broad categories, i.e., those for information, for goods and services, and for permission[8].

Brown and Levinson (1987) worked out a theory of politeness at the centre of which is the notion of "face". They defined face as "a person's public self-esteem or self-image which can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction"[9]. As they noted, face can be divided into two parts which they called positive and negative. Positive face is what every human wishes to preserve: everyone wants his or her needs to be accepted by other people and everyone needs to feel that he or she matters in his or her social group. In communication, positive face surfaces in the form of positive politeness which in turn favours the use of certain expressions like nicknames and not surnames, the pronoun "we" and not "you". Negative face, on the other hand, refers to the speaker's right to do things as he or she wishes and the rejection of any form of imposition from other people. In communication, negative face surfaces in the form of negative politeness which in turn favours antagonism. Some acts are said to threaten face; they are referred to as Face Threatening Acts. Acts that threaten positive face include: orders, requests, suggestions, advice, warning, offers, and promises. Those that threaten negative face are: disapproval, criticism, complaint, accusation, insult, contradiction, and interruption. As requests threaten positive face, politeness is likely to lighten the weight of the imposition on the requestee and by so doing preserve the good rapport between the requestor and the requestee.

The present study, which draws extensively from these researchers' works, examines requests in Cameroon Pidgin English with the focus not just on how an individual request speech act is realised as many researchers have done, but also on how a complete request conversation is constructed.

3. Theoretical Frame and Literature Review

This section outlines the frame adopted for this study and reviews past works on requests in Cameroon Pidgin English. The most prominent investigation on speech act realisation in the literature is Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's 1984 work where they examined two speech acts, requests and apologies, in different languages and cultures, i.e., three varieties of English – American, Australian and British – Danish, Canadian French, German, Hebrew and Russian in the same 16 social contexts[1]. These researchers designed a discourse completion test consisting of incomplete discourse sequences representing different social contexts. Details on the situation were provided as well as information on the setting, the social distance between the interlocutors, their status relative to one another, and an incomplete dialogue that the informants completed

therefore providing the targeted speech act. Here is one illustrative discourse sequence sample that was designed to obtain a request[1]:

(1) At a students' apartment (Larry, John's room-mate, had a party the night before and left the kitchen in a mess.)
John: Larry, Ellen and Tom are coming for dinner tonight and I'll have to start cooking soon;

_____.

Larry: OK, I'll have a go at it right away.

From the answers given to (1) above, one can work out the preferences that native speakers have for realising a request for an action among familiar equals and the strategies they use.

A total of 400 informants for each language chosen completed the test with the required items. On the basis of the informants' answers, the researchers identified the units for analysis and the strategy types the informants used. The units for analysis, which were supplied by the informants, were found to include the following elements lettered a) to c): a) address terms; b) Head act; and c) Adjunct to Head act, with the nucleus being the head act, that is, the element which alone can realise the request. Here is an illustration: "Dany, could you lend me £100 for a week. I've run into problems with the rent for my apartment"[1]. This utterance can be analysed as follows:

a) "Dany" (address term)

b) "Could you lend me £100 for a week" (head act)

c) "I've run into problems with the rent for my apartment" (adjunct to Head act)

Regarding strategy types, three levels of directness were identified. These are:

a) the most direct level, which is realised by requests containing imperatives, performatives and hedged performatives;

b) the conventionally indirect level, which is realised by indirect speech acts marked syntactically by expressions like "could you do it" or" would you do it";

c) the non-conventional indirect level, which realises the request by referring to an object in the vicinity e.g. "Why is the window open" meaning "Close the window!" or "It's cold in here" meaning "Close the window!".

These three levels of directness were further divided into nine request strategy types numbered 1 to 9 below and labelled as follows:

1). Mood derivable (the grammatical mood of the verb marks its illocutionary force as a request e.g. Leave me alone, clean up that mess, please

2). Explicit performatives, e.g. I am asking you not to park the car here.

3). Hedged performatives, e.g. I would like you to give your lecture a week earlier

4). Locution derivable, e.g. Madam you'll have to move your car

5). Scope setting, e.g. I really wish you'd stop bothering me.

6). Language specific suggestory formula e.g. Why don't you get lost? How about cleaning up? So, why don't you come and clear up the mess you made in the kitchen?

7). Reference to preparatory conditions e.g. Could you clean up the kitchen, please? Would you mind moving your car, please?

8). Strong hints (partial reference to object or to elements needed for the implementation of the act e.g. You've left the kitchen in a right mess.

9). Mild hints (utterances indirectly pragmatically implying the act) e.g. I'm a nun. (in response to the persistent boy, i.e., I cannot listen to your flirtatious moves)

These strategy types may be accompanied by various syntactic manipulations including the use of downgraders and upgraders, hedges, downtoners and intensifiers. The present work uses the frame thus outlined.

Regarding works on requests in Cameroon Pidgin English, they are rare. The only study that has broached the topic is Nkwain's doctoral thesis (2011)[10], in which he used Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987)[9] to explore the various strategies and underlying features marking politeness in this language. Using the questionnaire technique, he elicited data from fluent speakers of Pidgin in various contexts. Various questions were asked to generate data for the study. Data for the analysis of request were obtained from answers to three specific questions. These were:

- How would you politely request for a repetition of what - your interlocutor said and - you did not hear?

- Someone requests your help or for something and you are not able to help out, how would you politely make him/her understand your situation by promising to do something later?

- How would you politely request for some money, food, water, salt etc?

From these data, he identified seven types of requests in the corpus, which he labelled and exemplified as shown below:

- Polite turn requests: these are said to be used to solicit a speaking turn in a conversation (p. 166)

A fit tok tu? (Can I equally talk?)

A beg, lisen tu! (Please equally listen!)

- Volition-based requests: the speaker is said to use language to put the hearer in a position to do something if he or she wishes or desires to do so (197):

if yu want-am (…If you want)

if yu laik (…If you like)

- Ability-based requests: they are said to give the hearer the latitude to assess their capacity or ability to perform a particular task before doing so (197):

Yi fain fo brok ol de fayawut nau if yu fit (It is good to split all the wood now if you can)

Kari-am ol if yu get de pawa (Carry all of them if you have the power)

- Time-based requests: the hearer is said to have the latitude to choose when he or she can perform the task (198):

Yu fit du-am eni taim yu want-am (You can do it whenever you want)

Yu fit kam eni taim yu want-am (You can come whenever you want to)

- State of being-based requests: these are said to be based on the hearer's feeling (198):

Yu fit join wi if yu fil as to (You can accompany us if you feel as to)

Stop ivin nau sef if yu fil as tu. (Stop even now if you feel as to)

- Overt requests: the requestor gives the requestee the latitude to perform the task when he wishes (199):

Yu fit go eni pleis yu want-am (You can go anywhere you want)

Yu fit chus eni pesin yu want-am. (You can choose any person you want)

- Requests for repetition: they are said to be used in conversations to handle problems of misunderstanding (p. 213):

A bek, A no hia weti yu tok! (Please I did not hear what you said!)

Yu fit ripit weti yu tok! (Could you repeat what you said!)

The descriptors used in this thesis do not seem to have come from the frame adopted by this researcher. They will therefore not be considered further.

4. Research Design

The present investigation does not use the discourse completion test designed by Blum-Kulha and Olshtain (1984)[1], which many researchers have adopted. It uses full made-up conversations based on provided authentic request fragments. To illustrate, the informants were given request fragments such as "Lend me some money" and "Pick up my father at the bus station for me" (see Appendix) and were asked to design a possible conversation between two familiar equals in which these fragments could be used. Familiar equals such as two clerks in an office, two neighbours or two classmates were chosen to avoid having to handle issues of variability along the social distance dimension.

A list of ten request fragments was extracted from the data collected in 2005 for the compilation of the dictionary of Cameroon Pidgin English[11][12][13]. These ten fragments were presented to potential informants who were found communicating in Pidgin English, especially in bars and pubs. For the choice of these informants, two criteria were considered: they were to be heard speaking Pidgin, and they were to be able to write out a conversation in Pidgin and read it aloud. All other sociolinguistic parameters were ignored as indexical information; therefore age, gender and the like were not relevant for this study. The towns chosen were: Bamenda (the headquarters of Northwest Region of Cameroon where Pidgin is the dominant lingua franca), Buea (the headquarters of the Southwest Region which is the birth place of Pidgin in Cameroon), and Yaounde (the capital city of the country where Pidgin speakers from various localities reside). In each of these towns, one research assistant was contacted. When the researcher and his assistant found two or more people communicating in Pidgin, they sat by these people, greeted them and commented positively on their use of Pidgin. Then they were asked whether they would be willing to join in an exercise they were conducting, which consisted in writing down a conversation in Pidgin. Some retorted that they did not know how to write in Pidgin but they were encouraged to write anyhow. When these people opted to do the exercise, they were given a pen and a piece of paper, and were shown a list of ten short sentences which were in fact ten request fragments. They were asked whether they had ever heard something like these sentences in a conversation and the answer was always yes. Then they were asked to choose one of these sentences and write out a possible conversation in which such a sentence or any variant of it had occurred. Usually, the two people or the whole group of people joined in the exercise, helping out the person writing with spelling tips or word choice. When the conversation was written out, we then asked one of these people to read it aloud in order for the text to be recorded. Finally, the recorded text was played back to the people, who were then thanked for having helped with the research. In return, we offered the pen to the person who wrote and shared a beverage with them when they were only two people. When they were three or more, they were given a pen each.

Once a sentence was chosen from the list of ten, that sentence was removed, and the next informants were shown a list of the remaining nine sentences. The process continued in the same way until the last informants were given just one sentence to write. When the first two sentences of the list were used in conversations in a town, the research assistant for that town was asked to finish off the remaining eight sentences, following the same procedure.

In all, ten conversations were written in each town, for a total of 30 conversations from the three towns, and each request fragment was used in three conversations composed in three different towns.

5. Analysis and Discussion

From the 30 conversations collected, 38 request utterances were identified. The extra 8 utterances came from the fact that some informants made two requests in their conversations, as will be seen later. This section first considers the constituents of a typical request act (5.1); then it examines request strategy types (5.2), the syntactic and lexical features that are used in the formulation of requests (5.3), and the discourse structure of request conversations involving familiar equals (5.4). These are considered in turn.

5.1 Constituents of a Typical Request Act

A typical request act is said to include three constituents, i.e., an address term, a head act, and an adjunct to head act, as the example cited above shows. Below five request acts from the corpus are reproduced; the original request is in italics, followed by its word-for-word translation and its English equivalent. The constituents of each request are identified thereafter.

(1) *Ma gel, A bek eh, yu fit helep mi wit ten tauzin Frank* (My girl, I beg, you can help me with ten thousand Francs! = My friend, can you lend me ten thousand Francs, i.e., about £10!)

(2) *De tin na se A bi wan kam bek da ya bak fo travel. A bek, yu fit helep mi wit-am?* (The thing is that I wanted come beg that your bag for travel. I beg, you can help me with it? = I came to see you about your travel bag. Would you please lend it to me?)

(3) *Plis yu fit helep mi put-am fo boket?* (Please you can help me put it in bucket? = Please help me to put it in the bucket! or please put it in the bucket for me!)

(4) *Ma, A bek, yu go fit helep mi go tek papa fo pak on da monde wen hi rich?* (Mother, I beg, you will capable help mi go take father at park on that Monday when he reach? = My friend, I beg, would you be so kind as to go to the

bus station on Monday and pick up my father when he arrives?)

(5) *A bi wan bek yu weda ma smol broda fit kam ste wit yu fo som taim. Som mai anti dem di kam fo visit an yu no se wa haus smol no; spes no de, A bek.* (I wanted beg you whether my small brother can come stay with you for some time. Some my aunts are come for visit and you know that our house small, isn't it? Space not is. = I would be grateful if you could house my junior brother for some time. Some of my aunts are coming for a visit and you know that our house is small. There is no space.)

In (1), there are two constituents: one address term (*ma gel*) and one head act (*A bek eh, yu fit helep mi wit 10 tauzin Frank*). In (2), there is one head act which is repeated, surely for emphasis (*A bi wan kam bek da ya bak fo travel. A bek, yu fit helep mi wit-am*). In (3), there is one constituent, the head act: *Plis yu fit helep mi put-am fo boket?* In (4), two constituents are identified: one address term (ma) and one head act (*A bek, yu go fit helep mi go tek papa fo pak on da monde wen hi rich*). Finally in (5), there are two elements: one head act (*A bi wan bek yu weda ma smol broda fit kam ste wit yu fo som taim*) and one adjunct to the head act (*Som mai anti dem di kam fo visit an yu no se wa haus smol no; spes no de, A bek*).

On the basis of these five illustrations, it can be concluded that the request head act is an obligatory element which can occur alone as in (3) or can be repeated as in (2). In addition, the request utterance may include an address term as in (1) and (4) and an adjunct to the head act as in (5). In other words, the request units identified by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain[1] are attested in Cameroon Pidgin English. The constituents thus identified can be tabulated as shown below.

5.2 Request Strategy Types

As the review above indicates, a total of nine request strategy types were identified in different languages and cultures. These strategy types are reproduced below, together with their equivalents in Cameroon Pidgin English.

As can be seen, the dominant request strategy type is

Table 1. Elements of Request Types

Utterances	Address terms	Request head acts	Adjuncts
1	*Ma gel*	*A bek eh, yu fit helep mi wit ten tauzin Frank*	
2		*De tin na se A bi wan kam bek da ya bak fo travel. A bek, yu fit helep mi wit-am?*	
3		*Plis yu fit helep mi put-am fo boket?*	
4	*Ma*	*A bek, yu go fit helep mi go tek papa fo pak on da monde wen hi rich?*	
5		*(5) A bi wan bek yu weda ma smol broda fit kam ste wit yu fo som taim.*	*Som mai anti dem di kam fo visit an yu no se wa haus smol no; spes no de, A bek.*

Table 2. Request Strategy Types in Cameroon Pidgin English

Request strategy types (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984)[1]	Request strategy types in Cameroon Pidgin English	Proportion N=38
1. Mood derivable (the grammatical mood of the verb marks its illocutionary force as a request e.g. Leave me alone, clean up that mess, please	*A bek go tek-am bring-am fast. A wan jus de gaun on Fraide fo som hot wiken pati.* (I beg go take it bring it fast. I want use the gown on Friday for some hot weekend party. = Please go, take it, and bring it fast. I want to use it for an exciting party on Friday.)	8 (21.05%)
2. Explicit performatives e.g. I am asking you not to park the car here.	-	-
3. Hedged performative: I would like you to give your lecture a week earlier	*A bi wan aks se mi yu help mi wit ya buk mi A go kopi ma on not dem.* (I wanted ask that you help me with your book make I go copy my own notes. = I would like you to lend me your notes so that I can write out mine.)	10 (26.31%)
4. Locution derivable: Madam you'll have to move your car	-	
5. Scope setting: I really wish you'd stop bothering me.	*Masa, A bi wan mek yu help mi wit 5,000 Francs. A get som ogent tin we A wan du wit-am* (Mister, I wanted that you help me with 5000 Francs. I get some urgent thing that I want do with it = My brother, I would be grateful if you could lend me 5,000 Francs, i.e., £5. I have an urgent need to attend to.)	6 (15.78%)
6. Language specific suggestory formula: Why don't you get lost? How about cleaning up? So, why don't you come and clear up the mess you made in the kitchen?	-	
7. Reference to preparatory conditions e.g. Could you clean up the kitchen, please? Would you mind moving your car, please?	*Ma, A bek, yu go fit help mi go tek papa fo pak on da monde wen hi rich?* (Mother, I beg, you will able help me go take father at park on that Monday when he arrives = My friend, could you please go to the bus station and welcome my father when he arrives?)	12 (31.57%)
8. Strong hints (partial reference to object or to elements needed for the implementation of the act e.g. You've left the kitchen in a right mess.	*Yu no se de bon John na fo April?* (You know that they delivered John it is in April? = Do you recall that John's birthday is in April?)	2 (5.26%)
9. Mild hints (utterances indirectly pragmatically implying the act): I'm a nun. (in response to the persistent boy, i.e., I cannot listen to your flirtatious moves)	-	

number 7 (reference to preparatory conditions), with a score of 31.57% of the 38 cases. It is followed closely by number 3 (hedged performative), with 26.31% of the 38 cases. Four of the nine strategy types are not present in the corpus. These are: explicit performative (number 2), locution derivable (number 4), language specific suggestory

Table 3. Common Linguistic Features Used in Requests

Lexical items and syntactic constructions	Examples	Proportion N=38
bek (A bek, A bek yu…)	*A kol na fo bek yu se mek yu fain mi somtin fo hol bele. Hongri de ya man.* (= Can you kindly get me something for lunch. I am very hungry.	32 (84.21%)
fit (yu fit tek, yu fit go…)	*A se eh, A bek yu fit fain mi moni lak ten tazin? A go gi yu bak by mont en.* (=Please dear, can you borrow me ten thousand francs. I will give you back by month end.)	20 (52.63%)
helep (helep mi…)	*A bek yu fit helep mi chek ma chikala fo yi lon. But if yu get taim yu fi jo tek yi go hospito. Yi di sik we A no de mi taun.* (=Please can you help me and check on my girlfriend at her house? Or if you have time you can help take her to the hospital. She is sick and I am not in town.)	18 (47.36%)
mek (mek yu gi mi, mek dem du…)	*A fo laik-am mek yu gi mi smol moni fo pe Joan an Martha mek dem du de wok an if yu fit gi mi som moni tu fo bai sit dem fo de fam. A bek yu Pa Joe.* (=I would want to ask you for money to pay Joan and Martha to do the work and some money for the seeds please Pa Joe.)	8 (21.05%)
wan (A wan se, A bi wan aks se…)	*A bi wan se mek yu helep mi wit de moni. A go gi yu bak afta tri mont.* (=So I want you to help me with the money. I will pay back after three months.)	8 (21.05%)

formula (number 6), and mild hint (number 9).

5.3 Lexical and Syntactic Features Used in Requests

There are a number of lexical and syntactic features that are frequently used in the formulation of requests. A close look at the data shows that the following lexical items and syntactic constructions are common. These are:

5.4 Discourse Structure of Request Conversations

Thus far, this analysis has dwelled on how individual request speech acts are constructed. The present sub-section deals with how a complete request conversation is built; it therefore focuses on the discourse structure of request conversations in Cameroon Pidgin English. Previous works on discourse in this language are rare. One of them is Kouega (2008)[11][12], where the methods of discourse analysis developed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975)[14] and Ventola (1982)[15] were used to describe market transactions. Another is Kouega (2009)[16], where the frames set up by Schegloff and Sacks (1973)[17] and Coronel-Molina (1998)[18] were used to analyse telephone openings and goodbyes. These same frames are used to describe the complete request conversations from which the individual request speech acts described in the preceding sub-sections were extracted.

A request conversation has a canonical structure that includes three elements, i.e., greeting, one request exchange or more, and leave-taking. Here is an illustration,

drawn from a conversation set in the market context in one of the 30 texts collected:

1A. *Helo Sa, gut yam fo 500.* (Hello Sir, good yam for 500. = Hello Sir, I have good yams for 500 here, i.e., about 50 pence.)

2B. *A wan na poteto.* (I want it is potato: = No, I want potatoes instead.)

3A. *Na potato bi dis, 250.* (It is potato is this, 250. = OK, here are potatoes, for 250, i.e. 25 pence)

4B. *A bek, yu fit tek 150?* (I beg, you can take 150? = Could you bring the price down to 150, i.e., 15 pence?)

5A. *No bi 150, bot na 200.* (Not is 150, but it is 200. = No, I can't take 150; give me 200)

6B. *Wel.* (Well = OK!)

7A. *Ha meni hip yu wan sef ?* (How many heap you want even? = How many heaps do you need, by the way? NB. Such items as potatoes are generally sold in heaps or in buckets, as scales are hardly used.)

8B. *A wan na fo.* (I want it is four: = I want four heaps, i.e., about 5 kilograms)

9A. *Fo hip di kos 800.* (Four heaps are cost 800. = Four heaps will cost 800 i.e. about 80 pence)

10B. *Plis, yu fit helep mi put-am fo boket? Na ya moni bi dis!* (Please you can help me put it in bucket? It is your money is this! = Please, can you help me put it in this bucket! Here is your money!)

11A. *Tank yu Sa.* (Thank you, Sir. = Thank you Sir.)

12B. *Bai bai.* (Bye bye = Bye!)

13A. *Bai bai* (Bye bye = Bye bye!)

In this conversation, the greeting is limited to the utterance *Helo Sa* in 1A, and leave-taking is the pair 12B and 13A. There are two request exchanges; the first request is the utterance *A bek, yu fit tek 150?* in 4B. This utterance initiates the process of bargaining, which is a common practice in market transactions in the cultures of Cameroon. The second request is in 10B, where the buyer asks the seller to help him put the potatoes in a bucket: *Plis, yu fit helep mi put-am fo boket? Na ya moni bi dis!*

The focus of this study is on the request exchange. The central element of this exchange is the request utterance, i.e., that utterance which contains the request head act, the address term as well as the adjunct to head act that were outlined earlier. In the conversation above, there are two request utterances: 4B and 10B. In some conversations in contexts other than the market, the request utterance may be preceded by a long justification, with the requestor taking a long time to explain why he has to make the request. Here is an example drawn from the corpus:

1A. *Helo Paul, ha yu de?* (Hello Paul, how you are? = Hello Paul, how are you?)

2B. *A de fain. Hau bodi?* (I am fine. How body? = How are you?)

3A. *Bodi fain. A bek A get som smol wahala.* (Body fine. Please, I get some small problem. = Please, I have a problem.)

4B. *Na weti bi de wahala.* (It is what is the problem. = What is the problem?)

5A. *Ma broda, A bek, no veks; A rili nit ya help. Fiva kach ma pikin fo nait. A kari yi go hospitul. Wen A rish de, na yi dokto sij-am se de pikin taifoit. So yi se mek A kam weti teti tauzin bifo yi go fit wok fo yi sikin. So A bi wan se mek yu helep me witi de moni. A go gi yu bak afta tri mont.* (= My brother, please, do not get angry with me. I really need your help. My child had a fit of fever last night. I took him to the hospital. When I got there, the doctor diagnosed typhoid. He asked me to bring 30,000 (i.e., £30) for the drugs. I therefore wish that you should give me that money. I will pay back in three months' time.)

6B. *Weeeh! Ma sista, ashia, A bek tai hat. Na so laif de. Bot no wori, A go sen yu de moni na-na so fo Express Union. No wori fo pei-am bak. A jos wan helep.* (= Gosh! My sister, what a pity! Be courageous! Such things happen in life. But do not worry yourself! I will send the money to you right away via the Express Union Money Transfer Company. Do not worry yourself over paying back. I just want to help you.)

7A. *Tank yu plenty. Papa Got go bles yu fo mi.* (Thank you very much. God the Father should bless you for me.)

8B. *Na notin ma sista.* (Do not worry yourself my sister.)

In this conversation, the requestor explains why she needs assistance: her baby fell sick in the night, she took him to the hospital, he was found to be suffering from typhoid, the doctor has asked for 30,000 Francs - about £30 - to rescue the child, she does not have that money, and that is the reason why she has to make a request.

Below is another example from the corpus in which the requestor takes time to explain his needs before making the request:

1A. *Mama Joseph oooh!* (Mother Joseph. = Joseph's mother!)

2B. *Yeees, Pa.* (Yes, father. = Yes, Sir.)

3A. *Yu bi di tok se na weti hapin fo da fam fo daun haus?* (You had been saying that it is what happen to that farm at down house? = What did you say was happening to the farm below the house?)

4B. *No bi A tel yu se taim don kach mi. Ren don stat fol we A nova wok-am.* (Not is I tell you that time has catch me. Rain has start fall that I never till it. = Didn't I tell you that I have been caught up by time? Rains are falling and I have not yet tilled the farm.)

5A. *Yu bi wan du hau nau?* (You are want do how now? = What do you want to do now?)

6B. *A fo laik-am mek yu gi mi smol moni fo pe Joan an Martha mek dem do de wok. An if yu fit gi mi som moni tu fo bai sit dem fo de fam. A bek yu, Pa Joe.* (I to like it that you give me small money to pay Joan and Martha that they do the work. And if you can give me some money too to buy seeds for the farm. I beg you. = I wish that you give me some money to pay Joan and Martha who will till the farm for me. Then I will need some money to buy seeds to be planted on the tilled land)

7A. *Oke. A don hia.* (OK. I have heard. = OK. I have heard.)

8B. *Tank yu.* (Thank you. = Thank you)

Here the requestor needs money for two things: paying labourers who will till her farm and buying seeds to plant on the tilled farm. There is an emergency as she is late, the rain having started to fall. As the explanation is well put, the requestee has no choice but to grant the request.

When this explanation is left out or is not readily understood, the requestee asks for clarification before committing himself, surely to avoid shouldering a heavy imposition that may require considerable effort on his behalf. Here is an illustration from the corpus:

1A. *Mary! Hau fo yu?* (Mary! How for you? = Mary! How are you?)

2B. *Joy, A de fain. An yu?* (Joy, I am fine. And you? = Joy I am fine. And you?)

3A. *A de fain.* (I am fine. = I am fine.)

4B. *Ok oooh!* (OK. = OK)

5A. *A bi wan aks weda yu fit helep mi wit ma asainmen. A no go de sukul tumoro.* (I wanted ask whether you can help me with my assignment. I not will be school tomorrow. = I am wondering if you could help with my assignment. I will not go to school tomorrow.)

6B. *Helep yu hau? Fo pas-am?* (Help you how? To pass it? = How can I help you? To hand it over to the teacher?)

7A. *Yes, A don rait-am; na onli fo pas-am.* (Yes, I have write it; it is only to pass it. = Yes, I have written it; It is just to hand it over to the teacher.)

8B. *OK problem no de. A go go pas-am. Bring-am fo has fo ivinin.* (OK problem not is. I will go pass it. Bring it to house in evening. = OK, there is no problem. Bring it to my house in the evening.)

9A. *Tank yu plenti, Mary!* (Thank you much, Mary! = Thank you very much, Mary!)

10B. OK Joy

11A. *Si yu fo ivinin.* (See you in evening. = See you in the evening.)

12B. *Yes, fo ivinin.* (Yes, in evening. = See you.)

As can be seen, the requestee here, who is a female student, asks a crucial question: "How do you want me to help you? Is it to hand over the assignment to the teacher or to write the assignment for you?" If the answer was to write the assignment, obviously the requestee would not have granted the request. Luckily, the requestor had already done the assignment and simply wanted the requestee to hand it in to the teacher.

In short, as the 30 interactions written by the participants have shown, the discourse structure of a request conversation comprises three elements, i.e., greeting, request exchange, and leave-taking. The request exchange may be limited to the request utterance, i.e., the utterance that the requestors formulate to realise the request. Usually, this utterance is preceded by a long explanation that disarms the requestees and therefore forces them to grant the request. Conversely, the requestees may take time to ask for clarification from the requestors before committing themselves.

6. Conclusion

This work has examined a collection of 30 request conversations in Cameroon Pidgin English that were constructed by fluent speakers of this language. The analysis revealed that the main constituent of a request segment is the request head act, which may be preceded by an address term and followed by an adjunct to head act, as Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984)[1] found. The dominant request strategy types used were "reference to preparatory conditions (31.57% of the 38 utterances) and hedged performatives (26.31% of the 38 utterances). Common lexical items and syntactic constructions that are found to signal requests include: "A bek yu…" (84.21% of the 38 requests) and "yu fit helep mi" (52.63%). Finally, the discourse structure of request conversations is found to include three elements, i.e., greeting, request exchange, and leave-taking. The request exchange may contain just the request utterance. Occasionally, it is preceded by an extensive explanation whose purpose is to disarm the requestee before the request utterance proper is uttered. However, when the requestees feel that the weight of imposition may be too heavy for them to bear, they may seek clarification before committing themselves. The present research was limited to request conversations involving familiar equals. Future research will extend the description by checking for example whether parameters such as social distance or interlocutors' statuses have any effects on the structure of requests in this language.

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Appendix

Below are ten utterances you may have heard in conversations in Pidgin. Write one conversation between two friends in which one of the utterances fits squarely. Do not hesitate to use any common variants of these utterances.

1. Gi mi moni (gi mi ya buk, gi mi ya gaun.) (Give me some money/Give me your book/Give me your gown!)

2. Helep wit asaimen: (Help with assignment!)

3. Find mi lisablet. (Get a razor blade for me!)

4. Go tek ma papa fo mi. (Go and pick up my father for me.)

5. De bon John fo April. (John was born in April.)

6. Put-am fo boket. (Put it in the bucket!)

7. Fain mi somtin fo hol bele. (Get me something to eat!)

8. Bai-am an send-am fo mi (Buy it and send it to me!)

9. Chek ma bebi fo mi. (Call on my girlfriend for me!)

10. Tek ma broda ste wit yi. (House my brother for me!)

ARTICLE

Cartoons that make a difference: A Linguistic Analysis of Peppa Pig

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	The present paper examines the vocabulary contained in the British animated programme Peppa Pig and investigates whether this vocabulary is highly frequent but also appropriate for beginner learners of English. It also examines if there is any formulaic language in it. Comparison with the BNC wordlist, the CYLET and EVP wordlists for beginners suggests that one fifth of the English vocabulary contained in the show is highly frequent and that a small amount of it overlaps with the proposed vocabulary lists of CYLET and EVP for A1 level. Therefore, the majority of the vocabulary contained in the show is mainly infrequent but still appropriate while the in-depth analysis of selective episodes showed amplitude of formulaic language in the show and plenty repetition of it.

1. Introduction

Television is ubiquitous and young children are highly exposed to it. Rideout et al. (2003)[48] found that American toddlers are regular screen media users and spend about two hours a day in front of a screen. There has been a conflict over the last years on whether toddlers should watch television or not. In 1999, the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) advise parents to avoid exposing children younger than two years of age to television programs while they should be careful while selecting programmes for their children (Anderson & Pempek, 2005).[9]

The major issue of concern is whether infants watch programmes appropriate for their age. Pierroutsakos et al. (2004 cited in Anderson & Pempek, 2005)[9] found that about half of young children's exposure is to TV not designed for young children. So, it may not after all be an issue of whether children should watch television in general but of what kinds of programmes they are exposed to.

So, what are the elements of a successful TV programme designed for preschoolers? Fisch (2005)[19] and Kirkorian et al. (2008)[25] present some characteristics that all popular programmes for children share. Firstly, the content should be appropriate to their age, comprehensi-

ble and it should also match their interests and relate to their lives. Each episode should present a limited amount of new information and repeat it throughout the episode to ensure that it will be acquired. Also, links among related concepts need to be clearly presented to ensure comprehension. It is advisable that the main characters of the show are either popular characters (or even animals etc) children admire or children so as to relate to them. Also, the programme has to be humorous, mysterious and engage their attention. Last but not least, appealing visual and sound effects should be used to attract and maintain children's attention (Kirkorian et al., 2008: 50).[25] Peppa Pig fits all these criteria and that is probably why it is so popular all over the world. Huntly (2006)[24] claims that the repetitive pattern and the consistent structural format in certain cartoons can reinforce EFL vocabulary development in young learners. What is more, exposing children to certain cognitively appropriate and linguistically rich cartoon series can contribute to children's foreign language development (Alexiou, 2015;[1] Alexiou& Vitoulis, 2014;[7] Kostopoulou 2015;[27] Prosic-Santovac 2016).[47] This last point is the impetus for this study as well.

2. The Preschoolers' TV Programme Peppa Pig

Peppa Pig is a British animated programme addressed to preschoolers native speakers of English, which is aired in 180 countries (Vaidyanathan, 2010).[54] The programme has received a series of awards and has met enormous success. Peppa has been described as a "global megastar with a following most pop stars, politicians and business leaders would kill for" (ibid) and is still very popular today.

Each episode of this programme is five-minutes long and that makes it ideal for young children who have short attention spans. It presents a 5-year-old female pig (Peppa, see Figure 1) with her family and friends in their everyday life dealing with real-life problems. In each episode the characters experience an adventure, which appeals to children's interests because they share the same interests with Peppa. Parents and young children can relate to the show because it depicts the dynamic of a real family (Wilkinson & Patterson, 2014).[56] What is rather appealing in this show is the fact that it contains real child voices and not adult voices pretending to be children.

The unique feature of this show is that it contains rich, authentic, contextualized English vocabulary that is not commonly found in a show that addresses preschoolers (e.g. 'waste of money', 'ring master', 'pruning shears', 'building inspector', 'steering wheel' etc). It "provides exposure to formulaic language and Situation-Bound Utterances, and indirectly teaches pragmatic conventions"

(Nightingale, 2014: 209).[43] According to Siyanova-Chanturia & Webb (2016)[52] authentic language is guaranteed to develop lexical competence and incidental vocabulary. This is one of the the reasons Peppa Pig is considered to be a valuable tool for EFL preschool teaching (Alexiou, 2015).[1] Although this programme has gained so much public attention it has not attracted the same research interest yet. Only a few small-scale studies have dealt with it (Nightingale, 2014;[43] Edwards, 2014;[18] Wilkinson & Patterson, 2014;[56] Scheffler, 2015;[50] Alexiou, 2015;[1] Prosic-Santovac, 2016).[47] and they have focused only on parts of the show and not the whole series. The present study aims to fill this gap and researches all the episodes of the cartoon series by examining the linguistic content of the show.

Figure 1. Peppa Pig

2.1 Young Learners' Vocabulary

Different estimates regarding early vocabulary uptake in L1 are found in literature. Schmitt and McCarthy (1997)[51] argue that 1000 words per year are acquired through childhood while Nagy and Herman (1984)[38] based on one study estimate that children acquire 3000 words per year. Nation and Waring (1997)[41] support that by the age of five, native speakers have managed to master 4,000-5,000 word families. However, more recent and systematic studies on children suggest that the lexical growth during childhood is actually smaller and reaches approximates of 600 words per year (Biemiller & Slonim 2001).[12]

When it comes to English as a foreign language (EFL), research has shown that foreign language learners after five years of EFL learning know only 1,000-2,000 word families (Nation, 1990;[39] Milton & Alexiou, 2009).[35] Consequently, young foreign language learners will lag behind native speakers and this difference is explained due to the degree of exposure and the amount of input of the foreign language. In order to catch up with the native speakers' vocabulary size (Milton & Alexiou, 2009)[35] and learn large numbers of words any kind of added exposure (like comic/cartoon series, computer games, educational URLs) will help to that direction (Alexiou, Roghani & Milton, forthcoming).[6]

Nevertheless, not all words are of equal importance in FL learning. Frequency is one important criterion to consider when choosing what vocabulary to teach to young

learners, especially if one considers the fact that frequency can affect when a word will be learnt (Milton, 2009).[33] Lately, high-frequency words that are function words and provide cohesion (ibid) have been favoured over low-frequency words, which are comprised of content words that give meaning to sentences (Nation, 2001).[40] However, teachers and coursebook writers should not be mesmerized only by frequency. Young learners' vocabulary should include thematically significant words, words that appeal to children's interests and are applicable in their everyday world (Alexiou & Konstantakis, 2009).[4] Considering that frequency lists are not organized according to themes, vocabulary teaching should include low-frequency words as well (Milton & Vassiliu, 2000).[36]

Still, frequency and age-appropriacy of the vocabulary taught to young learners are not the only parameters to be taken into consideration when choosing or developing EFL teaching materials. Latest research has shown that prefabricated language occurs in the early years of language learning not only in L1 but also in L2 (Lieven et al., 1992;[29] Wray, 2000;[59] Perera, 2001).[44] Researchers support that language occurs in patterns or strings of words, which we store as fixed phrases (Hunston et al., 1997;[23] Willis, 2003)[57] and as one item. This concept is what helps us communicate quickly and fluently (ibid). As Skehan (1992 cited in Willis, 2003)[57] emphasized, by using these prefabricated chunks we avoid organizing our thoughts and speech every now and again, a process that is really time-consuming. Most language learners use these ready-made patterns at some point and an added value is that they sound more confident and fluent. Chunking has been regarded to be basic in language acquisition (Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992)[42] and it is acquired and stored without the learner analyzing the chunk into its components (Gordon, 2007).[21] Only after acquiring a chunk does a learner realize that it consists of component words (Wible, 2008).[55]

Very young L2 language learners have been found to use chunks extensively (Brown, 1973;[13] Hakuta, 1974;[22] Wong-Fillmore, 1976;[58] Peters, 1983;[45] Lieven et al., 1992;[29] Wray, 2000;[59] Perera, 2001).[44] According to Muñoz (2007),[37] meaningful chunks are used extensively in order for preschool and primary school language learners to perform speaking activities. Moreover, researchers claim that chunking aids the memory of very young learners; a rather important fact if one considers that vocabulary knowledge tends to be forgotten. After all, "the failure to remember, or forgetting, is perhaps the most salient aspect of memory for most people" (Glassman & Hadad, 2009: 178)[20] and memory training is important from an early age (Alexiou, 2009).[3] That is the reason why repe-

tition is so essential in language learning and especially in vocabulary acquisition. Nation (2001)[40] emphasizes that there are so many features of a word a learner needs to know that they are not possible to be learnt and retained after meeting a word only once. Word recycling contributes to the acquisition of all different aspects of a word and also strengthens knowledge and makes it easily accessible. Cameron (2001)[15] and Szpotowicz & Szulc-Kurpaska (2009)[53] highlight how beneficial repetition is for young learners. Frequent recycling of words, in different contexts, enhances their retention in memory and their organization in networks of meaning.

All forms of visual stimuli facilitate memory development and recall. Cartoons are ideal as visual stimuli for this age as they attract and capture children's attention. Pre-school cartoons also present great linguistic benefits for L1 but also for L2 learners. Robb et al. (2009)[49] support that cartoons like Baby Wordsworth, help lexical development. In a similar vein, small case research studies have shown that popular cartoons such as Peppa Pig (Alexiou, 2015; Prosic-Santovac, 2016; Alexiou & Kokla, 2019),[2] Charlie& Lola (Alexiou & Yfouli, 2019),[8] Ben & Holly, Cailou (Kostopoulou, 2015)[27] provide ample vocabulary input for effective and memorable early vocabulary learning (Alexiou & Milton, forthcoming) [5].

3. The Study

The aims of the present study are: (a) to determine the size of the vocabulary contained in Peppa Pig; (b) to examine whether the vocabulary included in Peppa Pig is frequent and appropriate for beginners' learners of English; and (c) to investigate if the show contains lexical chunks and if there is repetition of them.

3.1 Methodology & Procedure

For the purpose of the study, a corpus of the show's vocabulary was compiled. We watched and transcribed all the episodes that were available online. To our knowledge, there are no other corpora of cartoon TV series, except for the corpus of Dora the Explorer (Greek-English Version) that contained only the English language of the show (Kokla, 2016).[26]

The corpus was first juxtaposed with the BNC unlemmatised frequency wordlist (British National Corpus) (Leech et al., 2001)[28] to determine the frequency of the vocabulary contained in the show. Then, it was compared against the wordlist for beginner's level of the Cambridge Young Learners English Tests (CYLET 2018,[14] Starter's Level) and against the EVP (English Vocabulary Profile) wordlist for A1 Level (Capel, 2011)[16] to determine if the vocabulary in the corpus is appropriate for beginners' leaners of English. The corpus was juxtaposed against the

above wordlists using the online software Text Lex Compare (Cobb, 2017).[17]

Furthermore, eight randomly chosen episodes were examined to determine whether they contain lexical chunks and analyzed with the help of the concordance software AntConc 3.5.7 (Anthony, 2018)[10] to determine the repetition of these lexical chunks.

4. Results & Discussion

The Peppa Pig Corpus & the Wordlists

The Peppa Pig Corpus is constantly being informed. Its compilation started in January 2016 and it is an ongoing process. Every time a new episode is released and is available online it is being transcribed into the corpus. The total number of the episodes included in the corpus is 243; all the episodes from the first four seasons, 32 episodes from the fifth season and 3 extra episodes that have been aired. So, the Peppa Pig corpus contains 119,033 tokens/ 4,931 types of words, which is a huge number if we consider that they are five-minutes episodes.

As far as the wordlists are concerned, the BNC list contains 2,027 tokens/1,780 types of the most frequent words in English. The CYLET's list contains 555 tokens/ 509 types of words whereas the EVP List has 744 tokens/ 610 types of words.

Regarding Frequency of Peppa's Vocabulary

Results showed that over half of the most frequent words in English are included in the Peppa Pig Corpus (Table 1), which is actually pretty good. However, these 1,027-shared types of words comprise only one fifth (20.83%) of Peppa's total vocabulary. Consequently, the majority of the words in the show are infrequent although research supports that high-frequency words are easier to learn (McCarthy, 1990)[31] and are acquired before the infrequent ones (Meara, 1992).[32] It is a fact that more frequent words are necessarily easier as they more likely to be encountered so they are available to learn; this regular occurrence aid noticing and retention.

Yet, this high amount of infrequent vocabulary in the corpus seems natural considering the fact that the show deals with everyday life and issues, so it includes more low-frequency words, content words, which give meaning to sentences (Nation, 2001).[40]

Table 1. Peppa Pig Corpus against BNC List

	BNC	Peppa Corpus	Overlap
Unique Types	753	3904	
Shared Types	1,027		57.70%
Total Types	1,780	4,931	

Regarding Content of Peppa's Vocabulary

The first finding is that almost 85% of the Starter's Vocabulary List is included in the Peppa Pig Corpus (Table 2). A similar finding was concluded about the EVP List; 88% of the EVP List is part of the Peppa Pig Corpus (Table 3). This was expected since most of the thematic areas found in starters are also found in a number of Peppa's episodes. Therefore, Peppa contains vocabulary that is cognitively and thematically appropriate for beginners' learners of English.

Table 2. Peppa Pig Corpus against Starters' List

	Starters	Peppa Corpus	Overlap
Unique Types	77	4,499	
Shared Types	432		84.87%
Total Types	509	4,931	

Table 3. Peppa Pig Corpus against EVP List

	EVP List	Peppa Corpus	Overlap
Unique Types	73	4,394	
Shared Types	537		88.03%
Total Types	610	4,931	

Nevertheless, both lists comprise only a small amount of the show's total vocabulary (Starters' List - 8.76% and EVP List - 10.89%), meaning that the majority of the show's vocabulary is for more advanced learners of English (but its thematic content would probably be inappropriate) or for very young beginners. This maybe explained by the fact that the show targets toddlers who are native speakers of English while the vocabulary is actually thematically appropriate for a very young beginner of English as well.

Regarding Lexical Chunks

A wide range of lexical chunks was discovered in the analysis of the eight episodes of the show. There were 7-12 lexical chunks per five-minute episode. The lexical chunks discovered were of two types: Simple lexical chunks, which are everyday patterns that can help in daily interaction (e.g. there you are/ look like), and situation-related lexical chunks, which are patterns used in a particular context (e.g. Ready, steady, go/ aye, aye). The two types of lexical chunks found in these episodes can be seen in Tables 4 and 5.

The type of lexical chunks in these randomly selected episodes is varied. So we get structural words like look like and multi-word lexemes like come on. We also get combinations that may or may not be collocations but which are a product of the content like muddy puddles, boat trip. These findings are informative but would be

Table 4. Simple Lexical Chunks

don't worry	best friend	there you are	looking for
thank you	watch out	having fun	boat trip
stand back	be careful	sitting room	sit down
looking after	day time	come back	fall asleep
upside down	well done	light switch	night night
hang on	come on	power cut	bed time
I'm fine	look like	bye-bye	come out

Table 5. Situation-related Lexical Chunks

muddy puddles	aye, aye
puddle jump	easy peasy
the olden days	rusty boat
world record	I suppose so
jumping up and down	Ready, steady, go
me hearties	jolly good
message in a bottle	shooting star
dress up	creep up on

Table 6. Chunk Repetition in Peppa Pig Corpus

Chunks	Repetition	Chunks	Repetition
Thank you	176	looking for	22
muddy puddles	120	home time	19
Very good	96	night time	15
Don't worry	92	dress up	15
Come on	88	There you are	14
jumping up and down	75	Stand back	12
Bye-bye	70	clever clogs	13
Well done	58	Aye, aye	15
bed time	39	come back	11
Ready, steady, go	23	looking after	10
best friend	21	look like	13
be careful	20	Jolly good	8

more enlightening if compared to a list of phrases frequently used such as the Phrasal Expressions list by Martinez and Schmitt (2012).[30] Since, interesting results regarding lexical chunks are yielded, comparing the complete corpus of lexical chunks included in Peppa Pig with a list of frequently used phrases will be our next step.

Concerning the repetition of these lexical chunks in the corpus, both simple and situation-related chunks were frequently repeated throughout an episode and across episodes (Table 6). This is very important because research has shown that word recycling contributes to the acquisition of all different aspects of a word (Nation, 2001),[40] and it strengthens knowledge and makes it easily accessible (Pimsleur, 1967;[46] Baddeley, 1990).[11] Especially in the case of young learners, repetition has been found to be beneficial (Cameron, 2001;[15] Szpotowicz & Szulc-Kurpaska, 2009)[53] since it helps them retain words and organize them in networks of meaning.

As a final note, it is worth stating that apart from rich, frequent and infrequent vocabulary as well as repetitive lexical chunks, Peppa Pig has also been considered as a pedagogic tool. In studying the episodes' content, it has been found that Peppa Pig series attempts to instill moral and cultural values, to promote multilingualism and to encourage positive pro-social behaviour to preschoolers (Alexiou& Kokla, 2019).[2]

5. Conclusion

Our findings suggest that the vocabulary size in Peppa Pig is rather large for a preschool TV programme and this is impressive. The majority of the vocabulary has been found to be infrequent, a fact that shows that there is authentic use of everyday language and that the show includes infrequent vocabulary (like fairy, dragon), which is relevant and part of preschoolers' world (Alexiou & Konstantakis, 2009).[4] Moreover, half of the most frequent words in English are contained in the show, so a combination between frequent and infrequent words is represented in the corpus and that makes it an effective linguistic tool (Milton, 2009).[33]

A wide range of lexical chunks was found in the 8 episodes' analysis. Each episode included both simple and situation-related lexical chunks that were frequently repeated throughout and across episodes. We intend to continue our investigation of the Peppa pig corpus and the lexical chunks included in all the episodes.

After a thorough linguistic analysis of the corpus, we believe that Peppa Pig is a hidden 'treasure' for language learning and that the series can be used to teach authentic everyday language, vocabulary and lexical chunks to very young EFL learners.

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REVIEW

On the Inconspicuousness of Indigenous African Languages: The Case of IsiZulu Linguistic Integration in KwaZulu-Natal's Basic Education Sector

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the challenges associated with the inconspicuousness of indigenous African languages in the South African education system, as established during empirical research conducted by the author for his PhD thesis. According to the findings of the research, integrating indigenous African languages in the basic education sector is a key strategic shift that should be considered for it could fast-track efforts to elevate and promote indigenous African languages as media of educational instruction. These languages have been discriminated against for decades, since the era of colonisation and Apartheid South Africa. Despite attempts by the democratic government, through transformative legislative frameworks, African languages are inconspicuous within the education sector. Institutions of learning have developed multilingual language policies yet their implementation remains a problem. Based on the critical review of the literature on indigenous African languages, and with a focus on information and communication technology (ICT), the paper investigates policy opportunities and challenges. The paper concludes by assessing the low profile of indigenous languages in education, and its likely impact on the high failure rate in South African schools.

1. Introduction

This article investigates the inconspicuousness of indigenous African languages. The empirical focus is IsiZulu use as alternative media for information and communication technology (ICT) instruction in KwaZulu-Natal schools as the indigenous African language spoken by the majority in the country. This inconspicuousness is contrary to the democratic legislative framework, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996),[2] the Language in Education Policy (1997)[7] and the e-Education White Paper (2003).[8] Inconspicuousness of IsiZulu therefore constitutes a major policy implementation failure.

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Policy development on ICT in education date back to 1995, with the establishment of the Technology Enhanced Learning Initiatives (TELI). The discrimination of indigenous African languages is based on the hypothesis that they are not capable of offering more socio-economic opportunities for learners as their counterparts. This happens despite the fact that the largest majority of the learner-population of KwaZulu-Natal province, are an indigenous African languages populace.

The computer-use was introduced into South African schools during the 1980s, primarily in private schools and a few well-resourced government schools. During this new dispensation in the Country, e-Education White Paper (2003)[8] was tabled and it declares that all learners in the South African primary and secondary schools should be ICT capable by 2013. To achieve this, schools are expected to be developed into e-schools consisting of a community of both teachers and learners. Fourteen years later, South African schools are still dilly dally in ICT development and indigenous African languages are still marginalised. Central to this article is the question that the researcher focused on in his PhD study (Gumbi, 2017)[18]: Is it possible for the basic Education department in Kwa-Zulu-Natal to fast-track the transformation of schools into e-schools without taking indigenous African languages as backup languages of teaching, learning and assessment?

The potential of African languages within the ICT and education domains should not be belittled, given the advancement and impact of ICT within the South African public; the multilingual diversity, which is reflected in the learner populations of South African schools. It is imperative for schools to strategically integrate indigenous African languages into ICT. Such action have a potential to ensure a positive bearing in promoting African languages, which have suffered marginalisation dating back to the era of colonisation and Apartheid.

The infusion of indigenous African languages into ICT in the basic education sector is very important for the promotion of indigenous African languages and multilingualism. Since the spread of ICT, its elevated access and a number of opportunities that it offers, such a drive will elevate the status and the use of African languages as it is the case with Non-English languages in Europe that suffer the same problems as African languages.

1.1 Background

A number of initiatives have been put in place in South Africa and elsewhere in the world, in an effort to empower African languages. In some countries in Africa, most of these aspirations have been achieved through the advocacy of the United Nations and the African Union (AU)

in the form of charters and plans of action. These may include, the Language Plan of Action for Africa (OAU 1986)[33]; Charter for the Promotion of African Languages in Education (OAU 1996)[34]; The Harare Declaration OAU 1996);[20] The Asmara Declaration (Asmara Declaration 2000)[1] and The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, Article 13 &14 (United Nations 2007).[41] Other efforts include the founding of organisations which are committed to addressing this challenge. These are in a form of organisations such as UNESCO, the Regional Centre of Documentation on Oral Traditions and African languages (CERDOTOLA), the Centre of linguistic and historical studies through Oral tradition (CELHTO), the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) and the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA).

The Department of Education (DoE) stipulates that participation in the information society means that, "Every South African learner in the general and further education and training bands will be ICT capable by the year 2013" (DoE, Draft White Paper ,2003:17).[9] ICT is central to the changes taking place throughout the world (DoE White Paper 7, 2004). A Successful integration of indigenous African languages into ICT in schools could ideally have a transformative effect on schools and the education system as a whole (ICT4RED, 2015). [23]

Despite a number of democratic policy framework such as the constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996), [38] Language-in Education Policy (1997),[8] the National Language Policy Framework (Department of Arts and Culture 2003),[6] among others, that seek to promote indigenous African languages, these languages are still discriminated against in terms of their inclusion and usage within basic education sector. English is still dominant in ICT, at the expense of indigenous African linguistic heritage. Although some schools in other provinces other than KwaZulu-Natal may have come up with multilingual language policies, the implementation however of these policies still remains a major challenge and a pipe dream for most learners that speaks African languages as home language.

1.2 Aims

This article aims to:

1) To investigate the language issues that are associated with the marginalisation of indigenous African languages in South African basic education, in KwaZulu-Natal;

2) To explore the various opportunities of integrating isiZulu as an indigenous African languages into ICT in schools ; and

3) To interrogate obstacles in integrating indigenous African languages into ICT

2. Theoretical Framework

The current South African constitutional and language policy frameworks put at the forefront the growth of previously discriminated indigenous African languages. It further recommends both positive and practical initiatives to be employed by all government parastatals and private sector for the promotion of indigenous African languages (Beukes 2008). [2]

The Department of Basic Education is committed to the implementation of multilingualism agenda, the development of all official languages and the equal treatment of all languages used in the country, including South African sign languages and other languages referred to in the Constitution (Department of Education, 1997).[8]

It is for this reason therefore that this paper is theoretically grounded on the concept of language-as-a-resource position which stresses the importance of multilingualism, as a facilitator of access to learning and as a door to economic opportunities (Gumbi & Ndimande-Hlongwa, 2015:157).[17]

The language-as-a-resource position is also found in the language planning model by Gumbi & Ndimande (2015).[17] Gumbi & Ndimande-Hlongwa, 2015:158)[17] posits that language policy as formulated in the South African Constitution (1996)[38] and the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) (1997)[8] takes a particular paradigm, namely, that South Africa is characterised as a country that is multilingual in nature, with different languages as resources that promotes multilingualism as any other economic resource. This paradigm position and policy framework is designed to promote this multilingualism and build upon the linguistic knowledge that students from various linguistic communities bring to the classroom (Hornberger, 1991).[22]

According to Cluver (1996, as cited by Gumbi & Ndimande-Hlongwa 2015: 158),[17] the Japanese language, in Australia is not viewed as an impediment but as an alternative linguistic resource that smoother successful business transactions with Japan better than any other countries that use English for trading with the same country.

Within the context of South Africa, the plan to advance indigenous African languages has also been observed mainly through the attempts of the Department of Arts and Culture. The South African Department of Communications has deliberated all ICT initiatives in South African schools through its Electronic Communications and Transactions Act (2002).[7] These initiatives seeks to promote the establishment of a Universal Service Agency (known as the Universal Service and Access Agency of Southern Africa (USAASA), a Universal Service Fund and Education Network (EduNet) all of which seeks to support and promote access and use of ICT in education institutions.

These attempts are informed by the South Africa's democratic constitutional framework that place at the centre multilingualism, language rights and the promotion of previously disadvantaged indigenous local languages. The South African Government is still striving towards achieving the practical benefits of digital technology. ICT is seen as the future and indeed the key to 21st Century teaching and learning goals (Department of Education, 2007)[11]

The post-Apartheid Language Policy Framework (Department of Arts and Culture 2003)[6] is one of the significant documents that has sought to obligate all government departments to a multilingual stance (Mesthrie 2006)[31]. Other vital national imperatives include the Language in-Education Policy (1997)[8] and the South African constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996).[38]

The Language Education Policy & ICT Legislation Framework in The KwaZulu Natal Province

Disappointingly there is still a disjuncture between policies and their implementation especially the Language Education policies and the e-Education legislation framework in particular. There has been has a lack of progress in this regard, since the new constitutional dispensation in 1994 (Heugh, 2006).[21] According to Heugh (2006)[21] the ANC-led government is to be blamed for a slow pace and stalling progress in implementing these legislations that are potentially empowering. He further posits that this failure has had disadvantageous effects on the achievement of multilingualism and integration of indigenous African languages into ICT within the current education system.

A number of ICT in Education initiatives (government, NGOs, private etc.) are implemented in an ad hoc fashion, i.e. without any proper co-ordination, support and leadership of the basic education department. Furthermore these initiatives do no focus on the professional development of teachers, maintenance support, technical support and pedagogical support, thus becoming unsustainable (Department of Education, KwaZulu-Natal Circular no. 10 of 2015:1-3).[12]

The Provincial Language policy of KwaZulu-Natal (2008:3)[25] seeks to promote the equitable use of ,as well as access to the four main official languages spoken in KwaZulu-Natal, viz, isiZulu, English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans in public institution, institutions of learning and to ensure the development and use of previously marginalised official African languages. Furthermore, the KwaZulu-Natal position on ICT in education (Department of Education, KwaZulu-Natal Circular no. 10 of 2015:4-5),[12] support the White paper on e-education (2003).[9] It further regards the e-education policy framework as a clear road-

map to deliver and manage curriculum in KwaZulu-Natal schools.

It was on this reason that on 16th January 2015, the HoD for Education in the province approved a summit where the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education officials were to engage with significant stakeholders on the integration of ICT into schools (Department of Education, KwaZulu-Natal Circular no. 10 of 2015:4-5).[12] The MEC for Education; Honorable Peggy Nkonyeni re-iterated the same position when she said 'The need for the provision of ICT for learning and teaching is increasingly high and many educational institutions, especially public schools must explore these benefits to heighten the quality of learning and teaching' (Ibid)

Discussion on Legislation implementation

A study on the attitudes on the utilization of African languages as additional languages of the medium of instruction in KwaZulu-Natal schools shows that while the dominance of English as a language teaching and learning is acknowledged in the South African education sector, isiZulu can also play a significant role as an additional medium of instruction (Gumbi & Ndimande-Hlongwa, 2015).[17] South Africa is twenty three years into Democracy yet indigenous African Languages are still isolated from ICT and Education. Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2008)[39] posits that assimilation in education should be viewed as the process whereby marginalised languages and groups are coerced to conform to dominant languages and groups by means of coercive strategies aimed at substituting the indigenous language and culture with the dominant one.

Furthermore, the omission of indigenous African languages in ICT, and the lack of the language policy implementation in the country further account for their absence in the ICT field, despite a large amount of existing legislations and other initiatives .Factors such as the digital divide, the hegemony of the English language and negative language attitudes towards African indigenous languages are amongst a plethora of contributory factors that are a tribute to this problem. Throughout the colonial era, African languages and African culture were denigrated and it is saddening to note that even in a post-colonial dispensation, the only reference to language in most African states is still English (Gudmundsdottir, 2010;[16] Djite, 2005;[13] Osborn, 2006[36]). With regards to the digital divide, according to Osborn (2006)[36] this problem continues because not much attention is being given to language problems in this country. Matula (2004)[30] adds that the discussion on the integration of African languages into ICT has been sidelined in a number of African countries,

including South Africa and this according to him is an indication of the lack of a meaningful and implementable ICT legislative framework. More-over South Africa lacks a comprehensive policy on ICT in education that covers all sectors in education (Isaacs, 2007).[37]

Omojola (2009:33)[40] further argues that the possible opportunities which ICT presents should not be over emphasised within the context of indigenous populace of Africa, most of which usually use ICT gadgets and applications that are built into languages not familiar to them.

Nonetheless, Omojola (2009)[40] argues further to say that there is a dire need though to integrate indigenous African languages into ICT. He also posits that the process of ICT policy implementation should start with local initiatives in developing indigenous African languages through various initiatives such as the publishing of media content on the internet and this would play a significant role in developing responsiveness amongst ICT product designers and according him to improve the negative attitudes associated with these languages.

Explanation of Attitudes

Negative language attitudes according to Djite (2005),[13] were inherited from the colonial legacy in the African continent. They have a significant contribution towards the exclusion of indigenous African languages in ICT. It has also been strongly argued that colonialism destroyed the importance as well as the role of indigenous African languages in the African continent, resulting in the myth that these languages do not have intellectual capacity, educational value and economic thus posing a barrier to social and economic growth (Djite 2005).[13] English and other colonial languages are usually the primary languages by which people in the world access formal education and information. This is perpetuated not only by the speakers of Western languages but also by indigenous African language speakers themselves (Maseko et al. 2010).[29] Furthermore, the influence of the English language has growth over the years to a level of a gate keeper in ICT against communities of indigenous African languages origin, in particular learners (Dalvit 2010).[5]

Given the purported instrumental role of ICT in advocating curriculum transformation, lifelong learning, and breaking the digital divide, diverse participation and enhancement of the quality of education (Kajee & Balfour 2011),[23] the integration of indigenous African languages is highly imperative. A majority of learners in KwaZulu-Natal rural and Township schools and are always exposed to one language, which is mother tongue and have no contact with other languages that are outside the classroom setup. These students, therefore are bound to strug-

gle to learn when lessons are only taught in English. This further contributes immensely to a plethora of problems including low literacy rates, early school drop-out rate and poor education quality. In contrary, however the integration of indigenous African languages into ICT shall address these problems and could further provide a platform for academic improvement, political, and socio-economic development (Webb, 2012).[42]

Lack of Teacher Training in ICT

The lack of Indigenous African language teacher training in ICT has also been pointed out as one of the major reason for the slow pace of the integration of these languages into ITC. Their knowledge and abilities of using ICT is somewhat restricted. The ICT skills that educators possess is not at a level where they are confident enough to use them to enhance learning. Other challenges will range from the teacher's lack of skills to tailor-make learning activities that will promote learning through ICT. When there is low quality ICT teacher training, the use of ICT is compromised thus educators fail to achieve educational goals, learning and teaching suffers (Wilson-Strydom and Thomson, 2005).[43]

The lack of knowledge of ICT in teaching hinders educator's readiness and confidence in using ICT for educational purposes. Consequently less confidence-educators in ICT do not develop competence in using ICT for teaching. This is because confidence is acquired through the use of computers over time and lack of accessibility is another challenge for educators. It is therefore expected that educators will lack ICT acumen if they cannot be in a position to make decisions on how and what content should be taught (Hennessy et al: 2010).[19] Most teachers in South African public schools who have attended ICT training, their computer skills are generally at a very basic level. More-over their basic skills have proved inadequate to equip them with the abilities they so need in infusing African languages in ICT during their teaching (Isaacs, 2007).[37] The South African Education sector is faced with a plethora of challenges from un-implemented policies to lack of resources. Nonetheless, it still has a huge obligation in delivering on public expectations of both an equal and quality education for social growth, economic growth and social inclusion.

Poor Infrastructure

In reality however, the integration of African languages into learning and ICT still remains a complex and a challenging process for schools, especially where there is limited previous experience in the use of ICT to support learning. Infrastructural challenges and the absence of indigenous languages in education in particular have com-

promised the nation-wide application of ICT in education (ICT4RED, 2015).[26] Infrastructure may refer to resources and access to ICT and technical support.

A comparative study done in South Africa, in 2015 on the roll-out of ICT to schools shows that KwaZulu-Natal is still lagging behind, due to poor infrastructure. According this study Western Cape Province (56.8%) is leading all other provinces with schools using ICT for teaching and learning followed by, Gauteng (45.4%) and KwaZulu-Natal (10.4%) (Department of Education, 2003:12–13)[6] Schools that have limited software and hardware, stand a minimal chance to roll-out ICT initiatives in their schools. Ertmer et al. (2012) [15] posits that, there are various types of technical support that are a requirement to ensure effective integration of ICT into education. These may include peer administrative, professional and technological support. Teachers on the other hand need some kind of support that will deal with different technical and technological difficulties. Lack of this support in schools therefore hinders ICT roll-out in schools.

Opportunities of integrating indigenous languages within basic education sector

The integration of indigenous African languages into ICT and learning in the South Africa education sector would be of huge significance in improving indigenous African languages and the state of education. Osborn (2010)[35] argues that, knowledge reproduction and dissemination of local content and knowledge in ICT is impossible in the absence of indigenous languages.

It is a widely accepted view that learning and knowledge production in class through a primary language and in literacy must be promoted through the implementation of initiatives that supports multilingualism (Cummings 2000).[4] It is further asserted that learning through the use of indigenous African language preserves these languages and improves the quality of education and if they are integrated into ICT especially if introduced in the early years of childhood (Kamwangamalu 2000).[24] Disappointingly so, the use of indigenous African languages as alternative tools for learning and teaching is still continuously restricted to disadvantaged schools in the townships and rural areas (Lafon 2008).[27] Kamwangamalu (2000)[24] posits that the use of home languages for teaching and learning enhances lessons and making them more interesting.

Learning takes occurs when the cognitive system is able to store information for further use (Dror, 2008).[14] If the process has gaps, learning does not take place and even if some knowledge has been acquired, the learner may struggle to remember and also battle to use the knowledge to extend their own understanding or even

to engage in thinking exercises that requires merging of different ideas in solving complex tasks. Effective learning therefore, occurs when the teaching tools or learning activities are utilized and designed such that they develop the learning process in a way that the learner is in a position to independently operate at a higher order thinking level in addressing abstract forms of knowledge with ease (Dror, 2008).[14]

In this context, when teaching strategies integrate indigenous African languages into ICT to create less difficult conditions in a learning environment, the likelihood of attaining a more advanced skill to obtain, preserve and apply knowledge is both possible and higher. In this manner, the quality of education and usage of African languages in ICT as an additional tool to learning, is achieved.

Associating Indigenous African languages with ICT is driven by notions that technology has a role of facilitating learning and enables the dissemination of the curriculum content. Such a view has its origins in the constructivist's theory that regards learning, firstly as an active process of constructing knowledge rather than acquiring knowledge. Secondly it considers instruction as a process of supporting knowledge construction rather than communicating knowledge (Dror, 2008).[14] This integration therefore given the role of ICT and Indigenous African languages will ensure learners interaction with knowledge, using the integration as a tools to improve the understanding of subject matter.

Such usage of ICT and indigenous African languages demands new approaches to the curriculum. This approach advocates for a humanistic model of ICT integration where African languages and technology are viewed as a tool which will empower learners with subject knowledge, problem solving skills and thinking skills, in this way the learner play a role of a constructor of knowledge who through exposure to ICT in home language is able to perform at a higher level. Therefore ICT and home language use in a learning environment becomes quality when it indigenous African languages use.

Challenges of Integrating Indigenous African Languages into ICT in basic Education

In practice however, the adoption and integration of African languages into ICT is a challenging and complex process for schools, particularly where there are limited resources in ICT to support teaching and learning. Infrastructural challenges and absence of indigenous languages in education in particular have compromised the nation-wide application of ICT in education initiatives (ICT4RED, 2015).[26] More-over there is insufficient comprehensive policy on ICT in education that covers all sectors

in education (Isaacs, 2007).[37]

Other problems that seems to affect the integration of indigenous African languages into ICT must be viewed within the context of the various related factors of localization ecology that affect the process of ICT localization namely society, language, economics, technology, education and politics. When ICT's are not available in a given local language, the opportunity to produce and disseminate local content (educational, administrative or tourism content) on the Internet is reduced. As a result, the chances that the culture conveyed by this language will be shared and made accessible to its speakers, researchers and linguists who would like to study it are also decreased. (Osborn 2010).[25] These factors overlap since they are inter-related to provide a complete understanding of the challenges associated with the integration of indigenous African languages into ICT. Insufficient expertise and absence of collaboration between ICT experts and language experts presents another big challenge to ICT localization initiatives. There is somewhat a lack of interest if not an awareness of the impact of ICT localization among language experts, technological experts and government officials alike. At the same wave length, most language experts do not have the necessary ICT skills to design and tailor-make teaching and learning software. These challenges also translates into a shortfall of coherence between language and ICT policies in the South African education sector. Other factors are a shortage of financial resources to support localization initiatives. Localization is a costly process involving computer expertise, software and translation expertise among other things and is also a lengthy process. The current situation South Africa is that the stakeholders and investors are highly motivated to invest in localization initiatives as they view indigenous African languages as insignificant. It is also argued that negative perceptions towards indigenous African languages may contribute to a failure of localization initiatives. There is therefore a need for the department of basic education to introduce effective marketing approaches for localized education software to promote the use of indigenous African languages by learners, educators, and the local community. It is further argued that indigenous African language content is contributing a considerably low percentage of the entire web content. There is therefore an urgent need to increase the amount of localized web content and software as well as translation. The translation process however could require a huge effort and great deal of time as well as financial resources. More-over most translation tools lack accuracy and yet machine translation cannot be considered as an option to address such challenges. Furthermore, there is not enough grammar and therefore,

there is a need for development and modification.

3. Conclusion

If South African Government is really serious and committed to partake in the knowledge economy, therefore every effort must be must be put in place to prevent digital exclusion of indigenous African languages. This is mainly because a global revolution is currently taking place in the education sector. This revolution is not only driven by changing nature of work but also by government's obligation (the people's contract) to distribute equal educational opportunities.

The integration of African languages into ICT is essential not only in preserving indigenous African languages but in enhancing learning in the basic education system. The major opportunities available the inclusion of these languages as additional tools learning to address the already ailing education sector. The majority of South African educators are from disadvantaged schools and hence they need pedagogical knowledge to transform ICT content. Consequently so, ICT Training of teachers is imperative and shall play a critical role in enabling them to develop and for them to use ICT tailor-made resources. The focus has got to be on real-life and relevant experiences of both learners and teachers with the available instruments in their subject teaching contexts whilst integrating African languages.

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ARTICLE

Manipulating De/Legitimation in Translation of Political Discourse

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to gain an insight into political speech subtitle, focusing on de/legitimation as a macro-linguistic discursive strategy reflecting micro-linguistic discursive strategies so as to exemplify as to how such a discursive representation could be mediated through translation as a socio-communicative action and translation studies as a growing interdisciplinary field of inquiry. To this end, a twofold theoretical framework at both macro-linguistic and micro-linguistic levels is employed – consisting of a quadruple categorization of legitimation developed by Van Leeuwen (2008)[38] on political discourse (PD) and Fairclough's (2003)[12] critical discourse analysis (CDA) model on linguistic modality – to analyze one of the political speeches delivered by the Iranian former president Mahmood Ahmadinejad and subtitled into English by MEMRITV (Middle East Media Research Institute TV). The results, confirming political discourse and its translation as a means of de/legitimation, indicate that although there are no overt manipulations regarding the discourse of de/legitimation in the target text (TT), the manipulation of micro-linguistic device of modality constitutes a degree of covert manipulation of de-legitimizing discourse, altering the author's (the source text enunciator's) commitment to truth. It is concluded that viewing translation of political discourse as a means of de/legitimization in the context of micro-linguistic aspects such as modality could probably open a fruitful avenue to discourse studies in general and translation studies in particular. However, to comparatively achieve more reliable and informative results, adopting eclectic approaches to the critical study of PD seems to be more promising.

1. Introduction

Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) has led to a rather innovative way of conducting research in the fields of sociolinguistics, psychology, and social sciences. Emanating, in part, from its interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature, CDA has benefitted from different perspectives and fields of study. The linguistic theory that CDA and Critical Linguistics (CL) (subsumed by CDA) has traditionally drawn upon is Halliday's (1994)[19] Systemic-Functional Grammar,

which has to do with the function of language in the social structure (Fowler et al., 1979;[16] Fowler, 1991;[15] Kress & Hodge, 1979).[22]

In CDA, the approach is critical in the sense that it is both linguistically- and socially-oriented. It is not a mere description of language and the formal features of discourse but it aims at explaining the dialectic relationship among language, society, power, and ideology. In other words, CDA investigates the role of language in social contexts and the interrelations of power and

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hegemony in society.

As Moradi-Joz et al. (2014)[24] contend, if CDA pertains to the discursive reproduction of the abuse of power (or the resistance against it) encoded within ideologically-laden terms, then translation may further enhance, mitigate or even avoid such domination by de-emphasizing the type of discourse structure that expresses or signals relationships of domination. Moreover, since ideological structures are typically polarized (between emphasizing OUR good things versus THEIR bad things), translations may further contribute to this strategy or downtone it.

Within the scope of de/legitimation, what has almost remained underexplored in translation studies, the study seeks to examine and uncover the ideological moves behind a speech fragment from Iranian former President Mahmood Ahmadinejad and its English subtitle. Once these de/legitimizing ideologies are discovered, it would be possible to see the interconnection between the linguistic behaviors and ideological motivations in both the ST and the TT.

According to Van Dijk (2003),[34] since CDA is not a specific direction of research, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework. Critical research on discourse, however, needs to satisfy a number of requirements in order to effectively realize its aims viz. dealing with political issues and discourse, resistance, legitimation, and dominance, and applying multidisciplinary theoretical frameworks. The need for applying eclectic approaches to critical study of political discourse is also emphasized by many researchers (see, e.g., Wodak's (2015)[42]; Van Leeuwen (2008);[38] Dunmire 2012;[7] Moradi-Joz et al. 2018a).[25]

All of these tenets, it seems, could directly feed into modern TS. By applying the methods of critical discourse analysis, one would be able to detect possible language manipulation in translations, news, speeches and so on within different aspects of language such as nominalization, topicalization, passivization, modality, etc.

2. CDA-Driven TS

CDA can bridge the gap between microstructures and macrostructures of a language by using power relations and ideology (for the most part, subconscious) to decide which part of the manifestation of reality in a text is made salient, insignificant, vague or even entirely omitted. Similarly, modern translation studies have increasingly taken into account the complexities of power relations and ideological management involved in the production of translations. The CDA of translated texts which should be performed along with its ST makes the work complicated and doubles the complexity.

The relationship between language and politics has

seen increasing interest within the last two decades especially in the linguistic (sub-) disciplines of Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Political Discourse Analysis (see Fairclough and Wodak 1997,[11] Chilton 2004, [3] Chilton and Schäffner 1997),[4] and also in the neighboring disciplines of rhetoric, philosophy, and sociology (e.g. Habermas 1981, [17] Foucault 1971,[14] Bourdieu 1982) [1] (Schäffner 2007: 134-–135).[29]

Within the domain of translation studies, however, as Schäffner (2004: 3)[28] argues: "Political Discourse Analysis has not yet paid sufficient attention to aspects of translation. Within the discipline of Translation Studies, aspects of politics have been considered more frequently." Political texts in translation have, it is to be mentioned, been the object of study for a number of scholars. To Puurtinen (1998[27] in Chesterman 2000: 178) [5] embedded (or unintentional, implicit, and or subconscious) ideological meanings are of interest in Translation Studies, "firstly because ideologies of societies and cultures are different, and secondly because the lexico-grammatical realization of ideology is likely to vary in different languages. However, very few CDA-oriented studies of translation have been carried out so far (Hatim & Mason 1997,[20] Knowles and Malmkjaer 1989)."[21]

Hatim and Mason (1997)[20] analyzed a translated political speech by the late Ayatollah Khomeini, which is characterized as a 'hybrid genre,' appearing to be part-political, part-religious sermon, and part-legal deontology. Their study reveals variation of tenor, cohesion, transitivity, and style-shifting.

Calzada Pérez (2001, [2] as in Schäffner 2007)[29] applied a three-level model to the analysis of translated speeches in the European Parliament (Spanish – English). Her analysis, carried out through surface description, illocutionary explanation and (socio-political) perlocutionary explanation, reveals a broad variety of translational shifts which were intended to help target texts to be more readable. Calzada Pérez's analysis combines descriptive translation studies, critical discourse analysis, and cultural studies.

Stage (2002)[30] compared three Danish versions of a speech by the former American president Bill Clinton which had been interpreted simultaneously, subtitled for television, and subsequently translated for Newspapers. Her study reveals potentials and constraints in these three different types of interlingual transfer.

In 2004, Ebru Diriker, [6] gaining the main insight of the work from her dissertation, published a perceptive book on conference interpreting in which she approached interpreters' presence and performance from two distinct perspectives including the de-contextual-

ized (meta-discursive) and contextualized (real life and performance) discourses. She made use of an eclectic approach of CDA encapsulating the models of (Fairclough 1992,[8] 1995, [9] 1997; [10] Van Dijk 1987,[31] 1990,[32] 1997; [33] Wodak 1996, [40] 1997) [41] and her extrapolations of this analytical framework, along with certain other theoretical concepts and views on 'discourse' and 'constitution of meaning' in language to explore the more immediate social and interactional contexts of two conference interpreters at a specific event, which was a two day colloquium on 'Martin Heidegger and Hanna Arendt: Metaphysics and Politics'. While delving into the macro-contexts (the de-contextualized discourses) was fulfilled through a number of meta-discursive elements such as the discourse of general reference books, the discourse of professional organizations, the discourse of Turkish academia and media, and so on, the analysis of micro-contexts (the contextualized and immediate discourses), following in the footsteps of Cicourel, was relied heavily on ethnographic material (field observation and interview) as well as the transcript recording of actual simultaneous interpreting performance. In the conclusion to her work, she hinted at the more manipulative nature of interpretations in the contextualized (immediate) discourse as compared to the de-contextualized one.

In a case study, Moradi-Joz et al. (2014)[24] examined ideological manipulation in the subtitle of a speech fragment by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (President of the Islamic Republic of Iran). They applied a twofold theoretical framework based on the dichotomous categorization 'euphemism' versus 'derogation' developed by Kress and Hodge (1979)[22], and on Van Dijk's (2004) [35] framework of CDA with some supplementary elements. Their findings suggested some degree of manipulation concerning some ideologically-loaded terms.

3. De/legitimation and Modality

This study follows a mainly CDA framework. CDA offers the tools to carry out an analysis, which could reveal how certain ideologies are reproduced and legitimized through discourse. Since CDA is not a specific direction of research, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework nor is it necessary to use all the methods or to use them in exactly the same way in specific research projects (Van Dijk 2003).[34] In this study, accordingly, as said, a twofold theoretical framework consisting of four major categories of legitimation developed by Van Leeuwen (2008)[38] on political speeches and Fairclough's (2003)[12] CDA framework on modality has been applied in the hope that the main objective of the study- finding the translation strategies used and illustrating the probable manipulations and

mistranslations- is achieved. Both of the methodologies are cited in the following.

3.1 Van Leeuwen's Typology of De/Legitimation

Of particular importance in every political speech, operating within a sort of authority, is to fall back on an account of legitimacy so as to persuade and or convince the audience in hand. In other words, "Every system of authority attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy," writes Weber (1977: 325).[39] Without doubt, language is the most important vehicle for these attempts (Van Leeuwen 2008: 105).[38] Berger and Luckmann have even argued that, in effect, all of language is legitimation (idem). Hence, in this study, four major categories of legitimation developed by Van Leeuwen (2008) [38] on political speeches have been applied.

Van Leeuwen's (2008)[38] CDA of linguistic legitimation, consisting of four categories is as in the following:
1) Authorization: legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and/or persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested. Authority de/legitimation embraces custom (conformity and tradition), authority (personal and impersonal), and recommendation (expert and role model).
2) Moral evaluation: legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems. It encapsulates evaluation, abstraction, and comparison (either positive or negative).
3) Rationalization: legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge that society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity. This kind of de/legitimation consists of instrumental and theoretical de/legitimation.
4) Mythopoesis: legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish nonlegitimate actions. It includes moral and cautionary tale, single determination and over determination. Van Leeuwen further adds:

These forms of legitimation can occur separately or in combination. They can be used to legitimize, but also to delegitimize, to critique…they can occupy the largest part of specific instances of text and talk which may hardly refer to what it is that is being legitimized, or they can be thinly sprinkled across detailed descriptive or prescriptive accounts of the practices and institutions they legitimize (ibid: 106).

The rationale behind opting for such a model is in its compatibility with the socio-political, ideological and socio-cultural nature of the data. Furthermore, as said, "Every system of authority attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy," writes Max Weber (1977: 325).[39] Undoubtedly, Language is the most important

vehicle for these attempts (Van Leeuwen 2008: 105).[38]

3.2 Fairclough's CDA Framework on Modality

In addition to the semantic framework of the study, put forward by Van Leeuwen (2008),[38] a syntactic framework dealing with modality, which is of particular importance in the traditional frameworks of CDA was found to be useful. The framework, to this end, is Fairclough's (2003)[12] CDA framework of modality. Conceptualizing modality, Fairclough (2003)[12] maintains, modality can be seen in terms of what authors commit themselves to, with respect to what is true and what is necessary (modality) and… .The question of modality can be seen as the question of what people commit themselves to when they make statements, ask questions, make demands or offers (116-165).

To Fairclough (2003),[12] modality can demonstrate the issue of identification in texts. The rationale behind discussing modality within CDA framework is embedded in the "assumption that what people commit themselves to in texts is an important part of how they identify themselves, the texturing of identity", writes Fairclough (2003: 164).[12] Identification is able to be detected through modality. Examining the modals, one would be able to find texturing of identities thoroughly embedded in social relations and also to obtain information as to how reality has been represented. Thus, taking into consideration of modality, as a significant part of the representation of reality, would shed light on the CDA of the ST and the TT so as to see whether the TT has been manipulated.

Despite the fact that modality is a very complex aspect of meaning and that its realization in Persian and English is very complicated (since it embraces from the most straightforward forms of modals such as auxiliary modal verbs, modal adjectives and adverbs up to the most abstruse ones such as hedges, intonations, and tag questions) on the one hand and due to the need for a specific CDA framework of modality on the other hand, the study, following in the footsteps of Fairclough, tends to limit its scope to the CDA framework of modality put forward by Fairclough (2003),[12] even if it excludes much of its intricacy.

However, in the case of statements, epistemic modalized cases are seen here as intermediate between Assertion and Denial, which are typically realized as positive statements and negative statements. In the case of deontic modality, similarly, modality is seen as an intermediate between prescription (positive imperative clause) and proscription (negative imperative clause). "The rationale behind this is fairly obvious: in terms of commitment to the truth" (Fairclough 2003: 168).[12]

4. De/Legitimization in Translatorial Analysis

To apply CDA to the ST and the TT, three steps have been taken: first, the contexts of the situation has been clarified, second, having identified the terms hinting at de/legitimation and modality, the CDA framework of the study has been applied to them; a comparison and contrast between the problematic parts (the parts of the TT deviated from those of the ST as far as the theoretical framework of the study is concerned) of the translation in order to reveal probable deviations, omissions, addition and generally the strategies used in the TT has been the third step taken.

Persian Text (ST)

امروز به خیال خودشون بعضی ها می خواند جمع بشند در فلسطین اشغالی و جشن تولد بگیرند. تصور می کنن این موجبِ تقویت این رژیم مضمحل است. به عکسهمهٔ دنیا می فهمد، نفس برقراری این مراسم نشان دهندهٔضعف، نشان دهندهٔ عقب افتادگی و نشان دهندهٔ اضمحالل این رژیم و مناسبات است، و االل چرا جشن پنجاه سالگینگرفتید، چرا جشن پنجاه و پنج سالگی نگرفتید، امروز چرا به این فکر افتادید. من می خوام به شما بگم که برایمرده جشن تولد برقرار کردن تاثیری به حال مرده نخواهد داشت. این مرده با انفاس این آقایونی که می خواند جمعِبشند اونجا زنده نخواهد شد. یک عده تروریست و جنایتکار هستند که با طراحی آمده اند، با حمایت بیگانگان آمدهاند و هیچ ریشه ای در خاک فلسطین ندارند و دیر یا زود به دست ملت فلسطین از صحنهٔ فلسطین جارو خواهند ش

اعالم کردند، هم رژیم صهیونیستی، هم مسؤالن آمریکایی و بعضی از عناصر انگلیسی که ما می خوایممقامات ایران و مسؤلین ایران رو ترور بکنیم. اجازه دادیم و خواستیم و طراحی کردیم برای ترور و انجام تروردر ایران. این رو اعالم کردند، در فاصلهٔ کوتاهی اون جنایت ناجوانمردانه در شیراز اتفاق افتاد. بدانید که دستقدرت الهی و دست قهر ملّتها بسیار مقتدر است و گلوی شما را خواهد فشرد.

Literal Translation into English

Today some (a few) people are about to gather in occupied Palestine, in order to celebrate its anniversary. They fancy that by doing so, they are strengthening this disintegrating regime. On the contrary, the whole world understands that the very nature of holding these ceremonies is a sign of weakness, the backwardness, and the disintegration of this regime and its relationships. Otherwise, why didn't you celebrate this regime's 50th anniversary? Why didn't you celebrate this regime's 55th anniversary? Why have you come up with this idea today? Let me tell you, celebrating a dead man's birthday won't improve his condition one bit. This dead man will not be resurrected by all those people (guys) who are about to gather there. They are a group of terrorists and criminals, who came according to a plan, came with the support of the alien and who have not

any roots in Palestine soil and sooner or later they will be swept aside (out) by the

People of Palestine.

The Zionist regime, American officials, and some British elements declared that "We want to assassinate senior Iranian officials and Iranian authorities. We authorized and wanted and planned the terror attacks and its performance in Iran." They announced this (and) a shorter while later, that cowardly crime was perpetrated in Shiraz. Be sure that the power hand of God and the wrath hand of the peoples are very mighty and will grab you by the throat.

The Subtitled Translation of the Text (TT)

Today certain people are about to convene in occupied Palestine, in order to celebrate its anniversary. They believe that by doing so, they are strengthening this disintegrating regime. However, the whole world will come to understand that holding these ceremonies is a sign of weakness, the backwardness, and the disintegration of this regime. Otherwise, why didn't they celebrate this regime's 50th or 55th anniversary? Why did you come up with this idea now? Let me tell you, celebrating a dead man's birthday won't improve his condition one bit. This dead man will not be resurrected by all those people who are about to convene there. There is a group of terrorism and criminals who came according to a plan with the support of foreigners and who have not roots in Palestine. Sooner or later they will be driven out by the people of Palestine.

The Zionist regime, American officials, and some British elements have declared that they want to assassinate senior Iranian officials. They said that they authorized and planned these terror attacks in Iran. They stated this. A shorter while later, that cowardly crime was perpetrated in Shiraz. You can be sure that the hand of God and the wrath of the peoples will grab you by the throat.

4.1 Context of Situation

Exploring translation in context is an important objective in this study. Setting such an objective, however, is easier said than done, since defining and analyzing contexts relevant to specific action is not an easy task. This extract, as a part of Iranian former President Mahmood Ahmadinejad's press confrence, is a reaction to the terrorist attack in Shiraz, an Iranin city, in 1385 (Iranian calender year) which is alleged to have been planned and perpetrated by the Zionist regime, American officials and some British elements. However, the other theme of the speech would be regarded as in the following: the futile effort of the Zionist regime and some people with regard to deciding to celebrate its anniversary in that it is, as the speaker holds, like a dead man who is not able to be revitalized. On the

whole, both themes work as polarized reactions so that they firstly delegitimize 'Them' and then legitimize 'US', to use Van Dijk's (2004)[35] word. The speech subtitled into English by MEMRITV (Middle East Media Reaserch Institute) is available on both www.memritv.org and www.youtube.com.

4.2 Analysis of De/Legitimation and Modality

As the main point of departure, de/legitimation going both to the decision of the Zionist regime and a few number of irrationals who are to hold its formation anniversary and to the Zionist regime, American officials and some British elements, who, allegedly, have planed and perpetrated Shiraz terror attack seems to be the most conspicuous illocutionary force resonating throuhghout the speech. Out of eight cases of de/legitimation bearing propositions found in the speech and illustrated in the following, only one of them moves to legitimate self ('Us') i.e. the rest delegitimate 'Them'.

[تصور می کنن این موجب تقویت این رژیم مضمحل است]

=*They fancy that by doing so, they are strengthening this disintegrating regime.*

As Van Leeuwen (2008)[38] maintains:

In some cases, moral value is simply asserted by troublesome words such as "good" and "bad", which freely travel among moral, aesthetic, and hedonistic domains and often combine with authority legitimation, as when President George W. Bush legitimizes aggressive policies by pronouncing his enemies an 'axis of evil' (p.111).

Accordingly, in the aforementioned phrase, the Zionist regime is morally evaluated as 'disintegrating regime' by the speaker.

Casting light on the statement: [و افتادگی عقب دهندۀ نشان دهندۀ اضمحالل این رژیم و مناسبات استبه عکس همۀ دنیا می فهمد، نفس برقراری این مراسم نشان دهندۀ ضعف، نشان،]=On the contrary, the whole world understand that the very nature of these ceremonies is the sign of weakness, the backwardness, and the disintegration of this regime and its relationship, it is made clear that regardless of the moral evaluation present in the statement to delegitimate the Zionist regime, there is an authority of conformity legitimation stemming from the speaker's assertion on behalf of others. In the case of conformity, the answer to the 'why' question is 'because that's what everybody else does' or 'because that's what most people do' (Van Leeuwen (2008).[38] The implicit message here is, 'everybody in the world understand it, and so should you'.

I would like (want) to tell = [من می خوام به شما بگم] you, is a case of personal authority legitimation namely the president asserts it because of his social status. As in this case, "Personal authority legitimation typically

takes the form of a "verbal process" clause (Halliday and Hasan,[18] 1985 as cited in Van Leeuwen 2008: 106).[38] Delegitimation through instrumental rationalization is carried out, applying two phrases: [مرده جشن تولدبرای =]*celebrating a dead man's birthday won't improve his condition one bit,* and [این مرده با انفاس این آقایونی که می خواند جمع بشند اونجا زنده نخواهد شد=]*This dead man will not be resurrected by all those people who are about to convene there.* To Van Leeuwen (2008),[38] "Like legiti-mations, purposes are constructed in discourse in order to explain why social practices exist, and why they take the forms they do." Similarly, in these metaphorical prop-ositions, taken within the framework of delegitimation, the quotations can be rephrased as 'you should not both hold and take part in the celebration (the social practice) attributed to the Zionist regime in order to revitalize this dead man (because apart from its illegitimate nature, it is an activity of no use)'.

[و االا چرا جشن پنجاه سالگی نگرفتید، چرا جشن پنجاه و پنج سالگی نگرفتید، امروز چرا به این فکر افتادید] =*Otherwise, why didn't you celebrate the 50th anniversary? Why didn't you celebrate the 55th annivera-ry? Why did you come up with this idea now?*: these sup-posedly penetrating question -like statements are applied to give dialogical sense to the speech which is, in effect, monologue and are three cases of delegitimation of the Zi-onist regime social action, celebrating of its anniversary, through resorting to the authority of tradition. According to Van Leeuwen (2008),[38] "Although the authority of tra-dition has been declining in many domains, it may still be invoked, particularly through key words like "tradition," "practice," "custom," "habit." Here, the implicit or explicit answer to the "why" question is "because this is what we always do" or because this is what we have always done" (108). [بدانید که دست قدرت الهی و دست قهر ملتها بسیار مقتدر است و گلوی شما را خواهد فشرد] = *know that the hand of God and the wrath hand of the peoples are very powerful and will grab you by the throat,* is again a case of personal authority legitimation i.e. the president asserts it because of his social status. To put it in Van Leeuwen's (2008)[38] words "In the case of undiluted personal authori-ty, legitimate authority is vested in people because of their status or role in a particular institution (106).

Save for one statement that indicates the speaker's power of prediction or futurology-[که دست قدرت الهی و دست قهر ملتها بسیار مقتدر است و گلوی شما را خواهد فشردبدانید] *know that the hand of God and the wrath hand of the peoples are very powerful and will grab you by the throat-* almost all parts of the statements show the

speaker's positive commitment to the unmodalized truths.

Yet, modalities are appeared in three cases as follows: The application of the verb [کنن تصور می] = they fancy which is a mental process clause modality and epistemic modality of low frequency kind which is considered to "give a subjective marking to the modality" (Fairclough 2003:169).[12] [من می خواهم به شما بگم] = I would like (want) to tell you, is a deontic modality by which the speaker depicts his prescription as to the futile effort of making the anniversary ceremony for a dead man-the Zi-onist regime. Here 'would' is an objective modal auxiliary verb and indicates that the speaker as president identifies himself with a high social status. As Fairclough (1992)[8] maintains "The use of objective modality often implies some form of power" (159).

At the end, the use of the phrase [خواهد فشرد] = will grab, as an epistemic modality and presupposed and pre-sumed element points to the speaker's power of predic-tion in terms of insecurity, death and dire doom that will be the ramification of the Zionist regime, American offi-cials and some British elements' performance. The brief CDA of Legitimation and Modality in the ST is shown in Table 1.

4.3 A Comparison of Discursive Representation of De/Legitimization and Modality

In the case of the discourse of legitimation and de/legit-imation, no outstanding deviation of the TT from the ST is observed whereas in terms of the modality two cases of mistranslations are found to be of particular importance in meaning negotiation.

One of these is the case when the speaker expresses that [است به عکس همۀدنیا می فهمد، نفس برقراری این] مراسم نشان دهندۀ ضعف، نشان دهندۀ عقب افتادگی و نشان دهندۀ اضمحالل این رژیم و مناسبات=[*On the contrary the whole world understand that the very nature of these ceremonies is the sign of weakness, the backwardness, and the disintegration of this regime and its relationship].* The distorted translation of the first phrase verb into 'will come to understand' that contains low epistemic modality lacking in the ST leads to a different functional equiva-lence for the TT readership. To put it in other words, the ST readership understands that the anniversary is futile whereas the one of the TT will understand.

Similarly, at the end, addition is applied in the case of a modal verb 'can' in the TT ('Know that' has been trans-lated as 'you can be sure that'). The subtitler, it seems that, distorts the speaker's standpoint concerning his acknowl-edgement of the allegation (or in Fairclough's (2003)[12] terminology, prescription and positive commitment to the truth, which has been translated as a modalized statement)

Table 1. Analysis of De/Legitimation and Modality in the ST

	Terms	Discourse of De/Legitimation (Why we/ you should/not do this (in this way?))		Modalization, Authors Commitment to the Truth
1	تصور می کنن این موجب تقویت این } رژیم مضمحل است{= *They fancy that by doing so, they are strengthening this disintegrating regime.*	DELEGITIMATION, MORAL EVALUATION		MENTAL PROCESS CLAUSE MODALITY, LOW EPISTEMIC MODALITY FREQUENCY MODALITY, ASSERTION
2	به عکس همهٔ دنیا می فهمد، نفس‌برقراری } این مراسم نشان دهندهٔضعف، نشان دهندهٔ عقب افتادگی ونشان دهندهٔ اضمحلال این رژیم ومناسبات است {= *on the contrary, the whole world un-derstand that the very nature of these ceremonies is the sign of weakness, the backwardness, and the disintegration of this regime and its relationship*	AUTHORITY OF CONFOR-MITY, PERSONAL AU-THORITY, MORAL EVALU-ATION		UNMODALIZED TRUTH, POSITIVE COMMITMENT TO THE TRUTH, ASSERTION
3	و اال چرا جشن پنجاه سالگی نگرفتیدچرا } جشن پنجاه و پنج سالگی نگرفتیدامروز چرا به این فکر افتادید،،{= *Otherwise, why didn't you celebrate the 50th anniversary? Why didn't you celebrate the 55th anniversary? Why did you come up with this idea now?*	DELEGITIMATION, AU-THORITY OF TRADITION		UNMODALIZED TRUTH, POSITIVE COMMITMENT TO THE TRUTH, ASSERTION, (DIALOGICAL RATHER THAN MONOLOGUE CHARACTER)
4	من می خوام به شما بگم } {= *I would like to tell you*	LEGITIMATION, PERSON-AL AUTHORITY	MODALITY, PRE-SCRIPTION, MEDION FREQUENCY MO-DALITY	DEONTIC
5	برای مرده جشن تولد برقرار کردنتاثیری } به حال مرده نخواهد داشت{= *celebrating a dead man's birthday won't improve his condition one bit,*	DELEGITIMATION, IN-STRUMENTAL RATIONAL-IZATION	COMMITMENT TO THE TRUTH, DENIAL	UNMODALIZED TRUTH, POSITIVE
6	این مرده با انفاس این آقایونی که می‌خواند } جمع بشند اونجا زنده نخواهدشد{= *this dead man will not be resurrected by all those people who are about to convene there*	DELEGITIMATION, IN-STRUMENTAL RATIONAL-IZATION		UNMODALIZED TRUTH, POSITIVE COMMITMENT TO THE TRUTH, DENIAL
7	بدانید که دست قدرت الهی و دست‌قهر } ملتها بسیار مقتدر است و گلوی‌شما را خواهد فشرد{= *know that the hand of God and the wrath hand of the peoples are very powerful and will grab you by the throat*	PERSONAL AUTHORITY		EPISTEMIC MODALITY, ASSERTION

Table 2. A Comparison Between the CDA of De/Legitimation and Modality

	Terms	Discourse of Legitimation (Why we should do this (in this way?))	Modalization, Authors Commitment to the Truth
1	However, the whole world will come to understand that holding these ceremonies is a sign of weakness, the backwardness, and the disintegration of this regime.	INSTRUMENTAL RATIONALIZATION, PERSONAL AUTHORITY	PREDICTION, LOW EPISTEMIC MODALITY
2	You can be sure	CONFORMITY- CUSTOM AUTHORITY	DEONTIC MODALITY, MEDIAN MODALITY

and his presupposed assuredness from an undeniable danger lying in wait for the Zionist regime, American officials and some British elements. In Table 2, the CDA of the Problematic parts of the TT is portrayed.

5. Concluding Remarks

The analysis of a political discourse and its translation revealed that although there are no overt manipulations regarding the discourse of de/legitimation in the target text (TT), the manipulation of micro-linguistic device of modality constitutes a degree of covert manipulation of de-legitimizing discourse, altering the author's (the source text enunciator's) commitment to truth. Therefore, viewing translation of political discourse as a means of de/legitimization in the context of micro-linguistic aspects such as modality could probably open a fruitful avenue to discourse studies in general and translation studies in particular.

Indeed, manipulation is only observable in the case of modality (see Table 5.2). The speaker's self-presentation and identification differ in the TT from those in the ST because of manipulation in the modals. Hence, it can be indicated that the speaker's commitment to the truth is manipulated in the target text and that the findings, at least within the domain of modality, is in line with the literature (see section 2), what Diriker (2004)[2] found i.e. more manipulative nature of interpretation (as a form of translation) in the contextualized (immediate) discourse, and also with what Lefevere (1992: preface)[23] maintains: "translation is a rewriting of ST which definitely entails ideologically motivated manipulation."

Because of the manipulation observed, the persuasive effects of the ST cannot be the same as that of TT. In other words, the emphases and implications of the speech do not remain intact on the grounds that the modality manipulation in the TT (in two cases) leads to a different realization and identification of the speaker in the TT, all of which constituting a degree of manipulation in the reproduction of the discourse of de/legitimization.

A final question that should be addressed is which of the approaches to critical study of political discourse and its representation in cross-linguistic and cross-cul-

tural contexts would be more promising and appropriate. As Moradi-Joz et al. (2018a),[25] appraising Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012)[13] seminal argumentation-based model for political discourse analysis, contend, since different competing and even conflicting values, concerns, and beliefs underlie the discourses and narratives circulating across the world, the eclectic and multidisciplinary approaches of mainstream CDA are of potential to comparatively yield more adequate, informative, and promising results in analyzing political discourse. Of such seminal approaches to critical study of discourse, Wodak's (2015)[42] Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), Van Dijk's (2004,[35] 2014)[36] sociocognitive theoretical framework, Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012)[13] argumentation-based model, and Van Leeuwen's (2008)[38] de/legitimation-based model, among others, could be availed of. This is in line with the Van Leeuwen (2005)[37] himself preference for the integrationist model of interdisciplinary in CDA, which could also do justice to critical study of translation, informed by "[p]ost-Nietzschean philosophy and conceptions of translation" (Moradi-Joz 2018b: 63).[26]

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