

“what-I brought you-a book-make crazy”.

(= I brought you a wonderful book).

b. (daqīqa) qabil māʔansa-jibitli ʔilqalam lwassītūk ʔalī.

“ just a moment-before-I forget-have-you-brought me-the pen-
I asked you-for”.

(= Just a moment before I forget, have you brought me the pen
I asked you for).

14. bilbidāya. ʔarīd ʔarahīb bʔabū ʔazīz.

“at the beginning-I want-welcome-Aziz’s-father”.

(= First, I would like to welcome Abu Aziz).

15. wulshī ththānī. ʔabūya mārāh yiqbal.

“the other-thing-my father-will not-accept”.

(Secondly, my father would not accept).

16. wubaʔdīn latinsa. ʔabu ʔalī ham māyiʔrif.

“and-then-do not forget-Ali’s father-also-does not-know”.

(= please bear in your mind that Abu Ali also does not aware).

17. sār ʔidnā hassaʔta. ʔarbaʔ mashākil.

“ have-we-now-four-problems ”. (= Now we encounter four
problems).

18. mithil mātiqshaʔ. ʔilbīt milyān mashākil.

“as- you-can-see-the house-is-full-of-problems”.

(= As you can see we have a lot of problems).

“and-he-sat-and-talked-half-an hour-what-is-strange-he is-
convinced-of-the-matter”.

(= And he talked half an hour. What is strange is that he is
convinced of the matter).

9. ?ilshī lmuḥim.(?innu) ʿalī rāḥ yirūh.

“the important-thing-that-Ali-will-go”.

(= The important thing is that Ali will go).

10. tʿadda ʿalā ḥādhā wuḍarab ḥādhā wubinnatīja. ?inqatal.

“did – harm – to – this - and beated – that – and -- as - a result –
he – was - killed”.

(= He hurt this and that and as a result he was killed).

11. ?abūk rāḥ yirūḥ ʿalsūq. Walihādhā. lāzim ṭḥaddir nafsak min
hassaʿta.

“your father – will – go - to market – so – have to – prepare –
yourself – from - now”.

(= your father will go to the market. So you have to prepare
yourself from this moment).

12.lāzim ninqulu lilmustashfa. Wubhādhi lḥāla. lāzim nittiṣil
bʿibnu.

“we-have to-take him-to hospital-in-this-case-we have to-call-
his son”.

(= we have to take him to the hospital and call his son).

13.a. ?ashūn jibtūlak kitāb-yikhabil.

5. ?Irasāyil māwuslit ba^ʿid. Wuba^ʿdīn ?inta rāh trūh ^ʿal?ardun. līsh halmalaha ^ʿarrasāyil?
 “letters-not arrived-yet-and then-you-will-go-to Jordan-why-this-insistence-on-letters”.
 (= The letters did not arrive yet. As far as you are going to Jordan yourself, there is no need to insist on letters.)
6. a. walla ?inhad hīlī bissafar.
 “by-God-I am-exhausted-in travelling”.
 (= I am very tired because of travelling).
- b. Yimma-?lsafar mashaqa.
 “mother-travelling-is-tiresome”.
 (Yes, travelling is very tiresome).
- c. Yam^ʿawwada. safar haṣṣa^ʿta māmithil safar qabil.
 “Guy-travelling-at present-not-like-travelling-at past”.
 (=Come on, travelling nowadays is not the same as before).
7. a. riḥtu wutwarrattu.
 “I-went-and involved”.
 (= I went and I am sorry for that).
- b. Yābā-?anā māqittūlak lātrūh.
 “father-did-not-tell-you-not-go”.
 (=Didn't I advise you not to go, dear).
8. Wuqī^ʿid yihkī nis ssā^ʿa-wulxarība-?innu miqtini^ʿ bissālfā.

Appendix One

1. wuzi^ʕil wuṭabaq lbāb warā. Wuḷmuṣība. ʔinnu huwwa lxiltān.

“and-he-angry-and- slammed- the door- behind- him - and - the trouble-that-he-was-mistaken ”.

(= He became angry and slammed the door behind him. What is sorrow-ful is that he was mistaken).

2. wukilūm ^ʕalā halḥāl. ya^ʕnī lbāha. bzi^ʕtu minilpasāt killa.

“and everyday-like-this-case-which-means-yesterday-I became-sick-of-buses-all”.

(= And everyday we have the same routine. Yesterday, I became sick of the whole buses).

3. ʔanā ʔarūh xādī. Walla makān min hīna lixādi māʔatīq ʔamshī.

“I-go-there-God-destination-from - here-to there - I – cannot - tolerate”. (= Do you want me to go there? No, I cannot tolerate walking that distance).

4. a. ʔabū mhammad māt wuhuwwa ^ʕaysalī.

“Mohammad’s father-died-while-he-was-praying”.

(Abu Mohammad died while he was praying).

b. līsh yimma (ʔit^ʕajjabtī). ʔabū ^ʕalī mārāh ^ʕassūq wumāt.

“why-mother-Ali’s father-did-go-to market-and-died”.

(why do you surprise dear, Abu Ali died in the market).

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3. Topic, here, can be defined as anything talked about (Cf Hamandi 1996).

4. In general, messages are taken to be fragments of discourse that may have the quality of coherence to avoid using some other technical terms which may raise some theoretical problems like the use of speech acts.

5. This single study, we believe, yields only tentative generalizations. Thus we are in need of further research to consolidate our findings.

6. For another perspective on ideology, see Van Dijk, 1995a & b.

*I am grateful to Mr. A. H. Jassim for discussing with me the issues raised in the paper. Any shortcoming and flaws in my reasoning are, however, my own.

may lose their unity in the case of omitting the marker. Here, we believe that a serious communicative breakdown would take place. For this reason, Mosuli undergraduates ought to receive some more practice in this respect. (See Jassim and Hussein 1997). Their changing of these markers may affect the kind of coherence-relation helds between the fragments.

NOTES:

1. The term connective used here is a discourse-connective since it has the function of gambit. It differs from Halliday and Hassan's conjunctives (1976), but approximates Van Dijk's (1977a) use of the term.
2. Two ways of translation have been adapted to specify the difference between the literal translation which sometimes shows vacu of sense and the free (target-meaning) translation which depends on the native use, the culture and the context of the item. Some items cannot be translated at all and have no equivalence and if translated, there would be a problem of a lack of clarity. Furthermore, the stressed word is marked by (^); or sometimes by (#) if stressed emphatically. Falling intonation is signalled by and rising one by (See Gimson: 1970). While optionality is marked as usual by brackets (). The process of assimilation is marked by The message is introduced first in translation, then literal and free translations are offered.

that there is a prepositional relation between politeness and formality in relation to the use of some connectives. This discussion provides some support for the findings of Critical Discourse Analysis, as it pays adequate attention to the dialectic relationships between social structures and linguistic practices. Discourse analysis holds that discourse influences social structures, and is at the same time influenced or determined by them. Furthermore, the kinesic features that accompany the use of a gambit seems to be unique since any change would also affect the intended meaning of the message.

Connectives are realized as either specific or general. If the marker is used in both formal and informal situations, by the two sexes, or by people of different ages and social status, then it is called a general marker. Otherwise it is a specific one. The general marker seems to have a wide scope of used unlike the specific one as stated in fragment 9.

Connectives, furthermore, are found to be either grammatical or discoursal. If the marker is used to connect two phrases or clauses; it will be considered a grammatical-connective. If it is used to connect two fragments of discourse larger than the clauses, It will be called a gambit or discourse-connective.

It is found out that connectives may create coherence within the stretch of talk used. Unlike the English texts, texts in Mosuli Arabic

onto the truth of the individual mind on the one hand and the (sub-) cultural mind on the other hand

There is a strong tendency for gambits in general and connectives in particular to be culture specific. We have found out that the connectives are difficult (if not impossible) to be translated literally. A somehow close equivalence could be produced but it never conveys the intended force of the original marker. A native speaker of Mosuli Arabic would not intuitively reject the substitution. However, the same substitution is considered a gaffe in performance. This is very clear in fragment 11. However, substitution is not always legitimate since sometimes the change may affect the whole meaning of the message. This change may affect the coherence-relations which occur among the fragments as in 12. So it seems that the speaker holds a specific item in a specific situation and even if the substitution was acceptable, the speaker would not use it.

The use of a particular marker rather than another is determined by some criteria like politeness, formality, religion, sex, social status, intonation, stress, rhythm, facial expressions, gestures and head movements. It has been found out that any change of those items may change the meaning of the message intended as in example 1. The degree of politeness and formality in a message has been determined by the use of a specific marker. It is also found out

related to each other. The second is the ideological function in which new ideologies are activated within the hearer's memory. The last two examples show an ideological function, while the preceding 18 fragments show some organizational functions

CONCLUSION

As it has been illustrated in the previous sections, connectives are a special set of gambits that have discourse-function. Their uses rely heavily on the speaker, the hearer and the context of situation. Some of the items illustrated before have more than one function, each determined by the context of use. For instance, in fragment 1, the marker used has the function of "Rejection". The speaker wants to make sure that he is rejecting the whole situation. In example 3, the marker utilized has two functions; it is used as an emphasis marker and as a connective. On the contrary, the functions of attention - getting and emphasis can be found in fragment 4 (See Jassim and Hussein 1997). In 6, turn-taking function and attention-getting function appear clearly. As members of Mosuli culture, we believe that individuals always act in a self-conscious, and goal-directed fashion. If this proves to be true, many individual personality traits which characterize Mosuli would be explored in future research. It would also reveal many social norms, values, attitudes, ideologies, etc.. Thus we take communication as a window

discourse to each other. The connective "wiham" (= and also) is a special kind since its function is not to relate but to activate something in the hearer's memory. Such a connective could be understood as a kind of blame, threat or a confirmation of the speaker's-previous ideas. Such a connective gives the hearer a new logical perspective on the situation that the speaker already knows, though these propositions are known to the hearer.

The same would be held true with the following example - ?abūha ʿaymut wihiyya ʿattifattal. "her father-is dying-and she-going-wandering about". (= Her father is dying and she is wandering about). The two propositions connected by "wa" are both known to the hearer. But what is unknown to him is the new ideological subframe the speaker is trying to construct. The hearer is not able to construct the frame which says that "This girl is bad since she is violating the rules of common sense". So, he needs the speaker to give him such a combination of propositions to reconstruct this frame. The speaker is demonstrating his critical stance towards the current issue and thus uttering his rejection depending on some non-verbal cues. When the connective is changed into "walihāšdha" (= for this reason), the relation will be changed into that of cause-effect relation, i.e. an organization function.

In this sense, two types of functions can be established. The first is the organizational function in which fragments of discourse are

Finally, there is "mithil māṭixsha⁹" (=as you can see) as a discourse-connective. What precedes this marker in example 18 is a specification of a set of problems. Also, the marker here signals the summary of the whole conversation.

The last point to be mentioned here is the ideological function of the connectives. Connectives may be responsible for the generation of ideological frames. When two (or more) propositions, which are supposed to be known or given for both the speaker and the hearer, are connected, then such a connective is an indication of the process of formulating these frames (Cf Kitis 1995:12). In other words, a new subframe may be added to the cognitive set of the partner and thus the connective used may have a key-word function (for the term cognitive set see Van Dijk 1980 and 1977b). Belief-systems may be changed, enhanced, enlarged and restructured by the use of connectives (Cf Jassim & Hussein: Forthcoming)(6)

Let us consider the following example:

-ti⁹ rif lwadi⁹ māṭabī⁹ ʿī bbītim wiquttūlak lātrūḥ wiham riḥit.
 "Know-the situation-not normal-in-their-house-and-said-to-you-donot-go-and-you-go". (= you know that the situation there is not normal and I told you not to go and you went). Three propositions have been connected here (ti⁹ rif ... ʿibbītim), (wiquttūlak lātrūḥ) and (wiham riḥit). The first "wa" is a normal organizational connective that coordinates two fragments of

stress from "qabil" to "māʿansa" or vice versa makes no difference at all. Fragments 14 and 15 are somehow similar. these two item may be called openers since they start a new (related)topic. When the speaker says "bilbidāya", a related topic is expected then. Also, Abu Aziz should be involved in the coming discussion and so he is introduced at the beginning. For this reason, we consider the item to be a discorsal connective. In 15, the same is true since what follows "wushshī ththāni" (= the other (next) thing) should be related to the things preceding. The whole conversation is about some reason for the girl's rejection of man's proposal of marriage. These two markers can be said to have a formal impression and a less formal marker can be expressed by "hassaʿta" (=now) and "?ishshī llākh" (= the other (second) thing). The two underlined words in example 16 are used almost together as an idiom to connect fragments of discourse related to the same topic. The information is given but the speaker is trying to activate something in the hearer's mind to precede.

In 17, the speaker tries to relate the message following the marker to the whole conversation before the marker. This marker could be called a "summary marker". However, it is referred to here as a connective. What follows this message would be a specification of what the speaker is talking about. Thus, this marker is used to relate two parts of the same topic, i.e. problems.

can be said about fragment 11 insofar as the same kind of relation holds between the two messages. The same tone of intonation and stress are used in both examples 10 and 11. However, the two markers cannot be used interchangeably. "Walihādhā" can be used instead of "wubinnatīja" but not vice versa since they denote non-interchangeable-directions of meaning. Still the usage of "walihādhā" instead of "wubinnatīja" is theoretically acceptable. The native speaker of Mosuli Arabic accepted this use but he never used it himself since he is used to specific item in specific situations. Thus, it may be said that these two items again are culturally-inherited or culturally - determined. The marker used in example 12 creates a relation of condition. The first part is a condition for the second part. The speaker, in other words, is saying "Only under one condition.....". The change of this marker into -"walihādhā", "wubinnatījā" or even just "wa", for instance, may change the meaning of the whole message since the relation holds between the two parts will be changed. The marker underlined in example 13 shows the relation between the message before the marker and the message after it. Both of the messages talk about "Bringing something to the speaker in b". The speaker in "b" had his memory been activated by the key word "bring" mentioned in (a)'s speech, so he tried to utter the message in "b" before he forgot it (For the term "key word" see Van Dijk 1977). Furthermore, the shift of

9, the speaker combines a whole conversation about Ali to the present message by the connective underlined. What the participant does is that he specifies the most important thing from the whole conversation and assigns a message to this piece of information signalling it by the marker. This marker can be called a "general marker. It can be used formally and informally. Its formality, it is worth noting, depends on the facial expression which accompany it. If the speaker was laughing or smiling, we expect the situation to be informal and vice versa. This marker is also used by both sexes of different ages and of different social backgrounds. In example 10, we notice that the gambit used is somehow similar to a grammatical connective. Nevertheless, we consider it to be a discourse connective. Two stages of the same person being talked about have been represented, an old stage in the history of the person and nowadays. The current message is a result of the old stage which becomes the cause. In this sense, the connective used is a discourse connective, which creates a cause-effect relation. If this marker is omitted altogether leaving "wa" alone as a connective, the relation would be that of coordination (= and) instead of cause-effect relation and even a native speaker would find it difficult to understand the relation of cause-effect held by the marker. However, the use of the marker facilitates and fastens the comprehension of the message to a remarkable degree. The same

Example 4, 6 and 7 have something in common, named the effect of the social relation upon language. In the context of native speaker, there is a general tendency for families to be extremely integrated, thus the delinquencies seldom depart their own families. Instead of using the normal connectives, the speaker uses the items (mother, father) to relate two messages uttered by two different participants. The relation between the speaker and the hearer is mere friendship. Such items are used to show the intimate relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Example 4 is characterized by rising intonation. The message, nevertheless, is not a question. it is a mere remembering of a piece of information known to both the hearer and the speaker. The speaker is trying to remind the hearer of this piece of information. An answer, thus, is not expected and will not be appropriate at all. So the information being transferred to the hearer (after the connective) can be defined as known (given). In examples 4, 6 and 7 the factor of formality plays a crucial role. In a formal situation, a speaker would not use such an informal item "yam ʿawwada", but to a very limited extent he may use "yābā" and "yumma". As we can see, these vocatives cannot be easily translated into English because they are culture-specific. For convenience, they are translated as "dear". The first word's scope, "yam ʿawwada", however, cannot be translated as "dear" because of the limited use of the word itself in every-day conversation. In example

the knowledge of language and context. As a gambit, this item functions either as a connective as in fragment 2 or as a gap-filler in which the speaker tries to take his breath or to make a feedback (for himself and for the hearer (s)). A literal translation of this word cannot be provided. Thus, we put it a side to put a real signal and to say that such an item is culturally determined. An alternative translation for this word in such a context is /ə m /. In Arabic in general and Mosul in particular, /ə m / is also used. Yet it is always frowned upon in formal and scientific contexts.

If one looks at example 3, the religious influence becomes quite evident in every-day language. The word "walla", here, can not be claimed to have the function of "swearing" as in the case of "by God" since the speaker does not intend to swear at all. He just intends to relate the two fragments in a rather acceptable or appropriate way. This item may also have the function of emphasis since the speaker wants to ensure his tiredness by relating those two messages in this particular manner. if he intends to swear, he would use the item "wallah" using an emphatic stress on the second syllable and by mentioning a fact after it since Muslims supposedly do not use the Holy Name of God to swear for fakes. An emphatic swear with a great effect could be achieved by prolonging the /h/ sound and putting /i:/ sound after it and futher by adding "watillāhi wabillāhi" (= by the name of God) to the previous-mentioned item.

imply that it is a rule of thumb to say that whenever a speaker is polite, he is formal and vice versa. Formality is not a sine quanon for politeness. Item (d) is used ironically. This ironic status is not shown in (d)'s literary translation. Items a, b, f, and e can be used in a rather serious situation. while items c and d are likely to be used in a comic situation and mostly to raise laughing among the listeners, d means literally (the thing you like) but in fact it is not a good situation to like since the two parts of the message produce two contradicted states of the same person concerned. The firm relationship between culture and language is obvious here. Example d and c are culture specific since they are more likely to be used and understood by a native speaker of Mosuli Arabic. Even literal translation will not do any good for an English native speaker. However, some other (more polite) alternatives could be used like (the problem) or simply (but).

Let's now turn to example 2. One of the most important gambits in Mosuli Arabic is "ya^ʕnī" since it is really cultural bound and has more than one function. "ya^ʕnī" is either a content-word or function-word (here gambit). If it is a content, it is a verb which can be translated as (mean), as in:

"?ilmujrim ya^ʕnī kil wāhid yit^ʕadda ʕannās".

(=The criminal means every one who does wrong to people).

"ya^ʕnī" as a gambit cannot be translated literally but depending on

- a. williyibazzi⁹ (=and what sickens)
- b. willizād wuxaṭṭā (=and what is more)
- c. wilmuṣība (=and the ordeal)
- d. wulli yi⁹jibak (=and the thing you like)
- e. wilmushkila (=and the problem)
- f. wilxarībā (=and the strange thing)

These examples are affected by the criteria of formality and politeness to a large extent. Now, we distribute these items on an XY-plot to show the degree of their formality and politeness. The X axis represents the scale of formality, and Y represents the scale of politeness.

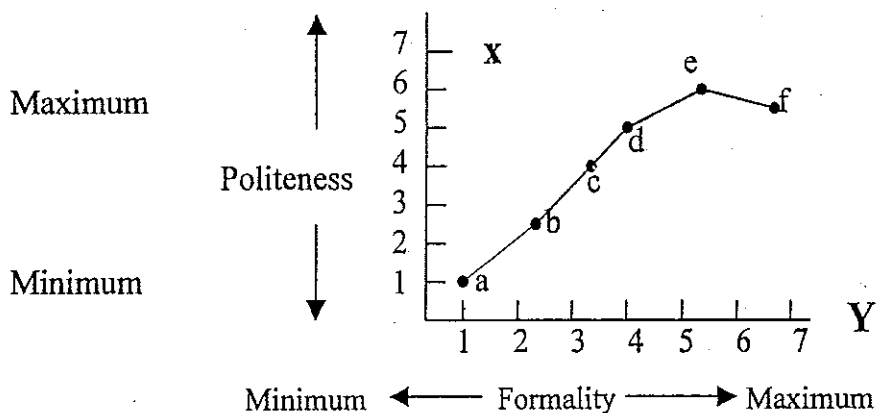


Figure (1): Some items used on the XY-plot of politeness and formality

As clear from the above figure, there is a propositional relationship between politeness and formality. Nonetheless, this does not

connective, and thus accomplishing a kind of continuity within the two message. The omission of this connective "wa" will result in an incoherent text as long as the two messages are irrelevant to each other. Specific facial expressions, gestures and head movements accompany this utterance. The speaker wants to stress the contradiction of the two messages about the same person. So we expect to find out that impressions of surprise are clear on the speaker's face. His hands, as well, are moved near his face (specifically his mouth) to confirm what he is saying. These movements are culturally specific since it is rare to find a native speaker of English moving his hands in the same exaggerated way. But it should be taken into consideration that exaggeration is one of the main characteristics of Arabic (See Lindgren, Byrne and Petrinovich 1966: 362). It is to a large extent true that Arabs mostly will not take things seriously unless they are exaggerated excessively. On the contrary, it is not the same with the English language.

In example 1, however, religion, and social status are not really involved while degree of formality is operative instead. Here, the connective "wilmusiba" is an informal marker. Also it is more likely to be used to express a moderate polite (but not impolite) speech act. The following expressions can be used as alternatives.

It is worth noting that the usage of any gambits should accompany some other cues to transfer the message to the hearer. For instance the falling intonation used in example 1, the emphatic stress, different tone levels, short pause after the connective, as well as some pragmalinguistic cues like facial expressions, gestures and head movements all help in determining the use of the gambit and the transformation of the message as a whole. By putting an emphatic stress on "huwwa" in example 1, the speaker is making a comparison either between himself and a third party or between this third party and (an) other parti(es) who can be absent. This use of the emphatic stress on "huwwa" obliges the speaker to reduce the stress on the connective and shorten the pause between it and the rest of the message. The emphatic stress can be transmitted to the connective itself and in this case the tone would be rising rather than falling and the pause would be longer. The speaker intends here to tell his listener that the person involved, although mistaken, is angry. The speaker, thus, is reflecting his rejection in this way. Using two emphatic stresses on both the connective and "huwwa" is impossible since then the hearer would not be able to grasp the intended meaning of the message as a whole.

Moreover, it is evident that the first message in fragment 1, "wizi'il warā" is grammatically independent of the second message but both of them are related to each other by this

1,2,5,8,10,11,12,15 & 16. In such cases it, syntactically, functions as a premodifier for the gambit it precedes. Semantically and pragmatically, "wa" functions as a confirmation for the meaning of the other-related gambit being used. In the case of omitting "wa" the message is still well-connected even though the style may be relatively changed. This case is quite frequent when "wa" is related to another connective. In case it is related to a word in a message like fragment 2, the situation might be different (see below). The same can be true for example 1 if we consider "wizi'il" (=and he became angry). Here, we must differentiate between a grammatical connective and a gambit connective (or discorsal connective). The grammatical connective can be found, for instance, in 7a wherein two processes by the same agent are related by the grammatical connective "wa". As a discorsal connective, "wa" relates two fragments of discourse about the same topic. In 10, "wa" in "widarab" is a grammatical connective. Whereas "wa" in "wibinnatija" is a discorsal connective.

The factors that affect the use of some gambits rather than others will be concentrated upon in what follow. These factors include politeness, degrees of formality, sex, age, social status, religion, intonation, stress, facial expressions, gestures and head movements. (See Jassim and Hussein 1997 for the categorization of these terms).

DISCUSSION:

Having a cursory look at the examples stated in appendix one, we find it more profitable to make the following distinctions among connectives which relate two fragments of discourse said by the same speaker as in examples 1,2,3,5,8,10,11,12,14,15,16,17, and 18. Secondly, there are those connectives concerned exclusively with relating fragments of discourse about the same topic said by two different speakers involved in a piece of conversation; as in 4,6,7,9, and 13. Thirdly, the markers which can be used to relate the present message (said by partner x, for instance) to a previous (unmentioned) message (told by partner z) provided that both x and z are in agreement with each other to convince the hearer of something as in examples 15 and 18. Fourthly, there is a group of connectives which exhibits two directions of nexus; some relate the following to the preceding as in examples 1,2,3 and 4, and others conjoin the preceding to the following as in 14 since "bilbidāya" should be related to the (unmentioned but expected) "wiba^ḍdīn" and "wulshī ththānī" if there are (and there must be) other things to talk about. When the first is overtly signalled, the second is expected; otherwise the speaker would not bother to mention (initially).

Now it would be worth checking some of the basic characteristics of Arabic "wa" (=and). It is probably always the case to see "wa" accompanying some other elements as in

INTRODUCTION:

The present paper is taken to be the second part of our project entitled: " On Some Gambits in Mosuli Arabic": " To wards a Model of Gambit Analysis". Depending on the new taxonomy presented in the first part, a specific category of gambits has been selected to be handled here, viz the category of connectives(See Jassim & Hussein, 1997).

Connectives (or conjunctives) have been studied widely in English under different terminologies. Van Dijk (1977a and 1979), for instance, used the term conjunctives in a wide scope to refer to the whole set of semantic relations present among sequences of propositions in general (See Van Dijk 1977a, 1977b, and 1979; and Halliday and Hassan 1976). In this paper, however, the term is used in a rather restricted way to refer to some items that have a specific discourse-structure function (viz a discursive-organizational-function)(1).

The term "connective" is preferred to terms like "conjunctive or "conjunct" because it can resolve any kind of ambiguity that may emerge due to the synonymous use of the term conjunctives with gambits (cf. Fraser 1996a and 1996b; and Redecker 1991).

2. On Some Gambits in Mosuli Arabic: Connectives

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ABSTRACT:

Connectives are those items which are used to connect fragments of discourse to each other so as to construct unified and coherent discourse. The two related fragments may be uttered by two different participants or by one participant. The presence of the marker indicates the presence of some topic (or some relatively related topic) in the two discursual fragments. The change of the marker, further, may change the relation exhibits between the two related parts affecting in turn the coherence of discourse. More than one factor has been found to be effective in the use of a specific marker rather than another. Those factors include: formality, politeness, sex, religion, social status, age, intonation, stress, and some Pragmalinguistic cues like facial expressions, gestures, and head movements. In general, the paper seeks to affirm the claim that connectives are context-dependent items.

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