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PREDICATIVE AUGMENTATION APPLICATIVES[*]

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Abstract: Many languages show an interesting but hitherto virtually undiscussed phenomenon, namely augmentation of the predicate by means of an applicative marker. In most cases this involves reinterpretation of a locative applicative marker as an intensifier, and, ultimately, an iterative marker, but other types exist as well. Focussing on Indonesian applicatives, this paper attempts to account for these constructions through cognitive-functional principles. In doing so, it argues that applicatives are not mere morphological alternatives to analytic adpositional constructions. More specifically, it argues that applicative constructions show various high-transitivity traits in the semantic domain such as Actor dominance, Undergoer affectedness and volitionality, most likely as a result of the proto-typical Actor-Undergoer structure of the clause. It argues that, depending on the semantics of the applied verb, it is this high transitivity in combination with the Locative nature of the Undergoer that leads to interpretations of increased intensity and repetitiveness.

Keywords: applicative, locative, Indonesian, iterative, intensified, transitivity, predicate

1. Introduction[1]

This paper investigates a cross-linguistically common, but compositionally unexpected type of applicative, in which it is not so much the increase or rearrangement of verb valence that is central to the construction, but rather augmentation of the predicate. By this is meant the addition of semantic content to the action expressed by the verb. These types of applicatives, dubbed *predicative augmentation applicatives* (henceforth PAAs) here, typically denote increased intensity or repetition of the action, although other predicate modifications such as habituality, progressiveness, and projection into the future also exist. They typically emerge from *locative* applicatives, and in many cases the applicative marker alters valence while at the same time augmenting the predicate, while in other cases it does not affect valence at all. Consider the following examples from Kamang:[2]

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[2] List of abbreviations: AGT=agent, APPL=applicative, AUX=auxiliary, AV=actor voice, CL=class, CNTCT=contactive, CONT=continuative, DEF=definite, DET=determiner, DIM=diminutive, ERG=ergative case, HUM=human, LOC=locative, OBJ=object, PAT=patient, PL=plural, POSS=possessive, PRS=present tense, PRTCPL=participle, REL=relativiser, S=singular, SBJ=subject, SPEC=specific.

Kamang (Timor-Alor-Pantar; Indonesia; Schapper 2014: 330–1)

(1) **nal**   **mooi=a**   <u>**wo**</u>**-na-lai**
    1S   banana=SPEC   APPL-1S.PAT-be.glad
    'I enjoy bananas'

(2) **na**   **seb**   **ga-tfa**   **ifa**
    1S.AGT Seb   3.PAT-shoot   dead
    'I shot Seb dead'

(3) **na**   **seb**   <u>**wo**</u>**-ga-tfa**   **ifa**
    1S.AGT Seb   APPL-3.PAT-shoot   dead
    'I shot Seb again so that he was dead'

In (1), the locative applicative *wo-* introduces a Stimulus argument *mooi* 'banana', thereby increasing the valence of the stative verb *lai* 'be glad'. Sentence (2) and (3) are minimal pairs that differ only in the presence/absence of *wo-*; in (3) we find the same argument structure as in (2), but no additional argument is introduced, only a sense of repetition is added by the applicative. Thus while *wo-* may introduce an additional argument, one of its other functions is augmentation of the predicate. This is an interesting type of phenomenon; as most work on applicatives tends to focus on the behaviour of the respective clausal arguments, this is exactly what applicatives are typically associated with, but clearly, although they are commonly understood to affect argument realisation, they may also affect the semantics of the predicate as a whole.

Previous work on PAAs appears scarce. Peterson (2007: 49–50, 169–70) mentions the existence of PAAs but offers no explanation for them. He does point out their general neglect in the literature and suggests future investigation. Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (2001: 9–10) suggest a nuclear type of applicative which they dub the *comprehensive applicative*, in which the affectedness of the Object stands central. While they also acknowledge that applied Objects are typically more affected as Undergoers than they would be in adpositional constructions, they do not explicitly link comprehensive applicatives to affectedness in general. Craig & Hale (1988) show similar phenomena for Rama, and, like Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey, point out that applicatives are not simply morphological alternatives to adpositional construction, and that they differ in event structure. Lastly, Marten (2003) argues that in various Bantu languages the main function of applicatives is not the licensing of arguments, but what he calls *concept strengthening*.[3]

The central question here is how an applicative can acquire such a function. In most descriptions of applicatives, PAAs are simply listed as another function of the same marker (e.g. Sneddon et al 2010: 99 for Indonesian, Kratochvíl 2014: 397–8 for Sawila, Hendle 1907: 42 for Pogoro, among many others), or, in some cases, homonymy is proposed (e.g. Shiohara 2012: 75 for Indonesian). In the case of polysemy, this would mean that the PAA, be it in the form of an intensifier or otherwise, and the applicative share a common source and are different functions of the same morpheme. In the case of homonymy, however, these

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[3] Marten's *concept strengthening* corresponds almost exactly to my term PAA, the difference being that concept strengthening refers to a broader phenomenon whereas PAA refers to a specific construction type. Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey's term *comprehensive applicative* does not fully correspond to PAA, because in their definition the affectedness of the Object stands central, whereas Predicate Augmentation also includes other semantic contributions of the applicative to the predicate.

would constitute two different morphemes with a different source that happen to be formally similar. Homonymy, as opposed to polysemy, is an unlikely explanation for PAAs, given their cross-linguistic frequency[4] and their explicability as set out in this paper.

Thus, in this paper I argue that the emergence of PAAs is in fact explicable through cognitive-functional principles. More specifically, I argue that (i) applicative constructions are *not* simply a morphological alternative to an adpositional construction, in that applicative constructions have different predicative properties, and that (ii) predicate augmentation rests upon a number of these predicative properties and can be explained by them. From this also follows the fact that (iii) PAAs and applicatives are not homonymous but polysemous. Before doing so, however, it is perhaps worthwhile to provide a few notes on what type of framework/domain I adhere to, and to what extent I have gained from other works.

This paper is inspired by principles in varies works within Cognitive and Functional Linguistics, but does essentially not adhere to any particular framework.[5] Some readers will note that it is in a way reminiscent of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar. One reason for this is my use of drawings to represent event structure. These are based on Langacker's (cf. Langacker 2008) representations, but do not strictly follow any of his rules. Like Langacker's, these representations are a heuristic tool to visualise event structure and to aid the reader in understanding it (Langacker 2008: 10, passim). They are explained in Section 3.1. Another reason, which is in fact shared with various other frameworks, is that I consider language to symbolic in the sense that a certain formal structure is but one end of a form-meaning pairing. In other words, a certain sentence structure, including the lexical information contained within its parts, represents a certain semantic event structure. Further, this paper heavily relies on Hopper & Thompson (1980), which is a landmark functionalist, framework-free paper (see Section 2).

Some readers will also note that there is some degree of overlap between this section of this paper and Arka et al (2009), so it is helpful to point out where this paper differs from theirs.

To begin with, Arka et al (2009) also argue for polysemy, but focus on accounting for this by means of a predictive grammatical model that is based on the information contained within the verbal stem, whereas this paper goes into more detail about the cognitive processes underlying grammaticalisation of an applicative into a PAA. For instance, Arka et al also argue for the locative basis of the emergence of PAAs but only mention this in passing, while this paper goes into much more detail about the semantics of event structure underlying this. Furthermore, Arka et al work in the theoretical framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar, while this is essentially a framework-free paper based on cognitive-functional principles. Lastly, Arka et al focus on accounting for one instance of polysemy by means of a predictive grammatical model, whereas this paper aims at kindling interest in PAAs as a linguistic phenomenon by presenting cross-linguistic data and attempting to account for these by means of a case study. This paper has benefited from Arka et al insofar as it supports polysemy, argues for similar underlying principles and offers some of the Indonesian data used in this paper.

This paper is organised as follows: in Section 2 I provide a number of theoretical preliminaries of applied predicate structure that support my account, in Section 3 I propose an account based on data from Indonesian, and Section 4 is devoted to a discussion.

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[4] The appendix lists a number of languages in which PAAs are found.

[5] This does not mean, of course, that the paper is free of *theory*.

2. Locative applicatives and predicate structure

Most formal accounts (e.g. Marantz 1984, Baker 1988) see applicativisation as the incorporation of an adposition into the verb, and as such applicatives are usually construed as valence-increasing devices. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of work on applicatives so far has primarily focused on morphosyntactic argument properties such as relativisation, passivisation, word order and Object marking. Significantly less attention has been paid to the semantic and pragmatic effects of applicativisation, especially compared to a putative adpositional alternative, not to mention instances where the applicative does not increase valence (see Marten 2003: 1–5). In the remainder of this section, I discuss a number of semantic properties of locative applicatives that pave the way for PAAs, chief among which are (i) increased transitivity and (ii) a locative relation between Actor and Undergoer. These also serve as preliminairies for my account of Indonesian PAAs in Section 3.

Just as applicatives are typically construed as valence-increasing devices, so also is transitivity typically regarded as the licensing of an additional clausal argument. In most function-oriented approaches, however, transitivity is construed as both a formal and a semantic clausal property, and as scalar rather than absolute. Hopper & Thompson (1980), on which this section relies heavily, list a number of semantic traits of transitivity, only one of which is the addition of a clausal participant. The traits discussed below include a number of these, such as Object affectedness. These, then, may lead to interpretations of repetition and increased intensity of the action, as I argue is true for Indonesian in Section 3.

2.1 The applied Object is typically affected or dominated over

A typical property of transitive clauses is that the Object is somehow affected by the action (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252–3, 287). This is also a recurring property of locative applicatives (as well as a strong argument against applicatives being a morphological alternative to adpositional constructions); the Object is typically interpreted as being more affected (Helmbrecht 2008: 137). Consider example (4) from Kinyarwanda:

Kinyarwanda (Bantu; Rwanda; Kimenyi 1980: 92)

(4) **ábá-ana**   **b-iicayé-<u>ho</u>**   **ubu-riri**
     DEF.HUM.PL-child   HUM.PL.SBJ-sit-APPL.LOC   DEF.CL.14-table
     'The children are sitting on the table'

Here, the applied Object *ubiriri* 'table' could not be replaced by an entity like 'mountain', because the Object has to be dominated over (Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2001: 9–10).

Another telling example comes from Diyari. In sentence (5) the verb *wapa-* is intransitive and takes a Locative Oblique, whereas the applied form in (6) requires an Object. Thus, the joint action in (6) is reinterpreted as an action in which the Subject dominates over the Object.

Diyari (Pama-Nyungan; Australia; Austin 2005: 5)

(5) **karna   wapa-yi   wilha-nhi**
     man   go-PRS   woman-LOC
     'The man is going with the woman'

(6) **karna-li**   **wilha**   **wapa-<u>lka</u>-yi**
     man-ERG   woman   go-APPL-PRS
     'The man takes the woman'

Similarly, the Dutch locative applicative *be-* also implies affectedness of the applied Object:

(7) **in**   **het**   **bed**   **is**   **ge-slap-en**
     in   the   bed   is   PRTCPL₁-sleep-PRTCPL₁
     'The bed has been slept in' (normal situation)
(8) **het**   **bed**   **is**   **<u>be</u>-slap-en**
     the   bed   is   APPL-sleep- PRTCPL
     'The bed has been slept in' (bed is affected)

In (7), nothing more is implied than having slept in a bed, whereas in the applicative alternative in (8) uncleanliness or wear-and-tear is implied, perhaps as a consideration when buying second-hand.

   A similar principle holds for English prepositional passives: *This house was lived in by Winston Churchill* is fine, whereas ??*England was lived in by Winston Churchill* is not (Shibatani 1996: 164). It thus appears to be the case that there is a close connection between formal/distributional Object properties and semantics.

2.2 The action is typically kinetic

Another property that contributes to clause transitivity is that the action is transferred from one entity to another (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252, 264, 268). Locative applicatives are typically kinetic too, in the sense of a property or effect being transferred from one entity to another. This is true for the previous examples from Diyari, Dutch and Kinyarwanda, but it becomes all the more clear in cases where a static verb becomes dynamic in applicative form, as in (9)–(10) from Shipibo. Here the applied form of *-kow-* 'look' denotes kinetic action, caring for someone, rather than 'look at'.

Yanesha Shipibo (Panoan; Peru/Brazil; Duff-Tripp 1997: 100, cited in Valenzuela 2010)
(9) **w-kow-een-aan chesha-tyoll**
     3S-look-CONT-OBJ   child-DIM
     'S/he is looking at the small child'
(10) **w-kow-<u>amypy</u>-een-aan chesha-tyoll**
     3S-look-APPL-CONT-OBJ   child-DIM
     'S/he is caring for the small child'

It is also striking that in many cases of stative verbs the applicative denotes a transfer from Subject to Object. In this sense the applicative fulfils the role of causative (see Peterson 2007: 64–6; Austin 2005 on applicative/causative isomorphism). This is the case in (11) and (12) from Hualapai; *wàmiye* 'be mad' is a stative verb in (11), whereas it is transferred as a quality in (12) by means of a locative applicative.

Hualapai (Yuman–Cochimí; Arizona; Ichihashi-Nakayama 1996: 228–9)

(11) **nya-ch wàmiye:-yu**
      1S-SBJ   1.be.mad-AUX
      'I am mad'

(12) **bos   nya   nyi-háDa-ch   wà-nyi-miye:-<u>wo</u>-k-wi**
      cat   1S   REL-pet-SBJ   be.mad-3/1-be.mad-APPL-3-AUX
      'My cat makes me mad'

2.3 The action is often more volitional

Another common property of transitivity is volitional action (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252, 286–7). In many cases an applicative construction increases the volitionality of the action. Sentence (3) above, is a case in point; whereas (2) leaves open the question of volitionality and may have involved an accident, the most natural interpretation of (3) is as a volitional killing.

2.4 The Object is both a location and an Undergoer

I just described some of the Actor-Patient-like properties that result from applicativisation as a transitivising operation. There is another important notion, however; locative applied Objects, besides being Objects, are also the location at which the action takes place. As such, they are not just a Locative participant, but also an Object governed by an extended verb (Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2001: 9). The locative relation between Actor and Undergoer may have a different effect on the way the Undergoer is affected depending on the nature of the locative. For stative locatives (as opposed to, say, comitatives or ablatives) this often implies affectedness at the surface. An example is given in (13); the Javanese locative applicative *-i* renders *gentèng ómahku* 'the roof of my house' both a Location and an Undergoer.

Javanese (Austronesian; Indonesia; Hemmings 2013: 168)

(13) **pelem   nyeblòk-<u>i</u>   gentèng   ómah-ku**
      mango   AV.fall-APPL   roof   house-1S.POSS
      'A mango fell on the roof of my house'

Other examples include the Dutch locative applicative *be-* (also see above):

(14) **ik   smeer   verf   op   je**
      1SG   smear   paint   on   2SG
      'I smear paint on you' (perhaps as an accident)

(15) **ik   <u>be</u>-smeer   je   met   verf**
      1SG   APPL-smear   2SG   with   paint
      'I smear you with paint' (deliberately)

In (14), nothing more is implied than smearing paint on someone, which might be an accident. Sentence (15), however, implies that someone deliberately manipulates the addressee at his/her surface by covering them in paint.

To summarise, applicative constructions differ from non-applied constructions not only in terms of argument-introducing but also in terms of event structure. Applicative constructions are construed as transitive events because they are structurally identical to transitive sentences, which results in interpretations of kinetic, volitional action that affects the Undergoer. Moreover, locative applicatives add an additional interpretation in which the Object is not just an Undergoer but also the location at which the action takes place. This typically results in interpretations in which not the Undergoer itself is manipulated, but rather is affected as a spatially defined entity by another action. In the Dutch example for instance, the Object is not manipulated, but it is affected by means of my applying paint to its surface.

In other words, it is both the increased transitivity and the locative nature of the applicative that contribute to an event structure that is different from a non-applied construction. In the next section, I show how this may lead to interpretations of intensified and iterative action in Indonesian. More specifically, I argue that the increased affectedness of the Undergoer naturally leads to interpretations of intensified action, and that intensified action may lead to interpretations of repetitiveness in the case of punctual actions.

3. Case study: Indonesian locative applicatives

Having established a number of predicative properties that set locative applicatives apart from locative adpositions, I now exemplify how these might lead to the emergence of PAAs in Indonesian.

Indonesian has two applicative suffixes: *-kan*, which usually introduce benefactives to form ditransitive constructions and introduces instruments to form monotransitive constructions, and *-i*, which typically introduces recipients/goals to form ditransitive constructions, and locations to form monotransitive constructions (Shiohara 2012: 60f.; Arka et al 2009). I focus on the latter here.

Examples (16)–(17) show *-i* promoting a Locative Oblique *sawahnya* 'his rice field' to Direct Object, demoting *padi* 'rice' to Oblique.

(Sneddon 1996: 91, glosses mine)

(16) **dia**   **menanam**   **padi**   **di**   **sawah=nya**
3s   AV.plant   rice   at   ricefield=3s
'He planted rice in his field'

(17) **dia**   **menanam-i**   **sawah=nya**   **dengan padi**
3s   AV.plant-APPL   ricefield=3s   with   rice
'He planted his field with rice'

Besides licensing arguments, *-i* may function as a PAA, denoting increased intensity of the action and/or repetition. It may introduce an argument, as in (18)–(19), or leave valence intact, as in (20)–(21).

(Arka et al 2009: 88)

(18) **ia**   **melempar**   **batu**   **ke**   **saya**
      3s   AV.throw   stone   to   1s
      'S/he threw stones at me'

(19) **ia**   **melempar-i**   **saya**   **dengan**   **batu**
      3s   AV.throw-APPL   1S   with   stone
      'S/he pelted me with stones'

(Sneddon et al 2010: 98, glosses mine)

(20) **dia**   **mencium**   **pacar=nya**
      3s   AV.kiss   girlfriend=3s
      'He kissed his girlfriend'

(21) **dia**   **mencium-i**   **pacar=nya**
      3s   AV.kiss-APPL   girlfriend=3s
      'He kissed his girlfriend passionately/repeatedly/a number of times'

As a PAA, *-i* is often simply listed as a marker of intensity and/or repetition, without addressing the nature of this isomorphism (e.g. Sneddon 1996: 94–5; Sneddon et al 2010: 98–100).[6] Arka et al. (2009: 92) is an exception, and acknowledges in a brief passage that the augmentative function of *-i* is most likely grounded in its locative function.

In the remainder of this section I argue in favour of this notion; more specifically, I argue that PAA *-i* and applicative *-i* are not homonymous but notionally related. I also show how this notional relatedness rests upon cognitive principles that shape the perception of events.

3.1 Indonesian -i and its different senses

It is very likely that *-i* started out as an applicative licensing a locative argument; it hosts a locative argument by default, and newly grammaticalised applicatives usually retain most of their original adpositional semantics (Helmbrecht 2008: 141), in simply hosting an additional argument – in other words, a high degree of compositionality. However, as the previous section showed, the difference in transitivity and predicate structure would rarely, if ever, render a locative applicative synonymous with an adpositional locative construction. Furthermore, the many functions of *-i* are difficult to summarise. This was already apparent in the PAA/applicative isomorphism, but it is equally true for its causative/applicative isomorphism, its ability to occur on nouns, and its unpredictable meaning in general, to the extent that it has been claimed to be 'precategorial', and only derives its meaning from the construction it occurs in (Verhaar 1984: 28). Here I claim that the PAA-function, as well as all applicative senses of *-i* can be explained by a general notion of 'applying a predicate (action, property, relationship) to a locative Undergoer'.

I first discuss a number of different senses of *-i* and propose representations for their respective event structures. These are read as follows: human figures represent human participants, arrows represent transitive actions and causations, wavy lines represent intransitive

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[6] These sources imply polysemy, as PAA *-i* is listed in the same section as applicative *-i*. A connection between these is not discussed.

action, boxes represent States and Properties, rhombuses represent Undergoers and other Oblique participants, circles represent Locations. Obligatory elements such as arguments are in solid black lines, Oblique participants are in dark grey dotted lines.

I conclude the section with a proposal of how this leads to the emergence of PAAs.

3.2 Sense 1: performing an action onto a spatially defined patient

When *-i* is attached to a transitive verb, the construction is interpreted as performing an action onto a spatially defined patient. It is usually, though not always, valence-rearranging in promoting the original location to core, and demoting the original Object to Oblique. This construction comes close to the applicative construction as a morphological alternative to a locative adpositional construction, but puts emphasis on the affectedness of the location. Examples (22)–(23) exemplify this type of construction.

(Sneddon 1996: 91, glosses mine)

(22) **dia**   **menanam**   **padi**   **di**   **sawah=nya.**
      3S   AV.plant   rice   at   ricefield=3S
      'He planted rice in his field'

(23) **dia**   **menanam-i̱**   **sawah=nya**   **dengan** **padi.**
      3S   AV.plant-APPL   ricefield=3S   with   rice
      'He planted his field with rice'

The event structure of (22), for example, can be represented as follows: a third person singular Actor performs a transitive action on an affected Undergoer 'rice', an action which takes place in an Oblique Location 'his field'.
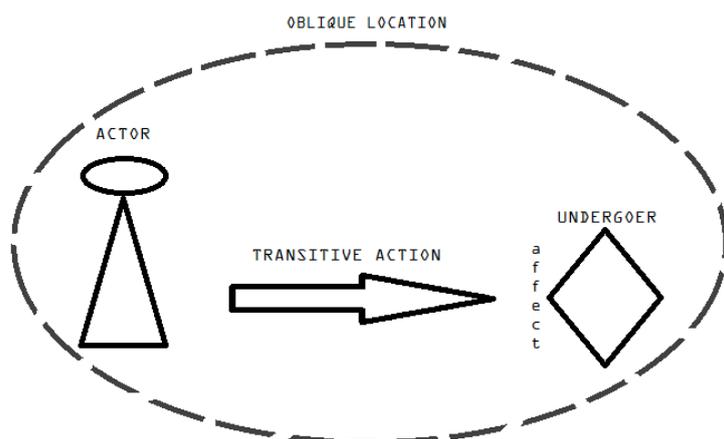

Figure (1): 'he (Actor) planted (Action) rice (Undergoer) in his field (Location)'

Sentence (23), on the other hand, has a rather different focus, as shown in the following representation. Here the Location and Undergoer refer to the same entity 'his field'. Accordingly, it is the field that is deemed affected by the action, not the Oblique 'rice'.
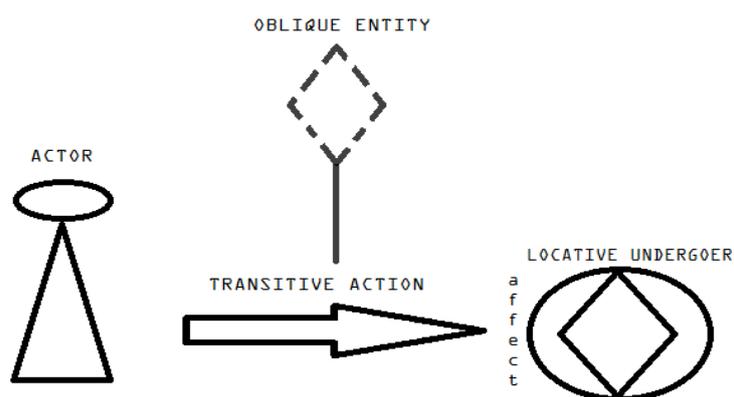
Figure (2): 'he (Actor) planted (Action) his field (Undergoer) with rice (Oblique)'

It is important to stress the locational aspect of this construction; in being both a Locative participant and an Undergoer, the grammatical Object is interpreted as being affected at its surface, or within its spatial boundaries. Other examples of this type of construction include *cium* 'kiss' *cium-i* 'cover in kisses', *menulis* 'write' *menulis-i* 'apply writing to, cover in writing' and *memukul* 'hit' *memukul-i* 'pelt' (Steinhauer 2001: 266; Sneddon et al 2010: 95–6). These have the same structure: *menulis* 'write', for instance, is interpreted as taking as an Object the thing written, which is done on a surface represented by an Oblique phrase. *Menulis-i*, on the other hand, is interpreted as writing performed onto a surface that is affected by the writing, the thing written being represented by an Oblique phrase (see Simango 2012: 145 for a similar analysis in Chichewa).

3.3 Sense 2: including a patient who is affected by the action

When *-i* is attached to an intransitive dynamic verb, the construction is interpreted as including a Locative Patient who is affected by the action. This is much like the first sense, except the locative Object is affected by an intransitive action and the applicative is valence-increasing in promoting a Locative Oblique to Object. An example is given in (24)–(25).

(Arka et al 2009: 88)

(24)	**ia**	**duduk**	**di**	**kursi**	**itu**
	3s	sit	LOC	chair	that

'S/he sat on the chair'

(25)	**ia**	**menduduk-i**	**kursi**	**itu**
	3s	AV.sit-APPL	chair	that

'S/he sat on the chair', read as: 'S/he "be-sat" the chair/occupied its surface)'

The event structure of (24) can be represented as follows. A third person singular Actor is interpreted as performing an Intransitive Action 'sit' in an Oblique Location 'chair'. The chair is not interpreted as affected, it is only the location at which the action takes place.
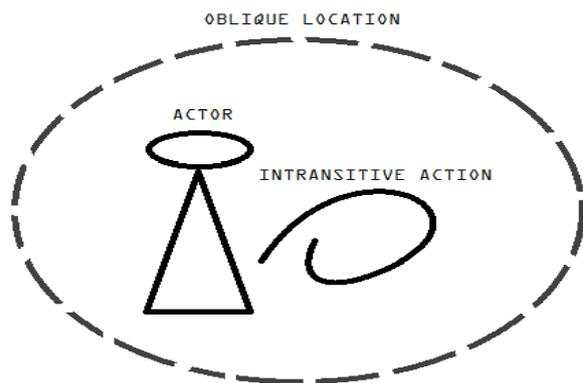
Figure (3): 'she (Actor) sits (Action) on the chair (Location)'

Sentence (25) can be represented in the same way as in Figure (2) above, except no Oblique is present:
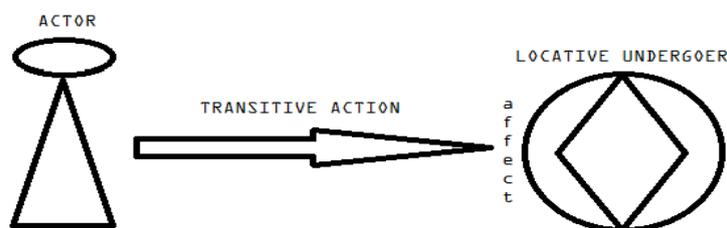
Figure (4): 'she (Actor) "be-sat"/occupied (Action) the chair (Undergoer)'

Other examples include *naik* 'rise, ascend, take as means of transport' *menaik-i* 'mount, climb', *tidur* 'sleep' *menidur-i* 'sleep on, occupy a surface sleeping' (Steinhauer 2001: 265).

3.4 Sense 3: establishing a property in a patient

Applicative *-i* can be attached to an intransitive static verb. If the Object of the applied verb would normally be the Subject in a non-applied (i.e. adpositional) construction, the Subject of the applied construction is interpreted as establishing a property (the semantic content of the static verb) in the applied Object. An example of an intransitive sentence is given in (26).

(Dionisius Sundoro, p.c.)
(26)   **handuk itu   basah**
         towel   DET   be.wet
         'The towel is wet'

The event structure of non-applied (26) can be represented as follows: a certain Subject EN-TITY 'towel' is interpreted as having a certain property, either inherently or acquired.
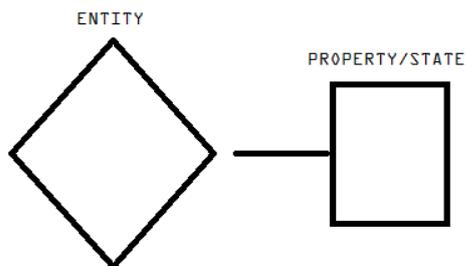
Figure (5): 'the towel (Entity) is wet (Property/State)'

In applied form, however, there is a new Subject which is interpreted as establishing this property in what was the Subject, as shown in (27).

(Dionisius Sundoro, p.c.)

(27)   **saya   membasah-i̱**   **handuk itu**
        1S   AV.be.wet-APPL   towel   DET
        'I moisten the towel/apply water to the towel'

The event structure of (27) can be represented as follows: an Undergoer 'towel' is interpreted as acquiring a State 'wet' through a first person singular Actor. This State is then interpreted as a transitive action performed onto an Undergoer.
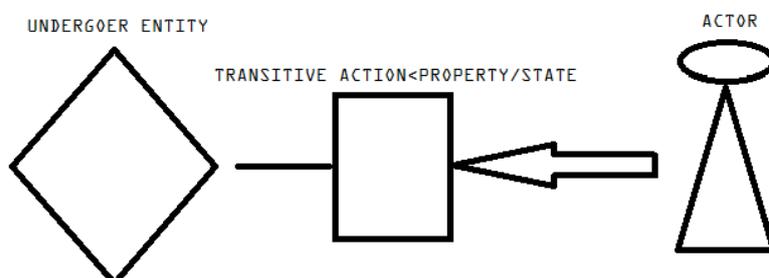
Figure (6): 'I (Actor) moisten (transitive action) the towel (Undergoer)'[7]

Two other examples are given in (28) and (29). Other examples include, *panas* 'be warm' *memanas-i* 'heat', *dekat* 'close' *mendekat-i* 'approach' (Sneddon et al 2010: 91).

(Steinhauer 2001: 265)

(28)   **menghidup-i̱   kuliah**
        AV.live-APPL   lecture
        'enliven the lecture'

(29)   **menghidup-i̱   keluarga**
        AV.live-APPL   family
        'sustain a family'

---

[7] Note that the placement of the Actor and the Undergoer in the picture are reversed here, because the predicate in an intransitive sentence (see Example 22) applies to the argument that becomes the Undergoer in an applicativised sentence. This is of course not strictly necessary for the event structure.

In these examples the same event structure applies. Sentence (28) and (29), for instance, while more abstract, also involve establishing a property in some entity, in this case providing life. It is important to note that these constructions are interpreted as done on purpose (Dionisius Sundoro, p.c.); an action like *membasahi* 'moisten' cannot be used in case of spilling water. This ties in well with the locative-applicative sense in which spatially defined entities are manipulated by a dominant Actor.

It is also worth stressing that, although the action may cause a change of state, the action is not interpreted as a total manipulation of the Undergoer itself. Rather, it involves affecting the Undergoer by establishing a property in it. The establishment of this property (e.g. wetness, liveliness) is not performed by manipulating the Undergoer itself, but by another action performed within the spatial boundaries of the Undergoer. *Memanas-i* 'to heat' (<*panas* 'be hot'), for example, is interpreted as applying heat to an Undergoer. This can be done by means of a lighter or burner, but it would not involve moving the Undergoer to a heat source such as a stove. In other words, the Undergoer itself is neither moved nor manipulated, but it is affected by the action of applying heat. Similarly, in *mendekat-i* 'approach' (<*dekat* 'close') the Actor is not interpreted as bringing the Undergoer closer, but rather as 'applying closeness' by approaching the Undergoer him/herself (see Tjokronegoro 1968: 18). Here again the Undergoer undergoes a change of state by means of another action. In a similar fashion, *menghidup-i* (<*hidup* 'live, life') involves providing liveliness to something, it would definitely not involve reanimating someone (Dionisius Sundoro, p.c.).

3.5 Sense 4: manifesting a relation towards a patient

When *-i* is attached to an intransitive stative verb of which the Subject would also be the Subject in an adpositional construction (cf. Sense 3), this Subject is interpreted as manifesting a relation (the stative predicate) toward the Object. This is different from Sense 3 in that no Property or State is transferred between participants, but rather one participant affects another by means of an established relation. Examples are given in (30)–(31).

(Steinhauer 2001: 263)

(30)   **Markus**   **marah**   **pada**   **Mari**
        markus   be.angry   at/on   mari
        'Markus is angry with Mari' (Mari need not know this)

(31)   **Markus**   **memarah-i̱**   **Mari**
        markus   AV.be.angry-APPL   mari
        'Markus is angry with /manifests his anger toward Mari' (Mari knows/is affected)

The event structure of (30) can be represented as follows: an Experiencer 'Markus' can be linked to a certain State 'angry', the cause of which is an Oblique Stimulus 'Mari'.
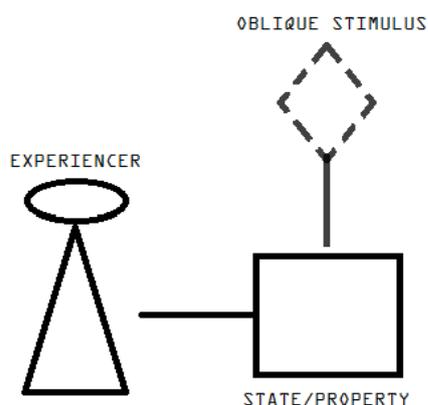
Figure (7): 'Markus (Experiencer) is angry (Property/State) with Mari (Oblique Stimulus)

Sentence (31), on the other hand, is represented as follows: the former Experiencer Markus is now an Actor, by virtue of turning a State 'angry' into a transitive action. Note that this does not mean that this property is transferred to the Undergoer as in Sense 3, but is best interpreted as the application of a relation to another entity, thereby affecting this entity.
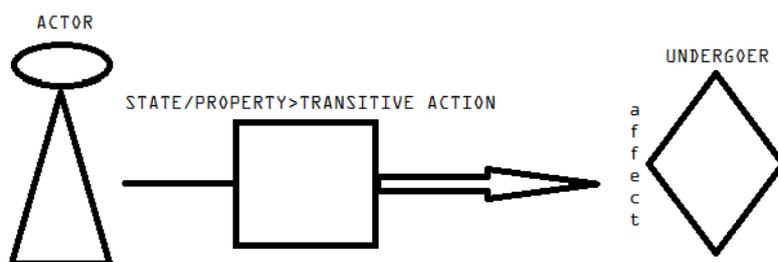
Figure (8): 'Markus (Actor) manifests his anger [toward] (transitive action) Mari (Undergoer)'

Other examples include *akrab* 'intimate' *mengakrab-i* 'seek rapprochement, make advances,' *cinta* 'like, love' *mencinta-i* 'express/manifest love for' (Steinhauer 2001: 263).

3.6 From locative applicative to PAA

These four senses have in common the following: they all apply a predicate to a spatially defined entity in a transitive event, thereby affecting this entity.[8] This predicate is either an action, a relation, or a property, depending on the predicate as it is established in a non-applied construction.

For Sense 1, this means applying an already transitive action to another Undergoer. For instance, the predicate in a non-applied construction is 'PLANT RICE', an action, by which the Locative Undergoer in an applied construction is affected:

---

[8] 'Spatial' is best construed as a broad, basic meaning; many examples show spatial metaphor in more abstract relations (e.g. Lakoff 1987).

Non-applied predicate:
PLANT RICE [IN <u>FIELD</u>]
        Predicate type:
     → ACTION: 'PLANTING RICE'
           Applied construction:
         → AFFECT <u>FIELD</u> BY APPLYING ACTION 'PLANTING RICE'

For Sense 2, this means applying an intransitive action to an introduced Undergoer. For instance, the predicate in a non-applied construction is 'SIT', by which the Locative Undergoer in an applied construction is affected:

Non-applied predicate:
SIT [ON <u>CHAIR</u>]
        Predicate type:
     → ACTION: 'SIT'
           Applied construction:
         → AFFECT <u>CHAIR</u> BY APPLYING ACTION 'SIT'

For Sense 3 and 4, things are slightly more difficult; in Sense 3, the applied Object is the Subject in a non-applied construction and acquires a property from the Subject in an applied construction, whereas in Sense 4 both constructions have the same Subject, the difference being that in an applied construction the Subject manifests its own properties as a relation with the Object. However, the difference between typical Sense 3-predicates and Sense 4-predicates is essentially predictable: Sense 4-predicates are usually inherently relational while Sense 3-predicates are not; words like *jauh (dari)* 'far (from)' *akrab (dengan)* 'be intimate (with)' and *cinta (pada)* 'love' usually denote relations between two entities, whereas words like *kotor* 'be dirty', *panas* 'be warm' and *hidup* 'be alive' are static properties of only one entity. Furthermore, Sense 4-predicates usually occur with a preposition and a complement (as in English *in love with you*), and when they do not, they are typically in an elliptic construction.

    For Sense 3, then, this means applying a property to an introduced Undergoer. For instance, the predicate in a non-applied construction is 'BE WET', a property, by which the Locative Undergoer in an applied construction is affected as the Actor applies this property:

Non-applied predicate:
BE WET
        Predicate type:
     →PROPERTY: 'WET'
           Applied construction:
         → AFFECT <u>TOWEL</u> BY APPLYING PROPERTY 'WET'

For Sense 4, this means applying a relation to an existing Undergoer. For instance, the predicate in a non-applied construction is 'BE MAD AT X', a relation between two entities, by which the Locative Undergoer in an applied construction is affected as the Actor applies (or manifests) this property:

Non-applied predicate:
BE MAD AT <u>X</u>

       Predicate type:
    → RELATION: 'Y=MAD AT <u>X</u>'
           Applied construction:
           → AFFECT <u>X</u> BY APPLYING RELATION 'Y=MAD AT X'

The application of any type of predicate, be it an action, property or relation, can then be illustrated as follows:
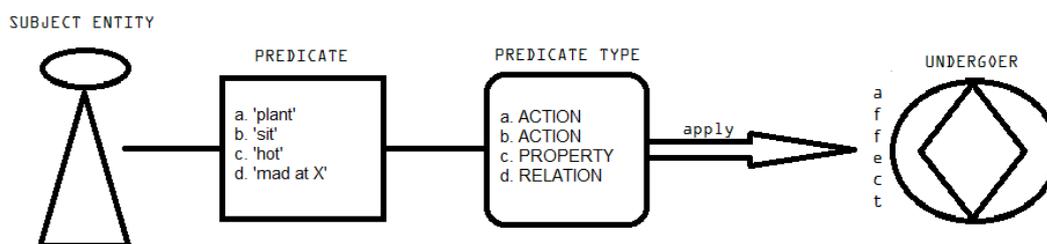

Figure (9): application of predicates to Locative Undergoers

We have now established the following: (i) applicatives are high in transitivity in that the Locative Undergoer is typically affected, usually by a dominating Actor, (ii) the Object is both an Undergoer and a Location, and is prototypically affected at its surface, not by being physically manipulated but by means of an action, transfer of a property or manifestation of a relationship. This is essentially dictated by the transitive event structure, and from here on, the step towards an interpretation of repetition and/or increased intensity is quite small, but dependent on the type of action.

    Let us consider increased intensity: to plant something, for example, is inherently affecting another entity, such as the thing planted or the space planted in. To be angry with someone, however, does not necessarily affect this person. However, since the event structure of locative applicatives dictates a certain event structure in which the Object is affected, this implies that the anger is manifested in a certain way. Since anger is not necessarily overtly manifested, this manifestation itself is easily interpreted as added anger. With certain verbs, the only way to establish an Actor-Undergoer relationship in which the Undergoer is affected, is increasing the intensity of the action. The same is true for the examples in (28); for the verb *melihat* 'see', for instance, which is inherently non-affecting, in a sentence structure that dictates a more transitive relation, a natural interpretation is intensification of the action. In other words, to dominate an affected Undergoer by means of seeing is fast interpreted as to *scrutinise* or to *inspect*. Similarly, to *ask* someone something when the structure dictates domination over an affected Undergoer is naturally interpreted as *interrogating* someone. Reinterpretation of the applicative as a marker of intensified action is thus very much a by-product of the transitive sentence structure.

(Sneddon et al 2010: 99-100)
(32)   **memandang-i** 'stare at, observe'   < **memandang** 'look at'
         melihat-i 'scrutinise'   < **melihat** 'see'
         menanya-i 'interrogate'   < **menanya** 'ask'

Many locative-applied verbs are also interpreted as iterative. The key to this, in my view, is punctuality; punctual events, to affect a Locative Undergoer in a transitive action, may require repeated action. The difference in translation between two authors in the example below illustrates this nicely; to affect a Locative Undergoer by kissing can be construed as manipulation at the surface (Steinhauer), but requires iterative action almost by definition (Sneddon and Steinhauer).

(33)   **cium** 'kiss'
         cium-i 'cover in kisses' (Steinhauer 2001: 266), 'kiss repeatedly' (ibid; Sneddon 1996: 205)

The same goes for other examples; in example (19) we saw the verb *menanam-i* 'to plant-APPL' < *menanam* 'to plant'. To plant a single crop (the unapplied form) is a punctual action, whereas to affect a field by planting crops in it (the applied form) requires repetitive action, as only the planting of many crops affects a field. The inherent repetitiveness of these punctual applied verbs is also reflected in another difference in translation; Whereas Arka et al ascribe atelic aspect to the applied verb *memukul-i* 'to hit-APPL', Steinhauer emphasises the increased intensity of the action. Of course, increased affectedness of an Undergoer by means of punching is naturally interpreted as prolonged action, and a punctual verb like 'punch' becomes both iterative and atelic as a result.

(Arka et al 2009: 88)
(34)   **ia**   **memukul**   **saya**
         3s   AV.hit   1s
         'S/he hit me'
(35)   **ia**   **memukul-i**   **saya**
         3s   AV.hit-APPL   1s
         'S/he was hitting me'

(Steinhauer 2001: 266)
(37)   **memukuli-i**   'to pelt with punches'

To summarise, the transitive structure of applicative constructions dictates an event structure in which a dominant Actor affects a (typically) Locative Undergoer. In cases where the event is not usually affecting an Undergoer, the action is reinterpreted as intensified. This intensification, in turn, may be reinterpreted as iterative action in the case of punctual events.

4. Conclusion

I have just provided an account of Indonesian locative applicatives based on event structure, and how this might give rise to the emergence of PAAs, which in the case of Indonesian express repetition and/or increased intensity. However, there are a few remaining questions.

One of these is why applicatives at some point fail to introduce additional arguments. To my knowledge this has not been addressed in the literature, although an explanation for 'in-

transitive adpositions' has been given by Hagège (2010: 55f.); with adpositions, the complement may be implied by the context in certain situations (e.g. the rather colloquial *Are you coming with?* but not **Are you cutting the meat with?*). For applicatives this is an unlikely explanation, since none of the examples given above hint at a Locative Undergoer being implied by context. Rather, it is most likely reinterpretation of the applicative affix as a marker of some kind of predicate augmentation, after which it is not necessarily associated with the introduction of additional participants any longer. It is also important to note that applied verbs tend to lexicalise (Helmbrecht 2008). As such, they become interpreted as holistic units, or lexemes, rather than analytic compositions of signs. This entails that they become obligatory, acquire an opaquer structure, and move towards a more abstract meaning (Lehmann 2002: 1, 15), all of which points toward a drift away from a composition of verb + adposition.

Another point is that iterative and other atelic actions are in fact lower in transitivity than telic actions. This is generally true, but this is usually mainly because punctual events generally "have a more marked effect on their patients than actions that are inherently on-going" and telic events "are more effectively transferred" (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252), both of which point to a reduced effect of on-going actions. In the case of the iterative verbs I described, however, it is exactly the affectedness that is emphasised in most cases. Furthermore, I take it to be true that the overall degree of transitivity naturally leads to iterative interpretations, but that iterative action is not necessarily a high-transitivity factor itself. In other words, low-transitivity factors may be a by-product of a high-transitivity reading of events. This also seems to be the case in Javanese; the Javanese applicative *-i* (which has acquired similar functions to Indonesian *-i*) may also denote Object plurality. Since non-individuated (such as non-singular or indefinite) Objects usually point to lower transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252), here too a high-transitivity factor may have led to a low-transitivity factor elsewhere.

Javanese (Austronesian; Indonesia; Hemmings 2013: 171)
(37)   **kucing mangan   iwak**
        cat   AV.eat   fish
        'The cat eats the fish'
(38)   **kucing mangan-i̱   iwak**
        cat   AV.eat-APPL   fish
        'The cat eats lots of fish'

Lastly, it should be borne in mind that although I consider the above explanation likely, it is not able to account for all languages by any means. If anything, the altered event structure may prove to be a recurring cause of predicate augmentation cross-linguistically, but the nature of PAAs differs too wildly between languages to be explained by a single set of principles. In the Appendix a list of languages with PAAs is provided to enable further research, but I would like to briefly illustrate the diversity among them.

In many Bantu languages, PAAs may indicate that the action is done in a special way, or denote habituality (Marten 2003). In many Alor-Pantar languages, applicatives may denote either increased or decreased intensity (e.g. Kratochvíl 2014: 402 for Sawila, Steinhauer 2014: 168 for Blagar), and in Warrwa an applicative may denote projection into the future (McGregor 1998).

There is at least one language, for which exactly the same principles seem to fit the data. In Changana, increased intensity of a punctual action and a Locative Undergoer may also lead to iterative interpretations. An example is provided in (39)-(41); in Changana, there is a verbal extension *-et* denoting action by contact (dubbed the 'contactive' by Langa 2007: 10), where it is implied that the Object is touched. Together with the applicative *-el* this then acquires an iterative meaning:

Changana (Niger-Congo; South-Africa; Langa 2007: 11)

(39) **mamani** **anyika** **pawa** **n'wana**
CL1.mother CL1.PRS-give CL5.bread CL1.child
'The mother gives the bread to the child'

(40) **mamani** **anyik-et-a** **pawa** **n'wana**
CL1.mother CL1.PRS-CNTCT-give CL5.bread CL1.child
'The mother gives the bread to the child' (implying physical contact)

(41) **mamani** **anyik-et-el-a** **pawa** **n'wana**
CL1.mother CL1.PRS-CNTCT-APPL-give CL5.bread CL1.child
'The mother gives the bread to the child, many times'

More data are needed to fully account for the connection between applicatives and predicate augmentation in any language, but with this paper I hope to have kindled interest in this phenomenon.

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Appendix: A list of languages with PAAs

The following list contains a number of languages that have PAAs, together with an approximation of the type of PAA and a source. Not only is it by no means exhaustive, it is also heavily biased; finding PAAs is to some degree a matter of chance, and many languages listed below are among those I happen to be interested in.

Language	PAA type	Source
Africa		
Swahili	habitual, non–standard action	Marten 2003: 215–7
Bemba	intensifying	Marten 2003: 218
Luganda	intensifying, iterative	Ashton et al. 1954: 332
Pogoro	intensifying	Hendle 1907: 42
Zande	intensifying	Boyd 2010: 346
Ubangi	iterative	Boyd 2010: 346
Chichewa	intensifying	Anonymous 1969: 78–80
Changana	intensifying, iterative	Langa 2007: 4, 10–1

South America
Yanesha Shipibo intensifying, increased effect   Duff–Tripp 1997: 99–100

Asia

Sawila	intensifying, attenuating	Kratochvíl 2014: 399–402
Kamang	intensifying, iterative	Schapper 2014: 330–1
Klon	intensifying	Baird 2008: 206f.
Blagar	attenuating	Steinhauer 2014: 168
Indonesian	intensifying, iterative	e.g. Sneddon et al 2010: 89f.
Javanese	intensifying, iterative	Hemmings 2013; passim
Totoli	iterative, habitual	Himmelmann & Riesberg 2013: 402

Australia
Warrwa   projection into the future   McGregor 1998; passim[9]

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[9] According to McGregor (p.c.) other Nyulnyulan languages also have PAAs.

A Genre-based Study of Arabic Academic Book Reviews across Soft Disciplines: Rhetorical Structure and Potential Variations[*]

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Abstract: Given that little research has examined Arabic book reviews (BRs), this study aims to investigate the generic rhetorical structure, potential variations and preferred verb tense as used in Arabic BRs across soft disciplines. To this end, the non-reactive fully naturalistic approach was used to collect data from a corpus of 30 Arabic BRs published in 10 journals during the period from 1997 to 2015. Data were analyzed qualitatively. Results showed that Arabic BRs are principally informative and descriptive. Arab reviewers tend to have recourse to a generic versatile organization of six major structural moves (SMs): four are descriptive and informative, and two are evaluative. Despite consistency, preliminary SM-variations appeared in two forms: SM-fusion and SM-rise shifting, driven by a trade-off between compliance with institutional norms and personal expressivity. Results showed that present tense was the preferred verb tense. Arabic BRs displayed sharing some of the defining content and formal schemata of English and Spanish BRs while maintaining typical characteristics that could give Arabic BRs a genre status and a representing shape with its own socio-cultural specifics. Overall differences could be ascribed to soft discipline-preferred practices, discourse community expectations and editorial requirements. This study provides implications for book reviewing, language for academic purposes and discourse analysis.

Keywords: Genre, rhetorical structure, move analysis, book review, the authored

1. Introduction

Book-reviewing can be viewed as a process whereby field-authorities assess the validity and significance of a particular scholar's contribution (Hyland, 2000). It is criticism in the sense that it evaluates knowledge production (Motta-Roth, 1995). In-depth book review (BR hereafter) is considered a form of literary criticism as it evaluates, analyzes, describes, or interprets literary works (Pacific Lutheran University, findit.library.plu.edu). Merriam Webster defines a BR as a descriptive and critical or evaluative account of a book. Definitions inform us that BRs can play different roles in academic and marketing. For academia, they provide a platform for reviewers to communicate their views, help academics select

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[*] Previously unpublished. Peer-reviewed before publication. [Editor's note]

books to read, and provide valuable information about how new books may contribute to the development of a given field and its practitioners (De Carvalho, 2001; Junqueira & Cortes, 2014; Suárez & Moreno, 2008). Concerning marketing, even for the best-selling books, publishing houses increasingly depend on BRs to sell their books, and help customers select books to purchase by highlighting areas of interest

In view of that, BRs have a dual purpose: ideational and interpersonal (Hyland, 2000). They are ideational for they provide an overview of the book content and they raise particular problematic issues for the field of study. Yet, this ideational part is done in a way that handles the complex interpersonal relationships involved in disseminating information and views. BRs are therefore of interpersonal. A BR mainly *describes* a book's purpose, structure and style, *highlights* key parts of the authored (the reviewed book) and attempts to *evaluate* and place it in a larger context of its field. It is thus a discursive genre characterized by being informative, descriptive and evaluative (De Carvalho, 2001; Hyland, 2000). To perform their function, BRs are expected to follow acceptable conventions that may use a large number of lexical features, syntactic features, cohesive devices and above all the *structural moves* (SMs hereafter).

Although the study of genres has received an increasing interest since 1990s (Swales, 1990), the academic BR sub-genre of academic discourse is still considered unsung (Hyland, 2000). To date, BRs in Arabic, for example, have not received as much interest and research as other genres have although the BR sub-genre is as old as the academic community itself. Slightly different from the case of Arabic, few studies (vis., Hyland's, 2000; Motta-Roth, 1995) have been instrumental to recognize BRs in English as being shaped according to a rhetorical structure that gives it genre status. This has led to the present study in the hope of contributing to shaping and defining the layout of Arabic BR character.

Following the genre analysis tradition, this study seeks to explore Arabic BRs' rhetorical structure. In light of the rarity of studies that investigate BRs in Arabic, this study is also expected to help pave the way towards a unified framework so that Arab reviewers can produce inherent academic reviews in compliance with the internationally recognized norms. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this study is *pioneering* in its objective. It is believed to be the first genre-analytical study of Arabic BRs across soft disciplines (i.e. neither engineering nor science), namely: pedagogy, sociology, economy, literature and culture, law, and politics (politics, defense and international relations). It seeks to provide answers to the following three focus research questions:

a.   What is the generic rhetorical structure of Arabic academic book reviews across soft-disciplines?
b.   What are the potential Arabic BR-rhetorical structure variations?
c.   What is the preferred verb tense used in the Arabic book reviews?

2. Literature review

This section relates the present study to its wider context, which would serve as a pedestal upon which the remaining part of the study will be built. It displays some related studies, defines the concept of genre, discourse and rhetorical structure. This will help build up a clear picture of focus questions under investigation.

2.1 BR genre and discourse analysis

Considering BRs a vehicle for publication and visibility, they can help potential readers in judging what is valuable to be read, and thus keep them updated in a given field (Carvalho, 2002). This entails that reviewers need be aware that academics are selective about the information they read, and often resort to BRs to determine what books to refer to. This draws attention to the role played by BRs in determining what should be conveyed and how, in order for reviewers to satisfy the academics' wants.

Genre refers to the structured communicative events that are motivated by various communicative purposes, and performed by specific discourse communities (Bhatia, 2004; Flowerdew & Wan, 2010; Swales, 2004). Bazerman (2004) views genre as a process that organizes people around their ways of social interactions. For the purpose of this study, *BR genre is viewed as a structured form of written social interaction that organizes reviewers' communication with a particular academic community*. Having a BR genre structure would steer reviewers to such facets as what information should be disseminated (content schemata) and how (formal schemata) (Suárez & Moreno, 2008).

Having a reference BR-layout is likely to guide reviewers. This structure is usually explored by conducting a genre analysis. As a film review and any other type of reviews, BRs constitute a sub-genre that, when samples thereof are analyzed, can be looked at for similarities and differences in terms of purpose, structure and language. So far, BR genre analysis has been approached by either the identification of lexico-grammatical features approach (cf. Lindermann & Mauranen, 2001; Thompson, 2001) or the identification of genre-rhetorical structure approach (c.f. Motta-Roth, 1995). This study approaches Arabic BRs by identifying the rhetorical structures, and highlighting some grammatical features (tense of verbs used in rhetorical structures). In other words, this study is distinctive in using the two genre approaches.

In view of the aforementioned, reviewers are expected to act as members of a community that has special norms, practices and requirements. Deficiency in or disorientation to certain norms of engagement within the community to which the established participants (the author, the readers, the reviewers, institutions) belong may derail reviewers and restrain them from meeting expectations. In other words, ignorance of how a communicative event is structured would hinder achieving BR's ideational and interpersonal purposes. In this sense, BRs might be considered a *threatening sub-genre*. It may threaten concerned people, chiefly the author of the reviewed book once the authored is disqualified or harshly criticized.

When violating the genre-set norms, the threat to the genre community and its established participants mounts, which entails social consequences and initiates friction. Therefore, following any officially institutionalized conventions would minimize threat and friction, and maximize reviewer's harmony, respect to and solidarity with others. With these reasons in mind, the present study is hoped to present the macro (social) and micro (textual) structure of Arab BR-genre conventions that are likely to balance relationships in a BR-communicative event.

Yule (1996) defines discourse as the study of language in use in connection with the psychological and social factors that have influence on communication. Viewing discourse, McCarthy (1991) refers to how a text that is structured beyond the sentence level, and how

its discourse rules and realizations in a language differ from culture to another. Crystal (1991) states that "discourse is a continuous stretch of language larger than a sentence, often constituting a coherent unit such as a sermon, argument, joke or narrative" (p. 25).

Definitions of discourse suggest various areas of interest for analysts, including social factors, rhetorical structure-conventions and context, etc. For the purpose of this study, the researcher views written discourse as *a text structured in a unified way that considers factors of influence on purposive communication such as the social, interpersonal and language specific factors, and how such factors may differ from one language, culture, or community to another.* This perspective may facilitate identifying cross linguistic, cross cultural and discourse community commonalities and variations when comparing Arabic BRs with BRs in other languages.

2.2 Structural moves (SMs)

An SM refers to *the schematic unit that refers to a defined and bounded communicative act designed to achieve a main communicative objective* (Swales & Feak, 2003: 35). According to Swales (2004), a move is a "discoursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function in a written or spoken discourse" (pp. 228–9). Hyland's (2000) study on published BRs across eight soft and hard disciplines (mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, physics, biology, sociology, marketing, philosophy, applied linguistics) has shown that length of a BR in soft disciplines amounted up to 1700 words (particularly in philosophy), while length of BRs in hard disciplines, particularly in the electrical engineering amounted to 400 words.

Regardless of their length, rhetorical structures can yet be identified, and thus make rhetorical structure-analysis an integral part of genre studies. Rhetorical structures are semantic and functional units of any discourse for they illuminate their communicative purposes and linguistic boundaries (Ding, 2007). Being the genre building block that performs a communicative purpose, rhetorical structure once explored in a language (such as Arabic), is likely to unveil the genre-overall organization and its inherent linguistic features in a way that connects the organization of the discourse and its communicative purpose with the linguistic features of a social context (Henry & Roseberry, 1997).

For successful communicative events, it is believed that it is expert reviewers and readers who recognize patterns of the genre. This is achieved by referring to their previous knowledge about: first, the communicative purpose of a BR which represents the rationale that constrains the rhetoric of the genre, second, what is expected to be in a BR (content schemata), and third, the generic BR textual features (formal schemata). Therefore, exploring the rhetorical structure of Arabic BRs would show the patterns of Arabic BR-sub genre in various social contexts.

2.3 Previous studies

Despite the significant contribution of BRs to the world of academia, it was not until two decades ago studies on BR genre have come to the fore with different focus areas. Some

researchers have focused on appraisal and evaluation functions based on attitude-judgment and engagement resources, semantic units and lexical realizations thereof (e.g., Hyland, 2000; Wang & An, 2013). Others, instead, have focused on SMs and sub-moves (e.g., Araújo, 1996; Carvalho, 2001; Motta-Roth, 1995; Suárez & Moreno, 2008).

Adopting Swales' (1990) perspective, Araújo (1996), for example, studied BRs in the discipline of linguistics. Results showed that BRs have a typical and consistent pattern of information and organization achieved by different rhetorical moves. Araújo concluded that examples of the genre vary in response to the expectations of the disciplinary community.

In his study of social interactions in academic writing, Hyland (2000) designed a metadiscourse framework to investigate metadiscourse in academic genres. Hyland's framework consisted of two models: (1) textual metadiscourse which included logical connectives, frame markers, endophoric markers, evidentials and code glosses that were used to "organize propositional information in ways that a perceived audience is likely to find coherent and convincing" (p. 88–93), and (2) interpersonal metadiscourse which was used to allow "writers to express a perspective towards their propositions and their readers" (p. 112).

Hyland's (2000: 113) interpersonal metadiscourse model-categories enacted the following communicative functional options in discourse: Attitude makers, hedges, emphatics/boosters, interpersonal markers and relational markers. Results showed how metadiscourse use can be seen as pragmatic strategies through which reviewers shape their social purposes to the formal constraints of the genre and the preferred practices of their disciplines.

Studying text and disciplinary cultures analytically, Motta-Roth (1995) carried out a discourse analysis of academic book reviews based on a corpus of 180 BRs written in English across three disciplines: chemistry, economics and linguistics. This investigation contributed to defining the academic written genres. Motta-Roth concluded that although BRs followed definite rules in disseminating information, function and context, some variations came to the surface. Variations were made by reviewers intentionally to account for epistemological reasons that are pertinent to each of the three disciplines.

Motta-Roth's pioneering study revealed a schematic description of the structural organization of academic BR-rhetorical structure, comprising the following four rhetorical moves along with their 10 steps/sub moves:

a. Introducing the book: it includes defining the general topic of the book, informing about potential readership, informing about the author, making topic generalizations, and/or inserting book in the field.

b. Outlining the book: providing general view of the organization of the book, stating the topic of each chapter, and/or citing extra material.

c. Highlighting parts of the book: providing focused evaluation.

d. Providing closing evaluation of the book: definitely recommending/ disqualifying the book or, recommending the book despite indicated shortcomings.

Suárez and Moreno (2008) carried out English-Spanish cross-linguistic study of the rhetorical structure of literary academic BRs. It involved 40 literary BRs in Spanish and English. Suárez and Moreno found the same Motta-Roth's generic moves, but comprised of a number of newly added sub-functions/sub-moves. The following is an overview of some additions (sub-moves) that Suárez and Moreno introduced to represent the rhetorical structure of their Spanish corpus:

a. Rhetorical Move 1-Introducing the Book: It has one or more Motta-Roth's steps, in addition to the optional use of any of the following additions identified in the Spanish corpus: informing about the writing technique, informing about the use of sources, developing an aspect of the general topic.
b. Rhetorical Move 2-Outlining the Book: In addition to Motta-Roth's steps, it may have any of the following addition: stating the topic of parts of the book with no reference to specific chapters.
c. Rhetorical Move 3-Highlighting Parts of the Book: In addition to providing focused evaluation, it also includes fusion of sub-moves mentioned in rhetorical move 2 with 3.
d. Rhetorical Move 4-Providing Closing Evaluation of the Book: In addition to Motta-Roth's steps, the Spanish corpus showed that it may have the following: definitely not recommending the book, not recommending the book despite indicated strengths, and providing neutral summary-conclusion of the book.

2.4 Concluding remarks

This study is exploratory and, to conclude related literature, findings of previous studies on BRs have suggested for the present study a framework for analysis. Similar to Suárez and Moreno who found the same Motta-Roth's SMs but with stretched and new sub-moves, an organization with similarities and variations is likely to arise when investigating the Arabic BRs. Therefore, comparing Arabic BRs with those in other languages (namely English and Spanish) might be instrumental to draw conclusions about tendencies among Arabic reviewers and how conforming they are with trends common in other languages.

3. Methodology

3.1 Corpus

The corpus was collected by using the non-reactive fully naturalistic approach, which is by sifting the material of 30 BRs written in Arabic, and drawn from ten journals (coded for the study purposes from BRs 1 to BRs 10 to refer to the name of journals wherein disciplinary reviews were found). The journals involved BR articles relating to six different disciplines: pedagogy, sociology, economy, literature and culture, law, and 'politics, defense and international affairs'. Pedagogy BRs (BRs 1) were taken from *The Pedagogical Journal* of *the University of Kuwait,* published in spring 2002. Sociology BRs were taken from *Idafat (Additions)* the *Arab Journal of Sociology* that was published in spring 2012 (BRs 2), and *AlMustaqbal AlArabi Journal* that was published by *Center for Arab Unity Studies* in 2010 (BRs 6). Law BRs (BRs 3) were taken from *The Journal of Law,* published by *the University of Kuwait* in June 2002.

   Literature and culture BRs were taken from *The Cultural Journal* that was published by *the University of Jordan* in July 1997 (BRs 4), and *Ajaman University of Science and Technology Network Journal* that was published in 2005 (BRs 7)*.* Economy BRs (BRs 5)

were taken from the *Arab Economy Research Journal (Buhouth Iqtisadiah Arabyiah),* published in 2011 by *Center for Arab Unity Studies*. Politics, defense and international affairs BRs (BRs 8, BRs 9, and BRs 10) were taken from three journals: *AlMustaqbal AlArabi (Arabian Future) Journal* that was published by *Center for Arab Unity Studies in 2011, Al Majallah al-Arabyiah lel-Oloum al-Syasiah (Arab Journal for Politics)* that was published by the same center in 2010, and *Arab Journal for Security Studies and Training* that was published by Naif Arab University for Security Studies, Volume 31, 2015.

3.2 Data analysis procedure and data categorization

3.2.1 The analytical framework of generic rhetorical structure

For the purpose of this study, both Motta-Roth (1995) and Suárez and Moreno's (2008) classification rhetorical moves is used as a reference framework for rhetorical structure/move analysis. This 'model' is believed to provide insight on what kind of SMs that might be used. The additions made by Suárez and Moreno to Motta-Roth steps/sub moves may also help familiarize with potential sub-moves related to the Arabic BRs, and give guidance to understand the functions of BR semantic units and categorize them accordingly. It was, therefore, encouraging for the researcher to use Motta-Roth and Suárez and Moreno's classification.

When numerating the clarifying examples in the following sections, each example has been given the code of the discipline related-journal. The statements stated in the corpus have been analyzed following the move analysis technique. It is done by capturing the functions and sub-functions of statements so as to identify the major SMs and respective sub-moves, and how similar or dissimilar a typical Arabic BR is from that written in other languages (e.g. English and Spanish) represented in the adopted framework.

3.2.2 Analysis of potential rhetorical structure variations

The identified SMs or sub-moves across the study six disciplines are compared so as to spot any variations. Arrangement/order of appearance of SMs (steps), and any shifting in emergence of moves are also underlined to highlight how staged (of fixed SM order) the BR structure is. This would show whether an Arabic BR structure is varying.

3.2.3 Analysis of verb tense used in Arabic BRs

For the purpose of identifying the preferred tense that is used in the Arabic BRs across the six disciplines, the study has focused on the analysis of the three verb tenses in Arabic: the present, the past and the future. The analysis is achieved as follows:
a.   When a single sentence introduces a move, the verb tense of that sentence is considered the indicator of the tense of the move.

b. When several sentences introduce a single move, all tenses in that move are included in the data analysis.
c. Cross-discipline SM-tenses are tabulated and compared so as to identify the preferred verb tense, and help show cross-disciplinary similarities and differences, if any.

4. Results and discussion

This study is three-fold. First, it seeks to identify and describe the generic SMs of Arabic BRs across soft disciplines. Second, it delineates the potential cross disciplinary rhetorical structure variations. Third, it explores the preferred verb tense used in Arabic BRs.

Analysis shows that Arabic BRs have 1400 words average length, that is about 5-6 page long. This stresses Swales' (1990) assertion about soft disciplines BRs as being long and general. This also indicates that an Arabic BR length is within the limit of English soft discipline-BRs as pointed by Hyland, who discovered his 1700-words maximal length of a BR displayed in philosophy discipline. Analysis also shows that Arabic BRs mainly disseminate information and describe the book, which will be exemplified hereinafter, as well as the interpersonal evaluative function (as in 'كتاباً جيداً سيظل مرجعاً' meaning 'a good book that will remain a reference') which is not the focus of this study. Nonetheless, the ideational function occupied at least five sixes of the total Arabic BR-pages, implying that Arabic BRs are largely informative and descriptive, i.e. heavily ideation-oriented.

4.1 The generic rhetorical structure of soft discipline BRs written in Arabic

The rhetorical structure-related results of corpus analysis are shown in Table 1 below. It presents an account of the identified major SMs along with their respective optional 18 sub-moves that account for the components of building the Arabic BR structure. The structure is made up of the following routine SMs:
a. Opening with praise.
b. Introducing the authored, author and readership.
c. Outlining the authored.
d. Highlighting parts of the authored.
e. Informing about the release of the authored.
f. Closing with praise, commentary or recommendation on the authored.

Table 1: Etaywe's Arabic BR structural moves and sub-moves

Structural Moves and Sub-moves
SM1: Opening with praise
1.1 Offering global praise for the authored in relation to its field and/or
1.2 Offering praise for the style, methodology, readership, reputation and previous publications of the author

SM2: Introducing the authored, author and readership
2.1 Defining the general topic of the authored and/or
2.2 Informing about potential readership and/or
2.3 Informing about the author's affiliation to a group/society and his/her valuable contribution to the field of the general topic of the authored and/or
2.4 Inserting the authored in its field (contextualization) and/or
2.5 Informing about the writing technique/methodology used by the writer and/or
2.6 Informing about the use of sources and references
SM3: Outlining the authored
3.1 Providing an overview of the organization of the authored and/or
3.2 Stating the topic of each specific chapter/or part of the authored and/or
3.3 Indicating the presence of/ citing extra material like photos, maps, charts and bi-lingual texts
SM4: Highlighting parts of the authored
4.1 Providing an overview of the organization of the authored + highlighting part(s) of the authored or
4.2 Stating the topic of specific chapter(s) or part(s) of the authored + highlighting the content of that part of the authored
SM5: Informing about the release of the authored
5.1 Declaring and providing information about the issuance/release of the authored, the publisher, and/or the production/publication standards
5.2 Offering information about the quality of the publishing the authored
SM6: Closing with praise, commentary or recommendation on the authored
6.1 Providing conclusion along with praise for the readership and style and/or bracketed criticism for some content or
6.2 Definitely recommending the authored for particular readership or
6.3 Recommending the authored despite indicated shortcomings

Illustrative of their communicative purpose and functional role, regardless of how long they are, the identified SMs showed varying length ranging from a single sentence (as in SM5/informing about the release of the authored, which represents the shortest SM) to several paragraphs (as in SM4/highlighting parts of the authored, which represents the longest SM). This is also consistent with Ding (2007) and Swales' (1990) findings concerning SM varying length having nothing to do with SM functions. However, unlike Motta-Roth and Suárez and Moreno, who found providing focused evaluation the core function of 'highlighting parts of the book-SM', Arabic BRs were found employing this specific SM merely for informative purposes and showing no evaluation. Arabic BRs seem more often than not to share the aforementioned six main SMs. Unlike other SMs, Arabic BR-SM5 was missing in some reviews.

   SM1 and SM6 are evaluative, whereas SM2, SM3, SM4 and SM5 are descriptive. Arab reviewers have the tendency to use two SMs that did not appear in the followed model (i.e. SM1 and SM5). Emphasized here as well is that Arab reviewers are inclined to employ the same three major SMs mentioned literally by Motta-Roth and Suárez and Moreno's findings, namely: Introducing the book/authored, outlining the book, and highlighting parts of the book. However, when it comes to Motta-Roth's providing evaluation of the book-SM,

which is somehow functionally present in Arabic BRs, it should be noted here that evaluation in Arabic BRs is spread over different SMs of the review, namely in SM1, SM2 and SM6. Therefore, a reader may find evaluation acts stated in the beginning, in the middle, and at the very end of a BR.

Having said that, SM6 has included far more limited options of the adopted combined model's 'providing closing evaluation of the book-SM'. Options in Arabic are limited to 6.1 through 6.3. For example, none of the Arabic corpus disqualified a reviewed book as the Spanish or the English book reviewers did. Also, not recommending the book despite indicated strengths-sub move was not used in the Arabic corpus. This deviation from the followed model may call for introducing a typical outline of an Arabic model that accommodates the Arabic BR SMs and relevant sub-moves.

Stressed here is that the Arabic BR sub-moves arose in some BRs and disappeared in others. The 18 sub-moves have never been used entirely in a single BR, which has had an effect on having BRs with varying lengths. This alternativeness or optionality of using sub-moves is signaled in Table 1 by the conjunctions 'and/or' appearing at the end of every sub-move. To elaborate, the use of the conjunction 'and' and 'or' in the list of identified sub-moves was indicative of alternativeness. In other words, the use of one or more sub-moves of SM2, SM3, SM1 and SM5 was optional and inclusively acceptable. Conversely, in the case of using a sub-move of SM4 and SM6, all sub-moves were equally exclusive, i.e. only one sub-move was used at a time in a review, and hence signaled by 'or' at the end of each sub-move.

The following are clarification examples of SMs and constituent sub-moves derived from the Arabic corpus, followed by their literal translation in English.

SM1: Opening with praise
Sub-move 1.1: Offering global praise for the authored in relation to its field

Example 1 (BRs 1):
"الكتاب الذي نعرض له، من *الكتب الجيدة* في مجال الإرشاد النفسي، ... يتناول موضوعاً جديداً لم يكتب فيه كثيراً باللغة العربية... ".
"The book under review is one of the *good* books in the field of psychological guidance. It addresses a new topic that little has been written about in Arabic […]".

Sub-move 1.2: Offering praise for the style, methodology, readership, reputation and previous publications of the author

Example 2 (BRs 3)
"كان عرضه لها عرضاً واضحاً *يسهل للقارئ* متابعة الأفكار وتسلسلها... ".
Its *presentation structure was so clear* that makes it *easy* for the reader *to follow up ideas and their sequence*".

Example 3 (BRs 4)
"يعد كتاب "حب وموت ونفي" بما يتضمنه من قصائد مترجمة إلى اللغة الانجليزية *أهم ما صدر*...".
"Love, Death and Exile is the *most important issued book*, given its translated poems into English […]".

Opening with praise-move offers a global praise for the style of the authored book and its relation to the respective field. It also attributes credit to its value for particular readership. Using praise as a preliminary rhetorical structure/move is proportionate with Hyland's (2000) results that identified the reviewer's decision to open with praise as a routine move. This is likely to help construct basis for critique, to establish rapport with the audience, and mitigate criticism which would be presented in paragraphs ahead.

SM2: Introducing the authored, author and readership
Sub-move 2.1: Defining the general topic of the authored

Example 4 (BRs 1):
"يشغل الإرشاد النفسي المدرسي *مكانة كبيرة في التربية الحديثة*...".
"Psychological Guidance in Schools occupies a *significant position in modern education*".

Sub-move 2.2: Informing about potential readership

Example 5 (BRs 1)
"ويحقق فائدة *للمرشدين* النفسيين في المدارس... ".
"This book is of value to school-psychological *supervisors*".

Example 6 (BRs 3)
"سيظل مرجعا لكل *باحث* في هذا الموضوع... ".
"This book will continue to be a reference for *every researcher* in this field".

Example 7 (BRs 8)
"إن قراءة كتاب جاك دونلي ...ذو مردود جيد سواء بالنسبة إلى *الباحثين في مجال حقوق الإنسان*...".
"Reading John Donley's book is rewarding to both *researchers in the field of human rights…*"

Example 8 (BRs 9)
"يستحق...أن يكون مرجعا أمام *صانع القرار السياسي والقوى السياسية العراقية ورجال الدين المسلمين وزعماء العشائر*... ".
"It deserves to be a reference to the Iraqi political *decision makers, Muslim religion scholars, heads of tribes...*"

Sub-move 2.3: Informing about the author's affiliation to a group/society and his/her valuable contribution to the field of the general topic of the authored

Example 9 (BRs 5)
"يعد الكاتب *من المتخصصين* بالاقتصاد الحضاري ويعمل *أستاذا في جامعة ارازموس*".
"The writer is considered *a specialist* in the cultural economy and *a professor in Erasmus University*"

Example 10 (BRs 6)

"والكتاب من تأليف "رحال بوبريك"- *انثر وبولوجي* يشتغل حول الصحراء وله كتابات مهمة في المجال..." .

"The book is authored by Rahal Bubraik, an *anthropologist* working on deserts and has key books in the field".

Example 11 (BRs 4)

"مؤلف الكتاب: "ذم الخطأ في الشعر" مؤلفه أبو الحسن احمد...ولد في همذان...وابرز شيوخه...علي بن إبراهيم...ومن أشهر كتبه...".

"Author of the book, Criticizing Errors in Poetry, is Abu al-Hassan Ahmad, […] he was born in Hamadan, among his hey scholars was Ali bin Ibrahim. […] and among his famous books was…"

Sub-move 2.4: Inserting the authored in its field (contextualization)

Example 12 (BRs 1)

"الإرشاد النفسي المصغر أسلوب حديث ثبت كفاءته في التعامل مع المشكلات الدراسية [...] إذا تدرب المرشدون النفسيون عليه وطبقوه وفق أصول علمية وفنية مدروسة... والكتاب الذي نعرض له ونراجعه من الكتب الجيدة في مجال الإرشاد النفسي".

"Micro psychological guidance is a modern method that proved effectiveness in dealing with scholastic problems […] if the Guides are trained and apply it in compliance with scientific and proven fundamentals. The reviewed book is a very good book in the field of psychological guidance".

Example 13 (BRs 3)

"وقد عالج فيه المؤلف موضوعا من أهم الموضوعات المطروحة...على الساحة القانونية وهو موضوع العمل الطبي وما يثيره من مشكلات قانونية دقيقة..." .

"The author has addressed one of the important topics in the law arena, which is the medical work and its arising critical legal problems".

Sub-move 2.5: Informing about the writing technique/methodology (style) used by the writer

Example 14 (BRs 9)

"يقف هذا الكتاب أمام حدث تحرير جنوب لبنان ...*بالتحليل والدراسة مسلطا الضوء على* ما حققته المقاومة اللبنانية من نصر...".

"This book stands before the southern Lebanon liberation *event with analysis and study*, shedding light on the victory that the Lebanese opposition has achieved".

Example 15 (BRs 1)

"الكتاب جيد *في أسلوبه وطريقة عرضه*".

"The book has *a good style and proposition*".

Example 16 (BRs 5)

"ويبرر هذا الأمر من خلال *مشاهدات ووقائع... و مقارنة* بين منهجين اثنين...".

"This issue is justifiably supported by *observations and incidents* […] and a two approach *comparison* […]".

Sub-move 2.6: Informing about the use of sources and references

Example 17 (BRs 5)

<div dir="rtl">

المصادر والمراجع والحواشي المستخدمة في هذا الكتاب:

(1) لترجمة ابن فارس انظر: أنباه الرواة للقفطي... .

(2) مجلة المخطوطات العربية: المجلد 25 الجزءان 1.2 ص 31 و.... .

</div>

References and endnotes used in this book include:

    (1)   For Ibn Fares interpretation, refer to: Recite-alerting for alKafti

    (2)   Arabic Manuscripts Journal, Vol 25, 1, p31 …

Corpus examples tell that in SM2 reviewers give a short account of the book content by means of any one or combination of any respective sub-moves (2.1 through 2.6). Sub-move 2.1 and sub-move 2.4 seem to have been frequently used in most reviews due to the link between the contextualization they create and opening with praise (SM1). In a contextualization sub-move (as in 2.4), the reviewer draws on readers' as well as his/her familiarity with the academic research network, disciplinary knowledge and the shared understanding of all discourse participants about the topic. This is driven by the thought of paving the road to an interpretive framework that carries justification for a constructive social interaction that should prevail when triggering an evaluation voice. In brief, SM2 and its contextualization and introductory role serves in demonstrating the reviewer's expert-understanding of the book topic, in addition to creating a socially appropriate solidarity that positions the reviewer as a colleague who knows how reviewing gets done.

SM3: Outlining the authored
Sub-move 3.1: Providing an overview of the organization of the authored

Example 18 (BRs 1)

<div dir="rtl">

"يقع الكتاب في 388 صفحة، ويتضمن اثني عشر فصلاً، تناولت المشكلات الدراسية وأسبابها، والإرشاد المصغر وأساليبه في علاج هذه المشكلات، ودور الاختبارات النفسية في تشخيص قلق الدراسة....".

</div>

"This is a 388 page book, with twelve chapters that addressed studying problems, their reasons, micro guidance, its techniques, psycho-tests for studying-anxiety diagnosis".

Example 19 (BRs 9)

<div dir="rtl">

"يعالج المؤلف هذا الموضوع في مقدمة وفصلين شارحا في الفصل الأول العوامل والأسباب...ومتوقفا في الفصل الثاني أمام "حزب الله" بتاريخه ونشأته...".

</div>

"The author addresses this topic in an introduction and two chapters. In the first chapter he presents the factors and reasons…till he comes to the second chapter with Hezbollah's history, inception…"

Sub-move 3.2: Stating the topic of each chapter or part of the authored

Example 20 (BRs 10)

<div dir="rtl">

يتكون الكتاب من مقدمة وخمسة فصول، تناول *الفصل الأول مشكلة الدراسة وأبعادها*، والفصل الثاني خُصصَ للإطار النظري والدراسات السابقة، أما الفصل الثالث...".

</div>

> "The book consists of an introduction and five chapters. *Chapter One addressed the study problem and dimensions.* Chapter Two was dedicated for literature review and previous studies, whereas Chapter Three…"

Sub-move 3.3: Indicating the presence of/ citing extra material like photos, maps, charts, bilingual texts, etc.

Example 21 (BRs 6)

"من الكتب النادرة التي تؤرخ بالنص والصورة لإرث حضاري...".

"It is one of the rare books that record in text and photo the history of cultural heritage…"

Based on the stated examples on SM3, the reviewer outlines the book under review, and describes the overall organization of the authored by stating the number of pages and chapters, chapter-titles, the topic of each chapter, general description of content of the book with no reference to specific chapter(s), or reporting on such extra material appearing in the reviewed book as bibliographies, graphs, appendices, tables, illustrations, and so forth.

SM4: Highlighting parts of the authored
Sub-move 4.1: Providing an overview of the organization of the authored + highlighting part(s) of the authored

Example 22 (BRs 2):

"في المدخل يعالج المؤلف الهوية المسيحية...ثم يتحدث المؤلف في الفصل الأول عن إطلالة تاريخية على الوجود المسيحي في العراق...".

"In the introduction the author addresses the Christian identity…Then, in his first chapter, the author talks about a historical overview on the Christian presence in Iraq…"

Sub-move 4.2: Stating the topic of specific chapter(s) or part(s) of the authored + highlighting the content of that part of the authored

Example 23 (BRs 9):

"عالج الفصل الثالث الذي جاء تحت عنوان "نظرة إلى ما وراء البحر"، استعدادات العديد من الدول الهامة واستراتيجياتها والمؤسسات التي أقامتها من أجل ضمان أمنها أمام المخاطر الكامنة في الفضاء الالكتروني، وهذه الدول هي: الولايات المتحدة وفرنسا وألمانيا وبريطانيا والصين".

The third chapter, "An Overview to Overseas", dealt with the preparations of a number of key countries' set up-strategies and institutions for ensuring their security against the risks inherent in cyberspace. These countries are the United States, France, Germany, Britain and China.

Example 24 (BRs 4)

"*في المقدمة أشار المؤلف إلى الأصول العربية الإسلامية للثقافة الخليجية والى العناصر الايجابية في هذه الثقافة كالترابط الأسري*...".

"In the *introduction, the author indicated to* the Islamic and Arabic origin of the Gulf culture, and its positive elements such as the familial solidarity…"

Example 25 (BRs 6)

"وصف الخيمة (ص25): اعتمد الوصف على ذكر مكونات الخيمة..."

"The Tent Description part (p 25): the author relied on mentioning the elements of the tent…"

SM5: Informing about the release of the authored
Sub-move 5.1: Declaring and providing information about the issuance/release of the authored, the publisher, and/or the publication/production standards

Example 26 (BRs 10):

"صدرَ هذا الكتاب عن مركز الدراســات والبحوث بجامعة نايف العربية للعلوم الأمنية ضمن سلسلة إصدارات الجامعة برقم 584 وقد اشتمل على 164 صفحة من القطع المتوسط"

"This book has been published by Center for Studies and Research at Naif Arab University for Security Studies, as part of the university publications, under Number 584, comprising 164 pages of medium-cut production".

Example 27 (BRs 2):

"يقع الكتاب في 463 صفحة من القطع المتوسط...".

"The book is made up of 463 pages of medium-cut page/production"

Example 28 (BRs 6):

"يتضمن الكتاب حوالي 170 صفحة من الحجم الكبير...".

"The book consists of about 170 pages of large size-cut page/production".

Sub-move 5.2: Offering information about the quality of publishing the authored

Example 29 (BRs 7):

"**نَشْرُ الكتاب**:.... طُبِعَ طبعتين...تمثل رسالة أو كتيب صغير الجرم عظيم الشأن ....".

"**Publishing the book**: The book is printed in two editions that are proofread and revised…It presents a letter or a booklet that is small in size but great in significance…"

SM6: Closing with praise, commentary or recommendation on the authored
Sub-move 6.1: Providing conclusion along with praise for the readership and style, and/or criticism for some content
NB: Criticism in this sub-move is usually centered on gaps in information, and how deficient the book is with relation to key sections that are conceived important from the reviewer's point of view.

Example 30 (BRs 1):

- التعليق:

الكتاب جيد في أسلوبه وطريقة عرضه .... ومع هذا فإننا **نأخذ على هذا المؤلف بعض الملاحظات** أهمها: أنه ركز على استخدام الإرشاد النفسي المصغر في علاج المشكلات الدراسية ولم يعط للتنمية والوقاية نفس القدر من الإهتمام الذي أعطاه للعلاج... .

Commentary:

In its style and the way it presents the micro guidance […] the book is just good… Nevertheless, we have some concerns on the author. Most importantly, the author has focused on

the micro guidance as a way to solve scholastic problems, while he has not given the same attention to development and prevention measures [...].

Example 31 (BRs 3):

"كتاب "دور الإدارة في العمل الطبي" يعد من أفضل الكتب التي دونت باللغة العربية في مجال العمل الطبي وسيظل مرجعاً لكل باحث...".

"The Role of Law in Medical Business is considered among the best books written in Arabic, and will remain a reference to every researcher…"

Sub-move 6.2: Definitely recommending the authored for particular readership

Example 32 (BRs 8)

"لأهمية ما طرح فيه ندعو القارئ الكريم إلى قراءة الكتاب كاملاً نظراً إلى مستواه وقيمته العلمية".

"Due to the significance of what is mentioned in the book, and given its scientific value and level, we invite the respected reader to read the entire book,"

Sub-move 6.3: Recommending the authored despite indicated shortcomings

Example 33 (BRs 9)

"أحيي جهد المؤلف وإن كان قد أغفل قضايا مهمة كانت تجب معالجتها أو حتى الإشارة إليها...".

"I commend the author's effort despite his overlooking key issues that should have been treated or even mentioned".

Move six has mainly shown a major function: concluding the review by any one or a mix of sub-moves 6.1 through 6.3. Despite the shortcomings in specific issues, a positive closing comment was the prevailing choice, probably due to reviewers' belief in the need to foster their position as reasonable scholars who recognize the contribution of others and retain a positive attitude to their academic community's pursuit for knowledge. Moreover, this could be related to the Arab Muslim culture that stresses on the need to maintain social harmony, which could be achieved by Arab book reviewers by such means as a positive closing. Final praise that precedes a final criticism reflects the Arab reviewers' lower tendency to criticize books in a straightforward way. In situations where no recommendation was stated explicitly, Arab reviewers tended to avoid disqualifying the reviewed book no matter what deficiency was there. This may point to two things: first, how careful Arab reviewers are about readers' right to read, and second, their concern about keeping socially appropriate relationship with the author and avoiding ensuing interpersonal damage, by looking more like a colleague than a critic.

After exemplifying SMs, it should be noted that analysis has shown no use of five sub-moves stated in Motta-Roth, and Suárez and Moreno's model, namely: Making the topic generalizations sub-move (of Motta-Roth's introducing the book-SM), providing specific/focused evaluation (of the model's highlighting parts of the book-SM) in addition to Suárez and Moreno's additions of the fusion of 'citing extra-text material' (of Motta-Roth's outlining the book-SM) with 'highlighting parts of the book' (of the followed model), Suárez and Moreno's not recommending the book despite indicated strengths sub-move, and definitely not recommending the book sub-move.

Arabic corpus 'introducing the authored' (SM2) and 'highlighting parts of the book' (SM4) were the most dominant SMs. They occupied the largest reviewing space in all BRs. There emerged some commonalities with Motta-Roth and Suárez and Moreno's model in terms of primary SMs; however, the present study added new major SMs to the structure, specifically 'opening with praise', 'informing about the release of the authored' and 'closing with praise, commentary or recommendation on the authored'. Arabic BR identified structure has modified the followed model-sub moves. First, it has expanded the SMs; second, it has maximized Motta-Roth's sub-moves from 10 to 18; third, it has modified alternativeness marking by 'and/or'. Some sub-moves of the adopted model were not used at all, while new ones came forward.

To sum up the study-first focus question, it is worth reiterating that despite similarities between the applied analysis-framework and the findings of this study corpus-analysis, it was necessary to modify the analysis model in a way that accommodates and represents Arab BRs. This is on account of the named new SMs, additions of sub-moves, and modifications to sub-move alternativeness marking. The identified Arabic BRs can be said to have been characterized of their own structure that has stretched Motta-Roth, and Suárez and Moreno model.

4.2 Arabic BR rhetorical structure variations

Cross-Arabic BRs analysis and comparison has shown that 'opening with praise' might not appear all the time as an independent SM. Praise instead is sometimes introduced in combination with another SM sub-move (namely SM2/introducing the authored). This *move-fusion* seems to have called for the rise of a variation in Arabic BR-rhetorical structure, fed by SM2 function which provides a context to which the reviewed book is introduced, and thus invites for commenting (praise) on the authored status and value added to its field. Consider variation one in Table 2 below where fusion of the two SMs comes first to constitute the opening part, eliminating the option of 'opening with praise' as a preliminary SM. This variation appeared in some BRs of sociology, economy and politics but not as frequently as the generic structure shown in Table 2. This infrequent disciplinary BR variation was possibly motivated by an individual wanting to leave a personal imprint/style, and by acceptable discourse community preferences.

Furthermore, there came out variations in the order of appearance of SMs. For example, in the *Arab Journal for Security Studies and Training*, published by Naif Arab University for Security Studies, SM5 (informing about the release of the authored) was stated initially- appearing as a preliminary SM. Unlike most other journals that allow 'opening with praise' or fused praise to appear first, the *Arab Journal for Security Studies and Training* has the tradition to get SM5 shifted to a forward position where it receives a preliminary status. This *fluidity* state of some SMs has allowed for some variations to come up, especially in terms of what move is the opening, given that the main body and conclusion SMs were fixed. See variation two in Table 2 to consider this fluidity factor of SM5. This SM forward positioning driven by fluidity has been termed as 'SM-rise shifting' (the researcher's term). It is constrained by the institution/journal specific traditions.

Table 2: Arabic BRs rhetorical structure and its variations

Generic structure	Variation One	Variation Two
Opening with praise	Introducing the authored, author and readership + fused praise	Informing about the release of the authored
Introducing the authored, author and readership		Introducing the authored, author and readership + fused praise
Outlining the authored	Outlining the authored	Outlining the authored
Highlighting parts of the authored	Highlighting parts of the authored	Highlighting parts of the authored
Informing about the release of the authored	Informing about the release of the authored	Closing with praise and commentary on the book
Closing with praise, commentary or recommendation on the authored	Closing with praise and commentary on the book	-------

As in Araújo's findings (1996), a typical pattern of BR organization varies, and this study has provided further evidence that Arabic BR-rhetorical structure varies in response to:

1. SM-rise shifting caused by the institution/journal convention, as exemplified in the case of Naif Arab University for Security Studies-Arab Journal for Security Studies and Training.
2. SM-fusion led by merely a personal stylistic imprint that does not violate audience expectations about a BR-function.

Not only have variations been spotted, but also regularity in 'closing with praise, commentary and recommendation on the authored' across all soft discipline BRs. This *stability status* has qualified it to function as a fixed *conclusion-move* in Arabic reviews. This study has disclosed nuances of the rhetorical structure of Arabic BRs and announced justifications of its taken-shape. Along the lines of Swales (1990:25-26) on the function of BRs, an Arabic BR can serve its discourse community as a carrier for information and feedback according to the rules that satisfy the discoursal and community established participants' expectations, but with slight variations as explained earlier.

In a nutshell, Arabic rhetorical structure variations inform us about situations that entail rearrangement or fusion of SMs in return for reflecting personal art or gaining compliance with institution traditions. In both cases, variability is acceptable and implies no detrimental change. Variations, however, downsize the number of SMs from 6 to 5 in 'variation one' and to 4 in 'variation two'. Although the results of the study indicate the existence of some patterns in rhetorical moves variation, variations in this sense constitute a *trade-off between institutional norms and personal expressivity*. Institutions usually set some editorial guidance and process to which book reviewers find themselves stuck. Stability of organization is likely because reviewers are limited by the *editorial terms and requirements*.

Bearing that editorial limitation in mind, it is worth underlining that institutions and journals require certain organization and moves due to their importance for readers who expect to see them in a BR. It is the readers who are addressed in the BR communication event, and a review should meet readers' expectations that could be well known to the institution based on its accumulative experience of publication. Having a model to follow

may entail its proved effectiveness to readers who can appreciate how helpful a BR would be.

4.3 The preferred verb tense used in the Arabic BRs

Cross disciplinary analysis of the verb tense in each move are presented, in summary, in Table 3 below. 'X' marks the dominating tense used in every SM. For cases where a different tense was used in a particular sub-move, the number of that sub-move is written in a cell across that tense.

Table 3: Cross disciplinary BR-verb tenses

Tense in SMs		Pedagogy	Sociology	Economy	Literature and culture	Law	Politics
SMs	Tense						
1	Present	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Past						X
	Future						
2	Present	X	X	X	X		X
	Past				2.4	X	
	Future	2.2				2.2	
3	Present		X	X	X	X	X
	Past	X					
	Future						
4	Present	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Past						
	Future						
5	Present	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Past	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Future						
6	Present	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Past						
	Future						

When comparing the results across the corpus soft disciplines, similarities prevail and differences diminish. Analysis showed that present tense was used most of the time in the different SMs. Reviewers used not only the active voice but also the present tense passive voice, particularly in SM6, as in words that literally means the following: *is considered* and *is founded on*. Examples of verbs that show the frequent use of present tense include words that literally mean the following: *occupies, achieves, continues to be, deserves, helps address, consists of, justifies, elaborates, talks about, investigates, sheds light on, clarifies, appreciate, helps, presents, argues, documents, works on, contributes to,* and *deserves.* Preference to use present tense can be attributed to a notion learnt by Arabs that when describing, evaluating and providing opinion about something (like a book under reviewing), a describer generally tends to use present tense. Even when learning English as a foreign

language, Arabs are taught a rule implying that for description, present tense is advisably used in such situations. This tradition of learning is probably the reason behind Arab reviewers' tendency to use present tense frequently.

However, in SM2, for example, reviewers of literature and culture BRs tended to use the past tense in sub-move 2.4 to reflect the idea that the author of the reviewed book had successfully contributed and inserted the book in its field. As well, past tense was used frequently in law BRs to describe SM2; yet, that was not consistent among all reviewers of the respective disciplines. Examples of frequent corpus past tense verbs include words with the following literal meanings: *addressed, came, discussed, comprised, went through, was, pointed out, described, introduced, focused, identified, gave, released,* and the passive *'was printed'* and *'was recently released'* especially in SM5 across soft disciplines. Moreover, in SM5 politics-BRs, reviewers used both past and present. This may call for a further cross disciplinary comparative study in which some quantitative data might provide evidence in this regard.

Unlike the present tense, the future tense was rarely used across disciplines. It was only used for describing sub-move 2.2 (of potential readership) in pedagogy and law, as exemplified in: *will gain benefit from it, will remain, will contribute,* and *will give advantage to.* The occasional use of future tense in sub-move 2.2 might be related to the nature of this particular sub-move, which informs about future readers for whom the reviewed books were designed.

5. Conclusions, implications and recommendations

Considering Arabic BRs unsung research area, this genre-based analytical study has been devoted to occupying a niche in current research concerning the form and content of Arabic BRs. Its aim was to explore the generic rhetorical structure of Arabic BRs across soft disciplines, potential rhetorical structure-variations and the preferred verb tense. Results have stressed Cranny-Francis' (1993: 111) contention that genre provides the link between text and context. Results have contributed to considering BRs written in Arabic to be shaped in accordance with a well-defined and a socially acceptable and conventional rhetorical structure that gives it a genre status. It has been revealed that a generic rhetorical structure of Arabic BRs corresponds to the following six SMs:
a.   SM 1: Opening with praise.
b.   SM 2: Introducing the authored, author and readership.
c.   SM 3: Outlining the authored.
d.   SM 4: Highlighting parts of the authored.
f.   SM 5: Informing about the release of the authored.
g.   SM 6: Closing with praise, commentary or recommendation on the authored.
While SM2 has shown the widest range of optional sub-moves/sub-functions (six sub-functions), SM1, SM4 and SM5 have double sub-functions, and SM3 and SM6 have triple sub-functions. SM4 occupied the largest space in all reviews. Irrespective of how long and how many the semantic units representing each SM are, every SM has been defined as a schematic unit with a coherent communicative function. All SMs convey distinctive infor-

mation pertinent to the reviewed book, acting like carriers to the ideational and evaluative content.

On account of the great number of neutral descriptions in Arabic BRs, they can best be described as principally more informative and descriptive than evaluative. In line with Yule's (1996) assertion on the role of social factors in steering discourses, Arab reviewers have had a propensity to follow a generic rhetorical structure that has two variations. Variations imply a trade-off between institutional norms and personal expressivity achieved consecutively by SM-rise shifting whereby an SM receives movement to a preliminary SM position, and SM-fusion. Trade-off is in return for reflecting personal style, or gaining compliance with institution/journal traditions.

The findings of this study introduce some implications for pedagogical and instructional material, language for academic purposes, and raising reviewers' awareness about the craft of reviewing. It is also instructive for those working in the book publishing industry. It is an eye-opener for discourse analysts and cross-cultural communication students who are invited to realize BR's socio-cultural expectations and discipline-related practices, that – if violated – may lead into interpersonal and social conflicts. Regarding the preferred verb tense, present tense has been extensively used by Arab reviewers in all SMs and respective sub-moves, exclusive of SM5 that is interchangeably expressed in past tense.

Taking into consideration the similarities between the Arabic BRs and other languages' (specifically, English and Spanish) BRs, a call for suggesting a universally accepted BR model might have good grounds. The model might be achieved provided that scholarly effort is exerted in this direction, for the good of readers, authors and publishers. What to include in a BR should be a settled issue, given the long communicative tradition of this academic event that can be easily achieved by including the expected schematic units and function thereof. It is an academic tradition that cannot be separable from the characteristics of the world of globalization and unprecedented intercultural openness that accepts a frame of reference of how to do things. In other words, future research should explore BRs from various linguacultural backgrounds in order to verify whether there is such a model or that a universal model should be looked for.

Standardized SMs are likely to assist in producing BRs that are recognized worldwide. However, some may feel concerned about this call and the comparison made between English BR-writing conventions, for example, and Arabic. In this regard, it should be emphasized that modeling is neither about devaluing one language or another, nor imposing English styles on non-English styles. It is about meeting the established community and general readers' expectations through: announcing a book release, evaluating some of its aspects, disseminating knowledge and giving advice to purchasers. Nevertheless, differences between Arabic language reviews and English medium ones, for example, may need further research.

In an attempt to propose an outline of a uniform BR model that can be followed in a "genre-integrity" (to use the term of Bhatia, 1999:23) mode, grouped here are the components of a recommended structure:

a. Preliminary SMs: This may include any mix of such moves as opening with praise, informing about the release of the authored, and introducing the authored.

b. Main Body SMs: This is to include outlining the authored and highlighting parts of it.

c.   Concluding SMs: This may include closing with praise, commentary or recommendation on the authored.

A model SMs could be similar; though, wording may be more personal. Versatility and adjustability should allow trade-offs that satisfy the audience socio-cultural specifics. Versatility should remain a personal fingerprint and be reflective of respect and politeness towards the audience. In spite of the cross-linguistic similarities, dissimilarities underline the drive for having an interpretive framework for BRs written in Arabic, for example, which has been approached in this study.

For more conclusive findings, future studies should include more BRs from more soft disciplines. Researchers are also encouraged to investigate Arabic BRs across hard disciplines and to compare their findings with the results of the present study. Besides, future studies are invited to explore the evaluative aspects, lexical features, syntactic features and cohesive devices in Arabic BRs across soft disciplines.

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