Chapter One

Introduction

1. Introduction

Among the various features of writing, its socio-cultural aspect and the idea that different cultural settings demonstrate different writing patterns and conventions were mainly investigated under the idea of *Contrastive Rhetoric* (CR). This term has its roots in the 1960s, when with the rapid expansion of the number of international students in the colleges and universities of Western Europe and the United States, language teachers and especially English language instructors noticed that these students did not write in the way that was expected. In other words, they wrote in a "different" way. Robert Kaplan (1996) was among the first people who examined this phenomenon. He believed that these differences might stem from the different cultural settings that these learners came from. He coined the term 'contrastive rhetoric' in 1966 to explain these differences and ever since this area of research has been the target of numerous discussions and debates. The current study approaches the same area with the aim of contributing to a better understanding of the complex issue of writing with regard to the more complicated issue of culture.

1.2. Overview

CR research started with Kaplan's (1966) pioneering study of six hundred non-native students' English essays which found that speakers of different language backgrounds organized their paragraphs in a unique way related to their first language (L1) and cultural background. Kaplan, the American applied linguist, believed that rhetoric is language and culture specific and that the linguistic patterns and rhetorical conventions of the L1 often transfer to writing in English as a second language (ESL) and hence cause interference. Since then, CR research has received much attention and popularity and thus has had an appreciable

impact on our understanding of cultural differences in writing and on the teaching of writing in both EFL and ESL classes.

However, over the first thirty years of its appearance, this term went through a number of criticisms and gained a negative connotation. Some interpretations of Kaplan's study sometimes characterized CR as being static and referred to its link to contrastive analysis, a movement associated with structural linguistics and behaviorism (Kubota & Lehner, 2004). Thus, many of the contributions made to contrastive rhetoric in these years had been erroneously ignored (Connor, 2004). Nonetheless, as an attempt to address these and some recent criticisms and as for CR to continue as a viable area of research with practical implications, Connor (2004) proposed the term *intercultural rhetoric (IR)* presuming that it better describes the broadening trends of writing across languages and cultures, the dynamic nature of CR and models of cross-cultural research. She also believed that changing definitions of written discourse analysis, from text-based to context sensitive, and of culture, from static to dynamic, contribute to the changing focus of intercultural rhetoric research.

In the introduction of the most recent book published on CR, Connor et al (2008) have referred to intercultural rhetoric and the new advances that have been made in this area saying:

This field is currently dynamic and exploratory, extending to new genres, widening contextual research through historical and ethnographic inquiry, refining methodology, utilizing electronic corpora of texts, going beyond linguistic patterns to the study of other distinctive differences in writing, and exploring contrasts even beyond writing, such as the differences in Web use between speakers of different languages. (p.4)

Evidently, this field is broadly active and vigorous in its way and has promptly gained more popularity among the scholars and researchers, particularly in the last few decades. In this regard, the present exploratory study aims to further explore the relationship between culture and writing in L1 and L2 in an Iranian context. In other words, it attempts to examine

whether any cultural writing patterns exist in Persian and English argumentative essays of Iranian EFL learners that can be traced back to their instructional background and whether these possible patterns are similar in their L1 and L2 writings.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

According to the notions introduced so far, CR indicates that writing is a cultural phenomenon and as one of the implications it may have for language teachers, Hyland (2003) asserted that teachers "need to be aware of different rhetorical conventions, to understand some of the issues the L2 writers face, and to accept different conventions in the work of their learners" (p. 49). Obviously, teachers can take a number of different insights from contrastive rhetoric but briefly speaking, it reminds us of the fact that various styles in writing can be the result of culturally learned preferences; therefore, it "encourages us to see the effects of different practices where we might otherwise only see individual inadequacies" (Hyland, 2003, p.49).

This has bred a body of research on contrastive rhetoric (CR) in a variety of cultural settings in order to detect the probable conventions and writing patterns of specific cultures, for instance, Ventola & Mauranen (1991) in Finland; Hatim (1997) and Hottel-Burkhart (2000) in the Middle East (as cited in Connor, 2002); Mohan & Lo (1985) and Liu (2005) in China; Kubota (1998a, b) and Hirose (2003) in Japan; etc. Nevertheless, Uysal (2008) in a recent article referred to some of the deficiencies and limitations within these studies and the designs and methodologies that were employed in them. Firstly, they were principally text-based and the focus of attention was on the product, hence they ignored the processes that the learners went through while producing their texts and their reasons for applying specific rhetorical patterns were neglected. Whereas, as Matsuda (1997) stated the examination of text

alone without asking the writer about his intentions can reveal neither the thought patterns of the writers nor the rhetorical patterns of L1 written discourse. Liu (2005) also criticized basing research solely on L2 texts and stated that it is hard to prove that the texts selected by the researchers are representative of the rhetorical preferences of a specific genre in the native language of the writer. As a solution to this limitation, he referred to the studies that exploited personal experience or even ethnographic research and surveys and examined the literacy acquisition of the writers. Thus, as Connor (2002) also pointed out, while retaining its traditional pedagogical applications, contrastive rhetoric should and is becoming more responsive to new currents in literacy research.

Secondly, most of the participants in these studies constructed homogenous groups in terms of their L2 level and L2 writing knowledge and also the participants were given the same topics to write on in both L1 and L2. Uysal believed that these items leave the claims made about the L1 transfer of rhetorical patterns susceptible to discussion. For example, the highly proficient participants in Hirose's (2003) study, as he himself referred, might have had similar patterns in their L1 and L2 essays due to the transfer of L2 writing knowledge to L1 writing because they wrote on the same topic in both their essays. As a result, the claims about particular L1 writing patterns of these participants can be questionable. Therefore, it is of great consequence to take detailed subject-related and task-related factors into account while investigating any language-specific transfer (Hirose, 2003).

Thirdly, many CR studies have analyzed the texts in isolation, ignoring the cultural contexts in which they have occurred. Connor (2002, 2004) suggested that CR research should become more context sensitive, investigating how writing is tied to social structures of a given culture and considering new definitions of culture together with its dynamic and fluid nature.

Finally, Uysal (2008) reminded the possibility of bidirectional rather than monodirectional transfer in L1 and L2 essays which has been by and large ignored in the previous studies and wherever in literature this point is referred to, it is solely in the form of some probable or alleged fact (e.g. Hirose, 2003).

Based on what has been mentioned above and also regarding the fact that rhetoric is a context and culture-sensitive issue and each cultural setting calls for its own investigations, there is a need to probe into any EFL context namely an Iranian context in order to identify the probable preferences and patterns in L1 and L2 essays of these students and also the possibility of a bidirectional transfer between these two. The same concerns construct the foundation of conducting the present study.

1.4. Purpose and Significance of the Study

As it was discussed before, aligned with previously-mentioned research and many other studies carried out in different cultures regarding CR area, several studies, mainly in the form of MA or PhD dissertations, have also been conducted in Iran (Abbasi, 1997; Moradian, 1999; Akbari, 1999; Bandari, 1999; Marandi, 2002; Mahzari, 2005; Mobasher, 2004; Rahimpour 2006; Joobi, 2006) in order to observe certain writing preferences and styles in writings produced by Iranian learners. However, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, almost none of these studies have investigated the preferred writing patterns of Iranian students' English *argumentative* essays and by and large, they have mainly worked on expository writing including newspaper editorials and thesis introductions or abstracts in terms of applied linguistic issues. While, not only is this particular genre of writing of crucial value in EAP contexts, but also it is one of the major genres applied in the writing section of

some high-stake tests such as TOEFL and IELTS since it is a pedagogical form commonly used in English writing.

Another major issue that makes this study different from other studies carried out in Iran is the qualitative approach it takes in conducting the study. As Connor (2002) also pointed out CR studies should contain qualitative research methods that can "investigate both L1 and L2 writing, observe and interview L1 and L2 writers, and study influences on L1 writing developments" (Connor, 1996, p. 162). In this regard, this study aims to establish a deeper and richer account of the presence and type of certain rhetorical patterns in L1 and L2 argumentative essays of Iranian EFL learners through qualitative research methods. Moreover, it tends to find out if there is any commonality or difference between these patterns in the participants' L1 and L2 essays. Also, in trying to contextualize the findings, this study attempts to find out how these patterns can be traced back to the instructional writing background of the learners which in Atkinson's (2004) terminology is defined as "small culture". The reason for choosing this small cultural setting is that it can provide a more accurate and detailed cultural picture (Holliday, 1999) than large national scales do. Also, the influence of schooling and instructional background on shaping the rhetorical patterns of writers has been largely emphasized in the literature (K?d?r-Fülop, 1988; V?h?passi, 1988, Liebman, 1992). Finally, it is attempted to detect other sources, if any, to which these patterns can be attributed, for instance, language proficiency, topic, gender, etc.

Findings of this study can contribute to establishing a better understanding of the rhetorical conventions and preferences in the argumentative essays of Iranian EFL learners. Therefore, both writing instructors and learners can benefit from the results of this study in order to identify the differences between their essays and English rhetoric and to be able to find a more effective way of expressing their own voice in their writings.

1.5. Research Questions

The following research questions guided this exploratory study:

- **1.** Are there any common writing preferences in the argumentative essays of Iranian EFL writers that might be associated with their previous L1 and L2 writing education?
- **2.** What commonalities and differences exist in rhetorical preferences within participants in their Persian and English argumentative essays?

1.6. Definition of Key Terms

Argumentative Essay

This category of writing, sometimes referred to as persuasive writing, is defined as a genre in which a point of view or thesis is stated and is subsequently developed through "acts of interpreting, arguing, and persuading, acts recognized as genre practices in academic writing". Argumentative writing may require either "enhancing the acceptability of the writer's stance on a topic or issue" or "the adversarial defense of a personal point of view against an opposing view" (Chandrasegaran, 2008, p. 238).

Since the investigation of this given genre of writing is the objective of the current study, the researcher made sure that the participants produce this type and not any other variety by giving topics which demand this particular genre of writing.

Small Culture

Holliday (1999, p.237) asserted "a small culture paradigm attaches 'culture' to small social groupings or activities wherever there is cohesive behaviour, and thus avoids culturist ethnic, national or international stereotyping".

The present study made use of the educational background or the writing schooling of Iranian students as a representative of small cultural setting and it was detected through a questionnaire (see appendix B).

Contrastive Rhetoric (CR):

Contrastive rhetoric was founded on the premise that rhetoric is culture-sensitive; thus, writers from different cultural backgrounds demonstrate different organizational patterns in their writings (Kaplan, 1966).

This idea built up the groundwork of the present study and the researcher tried to confirm this idea by qualitative analysis of the texts and detecting the patterns and preferences of the Iranian EFL writers.

Intercultural Rhetoric

It is a term proposed by Connor in her 2004 article which she believed "better reflects the dynamic nature of the area of [CR] study" and that "changing definitions of written discourse analysis—from text-based to context sensitive—and of culture—from static to dynamic—contribute to the changing focus of intercultural rhetoric research" (p.302).

Bidirectional Transfer

It is a concept in relation to CR studies which claims that not only do rhetorical patterns transfer from L1 to L2, but also there is a possibility that L2 writing experience and conventions be transferable to L1 writing (Uysal, 2008; Hirose, 2003).

The present study seeks to shed light on this notion mainly through stimulated recall interviews.

Stimulated Recall Interview

According to Gass and Mackey (2000, 2005) stimulated recall is one subset of a range of introspective methods that represent a means of eliciting data about thought processes involved in carrying out a task or activity by prompting the learner to recall and report thoughts that she or he had while performing the task.

In this study stimulated recall interview with the participants was conducted after the production of the essays by them in order to elicit information about the reasons for applying certain patterns and conventions and also if they are transferred from one language to another.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

- a) Due to the small sample size, the patterns found in this study cannot be claimed to be the only cultural representations of Persian writing. Therefore, any generalization about the results of this study should be approached cautiously. The results should be interpreted as the representation of only finite rather than generalizable realities. To validate the findings of the present study, future research should engage a larger number of participants in different EFL and ESL writing contexts.
- b) Secondly, as the essays were written in argumentative mode for a specific purpose, the results cannot be generalized to other types of writing and more studies are needed to find about the patterns in other genres.
- c) Another limitation was the subjectivity inherent in the analysis of texts, although it was attempted to reduce this subjectivity by correlating two readers' coding, no claim can still be made about absolutely impeccable evaluation.

- d) Furthermore, the participants in this study produced their writings under no time limitation. Therefore, the patterns found in this study may differ from those detected in writings that are produced under time pressure.
- e) Since volunteer sampling was used in this study and the participants were not selected randomly, care should be taken in generalizing the results to other situations.

Replication using different essay modes and topics, larger and different groups of participants in terms of language proficiency and writing history as well as more coders, would be necessary in order to reach any generalization.

Chapter Two

Review of the Related Literature

2.1. Introduction

Generally speaking, the ability to write effectively demands strenuous effort and specialized instruction even for a native speaker of a language. Consequently, when it comes to writing in a second language, this difficulty and intricacy enlarges, making it one of the most challenging aspects of literacy in a second language. Moreover, speaking of English as the language of globalization and international communication, it is written English that stands as the prevalent medium of this discussion. The field of L2 writing, however, is a relatively young area compared to the other fields, which has come to maintain a much more pivotal position than it occupied thirty or more years ago. For decades, writing was neglected as an area of study because of the emphasis on teaching spoken language during the dominance of audiolingual methodology (Connor, 1996). Nonetheless, second language writing skills play an increasingly important role today in the lives of professionals in almost every field and discipline and this has bred a huge body of research on second language writing by those responsible for teaching it.

One principal rule in effective teaching of writing is an understanding of what is involved in it including the principles, perspectives, issues and models of L2 writing. In this regard, developments in ESL composition have always been under the influence of changes in the teaching of writing to native speakers of English. However, due to the unique context of ESL composition, relatively distinct practices have always been called for (Silva, 1997). The historical sketch of approaches and orientations to L2 writing shows that they have continuously gone through a cycle of dominance and weakness throughout the fifty-year history of its existence but none has ever totally disappeared. Silva (1997) introduced four viable approaches toward L2 writing, namely controlled composition, current-traditional rhetoric, the process approach, and English for academic purposes. Each of these approaches focuses on a particular feature of writing and all are more or less applied in various situations.

The second approach in this category, which is also the focus of this particular study, came to existence in the mid-sixties bringing "an increasing awareness of ESL students' needs with regard to producing extended written discourse" (Silva, 1997, p.13). Controlled writing seemed to limit writing to producing grammatical sentences and there was a call for free writing. Therefore, the ESL version of current-traditional rhetoric was developed which combined the basic principles of the current-traditional paradigm from native-speaker composition instruction with Kaplan's (1966) theory of contrastive rhetoric (CR) which believed rhetoric was language and culture specific.

2.2. The Emergence of Contrastive Rhetoric (CR)

Contrastive rhetoric research initiated more than forty years ago, by the American applied linguist Robert Kaplan. Kaplan's (1966) pioneering study of six hundred L2 student essays established the first and foremost attention to cultural and linguistic differences in the writing of ESL students. In the beginning, Kaplan assumed that logic is the basis of rhetoric and is evolved out of a culture. Since logic is not universal, rhetoric is not universal either, but varies from culture to culture and even from time to time within a given culture. As a result, speakers of different language backgrounds organize their paragraphs in a unique way related to their L1 background. In other words, the rhetorical patterns of each language are unique to that language or culture and it is the transfer of rhetorical conventions of the L1 writing to ESL writing that often cause interference. In effect, Kaplan came up with the idea that the reason his ESL students' writing looked 'different' from native English speakers' writings was because their cultural thought styles were different, and accordingly, these thought styles were expressed in their cultures' rhetorical styles. Connor (2008) believes that for us, forty years later, this may seem obvious. Yet, when Kaplan wrote this article, it was novel for three

reasons. First, few ESL instructors thought much about writing. The predominant methodology – the Audiolingual Method – concentrated on the oral skills. Second, the focus of both linguistics and language teaching was on the *clausal* level, rather than the discourse level. Third, people did not believe that writing could be taught. You were either born with the gift or you lacked it.

Kaplan (1966) also held the position that a purely linguistic analysis is not enough to analyze the texts so his article was the pioneer to extend the analysis beyond the sentence level. He defined rhetoric as the method of organizing syntactic units into larger patterns and stated that his study "intended only to demonstrate that paragraph developments other than those normally regarded as desirable in English do exist" (1966, p.14). As Silva (1997, p.14) pointed it out the central concern of this approach was:

... the logical construction and arrangement of discourse forms. Of primary interest was the paragraph. Here attention was given not only to its elements (topic sentences, support sentences, concluding sentences and transitions), but also to various options for its development (illustration, exemplification, comparison, contrast, partition, classification, definition, causal analysis, and so on). The other important focus was essay development, actually an extrapolation of paragraph principles to larger stretches of discourse. Addressed here were larger structural entities (introduction, body and conclusion) and organizational patterns and modes (normally narration, description, exposition and argumentation).

Kaplan (1966) in his ground-breaking study claimed that Anglo-European expository essays were developed linearly whereas essays in Semitic languages used parallel coordinate clauses; those in Oriental languages preferred an indirect approach, coming to the point in the end; and those in Romance languages and in Russian include material that, from a linear point of view, is irrelevant. He also graphically represented his findings in the following manner:

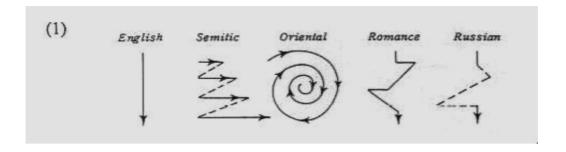


Fig.1: Kaplan's (1996) diagram on cultural patterns of different language groups

This diagram had an intense impact because it was intuitively appealing and easily remembered; however, it has been sometimes interpreted too simplistically and literally as meaning that a writing pattern reflects a thinking pattern (Connor, 1996).

Generally, this ground-breaking article acted as the opening to a contentious issue that brought about a huge body of research in writing area. Since that time, contrastive rhetoric has gone through various phases of appreciation and criticisms. Thus, it certainly has had a significant impact on the teaching of writing in both ESL and EFL classes.

2.3. Origins of Contrastive Rhetoric

2.3.1. Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis vs. Ethnography of Communication

As for the probable origins of CR there are a number of different views. For instance, discussing the early contrastive rhetoric, Connor (1996) claimed that the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity, also called Whorfian hypothesis, was basic to contrastive rhetoric because it suggests that different languages affect perception and thought in different ways. This pertains the weak version of the hypothesis i.e. language influences thought and which is regaining respectability in linguistics, psychology, and composition studies, resulting in a renewed interest in the study of cultural differences (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996, as cited

in Connor, 2002). However, in another article by Ying (2000), he argued that "the claim that the origin of contrastive rhetoric lies in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is untenable because the latter is actually rooted in German ideas on linguistic determinism" (p. 260), and according to Ying, these ideas are incompatible with Kaplan's (1966) view of rhetoric and culture. Ying believed that Kaplan did not consider language and rhetoric as determinative as thought patterns but rather he simply maintained that language and rhetoric evolve out of a culture. Hence, Ying viewed Hymes's (1962) ethnography of communication as an important historical antecedent for contrastive rhetoric. "The framework in Hymes's system is communication, not language, and is important in studying the patterned use of language, often across cultures" (p. 495, as cited in Connor, 2002).

Yet, Matsuda (2001) in response to Ying's article spoke of his personal communication with Kaplan (March 11, 2001) in which Kaplan admitted not having been influenced by Hymes's work at the time of his study, but having been much influenced by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Therefore, Matsuda (2001) concluded that contrastive rhetoric derived from Kaplan's attempt to integrate three various intellectual traditions: contrastive analysis, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, and the emerging field of composition and rhetoric, especially Christensen's (1963) generative rhetoric of the paragraph. The latter influence encouraged Kaplan to approach contrastive analysis at the paragraph level (Connor, 2002).

2.3.2. Contrastive Analysis

Applied linguists and second language learning methodologists in the U.S. were structural linguists, such as Charles Fries (1945) and Robert Lado (1957, both cited in Connor, 2008). These linguists had adopted a theory of learning – behaviorism – in which learning equaled the reinforcement of correct responses. Errors were to be avoided. The early applied linguists attempted to predict, based on the learners' L1s, where the errors might

appear in L2 and how to prevent them from happening. Connor (2008) in numerating the inspirations for CR asserted that the main principle of contrastive analysis was that "difference equals difficulty". In other words, where one found a difference in the grammatical structure of the languages, one could expect a learning problem. "This was the basic assumption for Kaplan in contrastive rhetoric as well: if English rhetorical style differed from the rhetorical style of the learners' native language, then there would be a potential learning problem" (p.301). Culture-specific patterns of organization, particularly those found in Kaplan's (1966) study (see figure 1) were considered negative and as a solution to prevent them Kaplan recommended that non-native users of English can model compositions constructed with the straight line of development which was considered as typical of Anglo-American writers. He also suggested exercises in which students were asked to reorganize sentences in paragraphs.

Besides, as Connor (1996) contended the early studies were involved with beginning-level ESL students' writings. Having a pedagogic rationale, they combined the contrastive and error analysis approaches. Like contrastive analysis, contrastive rhetoric started as an attempt to improve pedagogy, and its advocates believed that the interference from L1 was the biggest problem in L2 acquisition. Parallel with findings of error analysis, *errors* in beginning-level students' paragraph organization were initially examined and reasons for them were hypothesized based on the language background they came from. Connor also stated that CR never entered the next stage of 'interlanguage'. Instead, it moved ahead to compare discourse structures across cultures and genres.

2.3.3. Rhetoric

Connor (2008) believed that the third concept influencing Kaplan's idea was rhetoric, which Kaplan had specialized in as a doctoral student. Aristotle's rhetoric included five

elements: invention, memory, arrangement, style, and delivery. The element of arrangement or organization was the focus of Kaplan's paper.

2.3.4. Pedagogy

The fourth and final influence on Kaplan's notion of CR introduced by Connor (2008) is language teaching pedagogy. He was concerned that although the Audiolingual Method gave no emphasis on writing, international students at U.S. universities were asked to write papers in English in their regular university classes.

The shift of emphasis from teaching spoken English to foreign students to the need to write in English is also mentioned in Arapoff (1967)'s article.

On the whole, Connor (2002), speaking of the origins of CR concluded that:

No matter what its origin, Kaplan's (1966) earlier model, which was concerned with paragraph organization, was useful in accounting for cultural differences in essays written by college students for academic purposes. It also introduced the U.S. linguistic world to a real, if basic, insight: Writing is culturally influenced in interesting and complex ways. Nevertheless, the model was not designed to describe writing for academic and professional purposes. Nor was it intended to describe composing processes across cultures. (p.495-496)

2.4. Applications and Findings of Contrastive Rhetoric

2.4.1. General Contributions of CR

As previously mentioned, contrastive rhetoric explores differences and similarities in EFL and ESL writing across different cultures and languages as well as smaller contexts of education or business. Hence, "it considers texts not merely as static products but as functional parts of dynamic cultural contexts" (Connor, 2002, p.493). This attention to writing was remarkably welcomed in the area of ESL instruction because a focus on oral language skills had already dominated ESL contexts in the United States (Connor et al, 2008).

Although it was primarily concerned with student essay writing in its first thirty years, CR studies have recently contributed more to searching for preferred patterns of writing, especially in ESP situations. Accordingly, it has played a major role in clarifying the cultural differences in writing, and as it has had so far, it will continue to have an impact on teaching of ESL and EFL writing. According to Atkinson (2000):

The contrastive rhetoric hypothesis has held perhaps its greatest allure for those in nonnative-English-speaking contexts abroad, forced as they are to look EFL writing in the eye to try to understand why it at least sometimes looks "different"—often subtly out of sync with that one might expect from a "native" perspective. (p. 319)

In this regard, some culture-specific patterns such as reader-versus-writer responsibility (Hinds, 1987); the use of metatext (Mauranen, 1993, as cited in Connor, 2003); through-argumentation versus counter-argumentation (Hatim, 1997, as cited in Connor, 2003); deductive versus inductive organizational patterns (Kobayashi, 1984; Oi, 1984, as cited in Kubota, 1998b); linear organization structure (Connor, 2002) and the place of thesis statement (Kubota, 1998a) have been introduced to the literature.

2.4.2. Contrastive Rhetorical Studies in Iran

There are also a number of studies that have been carried out in Iran to compare

Persian and English rhetoric but their approach to the issue mostly concerns the use of

metadiscourse in writings of native and non-native speakers of English and Persian (e.g.

Abbasi, 1997; Abdollahzadeh, 2001; Marandi, 2002; Rahimpour 2006; Rezaei, 2006, etc.) or

genre analysis of various texts (e.g. Akbari, 1996; Bandari, 1999; Mobasher, 2004; Mahzari,

2005; Joobi, 2006). The focus of these studies has generally been on different sections of

newspapers, theses and articles including abstracts, introductions, discussions or editorials, for

instance. There are also studies such as those of Eslami (1996), Alikhani (1997) and

Soleimani (2001) which have investigated the relationship between L1 (Persian) and L2