

# **Sentence-initial *and* and *but* in editorial writing: A comparison across Korean and American English newspapers.**

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**Lewis, Sarah. 2015. Sentence-initial *and* and *but* in editorial writing: A comparison across Korean and American English newspapers. *SNU Working Papers in English Linguistics and Language* 13, 105-124.** Despite proscription against the use of *and* and *but* in sentence-initial position, studies have found special functions of these words in written discourse. This study aims to investigate the functions and patterns of occurrence of sentence-initial *and* (SIA) and sentence-initial *but* (SIB) in editorial writings written by native English writers and advanced Korean English writers. Over 100,000 words of writings, a total of 421 editorials written between years 2014 and 2015, are separated by the native language of the writer and cross-analyzed. Editorial discourse prefers the function of SIA and SIB in the order of (i) indicating a discontinuity or shift with a previous discourse unit; (ii) indicating the development of an argument; and (iii) marking off a discourse unit by indicating the last item (or potential last-items) on a list. Though the pattern of preference in function was similar between natives and non-natives, non-native writers appear to be much more conservative in frequency of using the words under examination (Seoul National University)

**Keywords:** Editorials, sentence-initial-*and*, sentence-initial-*but*, Additive connectives, conjunctive adverbials, text analysis

## **1. Introduction**

The uses of sentence-initial *And*, henceforth SIA, and sentence-initial *But*, henceforth SIB, have long been proscribed in writing. However, the increase in use of SIA and SIB has been recorded in recent studies (Cotter 2003; Gunningham 2002; Greene 2002; Raimes 2002), and even trending as the most frequently occurring sentence-initial additive and contrastive connectives, respectively, in academic writings (Bell 2007). Given the relatively frequent use of SIA and SIB in academic pros, the aim of this paper is to examine both the frequency and

function of SIA and SIB in another genre: editorial writings in particular.

In addition to looking into the use and function of SIA and SIB in the genre of editorials, in attempt to understand the pattern of usage of Korean, near-native level English writers, this paper will compare both the observation of SIA and SIB use in native English writer editorials to the same observations made on editorials written by Korean near-native level writers of English.

## **2. Previous studies**

According to Dorgeloh (2004), the reason for the cause of present day proscriptions against SIA can be pointed in the direction of evolving standards of objectivity and argumentative structure in scientific writing and the resulting changes in preferences for discourse structure from paratactic to subordinate conjunction. He argues that SIA became stigmatized with the change in the nature of scientific experiment in the mid-seventeenth century. Thus, Dorgeloh proposes that proscription of SIA in general writing stemmed from the banishment of SIA in academic scientific writing.

In discussing conjunctions as one cohesive device in the larger concept of cohesion, Halliday and Hasan (1976) focus on SIA, labeling coordination as an intrasentential structural device and conjunction as a cohesive device relating sentences. Here they describe SIA as expressing an additive relationship between sentences while describing *but* as an adversative. They argue that conjunction is not a mere extension of coordination that operates between sentences, but that they have similarities and differences in the way they are used. One similarity Halliday and Hasan put forward is that while they differ in function as coordinate *and* can link any number of items while conjunctive *and* links

pairs of sentences, sets of sentences similar to coordination do exist, especially if they are parallel in structure.

Another function of SIA that Halliday and Hasan suggest is its use to introduce what comes “next in a series (of things to be said)”. An example would be a series of questions with SIA preceding each new question. An additional example would be the use of SIA in a series of points all contributing to a single, more general argument. Here, what the SIA communicates is not the last item on a list but rather the continuation of an ongoing list of items, signaling the development of an argument.

However, Halliday and Hasan state that the typical context for SIA is not the cases where the SIA use is similar to that of coordinator *and*, but that there is a complete or near-complete shift in participants from one sentence to the next while the two sentences are still part of a unified text. The authors also state that SIA occurs at the boundary of dialogue and narrative in narrative fiction. In examining utterance and turn-initial *and* in conversation, Schiffren (1986; 1987; 2006) identifies the two roles of *and*: coordinating idea units and continuing a speaker’s action. Thus, it seems to be safe to say that SIA functions to mark off discourse units, continue discourse units, or to mark a shift between discourse units.

Unlike the proscriptions against SIA, proscriptions against SIB are weaker, and this is reflected in the greater frequency of SIB found in editorial discourse, as will be shown in the current study examining editorials. Studies distinguishing *but* as an intersentential conjunction and as a sentence-initial marker are rare, with most studies on SIB focusing on it as a discourse marker (c.f. Bell 2007), a function that marks relations between discourse segments, speech acts and discourse participation. Bell (1998) suggests that *but* takes part as a cancellative discourse marker, providing instruction as to which information—whether derived or derivable, explicit or implicit—is to be canceled by the current message.

Bell (2007) also puts forward the three functions of SIB, which are very closely related to that of SIA: marking off idea units through its ability

to coordinate ideas; acting as a device of argument development; and indicating a discontinuity or shift with a previous discourse unit. The current study follows this framework of Bell. Bell examines the patterns of occurrence and function of SIA and SIB in academic writing, using a number of journals in the fields of science, social science, and humanities. His data shows a marked difference in the use of SIA and SIB in different genres of writings, showing low frequency in scientific writing and much higher frequency in social science and humanities. In addition, SIA is recorded as the preferred additive connective and SIB the second most preferred contrastive connective, next to *however*, in his corpora.

### 3. Research questions

In the previous section, we saw the possible reason as to why SIA and SIB have become proscribed in writing. As the appearance of SIA and SIB has become more frequent in academic and newspaper writing, it has given rise to discussion of their function and usage across various genres: Halliday and Hasan (1976) discussed their function in narrative fiction; Schiffrin (1986, 1987, 2006) examined the genre of verbal communication; and Bell (2007), academic discourse. Interestingly, among the many genres of written discourse examined in terms of pattern and usage of conjunctions *and* and *but*, editorials are lacking in research. As a subcategory of newspaper writings, the genre of editorials differ from ordinary newspaper writings in that it is considered an opinion discourse. In this paper, I look into the pattern and usage of SIA and SIB in editorial writings in comparison to academic writing under Bell's (2007) framework.

Research on the use of conjunctions often compared the different pattern of usage between native speakers of English (NSs) and non-native speakers of English (NNSs) in terms of their positions and semantic types

(c.f. Crewe, 1990; Field & Yip, 1992; Kang, 2008; Norment, 1994; Reid, 1992; Yoon, 2006). Kang (2008), for example, reported the heavy reliance on sentence-initial conjunctions by Korean intermediate-level learners of English in their English written discourse while the NSs preferred interclausal conjunctions. Yoon (2006) also observed Korean learners' preference for sentence-initial connectors. Because of the fairly recent appearance of SIA and SIB in written discourse despite their history of proscription in writing, I assume that SIA and SIB must be a confusing concept to accept and understand for learners of English who speak a different native tongue. Therefore, I attempt to take a glimpse into the understanding of SIA and SIB by Korean near-native writers of English in this research.

The questions this study aims to answer can be narrowed down to:

1. What patterns of occurrence and functions of sentence-initial *and* (SIA) and sentence-initial *but* (SIB) appear in editorial writing?
2. How do these patterns and functions compare to English editorial writings written by Korean near-native writers?

#### 4. Data

To this end, a total of 421 editorials written between years 2014 and 2015 were collected from two English newspapers, one by native writers of English (The New York Times) and the other by Korean near-native writers of English (The Korea Herald), and text-analyzed. Each corpus consisted of over 100,000 words.

Table 1

*Frequency of SIA and SIB in Editorial Writings*

	Native Writings	Korean Writings
Source	The New York Times	The Korea Herald

Size	100,361 words	100,241 words
Year	2014-2015	2014-2015
Number of writings	211	210
Frequency of SIA	71	4
Frequency of SIB	236	131

Because the focus here is on the use of SIA and SIB in editorial writings, I have excluded occurrences of SIA and SIB in editorials directly borrowed quotes.

## 5. Observations and analysis

### 5.1 SIA in native English editorials

Out of the 71 tokens of SIA in the corpus of the native English editorials, two occurred in combination with *yet*, and because it is difficult to figure out the role of SIA in this particular relationship other than the semantic relationship communicated by the word *yet*, I excluded these examples, narrowing the number down to 69 tokens. SIA was the preferred form of sentence initial additive connectives and conjunctive adverbials (i.e. 3 *moreover* ; 8 *in addition*; 3 *also*; and 3 *besides* found in the corpus).

The symmetric, listing function of SIA usually marks the last item on a list. This listing function was observed in three of the 71 tokens. In (1), SIA marks the last item of a two-item list.

- (1) She notes that the Whitney's inclusiveness has sometimes wavered. In 1986, the director, Thomas Armstrong, wrote this to a gallery owner: "Good try in your efforts to convince me that David Hockney is an American artist. Unfortunately our criteria is citizenship, not longevity of residency in the United States." He added that "this is one thing that is not destined to be altered."

Mr. Armstrong apparently forgot about Kuniyoshi. **And** ignored the obvious truth that while Mr. Hockney isn't American, his palm trees and Malibu swimming pools certainly are.

Interestingly, unlike Bell's (2007) definition of the symmetric function, the listing of item was not restricted to the last item on a list in my data. As seen in (2), the symmetric use of SIA consecutively appears two times. Here, *and* both coordinates the items on a list of states that "New York lags behind in library-system vigor," but also adds items intersententially. These items added on by SIA appear to be of more importance. The consecutive use of SIA emphasizes the length of the list, and communicating the lengthiness of the list emphasizes New York's extreme fall-behind.

(2) They also want more operating money, \$378 million, up from about \$320 million, to improve programs and services in the coming fiscal year and to stay open longer — a basic indicator of library-system vigor in which New York lags embarrassingly behind Chicago, Los Angeles, Dallas, Phoenix, Philadelphia, San Antonio and San Diego. **And** the city's suburbs. **And** Albany. Mayor Bill de Blasio should give them the money, no question. (...)

The infrequent occurrence of this function is comparable to that of Academic pros, where more than half of the tokens of SIA perform this function.

Regarding asymmetric occurrences of SIA, Bell (2007) refers to the term "argumentative chains" describing the function of SIA marking the continuation or development of a discourse unit in the context of academic writing. According to Bell, this chaining effect is linguistically marked by the way the new information slot in the preceding sentence becomes the topic in the sentence preceded by SIA. Though his

definition of the argumentative chain was restricted to academic writing, I found the same function of SIA as a discourse developing tool in my data. In (3), the new information about “every individual’s liberty and due process rights” became the topic of the following sentence with SIA.

(3) Ms. Marshall wrote then, “civil marriage is an esteemed institution, and the decision whether and whom to marry is among life’s momentous acts of self-definition.” Decisions about sexual intimacy and raising children are, the opinion said, “among the *most basic of every individual’s liberty and due process rights.*” **And** *extending these rights* did not put the institution of marriage at risk, she wrote. “Alarms about the imminent erosion of the ‘natural’ order of marriage were sounded over the demise (...)”

The third function of SIA is its role as a marker of discontinuity or shift in discourse. In (4), upon talking about a heckler at a gallery who was expressing his dissatisfaction about same-sex marriage, the author of the editorial stated that “opponents of marriage equality are not going down without a fight,” then follows with SIA, marking a movement away from a thread to what is clearly a comment on the author’s intent on the previous discourse.

(4) At the close of the first half-hour, a man in the back of the gallery began shouting that same-sex marriage violates the teachings of the Bible, and that its supporters will burn in hell. After he was dragged out kicking and screaming, Justice Antonin Scalia quipped, “It was rather refreshing, actually.” The heckler’s tirade, which cut through some of the courtroom tension, made one thing clear: Opponents of marriage equality are not going down without a fight. **And** that is a major reason the court needs to resolve, finally, the question it has been dodging for

more than four decades: Is there a constitutional right to same-sex marriage?

The most frequently occurring function of SIA in editorial writing is the marking of discontinuity or topic shift, followed by the developing of argument, and very few occurrences of the listing function. This differs from the pattern observed in academic writing where the major use of SIA is to de-link discourse units by signaling the last item on a list, and to signal the continuation of an argument, or, what Bell has called, argument chains.

## 5.2 SIB in native English editorials

Similar to the function of SIA, we can identify the function of SIB in three ways: to mark off a discourse unit by indicating the last item on a list; to indicate the development of an argument, and to mark a discontinuity or shift with a previous discourse unit. My data shows the predominant use of SIB in editorials lying in the function of marking discontinuity or shift with a previous discourse unit.

As SIA can mark off idea units by adding the final element on a list, Bell (2007) argues that SIB can function likewise. Surprisingly, only one example of this use of SIB was found in the corpus. In this example, the SIB appeared with a superlative, giving way to a further element to be added to the previous set of arguments.

(5) There is a lot to praise in the powerful ruling issued by a three-judge federal appeals panel in New York on Thursday, which held that the government's vast, continuing and, until recently, secret sweep of Americans' phone records is illegal.

**But** perhaps the most important message the unanimous decision sends is a simple one: Congress could not have intended to approve a program whose true scope almost no one outside the

National Security Agency fully comprehended — that is, until Edward Snowden leaked its details to the world.

The majority of SIB in academic discourse appeared in the form of argument developers (Bell 2007). Upon examining this function in editorial writings, I found that in editorial writings, argument developers were greatly outnumbered by markers of discontinuity or topic shift unlike the genre studied by Bell. Still, there were four cases of SIB functioning as argument developers. If SIA added to the argument structure to facilitate argument development, SIB facilitates argument development by subtracting from the previous argument through cancelation or refinement.

(6) The new proposal has strong backing from Germany, which took in 203,000 asylum seekers in 2014, the most of any European country. Germany's support is appropriate, given its relatively robust economy. **But** even Germany has expressed concern, together with France, that the plan should take into consideration how many asylum seekers countries have already taken in. This is a reasonable demand. Five of the E.U.'s 28 members — Germany, France, Sweden, Italy and Hungary — now account for three-fourths of all asylum applications.

(7) In reversing the conviction, Chief Justice Roberts wrote that it mattered what Mr. Elonis was thinking as he wrote his posts. The decision rejected the rule used in 9 out of the country's 11 federal appeals courts, which applied the lenient "reasonable person" standard to the vaguely worded anti-threat law. **But** while that standard is appropriate for civil cases, the chief justice wrote, "federal criminal liability generally does not turn solely on the results of an act without considering the defendant's mental state."

(8) Mr. Putin clearly fears a political backlash from Russians who could turn against him and his destructive policies if they learn the truth about Ukraine. Public opinion polls have largely shown that Russian support for Mr. Putin is high and many Russians don't believe their military forces are involved in Ukraine.

**But** that could change. A recent report by members of Russia's political opposition said that at least 220 active-duty Russian soldiers had died in Ukraine since last spring. And there are signs that the toll is rising, including wounded troops showing up at hospitals, new graves appearing in cemeteries, dozens of military funerals during the past year and testimony from relatives of the dead, The Times reported.

(9) The goal of Ms. Steinem and her group — to begin a long-term peace-building project with the full involvement of women — is no doubt worthy. **But** the question remains whether their approach can help achieve peace. As a correspondent in Moscow in the last years of the Soviet Union, I often met with American peace activists convinced that if only they and similarly minded Russian people could meet and talk, the Cold War would end. The Kremlin happily supplied carefully selected Communist Party interlocutors and used the visitors in propaganda intended to portray the Soviet Union as the victim of militaristic Western leaders. Liberal Russians I knew found these missions amusingly naïve.

Examples (6) and (7) represent cancellation where the statement including SIB refines the implied broader claim. For instance, in (6), the idea on “Germany's appropriate support” made in the preceding statement of SIB is refined by the SIB statement that follows,

representing a shift in topic. Examples (8) and (9) represent cases where the cancelation of the statement preceding SIB happens through introducing the vulnerability of the statement's state (i.e. the likeliness for it to change).

The final, and most frequently used function of SIB in editorial writing appeared to be the marking of discontinuity or shift with a previous discourse unit. Fairly abrupt topic shifts, as in (10) and (11), are commonly found in the current data.

(10) This is the month that these millions were supposed to begin lining up to tell the authorities: Here we are, sign us up. **But** because 26 states sued to block Mr. Obama's plans, the immigrants, instead of receiving permission to legally stay and work, are left holding nothing but unmet promises, their lives as anxious and uncertain as ever.

(11) The core problem is that the United States let itself become dependent on Russian rocket engines for national security missions. After the Cold War, it made sense to encourage cooperation between the nations and offer opportunities to Russian scientists and technicians so they would be less likely to sell their skills to Iran and North Korea. **But** in recent years, Mr. Putin has become increasingly at odds with the United States.

Approximately 70% of the SIB function this way in editorial discourse. This pattern of SIB appearance contrasts with that of academic pros, signaling a difference in the two discourses, which I will discuss in section 6.

### **5.3 SIA in Korean English editorials**

The SIA use in English editorials written by Korean near-native level writers of English is extremely conservative, naturally showing a preference for other additive connectives and conjunctive adverbials. There were 15 *moreover* ; 9 *in addition*; 5 *also*; and 10 *besides* in the corpus, compared to 3 *moreover* ; 8 *in addition*; 3 *also*; and 3 *besides* in the native writers' corpus. The corpus of Korean writers showed 4 tokens of SIA in the entire corpus, whereas, as noted previously, 69 tokens were found in the native English writings. The functions of SIAs that appeared in the Korean writings are subsumable under two of the categories of function Bell (2007) provided. Out of the four occurrences, two of them functioned as tools for argument development.

(12) The weaker growth outlook was coupled by the forecast that consumer prices would grow 0.9 percent this year, down by 1 percentage point from the previous estimate three months ago. **And** even this is after including the recent surge in tobacco prices, which accounted for 0.6 percentage points.

(13) Indeed, the stated mission of the SPO is to provide Seoulites with the world's highest standard of classical music and to improve Seoul's brand power as an international city. However, the council members must be made aware that overseas tours and album recordings are opportunities to hone the orchestra's skills and to be critiqued by an international audience. This helps to improve the musical experiences of Seoulites.

**And** improve the SPO did. The orchestra's ticket sales more than doubled between 2005 and 2014 when it reached 92 percent. In 2011, it signed a five-year deal with Deutsche Grammophon to release two albums each year. The SPO was the first Asian orchestra to be signed by the prestigious classical music label, which was a remarkable feat for an orchestra that was relatively

new on the international scene.

The other two function as markers of discontinuity or topic shift.

(14) Because of their very generous payments, the civil service pensions are soaking up about 10 billion won (\$9 million) in taxpayers' money every day. The nation cannot afford a further delay to remove the snowballing threat to fiscal stability.

It is usually futile to ask politicians to put national interests ahead of partisan concerns. **And** the major parties may regard the upcoming four by-elections as a bellwether for next year's general election, which will in turn set the path for the 2017 presidential election.

(15) It is no wonder that the public questions whether it makes sense to churn out such oversized programs just to win the elections to choose four legislators who will serve only until the current National Assembly finishes its four-year term in April 2016. **And** NPAD officials themselves may probably be unsure about the plausibility of the funding plan.

There were no symmetric use of SIA observable in the corpus, but, due to the small size of the corpus, it is too soon to judge whether the lack of SIA use as a listing device is a result of the writing style of Korean writers or not.

#### **5.4 SIB in Korean English editorials**

The SIB use in English editorials written by Korean near-native level writers of English is relatively conservative (131 tokens), with the native writers' use (236 tokens) nearly doubling in frequency compared to the Korean use. As mentioned before, the functions of the SIA that appear in the Korean writings were subsumable under

two of the categories of function Bell (2007) put forward. The more prominent function of SIB in Korean writings was signaling discontinuity or shift of topic as in (16).

(16) Korean exports to China had been focused on petrochemicals, steel, shipbuilding and heavy industrial plant, in the form of intermediary and capital goods. **But** Chinese firms have already developed enough to pose serious challenges to Korean businesses in these areas

The other function observed in my corpus of the Korean near-native writers of English was the use of SIB as a tool for argument development.

(17) Against this backdrop, calls have been mounting for efforts to expand domestic consumption to help boost growth. Increasing consumer spending at home is necessary to ensure the economy will be less vulnerable to turbulence in overseas markets. **But** boosting exports will still be essential to reinvigorate the economy, with many households opting to pocket increased income rather than spend it amid growing anxieties over an uncertain future.

Once again, as was in the case with SIA, no example of a symmetrical, listing function of the connector was found.

## 6. Discussion

### 6.1 SIA and SIB use in editorial writing

Table 2

*Frequency of SIA and SIB according to Academic Journals (Bell 2007) and Editorial Writings*

	Academic Journals	Editorial Writings
Size	1,084,863 words	100,361 words
SIA	161	69
SIB	489	236

Table 2 helps put the frequency of SIA and SIB according to the academic and editorial discourse into perspective. Considering the size of each corpus, SIA and SIB occur in editorial discourse much more frequently than in academic prose. Regarding the pattern and use of SIA and SIB, editorial writings do not only differ from academic discourse in terms of frequency.

Table 3

*Order of Frequency of SIA Functions in Academic Journals (Bell 2007) and Editorial Writings*

Academic Journals (Bell 2007)	Listing Function > Signaling Continuation > Signaling Shift
Editorial Writings	Signaling Shift > Signaling Continuation > Listing Function

Note in Table 3 that the most frequent and least frequent function of SIA and SIB in each corpus also shows a dynamic difference. In academic journals, sentence initial conjunctions *and* and *but* are most likely to have a symmetric function, listing the last item of a list, whereas the listing function of SIA in editorial writings rarely occur. Also, the function of SIA where the conjunction marks the discontinuation or shift in discourse segment is not easily spotted in academic journals due to the nature of the

genre avoiding abrupt shifts in the rhetoric, while it is the predominant function in editorial writing.

Table 4

*Order of Frequency of SIB Functions in Academic Journals (Bell 2007) and Editorial Writings*

Academic Journals	Signaling Continuation > Signaling Shift > Listing Function
Editorial Writings	Signaling Shift > Signaling Continuation > Listing Function

The use of SIB in editorial writings shows the same preference order of functions as did the use of SIA in editorial writing. This also differs from the order of frequency in SIB functions in academic discourse. The fact that both the additive and contrastive conjunctions in sentence-initial position are preferred in the same order of functions marks a characteristic of the genre.

Now, then, we can question what makes editorials behave so differently in their use of SIA and SIB by looking deeper into the characteristics of editorials discourse. The purpose of editorials as a genre is primarily to “express and construct public opinion” (van Dijk 1988). Editorials are part of journalistic discourse, yet they are also part of opinion discourse; Objectivity is not a key factor in the genre, and dramatizing the writer’s opinion through the rhetoric is possible and is a widely used strategy.

Here, I recall example (2):

(18) [previously (2)] They also want more operating money, \$378 million, up from about \$320 million, to improve programs and services in the coming fiscal year and to stay open longer — a basic indicator of library-system vigor in which New York lags

embarrassingly behind Chicago, Los Angeles, Dallas, Phoenix, Philadelphia, San Antonio and San Diego. **And** the city's suburbs. **And** Albany. Mayor Bill de Blasio should give them the money, no question. (...)

The infrequent occurrence of this listing function is comparable to that of Academic pros, where more than half of the tokens of SIA perform this function. One way I can think of explaining this prime example of SIA in editorial discourse — the consecutive use of SIA in its listing function— is that the author achieves emphasizing or exaggerating of the length of the list, rather than marking the specific members of the list. This is possible because of the heavy emphasis on opinion in editorials.

In summary, editorial discourse prefers the function of SIA and SIB in the order of (i) indicating a discontinuity or shift with a previous discourse unit; (ii) indicating the development of an argument; and (iii) marking off a discourse unit by indicating the last item (or potential last-items) on a list.

## **6.2 Korean writers of English and their understanding of the function of sentence initial conjunctions**

The Korean near-native writers of English of this study appeared to follow the same pattern of usage of SIA and SIB in editorial writings: They preferred indicating a discontinuity or shift with a previous discourse unit the most, then, indicating the development of an argument. There is also a clear dispreference of the function marking off a discourse unit by indicating the near-last item.

## **7. Conclusion**

The current study examined the different pattern of occurrence and function preference of SIA and SIB of native English writers and Korean writers of English in the genre of editorials. The nature of editorials being an opinion discourse might be the reason behind the marked SIA and SIB use compared to academic discourse. Korean near-naïve level English writers seem to have the same preference order of functions as native English writers. However, they are much more conservative in the use of sentence-initial conjunctions.

Previous research on the use of conjunctions of Korean learners of English display a misunderstanding of the sentence-initial conjunction, proscribing the learners from SIA and SIB use (c.f. Silva 1993). More research should be done in the understanding of non-native writers and their use of sentence initial connectors, with the clear understanding of the functions of SIA and SIB in mind.

The shortcoming of this research stems from the data selection: There is a chance that the groups of writers might not have represented the particular groups this study aimed to look at. Also, gathering data from a single news source for each L1 group might have showed the stylistic characteristic of the news publishing company more than the general style of writers of each group. A larger body of data is necessary to validate the claims made in this study

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