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Expressions used by young Argentine Spanish speakers: neutralization of discrepancies between interlocutors

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1. *Introduction*

We have grouped in this paper three expressions that, in our opinion, share important characteristics and are frequently used in the genre of informal conversations: the expressions *obvio*, *más vale* and *ni hablar* – that can be roughly translated as *obvious*, *of course* and *needless to say*. The basis for this analysis is a selection of argumentative fragments that form part of the corpus of the research project on "Genre in verbal interactions", conducted at the University of La Plata, Argentina. This corpus is formed by twenty four informal conversations among university students between the ages of 18 and 26. We focused on the linguistic, discoursal and interactive behaviour of the expressions mentioned. A qualitative analysis, starting from the theoretical perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics, was carried out, taking van Eemeren *et al.* (2000) as the reference for the analysis of the argumentative fragments. Work was done on the location of these expressions with respect to the syntactic organization of the utterances where they occur, and particularly on their function in the conversational discourse. The comparison and contrast of the expressions mentioned is the topic of this paper.

2. *Analysis of the expressions*

Similarities

Expression # of occurrences	Linguistic behaviour		
	Inside a complete proposition	As the only component of the construction	Thematized with the conjunction "that"
Obvious: 16	12	2	2
Of course: 8	1	5	2
Needless to say: 9	7	1	1

Table I Linguistic behaviour of the analysed expressions

As the table shows, the expressions under analysis share the same linguistic behaviour: the three of them can be found as part of a whole proposition, in isolation as the only component of the construction, and thematized with the conjunction 'that'.

They also share similarities as regards their interactive behaviour, since all of them are phoric constructions that "can only make sense in relation to a previous discourse" and "hence, can never appear inside the first turn of speech nor be the first part of an exchange, since they presuppose an anaphoric retroactive move" (Montolío 1996: 332-3).

The three expressions in question could be included inside the class of markers that Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (2000: 4146) call *markers of epistemic modality* that are used in declarative statements and that "build, themselves, an assertion, that reflexes how the speaker focuses the message introduced by the marker – or where the marker is immersed-, whether this message is considered for example, 'evident' or 'known through someone else'".

The richest aspect to analyse is the discoursive behaviour where we find similarities among the expressions but also some interesting differences. The three items project a context in which there is only one possible option – in comparison with expressions such as 'who cares?', 'what's the use?' where it is possible to consider other alternatives: 'does it matter or not?', 'is it useful or not?', respectively. Moreover, these discourse markers reflect an attempt to neutralize, up to a certain extent, the challenge of facing possible controversies among speakers. They are frequently used to orient the relationship between the participants towards a shared view of the world – although this common ground might not be taken as such – as the first case shows.

Case 1. *Topic of the conversation*[1]: Laura tells Romina about an evening out with friends to a pub called 'Rektorado'

Argumentative chain:

Assertion: I don't like 'Rektorado'
Support: It's stuffy – It's expensive – The menu is not varied – the quality of the food is
               no good – Customers are not well treated

> La: *Después fuimos a ... a Rektorado a comer.*
> La: We then went to *Rektorado* to eat.
> Ro: *Ah... las chicas fueron, con todo.*
> Ro: Oh... the girls went, full of enthusiasm.
> La: *Sí, yo re caliente, (risas)* **obvio.**
> La: Yes, I was furious, (laughs) **obvious.**
> Ro: *¿Por?*
> Ro: Why?
> La: *Porque no quería ir al Rektorado, no me gusta el Rektorado.*
> La: Because I didn't want to go to *Rektorado,* I don't like *Rektorado.*

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[1] Ungrammatical or odd versions in English might result from the fact that translation tries to respect the category of the word used in the original language.

> Ro: *Yo este año voy a ir al comedor. A full.*
> Ro: This year I'm going to the university canteen, for sure.
> La: *Yo también. Bueno. Fuimos a Rektorado a comer. **Obvio**, que yo siempre "No, no"…*
> La: Me too. Well, we went to *Rektorado* to eat. **Obvious,** I always "no, no…"
> Ro: *Sí.*
> Ro: Yeah.

Case 1. Discursive function of obvious *shared with the other expressions: consensus*

Rocío asks the reason of the affirmation 'I was furious, **obvious'** and it is necessary for her interlocutor to give more details so that she understands the context that Laura has projected. But the fact that Laura didn't want to go to *Rektorado* is presented as the only possible alternative which, in fact was the expected thing to happen given the circumstances. The same kind of projection applies, in our view, to the other two expressions under analysis, as number 2 and 3 try to illustrate.

Case 2. *Topic of the conversation*: Cecilia and Valeria talk about having a baby.

Argumentative chain:
Assertion: Having children now is inconvenient.
Support: She hasn't finished University yet – she has to find a job – she has to be independent.

> Ce: [*No sé,*] *yo lo que pasa que por ahora no… Yo, Luis cada vez le están dando más ganas de* [*tener pero*]…
> Ce: [I don't know]. In my case, not now. I, Luis is more and more willing to have one [but] …
> Va: [*¡Ah!, ¿sí?*]
> Va: [Oh, really?]
> Ce: … *igual yo por ahora no. No porque él, él: "¡Mirá qué lindo* [*bebé!*"]
> Ce: All the same, not now, in my case. Not because he, he: "Look! What a cute [baby!"]
> Va: [*Ceci*], *reci*[*bite y buscá…*]
> Va: [Ceci], fin[ish your studies and then find] …
> Ce: [*No, **más vale***]
> Ce: [No, **of course**]
> Va: … *un trabajo primero.*
> Va: … a job first.
> Ce: *¡**Más vale**!*
> Ce: **Of course!**
> Va: *No seas, no seas una madre que no… sabés tener un hijo y tener trabajo.*
> Va: Don't be, don't be a mother who doesn't… know how to have a child and a job.
> Ce: *¡No, me muero, **más vale**!*
> Ce: No, I kill myself, **of course!**

Case 2. Discursive function of of course *shared with the other expressions: consensus*

Case 2 also shows that what is expressed in the stretch of discourse where *of course* occurs, is expected to be taken as the only option – or the best option – and could be paraphrased as 'Surely, first I'm going to finish University and then look for a job.

Surely, I don't want to be only a mother and not work'. Case 3 presents an instance of *needless to say* that goes on the same line as the previous fragments analysed.

Case 3. *Topic of the conversation*: Romina and Laura talk about eating in the university *canteen.*

Argumentative chain:
Assertion: We must go to the university canteen.
Support: Everyone goes there – it's cheaper than other places – it's really cheap.

> Ro: *Yo este año voy a ir al comedor. A full.*
> Ro: This year I'm going to the university canteen. Definitely.
> La: *Yo también.*
> La: Me too.
> Ro: *Aparte, los chicos van todos los días.*
> Ro: Besides, the guys go there every day.
> La: [*¿Por qué?*]
> La: [Why?]
> Ro: [*Van todos*] *los días a la una.*
> Ro: [They go every] day at 1.
> La: [*¿Viste los horarios?*]
> La: [Have you seen the timetables?]
> Ro: [*Se juntan todos.*]
> Ro: [Eveybody gathers together]
> La: *Ah, ¿si?*
> La: Oh, really?
> Ro: *Ah, ¿son distintos? No. No.*
> Ro: Oh, are they different? No, no.
> La: *No, pero... los horarios son, salís a las doce, viste, más o menos, de la facultad, entonces... Pero bueno, hay que ir al comedor, ni hablar.*
> Ro: No, but... the timetables are, you go out at twelve, you see?, approximately, from the university, so... Anyways, **needless to say**, we must go to the university canteen.
> Ro: *Hay que ir al comedor. Un peso, es una ganga. Terrible.*
> Ro: We must go to the university canteen. $1 is a bargain. Terrific.
> La: *Lo que pasa que... bueno.*
> La: The thing is... well.
> Ro: *Lo que pasa que te.. te tienen que coincidir los horarios.*
> La: The thing is that the canteen's timetables have to fit yours.

> *Case 3. Discoursive function of* needless to say *shared with the other expressions: consensus*

Case 3 could be paraphrased as: 'The fact that we must go to the university canteen is indisputable'.

In movements where the studied expressions are part of a feedback move, *obvious, of course* and *needless to say* share the absence of an instance of negociation. A communion is created since the context of situation presented is accepted, and a high degree of intensification is shown. One participant manifests a certain way of seeing the world

and the other one does not question the validity of what has been said. We associate this with the function of manipulation inside evaluation (Hunston & Thompson 2003), that can appear in the development of the interpersonal function, of building and maintaining the relationship between speakers.

We could say that all the instances found used as part of a feedback move conform what Eggins & Slade call *registering moves* – in the sense of register of information– that is, "reactions that provide supportive encouragement for the other speaker to take another turn. They do not introduce any new material for negociation, and they carry the strong expectation that the immediately prior speaker will be the next speaker" (1997: 204). To illustrate this, we introduce the following cases from our corpus:

Case 4. *Topic of the conversation*: Ana and Angelina talk about a friend's new mobile phone

Argumentative chain:
Assertion: Clamshell phones are better
Support: They are beautiful – they are more secure

> Ana: *Está bueno pero no, viste cuando decís, yo hubiera elegido el otro, el Samsung, el Samsung, ¿no?*
> Ana: It's nice, but no, you know when you say `I would have chosen the other one, the Samsung', the Samsung, don't you think?
> Ang: *Sí, pero XXX es caro.*
> Ang: Yes, but XXX it's expensive.
> Ana: *Y bueno, me gusta. (Risas)*
> Ana: Well, I like it (laughs)
> Ang: *Qué raro, qué raro ella, gustándole todo lo que es caro.*
> Ang: How strange, how strange, she liking everything that is expensive.
> Ana: *Y **obvio**. Bueno.*
> Ana: Well **obvious.** OK.

> Case 4. Obvious *as part of a feedback move*

There is not a change in the world view presented but a subscription and, sometimes, an enlargement of what has previously been said. This subscription to the interlocutor's sphere, to the personal perception of the other speaker, allows for the development of strategies of positive politeness between the interlocutors, favouring mutual identification and solidarity (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro 2000: 4156). In terms of the systemic functional linguistics, we would say that they contribute to the interpersonal function, creating affiliations. A fragment including another expression under analysis is number 5:

Case 5. *Topic of the conversation*: Belén, Mercedes, Paula and Romina talk about the
                          requirements to pass a subject at the university

Argumentative chain:

Assertion: It's better to pass the subject with a final exam than by working with other students

Support: You don't need to meet other people – you don't have to coordinate timetables – the
         conditions of the place where the work should be done are no good – it's far away and
         it implies a long journey to get there

Bel: *Es feo, yo prefiero que me tomen antes que hacer un trabajo, a mí no me gusta.*

Bel: It's not nice. I prefer to give an oral presentation instead of writing a paper. I don't like it.

Mer: *Y no.*

Mer: Right, no.

Pau: *O rendir un final...*

Pau: Or sit for a final exam...

Bel: *Sí, o rendir un final.*

Bel: Yes, or sit for a final exam.

Pau: *...porque aparte es de a tres, entonces entre que conocés a las otras dos XXX*

Pau: because, besides, the work should be done in a group of three, so you have to meet
     the other two

Bel: *Los horarios.*

Bel: The timetables.

Pau: *XXX y además lo estamos haciendo en el Observatorio, entonces entre que la gente del
     Observatorio pueda, que nosotras tres podamos, que lo podamos hacer...*

Pau: XXX and besides we are doing it in the Observatory, so we have to combine time-
     tables with the people from the observatory, among us three...

Bel: *Claro.*

Bel: Sure.

Pau: *...que no se corte la luz, que no...*

Pau: and there there are the power cuts...

Bel: *Nosotros para hacer una charla de anemia en ... y viajar hasta Berisso es un quilombo.*

Bel: In order to give a talk about anaemia we have to travel to Berisso. It's total chaos.

Rom: *Sí, **ni hablar**.*

Rom: **Needless to say**, yes.

Case 5. Needless to say *as part of a feedback move*

All these could be considered *boosters*, according to Holmes (1995), and *upgraders*, in
House & Kasper's words (1981) – that is, expressions that reinforce the meaning of
the proposition where they appear (Watts 2004: 185). In Eggin's (2004: 160) classifi-
cation of modal adjuncts, the expressions analysed would be *mood adjuncts* which add
interpersonal meaning to the clause, "that is they add meanings which are somehow
connected to the creation and maintainance of the dialogue". We can talk here of an
emphatic use – in terms of Zorraquino & Montolío Durán (1998:33) – that "rein-
forces the assertion developing the informative value that the utterance has, in the
sense of emphasizing the orientation with which it has been uttered".

As a partial summary of what has been said up to now, the following chart is presented, with the similarities found among the three expressions in question:

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                               │
│       Similarities among obvious, of course, needless to say  │
│      ─────────────────────────────────────────────────────── │
│                                                               │
│                          The expressions appear:             │
│   Linguistic  ────────►  . inside a complete proposition      │
│   behaviour              . as the only component of the construction │
│                          . thematized with the conjunction `that´ │
│                                                               │
│   Interactive ────────►  They all have a `sequential dependency´ located │
│   behaviour              in the previous discourse²           │
│                                                               │
│   Discoursive ────────►  They are used in an attempt to find consensus │
│   behaviour              among speakers                       │
│                                                               │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Table II Similarities among the expressions under analysis

We will now look at the differences in the discursive behaviour of each expression.

Peculiarities

Obvious

To the idea that it is clear that facts could not have been otherwise, in the case of *obvious* a generalization is added, applicable to people or facts, depending on the case. Cases #1 and #4 previously presented show occurrences that contain generalizations related to the personal experience of the speaker.

In Case # 1: When Laura says "Yes, I was furious, **obvious**" and "Well, we went to *Rektorado* to eat. **Obvious**, I always 'no, no' ..." the possible generalization related to the personal experience of the speaker could be: 'I always get angry if we go to *Rektorado*. I always reject going there'.

In # 4: When Ana replies "Well **obvious. OK**." to Angelina's "How strange, how strange of her liking everything that is expensive" we could say that the generalization with focus on an individual experience can be paraphrased as: 'I always like expensive things'.

In these cases, through the use of *obvious* the individual situation of the speaker is evaluated. "As we tell a story of personal experience, we remember how we were, how we believe we are, or how we wish to be. Evaluation in narrative exposes mirrors of multiple senses of the self" (Cortazzi & Jin 2003:120) not only hypothetical but also dreamworld selves. Common ground with the hearer is projected. The speaker presents the situation under a structure that could be stated as:

'When X happens, I always react in Y way'

There are other fragments – as the following – in which, we believe, the use of *obvious* is related to a less individual idea, that can be generalized, in one way or another, to any person and not to a single one.

Case 6. *Topic of the conversation*: Paula talks with Belén about the changes in a subject at university as a consequence of a change in the curriculum

Argumentative chain:
Assertion: Some changes in the curriculum are negative
Support: Students are taken as guinea pigs – the reduction in the number of teaching hours does not help anyone – the division of some subjects does not help either.

> Pau: *...porque hay muchas materias, por ejemplo, que.. dicen.. en Contactología, se la pasaron diciendo "Hoy no llegamos, hoy no llegamos XXX que no llegamos". Hay ocho horas en el.. en el plan de estudio y nos dan tres.*
>
> Pau: ... because there are lots of subjects, for example that... they say.. in Contactology, they kept saying "Today, we won't be able to cover all the topics, today we won't be able XXX we won't be able". The curriculum establishes 8 hours and they teach us only 3.
>
> Bel: *Claro, **obvio** que no van a llegar.*
>
> Bel: **Obvious,** they won't be able to cover all the contents, for sure.
>
> Pau: *Es que sí, si no llegás, entonces dame las que te corresponden...*
>
> Pau: It's that, if you can't make it, teach me the corresponding number of hours...
>
> Bel: *Claro.*
>
> Bel: Sure.
>
> Pau: *...no, no me digas "Ay, no llegamos" y te quedás de brazos cruzados. Hay mucha... no sé es todo un problema...*
>
> *Pau*: ... don't, don't tell me "Oh, we won't be able to cover all the syllabus" and remain with your arms folded. There's a lot... I don't know. Everything is a problem...

Case 6. Obvious*. Generalization with a focus on people – collective experience*

Unlike the previous case, here a collective scope is considered, that seems to manifest that what has been exposed is not only unquestionable but also applicable to any person. This generalization with focus on a collective experience can be paraphrased as 'Nobody would find the given time sufficient to teach the complete subject'. Here the speaker presents the situation under a structure that could be stated as:

$$\text{We /all react/ in X way every time Y /happens/}$$
$$\text{/would all react /if Y happened'}$$

In the rest of the occurrences found, we believe that the focus is not on the people but on the facts that are presented, in some way, as an inevitable consequence.

Case 7. *Topic of the conversation*: Ana and Angelina talk about buying a new phone

Argumentative chain:
Assertion: Flip phones are better than the others
Support: They are beautiful – they are more secure

> Ana: *Me gustan los de tapita,* [*son los que vimos.*]
> Ana: I like flip phones [those that we've seen.]
> Ang: [*Sí...*] *Sí, son hermosos. Aparte son más seguros.*
> Ang: [Yes...] Yes, they are beautiful. Besides, they're more secure.
> Ana: *¿Por?*
> Ana: Why?
> Ang: *Y... no se te marcan solos si están en la mochila.*
> Ang: Well... their keys are not pressed by themselves when you keep the phone in your rucksack.
> Ana: *Ah, sí, eso...*
> Ana: Oh, yes, that...
> Ang: *Esas cosas.*
> Ang: Those things...
> Ana: *No, está bueno.*
> Ana: No, it's good.
> Ang: *Vamos y compramos.*
> Ana: Let's go and buy.
> Ana: *Por ahí son los más caros.*
> Ana: May be they are the most expensive ones.
> Ang: *Y, **obvio**. (Risas) Y, **obvio**. Como el de Sil... ése, de los más, digamos, [menos caros,] menos caros de los de tapita.*
> Ang: Well, **obvious**. (laughs) Well, **obvious**. Like the one Sil has... that one, one of the most, let's say, [least expensive ones,] least expensive with a flip top.

Case 7. Obvious. *Generalization with focus on the facts*

The generalization with focus on the facts could be paraphrased in this case as 'if the phone is more sophisticated, it will be necessarily more expensive'. Here the speaker presents the situation under a structure that could be stated as:

'When the facts are X, Y always happens'

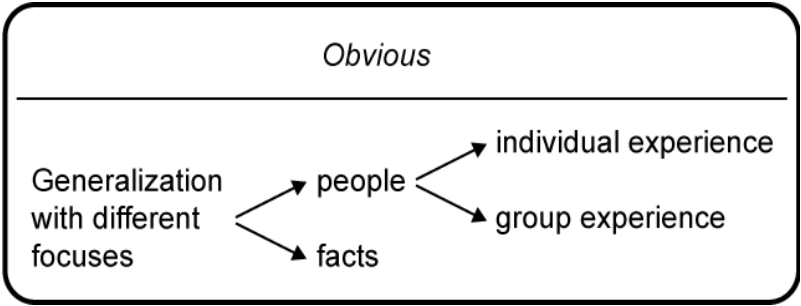The following table shows the peculiarities of *obvious* in relation to the other two expressions analysed:

Table III Peculiarities of obvious *in its discursive behaviour*

These generalizations implied by *obvious* are exclusive of this expression.

Of course

As said before, a similarity between the three expressions in question, is the lack of negociation of the facts presented by one of the speakers. However, the meaning this marker suggests is different from the others. In case #2, Cecilia's words can be paraphrased as 'Surely I'm going to finish University and then I will look for a job before having a baby. Surely, I don't want to be only a mother who doesn't work'. The speaker presents the situation under a structure that could be stated as:

'X said before, is evident'

Apart from this one, we find other cases in the corpus where the controversy does not consist of deciding whether to agree with the interlocutor or not, but to question the facts themselves.

Case 8. *Topic of the conversation*: Enzo and Javier talk about passing a subject at university.

Argumentative chain:
Assertion: It's better to sit for the final exam instead of re-attending the subject to avoid sitting for the written test.
Support: It takes less time. You can attend other subjects.

> En: *...si vas a final, hay muchos que van a final y... y... cómo te puedo decir, meten la cursada tienen que dar el final, y lo que hacen es cuando agarra, arranca otra vez la inscripción se vuelven a anotar otra vez en esa materia y la vuelven a hacer entera* [*para no dar el final.*]
> En: ... if you sit for the final exam and... and... how can I explain? There are people who pass the practical classes with a low mark and have to sit for the final exam, what they do is, when classes start again, they re – attend the subject to see if they can pass it with a higher mark so that they don't have to sit for the final written part.

Ja: [*Ah, para salvar...*]

Ja: I see, in order not to...

En: *Sí, para no dar el final, eso es al pedo igual.* **Más vale** *prepararlo una vez y listo.*

En: Yes, in order not to sit for the written part; that's useless anyway. **Of course** it's better to study for the written part XXXXX

Ja: *Y prepararlo por ahí te lleva un mes* [*si hacés la cursada te lleva XXX.*]

Ja: And studying for the final exam takes a month [if you re-attend the subject it takes XXX]

En: [*Y pero... no perdés seis meses.*]

En: [But...you don't waste six months.]

Ja: *Claro, por eso, no, no, por eso que por ahí es más conveniente hacer, eh, tirar el final que hacer toda la cursada de vuelta* [*el final...*]

Ja: **Sure.** That's why, no, no, that's why it's more convenient to study, er, sit for the final exam than to attend the subject again [the final exam...]

En: [*Sí, ni hablar.*]

En: [Yes, **needless to say.**]

Ja: *...lo preparás en un mes o dos meses.* [*O menos, o menos.*]

Ja: ... you study it in a month or two. [Or less, or less.]

En: [*Aparte con la cursada ya*] *te da, te da la posibilidad de seguir cursando la otra materia que son correlativas.*

En: [Besides, with the completion of the practical classes you have the possibility of attending other subjects.]

Case 8. Of course. *Consideration of more than one possibility*

The context presented here could be paraphrased as 'It's better to prepare the exam than not to do so'. The other difference relies on the fact that in this case, more than one possibility is implicitly considered (the idea of sitting and not sitting for the exam), and that the option chosen by the speaker is shown as the most appropriate one according to him. Whereas in the previous case (#2) finishing university and getting a job before starting a family is presented as the only possibility. The following table shows the peculiarities of of course in relation to the other two expressions analysed.

Of course

Consideration of more than one possibility

Table IV Peculiarities of of course *in its discursive behaviour*

Needless to say

Fragment # 3 ("**needless to say**, we must go to the university canteen") exemplifies the similarity of *needless to say* with the other two expressions in question. The context

introduced here could be paraphrased as 'It's undoubtful that going to the university canteen is the best option'. In this case, the speaker presents the situation under a structure that could be stated as:

<div align="center">X previously said is indisputable'</div>

On the other hand, the following fragment introduces an instance with a function of *needless to say* different from the rest of the corpus.

Case 9. Topic of the conversation: Enzo and Facundo talk about a football match with boys from another city called Pehuajó.

Argumentative chain:
Assertion: The boys from Pehuajó are stupid.
Support: They are all gays – they are slow to play

> En: *Al final tenemos que hacer el partido con los pelotudos estos de* **Pehuajó.**
> En: In the end we have to play the match with the stupid guys from Pehuajó.
> Fa: *¿Sí?*
> Fa: Really?
> En: *Ni hablar.*
> En: Don't mention it. (**1**) **Needless to say**
> Fa: *Se la comen.*
> Fa: They are gays.
> En: *Ni hablar que se la comen, toda, toda.*
> En: (**2**) **Needless to say** that they are gays.
> Fa: *Todos los de Pehuajó se la comen.*
> Fa: All the boys from Pehuajó are gays.

Case 9. Needless to say. *Invitation to continue talking about a certain topic*

We believe that the instance of *needless to say* thematized with 'that' (2) responds to the description previously mentioned: an 'aligment' of the speaker with his interlocutor (Carranza 1998:78). However, the first case in this fragment (1), not necessarily intends to present an option as apparently indisputable. At first sight, it seems to announce the preference of not dealing with certain topics; but, in our opinion, it functions as an invitation to talk, more than as an invitation to close the conversation. What we understand the speaker must have expressed in this case, could be paraphrased as 'No comments' (possible subtext: let me tell you why I say this).

<div style="border:1px solid black; border-radius:20px; padding:10px;">

Needless to say

Invitation to continue talking about a topic that provokes dissatisfaction to the speaker

</div>

Table V Peculiarities of needless to say *in its discursive behaviour*

3. *Conclusion*

In the present work we have grouped three expressions that share the same linguistic and interactive behaviour: they appear inside a complete propositon, as the only element of the construction and thematized with the conjunction 'that'. Besides, they cannot be used at the beginning of a conversation because they are constructions dependent on previous moves. Regarding their discursive behaviour, we have seen that the three seem to cancel the option of considering other alternatives as possible in the same situation. They articulate what Ducrot calls *cooriented* members (Portolés 1998), that is, with the same argumentative orientation, and seek for concurrence – fostering the cooperation between interlocutors, politeness strategies in rapport management. It is in the discursive function where the most interesting differences are found. *Obvious* is the only expression that implies a generalization with different focuses, added up to the idea of lack of confrontation previously suggested. *Of course* and *Needless to say* also present a few cases that are different from the rest: one instance of use of *of course* that contemplates more than one implicit possibility and, in the second case, an invitation to continue speaking about a topic that has already been introduced into the conversation. The divergences in the discursive plane, are what make these expressions not necessarily interchangeable with one another.

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