Languages and Cultures in Contrast and Comparison

EDITED BY

María de los Ángeles Gómez González
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Languages and Cultures in Contrast and Comparison
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Edited by María de los Ángeles Gómez González, J. Lachlan Mackenzie and Elsa M. González Álvarez
Languages and Cultures
in Contrast and Comparison

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# Table of contents

Contributors vii

Introduction xv

**PART I. Information structure**

Theme zones in contrast: An analysis of their linguistic realization in the communicative act of a non-acceptance

_Anita Fetzer_ 3

Last things first: A FDG approach to clause-final focus constituents in Spanish and English

*_Mike Hannay and Elena Martínez Caro*_ 33

Contrastive perspectives on cleft sentences

_Jeanette K. Gundel_ 69

The position of adverbials and the pragmatic organization of the sentence: A comparison of French and Dutch

_Ilse Magnus_ 89

**PART II. Lexis in contrast**

Swedish verbs of perception from a typological and contrastive perspective

_Åke Viberg_ 123

‘Abroad’ and semantically related terms in some European languages and in Akan (Ghana)

_Thorstein Fretheim and Nana Aba Appiah Amfo_ 173

The expression of emotion in Italian and English fairy tales

_Gabrina Pounds_ 193

The feminine stereotype in gay characterization: A look at English and Spanish

_Félix Rodríguez González_ 221
PART III. Contrastive perspectives on SLA

Communicative tasks across languages: Movie narratives in English, in English as a foreign language and in German
Andreas H. Jucker

Linguistic theory and bilingual systems: Simultaneous and sequential English/Spanish bilingualism
Raquel Fernández Fuertes, Juana M. Liceras and Esther Álvarez de la Fuente

Awareness of orthographic form and morphophonemic learning in EFL
Edward Dalley Benson and María del Pilar García Mayo

Contrastive intonation and error analysis: Tonality and tonicity in the interlanguage of a group of Spanish learners of English
Francisco Gutiérrez Díez

Author index

Index of languages

Index of terms
Contributors

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Introduction

This book is devoted to various explorations of how linguistics and pragmatics together can shed light on the contrasts between languages in their discourse-cultural settings. It arises from presentations and discussions held at the Fourth International Contrastive Linguistics Conference (ICLC4), which took place in Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain from 20 to 23 September 2005. The twelve chapters analyse linguistic phenomena across different languages, taking into account their co-texts as well as the socio-cultural contexts in which they arise. The first two sections consider various questions of information structure, discourse analysis and lexis; each chapter is concerned in some way with the interplay between, on the one hand, grammatical and lexical organization and, on the other, the contexts in which utterances are used and texts emerge. The final chapters of the book consider how new techniques of contrastive linguistics and pragmatics are contributing to the primary field of application for contrastive analysis, language teaching and learning.

1. Information structure

The first section examines, from different perspectives and with regard to various languages and contexts, strategies deployed by speakers in the presentation of the information they wish to convey. It is now generally accepted across all schools of linguistics and pragmatics that a central factor in the structuring of linguistic messages is the distinction between thematic and rhematic information, no matter what labels each school gives to these categories, no matter what refinements they apply. This opposition between an utterance-initial Theme and a Rheme (composing all or part of the rest of the utterance) underlies all four chapters. Likewise, such related concepts as Topic, Focus, information packaging (the structuring of propositional content in function of the speaker’s assumptions about the hearer’s information state), information processing (how information is stored and retrieved) and the contrast between Given and New information, to mention but a few, also loom large in the four chapters

grouped in this section: they all share the view of grammar as a dynamic tool for the packaging of information that allows the speaker to focus the hearer’s attention on a particular discourse referent in order to satisfy context-specific communicative needs, and thereby contribute to efficient information exchange.

The notion of Theme takes centre stage in the first of these chapters, by Anita Fetzer. In the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics, she studies Theme with regard to its textual function and thus integrates the grammar of the clause into an analysis of discourse. Her focus is on language use in a particular context, that of politicians’ reactions to electoral defeat. Admitting defeat during a political interview is, in Politeness Theory terms, a face-threatening act which may be expected to display particular linguistic properties. Since in all cultures it is hard for a politician to concede his or her lack of popularity, this commonality grants the researcher a constant against which to analyse the variable linguistic realizations of shared communicative purposes. Fetzer accordingly devotes close comparative consideration to 12 short dyadic interviews between professional journalists and representatives of the losers of the 1997 General Election in the United Kingdom, the Conservatives, and of the losers of the 1998 General Election in Germany, the Christian Democratic Party and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Democrats. The German data and the British data thus share almost identical external parameters and very similar contextual features. Moreover, the co-participants’ argumentation is based on the same premises, namely that they are not in a position to comment on their particular situation as their defeat has not yet been given officially recognized status. Despite these contextual similarities, the linguistic realizations of the British and German non-acceptances differ significantly. These differences are shown to result above all from language-specific preferences regarding the linguistic realization of turn-initial positions and their functions as interpersonal, topical or textual Themes. In English, interpersonal Themes clearly predominate, whereas in German the Theme is very often a negative textual element, setting up a rejection rather than, as in English, negotiating through multiple thematic elements.

With the article by Mike Hannay & Elena Martínez Caro, we shift our attention to the Rheme, and more specifically to constituents in absolute clause-final position, now with regard to Spanish and English. The authors assume that syntactic constituents are ordered by a language-specific linear template. They show that the templates (or functional patterns) for the two languages they examine differ in various respects. Using the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar, they go on to ask whether the behaviour of clause-final focal elements in both languages warrants the positing of special focus positions in their respective functional patterns. For Spanish, the existence of the verb-initial, subject-final order characteristic of thetic statements strongly suggests that a special position for Focus material is indeed required; in English, it is constructions with object-postposing that impose a similar conclusion. Thus both languages can be seen to recognize such a clause-final position, but they put it to quite different uses. The chapter contains an examination of Ian McEwen's exploitation of the clause-final position in his novel *Enduring Love*, which shows how a writer can
employ syntactic strategies for identifiable communicative purposes. Hannay and Martínez-Caro suggest that a decision to postpone a particular constituent can have knock-back effects on the syntax of preceding material.

These notions of Theme and Rheme are also essential to the chapter by Jeanette Gundel, who is one of the major contributors worldwide to the analysis of the information-structural properties of sentences. In this study, she reports on research into the distribution and frequency of the it-cleft construction in J.K. Rowling’s novel *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* and its Norwegian and Spanish translations. This construction very clearly articulates the clause into a Theme and a Rheme section. The results of Gundel’s work support earlier findings that despite cross-linguistic parallels in structure, the frequency of use of cleft constructions can differ considerably across languages. She argues that such differences can only partly be explained by morphosyntactic or prosodic differences between the languages in question. She proposes instead that the differences in frequency of use reflect differences in the degree to which each language permits direct mapping of information structure onto surface syntactic structure. These differences – Gundel shows – can only be fully understood if a distinction is made between two logically and empirically distinct information-structural concepts: relational givenness/newness, i.e. the familiar linguistic notion of Topic-Focus structure, and referential givenness, which is concerned with cognitive matters, namely the memory and attention status of discourse entities.

The following final chapter of this section, by Ilse Magnus, turns to another grammatical phenomenon which is impacted by information-structural considerations, the syntactic placement of adverbials. More precisely, her study considers the positional tendencies displayed by circumstantial adjuncts in Dutch and French; like Hannay and Martínez Caro, Magnus, assumes that syntactic constituents are ordered by a language-specific linear template. Another important theoretical assumption of hers, influenced by the Role & Reference Grammar approach, is that sentence constituents can be classified as either focusable or not, and that this distinction in potential for Focus assignment is essential for an understanding of the phenomena she examines. A further refinement is her claim that not just individual constituents but an entire sentence can also be classified as <± focusable>. On this basis she lays bare an important difference between the French and Dutch languages: the French clause can be divided into a non-focusable and a focusable section, which are separated by the position for the negative particle *pas*; Dutch is more flexible in permitting the entire clause and its constituents to be focusable, with the important exception of the initial and final positions. This generalization has consequences for the analysis of adverbials, consequences which are tested in an empirical study with informants. In French, there is a strong correlation between the focusability of adverbials and where they can occur in the syntactic sequence: positions within the focusable section of a French clause can only accept focusable adverbials, and positions with the non-focusable section can only take non-focusable adverbials; however, the latter can accept focusable adverbs provided that these are not actually in Focus in the particular context of utterance. The situation in Dutch is
quite different: here the various clause-internal focusable positions can take adverbials of either status; accordingly, it is other factors such as relation to the context and sentence accent rather than clausal position that enable the Focus to be identifiable.

2. Lexis in contrast

The second section moves from grammatical to lexical matters. The comparison of lexical items has long been a central concern of contrastive linguistics and cultural pragmatics, for individual words and phrases reveal the interaction between language and culture society more clearly than culturally more neutral matters like syntax and phonology. The chapters in this section are no exception to this, covering matters such as human perception and emotion, the psychological understanding of 'home' and 'abroad', the development of children’s emotional life and the relation between lexical choice and sexual orientation.

Åke Viberg’s contribution offers a typologically oriented analysis of Swedish verbs of perception based on data from two translation corpora, the large English Swedish Parallel Corpus and a Multilingual Pilot Corpus consisting of extracts from Swedish novels and their published translations into English, German, French and Finnish. The study focuses on language-specific features forming part of the typological-lexical profile of Swedish, but also casts much light upon the languages with which Swedish is contrasted. Although cross-linguistic variation in the lexical field of perception verbs is constrained by the nature of the human perception system, even closely related languages like those compared can differ quite radically. This is shown for the entire lexical field. Viberg shows how the Swedish verbs se and höra (lit. ‘see’ and ‘hear’) display interesting patterns of polysemy, with several language-specific characteristics. But the most remarkable perception verb in Swedish is känna ‘feel’, whose meaning has extended to touch, taste, smell and bodily perceptions and emotions, as well as a number of cognition meanings such as ‘know about an act’ or ‘know a person’. These meaning extensions parallel the semantic development of verbs of feeling in various geographically adjacent languages.

The chapter by Thorstein Fretheim and Nana Aba Appiah Amfo devotes an in-depth analysis to one single concept, one that is of crucial importance for language users’ understanding of themselves and their place in the world, namely the inherently deictic concept ‘abroad’ and the its associated semantic field, as well as its antonym ‘home’. Although several languages are passed in review, the analysis focuses on the language-pair Norwegian and Akan, the dominant indigenous language of Ghana. What emerges is that the expressions corresponding to ‘abroad’ in Akan have a denotation very different from the European “equivalents”, and moreover are highly laden with connotations that arise from the traditions and geopolitical status of Ghana. To a Ghanian, for example, another African country such as Togo is typically not regarded as being ‘abroad’, at least not when the speaker is using Akan. Adopting the
presuppositions of Relevance Theory, Fretheim and Amfo defend the position that it is cultural connotations that lie behind the metonyms and ambiguities that are characteristic of words for ‘foreignness’ in European languages, too.

With Gabrina Pound’s chapter, we move on to the question whether linguistic analysis of the lexical content of fairy tales will permit an analysis of their emotive content. More specifically, could such analysis be applied contrastively to reveal similarities and differences in how emotion is expressed in different cultural settings and in different languages? Drawing on the methodologies of discourse analysis and insights from social psychology and in particular on the lexical work of Wierzbicka’s Universal Semantic Metalanguage, Pound’s analysis of three fairy tales in English and Italian covers both linguistically expressed emotions and also emotion-arousing events in the tales. She observes how these stories play a role in the emotional development of children, providing a “safe” environment in which powerful emotions are played out. Differences were discovered through an analysis of the wording of versions of the shared fairy tales in the two languages: the more frequent reference to emotions in the Italian stories is seen to reflect a cultural emphasis on ethical concerns, whereas the versions in English are more oriented to inculcating strategies for problem-solving, generating (rather than representing) emotion, and developing the reader’s vocabulary.

The section concludes with Felix Rodríguez’s analysis of the lexical production of effeminate gay men using tools afforded by lexicography and sociolinguistics. The study scrutinizes a catalogue of words, idioms, expressions and metaphors which evoke the femininity of gays, both in Spanish (e.g. maricón, marica, violeta, rosa, moña, etc.) and in English (e.g. pink, flower, daisy, nancy, sissy-boy), explaining and contrasting their usage, connotations and semantic evolution. Of particular interest is Rodríguez’s demonstration of the use of such language by gays themselves as a reflection of the self-perception of the swishing sector of the homosexual community and of the counterculture which they see themselves as forming. The comparison of English and Spanish lexis in this area yields a picture of markedly greater variety in English: the author associates this with, on the one hand, the greater visibility of gay subcultures in the English-speaking world and, on the other, with a higher prevalence there of homophobia.

3. Contrastive perspectives on SLA

Contrastive linguistics has been closely associated throughout its post-war history with the study of the acquisition of foreign languages. In earlier days researchers tended to believe that contrastive linguistics could show exactly where/how the structures of L1 and L2 differed and thus yield direct input to the processes of teaching and learning foreign languages in a cultural environment that is not that of the L2. Current work is more oriented to differences between groups of the language learners, focusing on their overall communicative competence as well as to examining possible parallels
The first chapter of this section is by Andreas Jucker and concentrates on ‘movie narratives’, that is, stories in which narrators summarise the contents of a movie, usually a silent movie. This technique has been used for several decades by psycholinguists interested in studying verbal interaction in a tightly controlled manner, and Jucker adopts their experimental methodology. His subjects are native speakers of English (mostly students in California), speakers of English as a foreign language (students at Giessen University in Germany), and speakers of German (the same students in their native language). The focus is on the different ways in which English native speakers, EFL speakers, and speakers of German respectively sequence narrative elements through the appropriate choice of tenses; on how they introduce characters into their narrations; and on how they report acts of thought and speech. What emerges is that the subjects differ significantly with respect not to the mastery of grammatical correctness but to the frequency with which grammatical techniques are deployed: the German learners basically continue to use their native language's communicative strategies, while committing few grammatical mistakes. The challenge for language teaching and learning, then, is to discover and then orient to the lines of attack used by native speakers in carrying out communicative tasks.

The following chapter, by Raquel Fernández Fuertes, Juana M. Liceras & Esther Álvarez de la Fuente, also reports (partially) on experimental research, but with very different theoretical presuppositions, data sources and purposes. The authors employ Chomsky’s Minimalist Program and notion of parametric variation to explore the lexico-grammatical patterns produced by bilingual twins as they simultaneously learn their first languages Spanish and English as well as those found in the speech, spontaneous and experimentally induced, of adult sequential Spanish-English bilinguals. The research focuses on a set of phenomena that are well-suited to establishing whether the specific nature of bilingualism is determined by the innate mental representation of language: code-mixing in Determiner Phrases, null vs overt subjects, the positioning and omission of articles and clitics, and deverbal compounds in Spanish. The results show marked differences between the two groups of experimental subjects, which the authors ascribe to the children’s using a bottom-up strategy that accesses the formal morphological features furnished by their innate grammatical capacity while the adults use a top-down learning strategy that concentrates on words and phrases and makes morphological adjustments construction by construction.

The goal of Edward Dalley Benson and Pilar García Mayo’s chapter is to address the issue of Form-Focused Instruction (FFI) with regard to Spanish-speaking students’ consciousness of the intricate relationships between orthography and pronunciation in English. Can we help our students to learn by raising their awareness of the rules that linguists posit? The authors seek to answer this question with regard to a morphophonological regularity that is perennially difficult for Spanish learners: the various forms adopted by the English past tense and participial ending –ed: /t, d, id/. This
is done by experiment, comparing a group exposed to FFI with one not so exposed. The experimental results indicate that greater awareness does indeed correlate with greater learning. What remains to be tested is whether the FFI-taught students also displayed better phonological performance in spontaneous use and whether the improvement was sustained.

The final chapter of this section and of the book, by Francisco Gutiérrez, remains in the sphere of phonology, but now with regard to suprasegmental phenomena; at the same time, it returns us to some of the issues of information structure dealt with in Part I. The chapter is concerned with the analysis of errors in intonation committed by Spanish learners of English as a Foreign Language. These are divided into those that are phonetic and reflect a stage in the student's linguistic development and those that are phonological and pertain to deeper-lying divergences. Using Halliday's tonetic approach, Gutiérrez points to learners' particular difficulties in associating tonicity (pitch movement) with the pragmatic focus of the utterance. The core of the chapter is an empirical analysis of learner errors from which language teachers may draw considerable inspiration. Indeed, the author ends by making a plea for schoolteachers to devote much more attention to prosodic aspects of pronunciation, emphasizing how there is a relatively straightforward correlation between focus and tonic syllable.

4. Acknowledgements and concluding remarks

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It is our contention that the contributions gathered in this volume bring to light various hitherto unexplored or under-explored relationships between languages and
the discourse-cultural settings in which they are used. In some cases, it appears that the relationship goes from language to culture, with syntactic or lexical properties determining the interactive and cognitive possibilities of the language community, as in the articles by Hannay & Martinez, Gundel, Magnus, Viberg, Fernández Fuertes et al. In others, it is more clearly the other way round, with variations in cultural conventions impinging upon how people communicate with each other, as in the contributions by Fetzer, Fretheim & Amfo, Pound and Rodríguez. And in yet other cases, we see the position of the learner struggling with both language and culture, in an effort to reconcile rivalling discoursal, morphological and phonological strategies, as detailed in the chapters by Jucker, Benson & García Mayo and Gutiérrez. Although they display a wide range of methodologies, the articles together point to the multiple interactions between language use and the various communicative settings in which it is situated. As a whole, the book thus unravels more of the complexity that is inherent to both language and culture and to the myriad relations between them.

The Editors
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PART I

Information structure
Theme zones in contrast

An analysis of their linguistic realization in the communicative act of a non-acceptance

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This contribution examines the form and function of theme zones in a sociopragmatic framework supplemented by functional grammar comparing British English and German political discourse. In the British data, multiple themes are the unmarked variant. They signify the pragmatic force of incongruity but at the same time indicate that a negotiation of meaning is possible. In the German data, the variant [topical theme] is preferred but there are also multiple themes. Analogously to their functional meaning in British English, they signal an upcoming incongruity, but no intention to negotiate its status. Multiple themes also differ in their linguistic realization. While both sets use indexicals and general nouns for topical themes, the German data display more variation for textual and interpersonal themes.

1. Introduction

In the research paradigm of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), meaning and function of language are key concepts, and “language is interpreted as a system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which the meanings can be realized” (Halliday 1994: xiv). One of those ‘forms through which different meanings’ is ‘realized’ is the initial position of a clause which is also referred to as Theme and multiple Themes (Bloor and Bloor 1995, Halliday 1994), Theme zone (Hannay 1994) and extended multiple Themes (Gómez González 2001) in systemic-functional terminology. The goal of this chapter is to examine the different types of meaning which are packed into the initial position in spoken dyadic English and German discourse. The focus is on their linguistic realization in the communicative act of a non-acceptance.

1. English and German refer to Standard British English and Standard German only. Regional, social, national and functional variation is not accounted for in this chapter.
Unlike most traditional grammars which base their analyses on written language and on the sentence as a unit of investigation (Fetzer 2004), SFG transcends that frame of reference by examining spoken and written language within discourse-semantic perspectives based on the principle of paradigmatic choice. To account for the extended frame of reference, SFG is based on a tripartite system of experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. The \textit{experiential metafunction} looks upon the clause as representation and is based on its semantic representation within a system of transitivity. The \textit{interpersonal metafunction} considers the clause as exchange and is based on its modal representation within a system of mood, and the \textit{textual metafunction} looks upon the clause as message and is based on its bipolar conception as Theme and Rheme within a system of thematic structure. While the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions are primarily discourse-semantic in nature, the textual metafunction considers continuative, structural and conjunctive phenomena and thus is syntactic and discourse-semantic.

Analogously to the tripartite configuration of metafunctions, Theme categorizes into topical, interpersonal and textual Themes: \textit{topical Theme} is anchored to the experiential metafunction, which expresses semantic meaning. \textit{Interpersonal Theme} is anchored to the interpersonal metafunction, which expresses modal meaning. \textit{Textual Theme} is anchored to the textual metafunction, which expresses discourse-cohesive meaning. As a consequence, Theme is represented more appropriately as multiple Themes which are composed of more than one element. Generally they consist of one element with an experiential function, that is topical Theme, and other Themes, that is textual and interpersonal Themes (cf. Halliday 1994: 52). The concept of multiple Theme has been further refined by Gómez González’ notion of \textit{extended multiple Themes} (Gómez González 2001) which accounts for thematic elements realized after the topical Theme, namely pre- and post-topical interpersonal and textual (logico-conjunctive, in Gómez González’ terms) Themes (cf. Gómez González 2001: 329).

To capture Halliday’s concept of multiple Themes and Gómez González’ concept of extended multiple Themes, the textual metafunction’s constitutive part of Theme is referred to as Theme zone in the following. \textit{Theme zone} denotes “the initial zone which codes relational-semantic ‘aboutness’ (the speaker’s point of departure setting her / his angle on the experience being constructed) syntactically across different languages, although the relevance of this position varies in accordance with the morpho-syntactic structure of specific languages” (cf. Gómez González 2001: 132). Looked upon from a cognitive perspective, “the Theme Zone provides a (re-)orientation or a grounding for what is to follow” (Gómez González 2001: 351), and is, for this reason, intrinsically connected with the sociocognitive concept of \textit{dialogue common ground} (Fetzer 2004, 2007).

While the Theme zone is a universal configuration, its linguistic realization follows language-specific parameters. In “English (…) the theme is indicated by position in the clause. In speaking or writing English we signal that an item has thematic status by putting it first. No other signal is necessary” (Halliday 1994: 37). The linguistic realization of the Theme zone has been examined for British English from discourse-semantic
and corpus-linguistic perspectives by Crompton (2004), Gómez González (2001), Hasan and Fries (1995) and Ravelli (2003). Gómez González demonstrated that the conflation of thematic structure and information structure regarding Theme, topic and given, and Rheme, comment and new is an oversimplification, which only obtains in unmarked contexts. While the position of Theme remains initial in marked contexts, topic or given are realized after the Theme, they can even be medial. This is corroborated by research on canonical and non-canonical word order (Birner and Ward 1998; Esser 2001; Geluykens 1992) and by research on information structure (Givón 1993; Lambrecht 1994; Prince 1981; Ward and Prince 1991). In systemic-functional research, the distinction between Theme and topic has been confirmed by Gruber’s research on thematic structure in scholarly e-mails (Gruber 2001), and by Moya Guijarro’s discourse-functional examination of the linguistic realization of topic in news discourse and travel texts. Not only is there variation with respect to their position, but also regarding their degree of semantic determinateness (Moya Guijarro 2006).

The connectedness between Theme and topic has also been analysed from contrastive perspectives by Ghadessy and Goa (2000), who investigated thematic organization in parallel texts, by Hasselgård, who analysed the translation of Theme and topic in Norwegian and English newspaper texts (Hasselgård 2004), and by Doherty (2003, 2005), who compared the linguistic realization of initial positions in written English and German academic discourse accounting for their topic-worthiness. Thus, Theme zones are of great importance to the investigation of discourse in general and to the construction of discourse coherence in particular. This is due to the fact that they have a both forward-looking (or cataphoric) and backward-pointing (or anaphoric) function. They connect what has just been said, what is being said now and what is going to be said next.

In the following, the linguistic realization of the Theme zone in the communicative act of a non-acceptance is examined in English and German political interviews. In media as well as in non-media discourse, rejecting the validity of a communicative act is hardly ever done explicitly, but rather implicitly. This is due to the fact that a non-acceptance represents a face-threatening act par excellence. Because of the ratified participation status of the audience, the pragmatic force of a non-acceptance is stronger in the context of media communication than it would be in an ordinary face-to-face encounter. The contrastive analysis is based on 12 short dyadic face-to-face interviews between journalists and the losers of the general elections in Britain (1997) and Germany (1998) broadcast on the public channels BBC and ARD.2 The data share identical external parameters, and they have almost identical contextual configurations.

The theoretical framework of the investigation is an integrated one. It is based on a functional outlook on language (Gómez González 2001; Halliday 1994) and on a sociopragmatic perspective on language use (Fetzer 2002, 2004) supplemented by an

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2. I would like to thank Gerda Lauerbach and her team (Frankfurt, Germany) for sharing her data with me (http://www.uni-frankfurt.de/zenaf/projekte/TVdiscourses/).
interpersonal perspective on communication (Brown and Levinson 1987). The following section examines thematic structure in context giving particular reference to subjecthood, incongruence and incongruity. Section 3 investigates the genre of a political interview, section 4 analyses the linguistic realization of Themes in non-acceptances in the British data, section 5 analyses the linguistic realization of Themes in non-acceptances in the German data, and section 6 provides a conclusion.

2. Thematic structure in context

Theme is represented by an inherently dual concept and therefore is a relational notion par excellence: on the one hand it is anchored to the initial syntactic slot of a clause, and on the other hand it is the “point of departure of the message” (Halliday 1994: 38). From a discourse-semantic perspective (van Dijk 1981; Givón 2005) as well as from a thematic-progression viewpoint (Bloor and Bloor 1995; Ravelli 2003), this means that the Theme of clause \( n \) is connected with the Rheme of clause \( n-1 \), thus expressing a connectedness amongst what is ‘here’ (Theme \( n \)) with what has just been said ‘there’ (Rheme \( n-1 \)) and what is going to be said ‘next’ (Rheme \( n \)).

Regarding its pragmatic function, Theme does not just express connectedness as such, but rather a particular type of connectedness, namely one signifying acceptance or non-acceptance. The former is expressed through a positive Theme zone and the latter is expressed through a negative Theme zone (Fetzer 2005a). However, it is not only the semantics of the Theme which needs to be taken into consideration to account for its status as a positive or negative Theme zone, but also the nature of their connectedness with context. Because of that, the Theme zone and its constitutive parts are assigned the status of a contextualization cue (Gumperz 1977). Contextualization cues serve to provide information on such matters as possible turn-construction units (...). The second level is that of local assessments of what conversational analysts call ‘sequencing’ and what from a pragmatist’s perspective one might refer to as ‘speech act level implicatures’ (...) what I have called ‘communicative intent’ (Gumperz 1992: 232).

Against this background, a fully positive Theme zone comprises only contextualization cues which signify the pragmatic force of attributing congruity. The speaker’s attribution of congruity indicates a continuation in the flow of information and a continuation of the discourse in the speaker-intended manner. That is, all of the prior information has been ratified through an acceptance and therefore is attributed to the dialogue common ground. A fully negative Theme zone comprises only contextualization cues which signify the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the contribution (cf. Kay and Fillmore 1999: 4). The speaker’s attribution of incongruity indicates a halt in the flow of information and a halt in the flow of discourse which is due to the fact that prior information has been ratified through a non-acceptance and therefore cannot be
attributed to the dialogue common. Negative Theme zones initiate a negotiation-of-validity sequence, in which the communicative status of the non-accepted Themes is negotiated.

As has been implicit in the preceding examination of Theme zone, positive and negative Theme zones are represented by scalar notions. As a consequence, a Theme zone does not have to be a fully negative Theme zone to bring the flow of discourse to a halt. To initiate a negotiation-of-validity sequence, a negative Theme zone is a necessary condition in the following sense. In a negative Theme zone, the number of contextualization cues signifying the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity needs to outnumber the number of contextualization cues signifying the pragmatic force of attributing congruity. In that type of configuration, the negative contextualization cues (Fetzer 1994) signify a halt in the flow of discourse by initiating a negotiation-of-validity sequence, in which the communicative status of the non-accepted constituents of a contribution, its presuppositions or the contribution as a whole is negotiated.

2.1 Initial position, subjecthood, multiple Themes and extended multiple Themes

In SFG every clause has thematic structure and Theme is defined as the occupier of its initial position. There is generally no controversy about the end of a Theme in written discourse. In spoken discourse, however, its delimitation is not always clear-cut. Here, a pause marks the transition between Theme and Rheme (Halliday 1994: 59). In the clause as representation, the unmarked initial position of the clause is held by the logical subject or agent, and in the clause as exchange, the unmarked initial position is occupied by the grammatical subject. In the clause as message, the psychological subject is the Theme, which is always realized in the initial position in English.

In (1), the grammatical subject, logical subject and psychological subject conflate. They are realized by one constituent only, viz. the nominal group the leader of the opposition:

(1) [The leader of the opposition] [is going to comment on the results of the general election].

Here, the leader of the opposition intentionally performs an action and therefore is the logical subject. Since the nominal group is the initial constituent in the clause with an experiential function, it is the psychological subject (or topical Theme), and since it displays agreement with the finite verb, it is the grammatical subject.

The topical Theme is the first constituent of the clause carrying experiential meaning, which is frequently realized by a nominal group. The interpersonal Theme expresses modal meaning and is realized by expressions of modality and by interpersonal metaphors (Halliday 1994: 354–367), such as ‘I think’ or ‘in my opinion.’ The textual Theme expresses cohesive meaning and is realized by the structural phenomena of thematic structure and information structure as well as by the cohesive
component, which comprises anaphoric, cataphoric and exophoric reference, ellipsis and substitution, conjunction and lexical cohesion. While topical Theme is a necessary constituent of the Theme zone and contributes to the construction of topical coherence, interpersonal Theme contributes to the construction of interpersonal coherence and textual Theme contributes to construction of textual coherence.

The sequential organization of a Theme zones categorises into marked and unmarked formats. The unmarked configuration for spoken English discourse is realized by the sequence [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] (Gómez González 2001: 333; Halliday 1994: 53), while a marked Theme zone displays a different sequential organization, such as [[interpersonal theme] [textual theme] [topical theme]] or [[textual theme] [textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]. Theme zone thus denotes the initial part of a clause which must end with a topical Theme but may include textual and interpersonal Themes if realized before the topical Theme. Extended multiple Themes additionally include interpersonal and textual Themes realized after the topical Theme. They also display marked and unmarked configurations. The former adheres to the sequence [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme] [interpersonal theme] [textual theme]], the latter deviates from the sequence by displaying additional interpersonal and textual Themes or by changing their sequential organizations (Gómez González 2001: 333–346).

In line with the functional-grammar principle of linguistic variation (Bloor and Bloor 1995) and the principle of sociolinguistic variation (Brown 1995), a Theme zone can be realized through different linguistic surfaces, if not through an infinite number of surfaces. Of course, the different linguistic realizations are not of equal standing, but rather categorize into marked and unmarked configurations; the latter are also referred to as default (Fetzer 2002). Markedness is also of importance in the field of sociopragmatics, where the conversation-analytic phenomenon of preference organization with its preferred and dispreferred seconds (Pomerantz 1984), which were originally based on distribution and structural complexity, has been looked upon as an indicator for an indirectly realized speech act (Levinson 1983). It is that connection between the marked status of dispreferred second and the communicative act of a non-acceptance which will be examined more closely in sections 4 and 5.

In Givón's alternative conception of functional grammar, structure- and distribution-based markedness has been supplemented with the concept of cognitive effort. Here, the unmarked configuration is regarded as more frequent, structurally less complex and cognitively easier to process, whereas the marked configuration is considered less frequent, structurally more complex and cognitively more difficult to process (Givón 1993: 178). If this is adapted to a preference-organization frame of reference, preferred variants are structurally less complex, more frequent, linguistically realized in a more conventional manner and thus easier to process, while dispreferred variants are structurally more complex, less frequent, linguistically realized in a less conventional manner and thus harder to process and, because of their less conventional status, a prime candidate for signifying conversationally implicated meaning.
In the following, the connectedness between marked and unmarked configurations of the Theme zone is examined more closely.

2.2 Congruence and incongruence, and congruity and incongruity

In a discursive frame of reference, text and texture are anchored to the textual metafunction and both are necessary conditions for the well-formedness of discourse: “The choice of Theme, clause by clause, is what carries forward the development of the text as a whole” (Halliday 1994: 336). Texture is developed in and through the process of communication and thus is of great relevance to the construction of discourse coherence, jointly constructed discourse coherence and jointly negotiated dialogue common ground (Bublitz 1989; Fetzer 2007; Givón 1993; Halliday 1994: 334–339).

The construction of discourse coherence is intrinsically connected with discourse topics which are developed through more or less linearly sequenced contributions. Looked upon from a reception-based perspective, a contribution in context can be seen as ratifying a prior contribution, thus building up a chain of arguments. On the one hand, the arguments may extend the discourse topic's domain of validity by adding further evidence in support of that discourse topic. On the other hand, the arguments may narrow down the discourse topic’s domain of validity, for instance, by supplying counterevidence. While in monologue-based genres the construction of discourse coherence and of dialogue common ground is performed through a process of internal argumentation, in dialogue-based genres the construction of discourse coherence and of dialogue common ground is anchored to a process of negotiation of meaning.

In SFG unmarked configurations of lexical meaning on the experiential plane are referred to as congruent configurations. That is to say, the more conventional and the more ‘natural’ the mapping, the more congruent is the configuration (Simon-Vandenbergen et al. 2003). Extending the SFG concept of congruence to the configuration of a Theme Zone, its unmarked configuration can be called congruent, while its marked configuration can be called incongruent. Congruence does not only comprise the quantity aspect of a Theme zone with respect to the number of constituents realized therein and with respect to their order in the sequence, but also the quality of the constituents’ linguistic realizations. Against this background, congruence is reflected in (1) the ordered sequence of a Theme zone, and (2) the linguistic realizations of the textual, interpersonal and topical Themes. That is to say, the more conventional the Theme zone, that is the closer it adheres to the default Theme zone for English spoken discourse [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]], and the more conventional the linguistic realizations of its Themes, the more congruent the Theme zone is (Fetzer 2005a). In spite of the context-sensitivity of congruence and of its counterpart incongruence, they are primarily form-based concepts. But what are their functions in discourse? Do congruous configurations express the pragmatic force of attributing congruity which signifies that the discourse may proceed in the speaker-intended manner, and do incongruous configurations express the pragmatic
force of attributing incongruity which signifies that the discourse deviates from the speaker-intended manner?

In Construction Grammar, Kay and Fillmore (1999) have investigated the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the what’s X doing Y construction. According to their research, the construction “directly encodes, in addition to a request or demand for an explanation, the pragmatic force of attributing what we call incongruity to the sense or proposition for which the explanation is required” (Kay and Fillmore 1999: 4). Does the claim that a construction directly encodes the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity – or congruity – also obtain for a(n) (in)congruently configurated Theme zone? In the introduction to this chapter, the Theme zone and in particular its constitutive parts of interpersonal and textual Themes were assigned the status of a contextualization cue. Unlike lexical expressions, contextualization cues do not directly encode meaning, but rather express context-dependent relational meaning. For this reason, they are assigned the status of an inference trigger indicating speaker-intended meaning which is defeasible as it can be denied through additional arguments.

Because of its forward- and backward-pointing potentials, congruently and incongruently configurated Theme zones are of importance for the construction of discourse coherence regarding the attribution of congruity and incongruity. This does not only apply to the topical and textual planes, but also to the interpersonal plane, as has been pointed out by Thompson and Zhou: “We have argued (...) that coherence in text can only be adequately understood if the concept of propositional coherence is complemented by that of evaluative coherence, and that, amongst other things, this involves recognition of the conjunctive function of disjuncts” (Thompson and Zhou 2000: 139). In contemporary English grammar, disjuncts are defined as having “a superior role to sentence elements, being somewhat detached from and superordinate to the rest of the sentence” (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 181). That might be true for a sentence-based perspective, but from a discursive perspective, disjuncts can be seen as functionally equivalent to the Theme zone or to extended multiple Themes, and here in particular to interpersonal Themes. Like interpersonal Themes, disjuncts express modal meaning through making manifest the speaker’s comment on the style and form of their contribution. So, in addition to textual Themes, which contribute to the construction of discourse coherence by definition, interpersonal Themes are another prime candidate for the construction of discourse coherence.

The linguistic realization of an initial position is also of importance in the field of sociopragmatics with respect to the expression of speaker-intended meaning. Here, a congruent configuration of a Theme zone expresses a continuation in the flow of discourse, as is the case with the following question-answer adjacency pair with the congruent configuration of the Theme zone for spoken discourse, i.e. [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]. In (2), the interviewer (IR) asks the interviewee (IE) a yes-no question:
(2) IR  Do you accept the charge that there’s been too much spinning?
   IE  [[Well] [I sometimes think] [we]]’re more, sort of, spun against than spin-

Here, the textual Theme well signifies the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to
the interviewer’s question, the interpersonal Theme I think, which is modified by the
attenuation device sometimes, signifies the pragmatic force of attributing congruity to
the co-participants’ interpersonal domains, and the topical Theme we extends the do-
main of reference from the requested first-person singular to the first-person plural,
thus signifying the attribution of incongruity to the prior contribution by implicating
that the question is not a simple either-or affair. Because of the interviewee’s employ-
ment of multiple Themes, which signify the pragmatic force of attributing both con-
gruity and incongruity to the interviewer’s question, he indicates that he is open for a
negotiating-of-validity sequence.

An incongruent configuration of multiple Themes, by contrast, brings the struc-
tured interplay of processing the default sequence of [[textual theme] [interpersonal
theme] [topical theme]] to a halt by signifying the pragmatic force of attributing in-
congruity, for instance the intention not to negotiate the validity of the argument any
longer, as is the case with the question-answer sequence (3):

(3) IR  most of it was wrong?
   IE  [[erm] [I]] simply say what is important is to apply those principles to the

Extract (3) displays the incongruent sequence [[textual theme][topical theme]] real-
ized by the textual Theme erm and the topical Theme I. Here, the incongruent configu-
ration of the theme Zone signifies the speaker’s intention to discontinue the structured
interplay of negotiating the validity of the argument. This is also reflected in the incon-
gruent mapping of the pronouns’ referential domains. Instead of mapping the ‘it-do-
main’ introduced by the IR with the appropriate subject-domain, the IE attributes in-
congruity to the contribution by introducing a newly established I-domain.

The construction of discourse coherence is intrinsically connected with signifying
the pragmatic forces of attributing congruity, incongruity or degrees of (in)congruity. In
SFG, incongruity can be signified on the experiential, interpersonal and textual planes.
On the experiential plane, it can be signified through negative operators, such as no or
not, and inherently negative lexical items, such as wrong or false. On the interpersonal
plane, it can be signified through negated speech acts, such as not accept or not request,
inherently negative speech acts verbs, such as doubt or refute, and negative and inher-
ently negative expressions of appraisal, such as unlikely or possibly. On the textual plane,
it can be signified through negative textual Themes, such as no, never or on the contrary,
and through inherently negative textual Themes, such as erm, well, but or actually.
In the field of speech act theory, incongruity within a proposition can be signified through morphosyntactic negation and through inherently negative lexical expressions, such as *false*, and incongruity within an illocution can be signified through negated or inherently negative speech-act verbs, such as *not accept* or *doubt*, and by indirect speech acts. Incongruity can also be encoded in particular constructions, for instance the *what's X doing Y construction* (Kay and Fillmore 1999).

Before considering the linguistic realization of Theme zones in the British and German data, we shall examine the genre of a political interview and introduce the data on which this investigation of Theme zones in context is based is introduced. The results obtained for the British and German data are discussed, compared and contrasted in sections 4 and 5.

3. Political interviews

A political interview is a media event *par excellence* and best described as a dialogue-within-dialogue scenario. On the one hand, there is dialogue within the actual political interview between an interviewer and interviewee, which has been referred to as a first-frame interaction (Fetzer 2000), and there is mediated dialogue between the second-frame audience in front of their TV sets and the first-frame encounter in the television studio. The differentiation between a first-frame and a second-frame interaction also applies to written or printed interviews, even though there are more context-sensitive requirements, such as a less straightforward negotiation of meaning in the first-frame interaction between interviewer and interviewee, or the possibility of a more elaborated process of comprehension by the audience with respect to processing time and re-readability.

A spoken mediated political interview is defined as a dyadic encounter between an interviewer and interviewee, which is directed at a public audience. The first-frame encounter is interactionally organized by a co-participant-specific employment of the turn-taking system: the interviewer selects the interviewee as a next speaker, but not vice versa. As for its sequential organization, a political interview is characterized by question-and-answer sequences, which contribute to the interactional organization of neutralism (Greatbatch 1998). Furthermore, a political interview is a pre-planned event, in which the length of the turns and their relative distribution, the topical agenda and discourse topics, and the number of participants are predetermined, to employ Luckmann’s (1995: 177) terminology in his definition of communicative genres:

> Communicative genres operate on a level *between* the socially constructed and transmitted codes of ‘natural’ languages and the reciprocal adjustment of perspectives, which is a presupposition for human communicative interaction. They are a universal formative element of human communication. (...). Human communicative acts are predefined and thereby to a certain extent
predetermined by an existing social code of communication. This holds for both the ‘inner’ core of that code, (...), as well as for its ‘external’ stratification in styles (...). Communicative acts are predefined and predetermined by explicit and implicit rules and regulations of the use of language, e.g. by forms of communicative etiquette.

For our contrastive analysis of Themes in British and German political interviews the classification of a political interview as a communicative genre means that (1) the genre is assigned the status of a ‘universal formative element’, (2) the linguistic realization of Theme zones in the communicative act of a non-acceptance is performed in accordance with the rules and regularities of the ‘inner core’, that is the language-specific rules and regularities for British English and German, and (3) the communicative meaning of the Theme zones is a constitutive part of the ‘external stratification’ reflected in communicative strategies with respect to language-specific modes of production and language-specific modes for interpretation.

The linguistic realization of Theme zones has been analysed in a corpus of 12 political interviews between journalists and the losers of the general elections in Britain (1997), the Conservatives, and the losers of the general elections in Germany (1998), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU), broadcast on the respective election nights. Their details are given below with their duration to the nearest minute:

Table 1. The interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>Interviewee + Interviewer</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27.09.1998</td>
<td>Michael Glos (Christian Social Union) + Sigmund Gottlieb</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.09.1998</td>
<td>Manfred Kanther, Erwin Teufel, Bernhard Vogel (all Christian Democratic Union) + Martin Schulze</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.09.1998</td>
<td>Peter Hinze (Christian Democratic Union) + Martin Schulze</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.09.1998</td>
<td>Norbert Blüm (Christian Democratic Union) + Martin Schulze</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.09.1998</td>
<td>Wolfgang Schäuble, Wolfgang Rühe (all Christian Democratic Union) + Martin Schulze</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.09.1998</td>
<td>Theo Waigel (Christian Social Union) + Sigmund Gottlieb</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01.05.1997</td>
<td>Edwina Currie (Conservative) + Martin Beshear</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01.05.1997</td>
<td>Stephen Dorrell (Conservative) + Jeremy Paxman</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01.05.1997</td>
<td>Malcolm Rifkind (Conservative) + Jeremy Paxman</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01.05.1997</td>
<td>Michael Heseltine (Conservative) + David Dimbleby</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01.05.1997</td>
<td>William Hague (Conservative) + David Dimbleby</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01.05.1997</td>
<td>Kenneth Clarke (Conservative) + Fred Amery</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data analysed share identical external parameters, they have very similar contextual features and the interviewees’ argumentation is based on identical premises,
namely that they cannot comply with the interviewer’s request to state an opinion or to provide particular information, because their defeat has not yet been assigned official status. In spite of the contextual similarities, the linguistic realization of turn-initial Theme zones in the communicative act of a non-acceptance differs significantly in the interviewees’ contributions, as is demonstrated below.

4. Themes in the British data

In the British data, the interviewee’s non-compliance with the interviewer’s request for a particular piece of information or opinion is generally realized by the linguistic realization of multiple Themes in the turn-initial position. The sequence [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] occurs 15 times. It is the most frequent variant for the linguistic realization of a Theme zone in the communicative act of a non-acceptance in the genre and therefore is assigned the status of an unmarked or congruent configuration. The results obtained are systematized in Table 2:

Table 2. Distribution of Theme zones in the British data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]</td>
<td>[[Well] [I think] [we’ve faced an opposition]</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[[textual theme] [topical theme]]</td>
<td>[[Well] [I] want to look at..]</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[[interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]</td>
<td>[[I don’t accept by any means] [that the results of the election] has yet been decided ...]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[topical theme]</td>
<td>[I] have no further comments</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the unmarked sequence, the inherently negative textual Theme well occurs 25 times. It is the most frequent and thus unmarked variant for signifying the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity on the textual plane. Well is a highly conventionalized textual Theme for the expression of incongruity, as is confirmed by research in discourse analysis, where it is assigned the status of a negative discourse marker (Schiffrin 1987), and by research in sociopragmatics, where it is assigned the status of a negative contextualization cue (Fetzer 1994). In the context of short political interviews, the inherently negative textual Theme but and the negative textual Theme no are less frequent, which indicates that their distribution is more context-sensitive. No occurs twice, and but only once. All of the negative Themes and inherently negative Themes signify the attribution of local incongruity, but the degree of incongruity expressed is interdependent

3. In the British data no extended multiple Themes were found in the turn-initial position.
on the textual Theme's semantics: it is fairly moderate with *well*, less moderate with *but* and strong with *no*.

As for the linguistic realization of interpersonal Themes, there is not a lot of variation either. The most frequent variant is *I think*, which occurs 10 times. The variants *I know* and *I hope* are less frequent. Both occur only once. Unlike the (inherently) negative textual Themes *well*, *but* or *no*, the interpersonal Themes *I think* and *I know* do not as such signify the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the interpersonal plane. Since they frequently co-occur with negative textual Themes, the degree of incongruity expressed through the textual Theme is inherited by the interpersonal Theme, and for this reason, it contributes to the degree of incongruity expressed through the Theme zone. In their negated forms, the interpersonal Themes *I think* and *I know* signify the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the interpersonal plane, for instance incongruity in the field of illocutionary coherence. The negative interpersonal Theme *I don’t think* is the most frequent of the negative interpersonal Themes. It occurs four times and thus is unmarked, the negative interpersonal Theme *I don’t know* occurs twice and the interpersonal Theme *I’m disappointed* occurs only once. This may be due to the fact that the attitudinal verb *disappoint* expresses a rather determinate negative interpersonal attitude. The status of topical Themes is connected with the previous contributions and can therefore be given a context-dependent interpretation only.

In the following, the linguistic realization of the unmarked sequence [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] in the communicative act of a non-acceptance is examined more closely.

4.1 [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]

The sequence [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] is the most frequent variant for the expression of incongruity in the British data. All of the following extracts contain the sequence, and all of them occur in the communicative act of a non-acceptance which initiates a negotiation-of-validity sequence:

(4) **IR** Under a new leader, presumably?
    **IE** [[Well] [I think] [the leadership question]] is frankly a **secondary** question

(5) **IR** You do share the view of Stephen Dorrell and Michael Portillo that what damaged you, what did for you was the fact that you were divided?
    **IE** [[Well] [I think] [there]] are a **number** of factors …

---

4. The transcription mode employed follows orthographical standards. Stress is marked in bold.
Anita Fetzer

(6) IR What do you think is to blame if the collapse of the Tory voters as it seems, is it divisions over Europe or is it people just being fed up after eighteen years of Conservative government?
IE [[Well] [I think] [we]'ve faced an opposition …

(7) IR Nicolas Winterton you see says that Kenneth Clarke was the fault and that he lost the campaign?
IE [[Well] [I don't think we should I don't think] [there]] is any point in apportioning blame around the party …

(8) IR … is that still your view?
IE [[Well] [I know] [some of my pro-European colleagues]] feel that that John Major …

(9) IR You said earlier that if the Tories lost disastrously then you would recommend that John Major shouldn't, in your words, hang about. Is that still your view?
IE [[Well][I'm disappointed] [that it]]’s as low as that …

(10) IR Your view?
IE [[but] [I think I'm going to su I think] [it]] would be a tragedy for the man

(11) IR If a party cannot be forced into unity by one leader isn’t it time to change the leader?
IE [[No] [I don't think] [that we]] need to get into speculation about

In (4), (5) and (6), the inherently negative textual Theme well anchors the contribution to the text by signifying the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity on the textual plane. At the same time, well indicates that more incongruity is to follow. The interpersonal Theme I think anchors the contribution to text and context by signifying the pragmatic force of attributing local congruity amongst first, the co-participants, and second, the contributions and speakers, and the topical Themes the leadership question, there and we anchor the contributions to the text. Because of the (inherently) negative textual Themes, the topical Themes are more likely to be assigned the status of a negative topical Theme. This is supported by the Rheme's negative evaluation ‘is frankly a secondary question’ in (4), in which the attribute ‘secondary’ is stressed, implicating that other factors than the leadership question are relevant to the interviewee. It is supported by the Rheme ‘are a number of factors’ in (5), which indicates that there is no clear-cut answer, and it is supported by the Rheme ‘have faced an opposition’ in (6), which shifts the responsibility from self to that of the political opponents.

Extracts (7), (9) and (11) display both negative textual Themes and negative interpersonal Themes, and for this reason, their topical Themes are more than likely to be assigned the status of a negative topical Theme. This is the case in (7), where the topical Theme is modified by the negative quantifier ‘any’, and it is the case in (11), where we have the implicitly negated modality of necessity. But it is not the case in (9), where the
pronoun ‘it’ indexes the prior Rheme ‘election results’, thus signifying the pragmatic force of attributing congruous topical coherence.

Extracts (8) and (10) display both an inherently negative textual Theme and an unmarked interpersonal Theme. In (8), the topical Theme is assigned the status of a negative topical Theme because the quantifier ‘some’ is stressed, triggering an implicature that there exist a number of politicians who do not agree with John Major. In (10) the topical Theme ‘it’ signifies the pragmatic force of attributing congruity with the prior contribution and therefore is assigned the status of a congruous topical Theme.

Assigning a topical Theme the status of a negative topical Theme is only possible if the local context and the lexico-semantic connectedness between a prior contribution and its subsequent topical Theme are explicitly taken into consideration. If their connectedness does not express incongruity in an explicit mode, the local context and the topical Theme’s co-occurrence with (inherently) negative textual and interpersonal Themes is key to assigning them the status of a negative topical Theme.

Negative textual, interpersonal and topical Themes have the communicative function of signifying the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the contribution. They indicate that the information of the previous contribution is ratified, but cannot be accepted because of a possible incongruity in the dialogue common ground (Fetzer 2004). For this reason, the contribution requires negotiation and possibly modification. Through the construction of incongruous local coherence, the flow of discourse comes to a halt and a negotiation-of-validity sequence is initiated, in which the communicative status of the contribution is negotiated.

In all of the instances, where the sequence [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] is employed in order to bring the flow of information to a halt, a negotiation-of-validity sequence follows. For this reason, that Theme zone is assigned the communicative function of signalling that the co-participants are open to a negotiation of meaning, as is the case with the following exchange (12), where the interviewer takes up the interviewee’s indirectly realized contribution referring to his intention not to comply with the requested information. This is then directly challenged by the interviewer in a follow-up move, and then complied with:

(12) IR What is your reaction to the defeat of Neal Hamilton in Tatton?
    IE [[Erm well] [I think] [that]]’s best up for the history books.
    IR Why do you say that?
    IE [[Because] [I]] don’t see why you think I should comment on something like that which is for Neal a personal tragedy. It’s happened, you can have a judgement, I can have a judgement but I’m not going to be drawn on that.

5. If a fully negative theme zone consisting of [[negative textual theme] [negative interpersonal theme] [negative topical theme]] is realized at the end of a turn, it signifies that the coparticipant does not intend to continue with a negotiation-of-validity sequence.
In the following, the less frequent Theme zone \([\text{[textual theme]} \ [\text{topical theme}]\)] in non-acceptances is examined.

4.2 \([\text{[textual theme]} \ [\text{topical theme}]\)]

The sequence \([\text{[textual theme]} \ [\text{topical theme}]\)] occurs 12 times. It is not as frequent as the tripartite sequence analysed above, which occurs 15 times, and thus is more marked. It generally occurs in the topical-sequence section of a negotiation-of-validity sequence. In the following extract, the inherently negative textual Theme \textit{well} signifies the pragmatic force of attributing local incongruity to the contribution, indicating a halt in the flow of discourse. The topical Theme \textit{I} does not signify incongruity \textit{per se}. Its local context, however, indicates its status as a possible negative topical Theme:

\begin{quote}
(13) IR But you must have a gut instinct about what was wrong with the way the campaign was being fought. \\
IE \textit{[Well] [I]} want to look at the overall results in the light of the morning.
\end{quote}

As in (4), the inherently negative textual Theme \textit{well} anchors the contribution to the local linguistic context by signifying the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the contribution, thus expressing non-compliance with the interviewer’s request for a particular piece of information. For this reason, the topical Theme \textit{I} is very likely to be assigned the status of a negative topical Theme, which is confirmed by the Rheme’s implicit information expressing the speaker’s intention not to look at the results at that point in time.

Looked upon from the perspective of constructing and connecting discourse topics, the inherently negative textual Theme \textit{well} can be assigned the communicative function of a topic discontinuer. It signifies that the information of the previous contribution is ratified, but not accepted and, for this reason, cannot be attributed to the dialogue common ground. Instead, its communicative status requires modification.

As is the case with the multiple Themes examined in the section above, the sequence \([\text{[textual theme]} \ [\text{topical theme}]\)] indicates that a negotiation-of-validity sequence is possible. Extracts (14) to (20) have similar distributions to the unmarked tripartite Theme zone:

\begin{quote}
(14) IR Erm, how bad is it, Mr. Dorrell? \\
IE \textit{[Well] [the answer]} is of course we don’t know whether it’s good or bad

(15) IR Erm how bad is it for you, Mr. Rifkin? \\
IE \textit{[Well] [I]} don’t know any more than you do at the moment …

(16) IR Being hopeful isn’t quite the same as being confident, is it? \\
IE \textit{[Well] [it]}’s because you’re asking me to predict it...
\end{quote}
Mister Heseltine good evening thank you for joining us. Well you’ve already started to say that this erm campaign needs careful analysis erm suggesting that you accept it hasn’t quite worked out as you’d hoped.

IE [[Well] [the opinion polls]] haven’t worked out …

What do you think went wrong?

IE [[Well] [we]]’ve only got four results so far …

You probably know already that erm at least one of your former colleagues and others already in the Conservative Press, actually blame you single-handedly for losing this election on the grounds that you ruled out this option of joining the single currency and Nick erm wasn’t excuse me it was Winterton saying that you’d be remembered on reviled in history.

IE [[Well] [that]] wouldn’t be Nick Budgeon that would be Nick Winterton

So you’re saying you’re standing beside him until he makes his decision, you don’t have any inkling what this decision would be.

IE [[No] [I]]’m going to back him all the way …

The distribution of the inherently negative textual Theme well confirms its status as an unmarked variant for signifying the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the contribution. The negative textual Theme no is less frequent and has only been found in the closing section of a negotiation-of-validity sequence. Because of the negative textual Themes and their expression of incongruity on the textual plane, the topical Themes are very likely to be assigned the status of negative topical Themes. This is supported by their linguistic realizations as the context-dependent indexical expressions I, we, it and that, and as the general nouns the answer and the opinion polls, which signify vague answers.

The sequence [[interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] in non-acceptances is significantly less frequent and thus more marked, and is discussed in the following.

4.3 [[interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]

The sequence [[interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] occurs only four times and is used by two speakers only. Like the negative textual Theme no, the negative interpersonal Theme has only been found in the closing section of a negotiation-of-validity sequence. Unlike the single realization of a topical Theme, it indicates that a negotiation-of-validity sequence is possible, but not in the interest of the speaker:

Do you agree with Edwina Currie that it was the divisions in your party and particularly the behaviour of the Eurosceptics that did for you?

IE [[I don’t accept by any means] [that the results of the election]] has yet been decided or at least that it is yet known …
(22) IR Do you share the view of the Tory Reform Group that erm you were scuppered by the activities of the right wing?
   IE [[I don’t believe| that the language]] that the Tory Reform Group used

In (21) and in (22), the interpersonal Themes *I don’t accept by any means* and *I don’t believe* anchor the contributions to the linguistic and social contexts by signifying the pragmatic force of attributing local incongruity on the interpersonal plane, thus expressing non-compliance with the interviewer’s request for a particular piece of information. In the meantime they indicate that more incongruity, which is realized by the topical Theme *that the results of the election and that the language*, is to follow. Analogously to the communicative function of a negative textual Theme, the negative interpersonal Theme has a strong influence on the interpretation of the topical Theme. Because of the negated speech act verb *accept* and the pragmatic booster *by any means* and because of the negated verb of cognition *believe*, the interpersonal Themes are assigned the status of a topic discontinuer with a strong force. They signify that the dialogue common ground requires modification.

Another rather infrequent and therefore marked variant for the realization of a negative Theme zone consists of the realization of a single Theme only, which is discussed in the following.

4.4 [topical theme]

The realization of only a topical Theme in the contribution’s Theme zone occurs three times in the data, and there in the closing section of a negotiation-of-validity sequence. In the following extract, the topical Theme *I* does not express negative meaning *per se*. This is due to the fact that *I* is a prototypical indexical expression, whose meaning is context-dependent:

(23) IR Do you think leadership talk during the campaign damaged the campaigning effort?
   IE I have no further comments

Here, the topical Theme is congruent with the previous contribution on the ideational plane but at the same time the interviewee states he does not intend to comply with the interviewer’s request for a particular piece of information and that he does not have the intention to carry on with the discourse topic, and possibly not with the interview. Unlike the communicative function of the topic discontinuers investigated above, which signifies that a negotiation of meaning is possible, a single topical Theme has only been found in the closing section of a negotiation-of-validity sequence, where it indicates that no further negotiation of meaning is intended. This is explicitly supported by the Rheme ‘have no further comments’, in which the negative operator ‘no’ is stressed.
5. Themes in the German data

SFG has been primarily applied to the investigation of the English language. For this reason, the results obtained are not necessarily valid for other languages. Against this background, this contribution does not presuppose a default configuration for the linguistic realization of the Theme zone in German but rather intends to examine what types of meaning are packed into the initial position. In the German data, the expression of incongruity is different and less routinized than in the British interviews. Not only are negative Theme zones realized differently, they are also assigned a different communicative function. Thus, the ratification of a contribution through a non-acceptance is not necessarily connected with the linguistic realization of multiple Themes. The results obtained are systematized in Table 3:

Table 3. Distribution of Theme zones in the German data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]</td>
<td>[Also] [Ich bin nicht jetzt der (schüt-telt mit dem Kopf)ah Besitzer der Gedanken der Wähler] aber richtig ist, [es] gibt nie fehlerlose Politik.</td>
<td>3 (turn-initial) 6 (turn-medial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[[textual theme] [topical theme]]</td>
<td>[also] [mein Demokratieverständ-nis] ist...</td>
<td>5 (turn-initial) 9 (turn-medial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[[interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]</td>
<td>[[Ich glaube] dass die CDU und CSU] soviel moralische und politische Kraft haben...</td>
<td>1 (turn-initial) 2 (turn-medial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[topical theme]</td>
<td>[Es] lag natürlich in allererster Linie daran...</td>
<td>11 (turn-initial)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most frequent variant in non-acceptances is that of a negative topical Theme only, which is examined in section 5.1. Unlike its British counterpart, a topical Theme only is generally not realized in the closing section of a negotiation-of-validity sequence. Furthermore, it does not signify that the speaker intends to close the negotiation-of-validity sequence either. In all of the contexts, where the topical Theme is assigned the status of a negative topical Theme, it is realized by an indexical expression or by a general noun. This was also the case in the British data, but there the negative topical Theme realized by an indexical or a general noun co-occurred with a negative textual Theme or an inherently negative textual Theme and with a (negative) interpersonal Theme. What is of relevance for assigning topical Themes the status of negative topical Themes in both the British and the German data is their local ideational-semantic contexts which contain semantic opposites, such as Gewinner (‘winner’) – Verlierer.
(‘loser’) or richtig (‘right’) – falsch (‘wrong’), metonymic relations, for instance war das Ihrer Meinung äh auch ein Erklärungsversuch, der die Wähler verunsichert hat? (‘was that, according to your opinion, erm, also an attempted explanation which made the electorate feel insecure?’) – ja dies war sicher vielleicht ein kleiner Teil der Geschichte (‘yes that was certainly perhaps a small part of the story’), and pragmatic intensifiers, such as in allererster Linie (‘in the first place’), sicher (‘certainly’ or ‘surely’) or natürlich (‘of course’ or ‘naturally’). These devices signify the ratification of a contribution though a non-acceptance. Contrary to the British patterns, multiple Themes do not signify the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to a contribution in the context of a non-acceptance and thus do not necessarily indicate an intended negotiation-of-validity sequence, but they do not exclude the possibility of such a sequence either.

In the following, the unmarked variant, the negative topical Theme only, is examined more closely.

5.1 [topical theme]

The most common way of ratifying a contribution through a non-acceptance in the context of a short dyadic political interview consists of a single topical Theme which signifies the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the contribution. The variant occurs 11 times in the German data but only three times in the British data. The form and function of the topical Theme only in examined in extracts (24), (25), (26), and (27):

(24) IR  Bei mir Michael Glos, der Landesgruppenchef der CSU. Herr Glos, äh, sehr, sehr starke Verluste für die Union, für CDU CSU, wenn ich das hier sehe, im Vergleich zum Ergebnis äh vierundneunzig sind das im Augenblick fast sechs äh Prozent. Woran lag es? Wurde der Bundeskanzler abgewählt? ([W]ith me is Michael Glos, the leader of the Bavarian party CSU. Mr Glos, erm, very, very strong losses for the CDU, for the CDU CSU, if I look at that here, in comparison to the results of erm 94 this is almost six erm percent at this moment. What were the reasons? Did the chancellor get voted out of office?)

IE  [Es] lag natürlich in allererster Linie daran, dass im Land eine massive Wechselstimmmung geschürt worden ist ([It] was of course primarily because in the country a massive change of opinion had been stimulated)

(25) IR  Aber könnte es nicht auch einfach sein, dass Sie einen ganz falschen Wahlkampf gemacht haben, dass Sie keine Mannschaft nach vorne gebracht haben, dass Sie alles auf den amtierenden Bundeskanzler konzentriert haben? Irgendwo muss doch das liegen, dass es nicht funktioniert. (But couldn’t it be simply the case that your election campaign was completely wrong, that you did not put forward a team, that you concentrated everything on the Chancellor? There must be some reason why it did not work out)

[Wir] haben vier Mal erfolgreich gewonnen ([We] have won four times successfully)
In (24), the topical Theme es (‘it’) is realized as an indexical. It signifies the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the contribution, which is boosted by the modal particle natürlich (‘of course’). In (25), the topical Theme is realized by the pronoun ‘we’ and thus congruent with the prior contribution. The Rheme, however, rejects the interviewer’s claim that the CDU did not campaign successfully through the semantic opposites gewinnen (‘win’) and verlieren (‘lose’). In (26) the topical Theme is realized as a general noun reformulated as an indexical (‘the CD we together’) which signifies the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the contribution through a pars-pro-toto negation and the affirmation of the whole, the CDU CSU zusammen (‘the CDU CSU together’). In (27) the topical Theme das (‘that’) is realized as an indexical and signifies the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity to the contribution by assigning it the status of being not appropriate because of being asked ‘too early’.

In the data investigated, the interviewer does not ask any follow-up questions and thus ratifies the interviewees’ non-acceptances through an acceptance. This also holds for the sequence [[textual theme] [topical theme]], which is examined in the following.

5.2 [[textual theme] [topical theme]]

This variant displays a strong context-dependent distribution. Turn-initially, it occurs 5 times. It is far more frequent turn-medially, where it has the function of supporting the
speaker’s argumentation regarding the non-acceptance of the IR’s claim. Unlike its British equivalent, it does not signify that a negotiation-of-validity sequence is intended:

(28) IR \textit{Es gibt ja theoretisch eventuell noch \textit{ne} Möglichkeit, dass es doch für Rot-Grün nicht reicht und eine Große Koalition ins Haus stünde. Wären Sie bereit, da mitzumachen?} (Theoretically there is still the possibility that the SPD and the Green Party will not have enough votes and that there would be an option of a coalition between the CDU and the SPD. Would you be prepared to join in?)

IE \textit{[[also] [mein Demokratieverständnis]] ist...} (’[[well] [my conception of democracy]] is...’)

(29) IR \textit{wenn Sie das Wahlergebnis angucken, ist das für Sie ein Anlass ein bisschen depressiv zu werden?} (If you look at the result of the election, is that for you a reason to get a bit depressed?)

IE \textit{[[Nein ganz gewiss nicht sondern jetzt] [mit ganzer Kraft]] die Union zusammenzuhalten..} (’[[No not at all but rather] [with all our strength]] to keep the CDU together …)

(30) IR \textit{Es gibt auch Hoffnungen, dass Rot-Grün nicht lange hält} (There is also hope that Red-Green is not going to last long)

IE \textit{[Jetzt jetzt] lass machen [wir] mal eins nach dem anderen. Äh, keiner von uns entzieht sich seiner Verantwortung. Wir haben gemeinsam gekämpft, wir haben gemeinsam verloren...} (’[now now] [we] will do things one by one. Erm none of us will avoid being held to account. We fought together, we lost together …)

In (28), (29) and (30), the politicians ratify the interviewer’s contribution with a non-acceptance. This is done through the inherently negative textual Themes \textit{also} (’now’ or ‘well’) and \textit{jetzt} (’now’), and through the negative textual Theme \textit{nein} (’no’), which is intensified with the adverbial \textit{ganz gewiss nicht} (’not at all’). All of the Themes signify the pragmatic force of attributing local incongruity to the contribution, thus paving the way for assigning the topical Theme the status of a negative topical Theme. This is supported by the topical Theme’s implicit criticism of the interviewer’s concept of democracy which is triggered by the stressed possessive pronoun \textit{mein} (’my’) implicating the contrast ‘mine’ vs. ‘yours’, by the implicit contrast of \textit{zusammenhalten} (’keep together’) implying solidarity and \textit{auseinanderfallen} (’disunite’) implying quarrel and depression, and by the implicit contrast ‘one by one’ (now) with the ‘future’. Again, the interviewer does not comment on the politicians’ ratifications through a non-acceptance, he does not initiate a negotiation-of-validity sequence, and for this reason accepts the politicians’ responses.

In the following, the sequence [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] is investigated.
Analogously to the distribution and function of the sequence [[textual theme] [topical theme]], this sequence is used less frequently in turn-initial position, and more frequently turn-medially. The former is realized in one of the few contexts where we find a negotiation-of-validity sequence. In (31), the politician ratifies the interviewer’s contribution through a non-acceptance, both non-verbally (by shaking his head) and verbally:

(31) IR  *Was haben Sie falsch gemacht?* (What did you do wrong? [interviewee shakes his head and turns away]) *Sie müssen ja was falsch gemacht haben!* (You must have done something wrong!)

IE  

*[Also], *[Ich bin nicht jetzt der (schüttelt mit dem Kopf) äh Besitzer der Gedanken der Wähler] aber *richtig* ist, *es* gibt *nie* fehlerlose Politik. ([Well], [I am not now the (shaking his head) erm owner of the electorate’s thoughts] but it is right [there] never exists a faultless politics)

(32) IR  *Der Bundeskanzler hat ja den Wahlkampf ganz auf sich zugeschnitten. War das nicht ein Fehler; hätte man nicht eine ganze Mannschaft intensiver präsentieren sollen, zum Beispiel Sie?* (The Chancellor concentrated the election campaign on his person. Wasn’t that a mistake; shouldn’t they have presented the whole team in a more intense manner, for instance your person?)

IE  

*[Nein], [ich glaube nicht], dass [das] ein Fehler war. In der Medienlandschaft, in der wir leben, werden äh die politischen Richtungen durch Spitzenleute verkörpert. ([No], [I don’t think] that [that] was a mistake. In the media age, where we live, erm all political ideologies are personified by leaders.)

In (31), the inherently negative textual Theme *also* (‘well’) signifies the pragmatic force of attributing local incongruity to the contribution. The negative linguistic context is reinforced by the negative interpersonal Theme *Ich bin nicht jetzt der Besitzer der Gedanken der Wähler* (‘I am not now the owner of the electorate’s thoughts’). Against this background, the topical Theme *es* (‘it’) can only be assigned the status of a negative topical Theme, which is supported by the Rheme’s negated predication *gibt nie* (‘never is’). In (32), the negative textual Theme *nein* (‘no’) signifies the pragmatic force of attributing local incongruity to the contribution, which is reinforced by the negative interpersonal Theme *ich glaube nicht* (‘I don’t think’). The two negative Themes assign the indexically realized topical Theme ‘that’ the status of a negative topical Theme, which is supported by the predication ‘mistake’.

In the following, the sequence [[interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] is examined more closely.
5.4  [[interpersonal theme] [topical theme]]

Analogously to the distribution and function of the sequences [[textual theme] [interpersonal theme] [topical theme]] and [[textual theme] [topical theme]], this sequence is used only once in turn-initial position. It is used more frequently turn-medially, where it has the function of structuring the speaker’s argumentation regarding the non-acceptance of the IR’s claim. Unlike its British counterpart, it does not signify a possible negotiation-of-validity sequence. In (33), the politician is asked whether the loss of the general election would lead to a state of disintegration in the CDU:

(33) IR  *das können Sie doch gar nicht ausschließen?* (... and you cannot exclude that completely, can you?)

IE  [[Ich glaube] [dass die CDU und CSU]] soviel moralische und politische Kraft haben… ([I think] that the CDU and the CSU] will have sufficient moral and political strength …)

In the context of responding to a yes-no question, the interpersonal Theme *ich glaube* (‘I think’) signifies the pragmatic force of attributing local incongruity to the contribution. This is supported by the topical Theme realized as the general noun ‘the CDU and CSU’ which is incongruent to the prior ‘you’, thus realizing a non-compliance with the request to provide a particular piece of information.

To sum up, in the German data, turn-initial Theme zones within the communicative act of a non-acceptance are realized differently. Not only are there fewer multiple Themes realized turn-initially, but they also have a different communicative function. Unlike their British counterparts, they do not signify the co-participants’ intention to negotiate the validity of their claims: textual Themes, such as *also* (‘now’ or ‘well’), signify an upcoming non-acceptance on the textual plane, and interpersonal Themes, such as *ich glaube* (‘I think’) express some degree of subjectification anchored to the speaker’s commitment regarding the truth of the proposition. Thus, both types of Theme attenuate the pragmatic force of the non-acceptance. If multiple Themes are realized turn-medially in a communicative contribution expressing a non-acceptance, they are used as signposts which support the co-participants’ argumentation regarding the non-validity of a prior claim.

The linguistic realization of the Theme zone in the German data displays a higher degree of variation regarding textual Themes, for instance *nun* (‘well’), *ja* (‘yes’), *aber* (‘but’), *gut* (‘well’) or *also* (‘now’ or ‘well’), and interpersonal Themes, such as *ich glaube* (‘I think’) or *Ich bin nicht jetzt der äh Besitzer der Gedanken der Wähler* (‘I am not now the owner of the electorate’s thoughts’), and therefore seems less routinized. From a communicative-genre perspective, a possible conclusion could be that in German language use the propositional content of the non-acceptance seems to be assigned more significance than the process of negotiating its validity. This is also reflected in the lack of lengthier negotiation-of-validity sequences in the data, where non-acceptances are generally negotiated over two turns only.
6. Conclusions

The goal of this chapter has been to demonstrate that a sociopragmatic investigation of discourse supplemented by functional grammar can achieve more refined results for the domains of communicative action and its linguistic realizations in context. To achieve that goal, the linguistic realization of a Theme zone and its function of signifying the pragmatic force of attributing incongruity have been examined in a sociopragmatic frame of reference, where the Theme zone is assigned the status of a contextualization cue which signifies whether an upcoming contribution is going to be congruous or incongruous.

The expression of incongruity has been examined in the context of short political interviews in Germany and Britain. The interactional organization of a political interview in the German and British contexts follows the standard procedure, while its linguistic realization is different in the two cultural contexts (cf. Fetzer 2005b). The German interviews are shorter because discourse topics are generally negotiated over two turns only. The British interviews have longer topical sequences because the interviewer tends to take up the interviewee’s contributions and negotiate their validity. Regarding the expression of incongruity, the British and German interviews are also significantly different, and their distribution is summarized as follows in Table 4 below.

In the British data, multiple Themes are the unmarked variant in the context of non-acceptances, and as in mundane everyday talk, the British data display a high degree of interpersonal orientation, which is reflected in the high number of interpersonal Themes in the turn-initial position. This correlates with the conversation-analytic findings of preference organization and the differentiation between preferred and dispreferred seconds, and with sociolinguistic and sociopragmatic findings for culture-specific expressions of politeness. To express incongruity in the British data, an unmarked Theme zone displays the following sequence: (1) the inherently negative textual Theme well, (2) the interpersonal Theme I think, which does not express incongruity per se, and (3) a context-dependent topical Theme realized by an indexical expression, e.g. I, it or that, or a general noun, e.g. the answer or opinion polls.

In the German data, we also find multiple Themes in non-acceptances, but fewer interpersonal Themes. This also holds for mundane everyday talk in the German cultural context, which tends to avoid overt interpersonal Themes. Furthermore, the sequential organization of a Theme zone is less conventionalized. There is some variation for the expression of incongruity with textual Themes, where we find nun (‘well’), ja (‘yes’), aber (‘but’), gut (‘well’), also (‘now’ or ‘well’) and und (‘and’). The expression of incongruity for topical Themes is similar to English: they are also context-dependent indexical expressions, e.g. wir (‘we’), es (‘it’) and das (‘that’) and general nouns, e.g. Antwort (‘answer’) and die CDU (‘the CDU’). While multiple Themes signify the possibility of a negotiation-of-validity sequence in the British data, textual and topical Themes signify an upcoming non-acceptance, but no intention to initiate a negotiation-
of-validity sequence. Rather, negative textual Themes and negative topical Themes only attenuate the pragmatic force of the non-acceptance in the German data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[[textual theme] [interpersonal theme]</td>
<td>[[Well] [I think] [we]’ve faced an opposition [Also] Ich bin nicht jetzt der (schüttelt mit dem Kopf)äh Besitzer der Gedanken der Wähler] aber richtig ist, [es] gibt nie fehlerlose Politik.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[topical theme]]</td>
<td>[[Well] [I] want to look at..</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[also] [mein Demokratieverstandnis] ist...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[interpersonal theme]</td>
<td>[[I don’t accept by any means] [that the results of the election]] has yet been decided ... [Ich glaube] dass die CDU und CSU] soviel moralische und politische Kraft Haben...</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[topical theme]]</td>
<td>[[I] have no further comments</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Es] lag natürlich in allererster Linie daran...</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Distribution of Theme zones in the British and German data

To conclude, British political interviews prefer multiple Themes for the expression of incongruity. Their German counterparts tend to avoid interpersonal Themes, and negative textual and topical Themes signify an upcoming non-acceptance and at the same time attenuate it. Regarding possible perlocutionary effects, British political interviews employ more moves and thus seem to be a more dynamic and a more process-oriented genre, while German political interviews employ fewer moves and thus seem to be a less dynamic and more product-oriented genre.
Acknowledgments

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References


Last things first

A FDG approach to clause-final focus constituents in Spanish and English

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Within Functional Grammar it has been claimed that a small set of languages, including Polish and Dutch, may have a special clause-final position reserved for certain kinds of Focus constituents. But it has also been suggested that there is insufficient evidence to establish whether this is actually a pragmatically marked position or whether elements which end up in final position simply acquire a kind of natural relief. In this paper we compare discourse data from Spanish and English, which have different basic functional patterns, within Functional Discourse Grammar and conclude that the behaviour of clause-final focal elements in specific constructions in these languages may indeed warrant the positing of special focus positions, at least from a functional point of view.

1. Introduction

In his summary on what Functional Grammar and other functional models have achieved in terms of accounting for pragmatically based word order configurations, Butler (2003: 179) comments on the large amount of work done on clause-initial phenomena compared to the relative lack of work on clause-final phenomena.1 This is despite the fact that the end of the clause has often been regarded as the basic position for focal or newsworthy information and the preferred location for long, heavy constituents such as subject clauses.

Dik (1997: 427) suggests that clause-final position gives a certain ‘natural relief’ to the constituent which ‘happens to end up in it’. This would mean that for many languages clause-final position is an unmarked focus position, and not relevant in terms of postulating underlying functional patterns and special positions for pragmatically salient information. In other words, one must not assume that focal elements occur in

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1. We would like to thank the editors and Chris Butler for comments on an earlier version of the text.
final position because that is ‘where they belong’. Indeed, this might be one reason why there have been relatively few studies of clause-final phenomena in FG. However, by stark contrast, and as Dik himself also remarks (1997: 427), final position may in a particular language indeed be used as a marked position for salient items, and then it becomes more relevant to investigate the possibility of a pragmatically relevant, so-called P-position in the relevant functional pattern for that language, as has been argued for by Siewierska (1998: 257) with regard to Polish and by De Schutter (1985) with regard to Dutch.

The main aim of this paper is to consider clause-final focus phenomena in two further languages, Spanish and English. These two languages have a range of constructions in which clause-final focus is a prominent feature, and in functional terms some of the constructions are quite similar. However, Spanish and English differ significantly in their syntactic patterning, and this allows us to investigate whether basic syntactic patterns and special features such as P-positions might perhaps be required to play different roles in the Functional Grammars of these two languages when it comes to accounting for clause-final focus.

The framework for the study is that of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) (cf. Hengeveld 2005, as well as the contributions in Mackenzie and Gómez González 2004 and Mackenzie and Gómez González 2005). The model of FDG displays an architecture which follows the path taken in the production of linguistic expressions, starting from the speaker’s communicative intention and ending with the linguistic expression of that intention. One implication of such a framework is that for those cases where we can establish the communicative effect of a particular ordering of elements, as well as possible discourse constraints on the use of such an ordering, we should try and account for this ordering in terms of rules which as it were allow the effect to be seen as linked to an intention. Consequently, to promote pragmatic adequacy, FDG would need to provide an account of those cases of clause-final focus which are the result of a particular communicative strategy.

The text is organized as follows. First of all we look in section 2 at how the model of Functional Discourse Grammar treats constituent order variation and contrast that briefly with the standard model of Functional Grammar. In Section 3 we present an overview of clause-final focus phenomena in Spanish, taking a look in more detail at one particular construction type, characterized by VXS ordering. We go on in section 4 to look at clause-final constructions in English, and concentrate again on one particular phenomenon, that of object postposing. Section 5 summarizes the points of similarity and contrast between the two languages and proceeds to discuss the merits of postulating for both Spanish and English a special P-position, $P_o$, which might be valuable in accounting for many, though not all, clause-final focus phenomena. We conclude that $P_o$ is relevant for both languages but in different ways, and that this becomes clear when looking at the communicative goals associated with the different construction types under discussion. We round off in section 6 by charting a derivational path for clause-final focus which relates focus to particular pragmatic
frames and which shows how Functional Discourse Grammar provides an adequate discourse-sensitive architecture for accounting for word order variation.

2. Constituent ordering in FDG

In Functional Discourse Grammar, linguistic expressions are analysed "in terms of the world they describe and the communicative intentions with which they are produced, i.e. in terms of their representational and interpersonal functions" (Hengeveld 2004: 367). This means that the task of the grammatical component relates to those aspects of conceptualizations and intentions which are encoded in the linguistic expression. What counts as coding has been a matter of debate in Functional Grammar (see for instance Bolkestein 1998: 202ff), but because the FDG research programme includes a definition of the position of FDG as the grammatical component of a wider model of the natural language user, it is to be expected that the relationship between the grammatical component and in particular the contextual component of the model will become explicit, so that in turn it will be possible to better define what the grammar does and does not encompass (see Connolly 2004 for discussion of the contextual component).

The organization of FDG is given in Figure 1 below, with the grammar being presented as one of four components in a wider model of language production.

The workings of the grammatical component are briefly as follows. Input from the conceptual component is the outcome of a decision by the speaker to produce a linguistic expression in pursuance of his/her communicative aims. This input interacts in an operation of formulation with pragmatic and semantic frames, which are languagespecific primitives that define what combinations of elements are possible, for instance in terms of information structure patterns (Hengeveld 2005: 67). The outcome of this operation of formulation is in the shape of interpersonal and representational levels of linguistic organization. Together, these then provide the input to the operation of encoding, which makes use of another set of primitives, this time syntactic templates, to produce a fully linearized morphosyntactic description of the linguistic expression to be produced. This is the final output of the grammatical component of the model.

A defining feature of FDG is that it takes the discourse act as the basic unit of description. Each discourse act has at its core a piece of information which is communicatively the most salient, the focus. As Mackenzie (2004: 183) notes, “there is no act, no matter how brief, without a focus”. In the simplest of communicative situations, the speaker may decide that it is sufficient to utter this information without any other accompanying elements. In such cases the result will be a holophrastic expression. In his discussion of holophrases, Mackenzie notes that a single focus element may have further information added to it, or that in other situations the speaker may choose to start not with the focal information but with other already accessible information, which may make more processing time available to the speaker for identifying and lexicalizing the focus (Mackenzie 2004: 189). But this should not of course be taken to imply
Figure 1. General layout of FDG as the grammatical component of a model of the natural language producer

that speakers always commence utterances without having in mind what the focus involves. On the contrary, constructions such as English presentatives, illustrated in (1), represent a case where initial relatively accessible information is placed where it is not so much because it gives the speaker more processing time, but rather, because it presents
Last things first

a stage or reference point (cf. Langacker 1993; cf. also Gómez González 2004) for the presentation of new, relatively inaccessible information in absolute final position:

(1) In the corner lay a pile of books.

Accordingly, our assumption in this paper is that the speaker’s decision to commence the utterance with an element with a specific informational status may be seen as a feature of how he or she intends to manage the communicative task. In other words, we would like to stress the need to analyse constructions such as presentatives in information packaging terms (cf. the detailed study conducted by Dorgeloh 1997). Admittedly, the speaker’s processing of focal information may well play a role in what comes first, as it must do from an on-line incrementalist perspective, but the choice of what comes first can clearly be influenced by a wide variety of factors such as the genre, the speaker’s judgment of what the addressee knows, the more macro-level discourse goals being pursued at the time, and the specific communicative effect one may wish to create. In the case of presentatives, we would in fact say that what comes first is ultimately defined by what one wants to come last – the whole construction owes its raison d’être to what is presented in final position, rather than being characterized by the step-by-step build-up of elements with the focal element happening to appear at the end.

In other words, focal information which is presented clause-finally may often be in that position not so much by chance, as suggested by Dik (1997: 427), but rather as the outcome of the speaker following specific discourse strategies. Seen in terms of the grammatical component of FDG, this means that the underlying representation which emerges from the operation of formulation will where relevant have to contain some kind of functional specification which leads to the focal element being placed in clause-final position.

The actual ordering of constituents is part of the work of the morphosyntactic expression rules. The main feature of these rules is that they have a dynamic character (cf. Bakker 2001: 30), in order to be consonant with actual speech production, and as such apply from left to right, with each constituent in turn being fully expanded before the next constituent is realized. The basis for the application of expression rules at the level of the clause is a syntactic template, similar to the system proposed by Connolly (1991, 2005). The filling of any particular slot in a syntactic template is conditioned by a set of preferred rules, which in principle should not involve optionality. For instance, in a language where under specific circumstances elements are coded for a particular pragmatic function by means of being placed in a certain position, the expression rules need to function so as to recognize the relevant conditions and accordingly place any element so coded in a particular slot in the template, and thus to prevent other elements from being placed in the same slot. This is in contrast to the standard model of FG, where the application of rules both for functional patterns and for more generalized syntactic templates involved a considerable degree of optionality. For instance, the rules for filling the clause-initial P1 position in English in Mackenzie and Keizer (1991:
213) allow Focus constituents to appear in $P_1$ if certain other constituents have not already been placed there, but no specific conditions for such placement are specified, which means that the rule does not have to apply, and Focus constituents can equally well be placed in another slot in the functional pattern. A similar kind of optionality can be found in the way that Connolly (1991: Ch.3.3) applies rules for a great variety of marked orders in English.

It should be noted that the syntactic templates constitute a conflation of the functional syntactic patterns that characterize a particular language, and in the case of free word order languages form a more efficient basis for expression rules since it may be quite difficult in such languages to establish specific functional patterns. However, because an important task for us here is to establish the relevant constituent order patterns in two different languages, we will restrict our analysis to functional patterns. What is more, for Spanish and English we will in fact argue in section 6 that the modelling of linearization in Functional Discourse Grammar might benefit from giving functional patterns a more prominent role.

3. Clause-final phenomena in Spanish

In the previous section we sought to establish the theoretical relevance of considering clause-final focus phenomena within a grammatical model which seeks to account for those aspects of the speaker’s communicative intention which are coded in linguistic expressions. We now turn to specific aspects of clause-final focus in Spanish and English, starting with Spanish. First we outline the different constructions which are characterized by clause-final focus in Spanish and then relate these to the functional patterns proposed for this language in the FG literature. Finally, we consider one particular construction, which displays the VXS pattern, in more detail, since this causes problems for existing proposals on constituent order. The analysis leads to a revised proposal for the functional patterns of Spanish declarative clauses.

3.1 An overview of constructions

Spanish has been generally characterized as a language with a basic SVO order (cf. e.g. Siewierska 1997: 551). In clauses with nominal as opposed to pronominal participants,

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2. In all cases where terms such as topic and focus refer to the actual pragmatic functions recognized in FDG we follow standard Functional Grammar practice in using capital letters to distinguish the function. The same goes for subject and object when they refer to syntactic functions recognized in the grammar.
SVO/SVX order is statistically dominant and the most contextually independent order (cf. e.g. Delbecque 1991 and Suñer 1982), as in (2):

(2) Nuestra inteligencia siempre se desarrolla en un contexto social

our intelligence always refl develop:3sg in a context social

‘Our intelligence always develops itself in a social context’

Despite this general assumption, main clause constituent order in Spanish also admits considerable variation in the position of main clause constituents, and indeed flexibility is a major factor conditioning Spanish constituent ordering. This ordering variation is one of the most important strategies that speakers have to express the informational status of specific elements. Another main feature of Spanish constituent order is the possibility of omitting the subject.

Taking this SVO/SVX order as the unmarked dominant order in declarative main clauses, we can distinguish a series of constructions which depart from this order and involve a final (or later) placement of a constituent in the clause. As we will see, final position is generally associated with focal information in Spanish.

Spanish has constructions whose defining feature is the presentation of a focal element in final position, this being the unmarked (i.e. usual or even required) position for that element. This is the case with presentative and se-passive constructions, as well as with constructions with other unaccusative verbs such as experiencer predicates. In all these constructions, the syntactic subject appears postverbally, in the clause-final position. These constructions are syntactically marked (on the basis of an unmarked SVO order in Spanish), but they can be considered as pragmatically unmarked in that they follow the typical distribution of information with the given preceding the new information (Siewierska 1988: 13).

Presentative constructions are often introduced by a fronted constituent functioning as a kind of setting:

(3) por eso apareció el aburrimiento [HV, 25]

for that:N appeared:3sg the boredom

‘For that reason boredom appeared.’

In other cases, they are verb-initial:

---

3. Examples in Spanish have been mainly extracted from the book Hablemos de la vida (Let’s talk about life, marked as HV), based on a series of formal conversations between a Spanish journalist (Nativel Preciado) and a philosopher (José Antonio Marina) and edited in 2002 (Temas de Hoy). A few other examples come from the corpus El habla de la ciudad de Madrid (The speech of the city of Madrid), edited by Esgueva and Cantarero (1981) and marked as CCM, and from news editorials from the Spanish newspaper El País and marked as EP. The coding of the examples also gives the page number or date in the case of newspaper texts.
There exist three thousand specializations within mathematics.

(5) *Me gusta mucho la idea de ‘entrenamiento’.* [HV, 108]  
*I like the idea of ‘training’ very much*

(6) *En este libro se desvela, al fin, el misterio.* [HV, 93]  
*In this book one reveals the mystery, at last.*

With the exception of se-passives, all of these constructions may be verb-initial clauses, optionally taking an adjunct in clause-first position, as in (3) or (6). Experiencer predicates are usually preceded by a dative clitic representing the entity receiving the sensation or inner state (experiencer), as in (5).

Second, there are constructions in Spanish that present an element in final position, but whose unmarked syntactic position is not the final one, for example constructions with an initial object or ‘complement’ and final subject, as in (7) and (8):

(7) *El ingenio es una habilidad brillante, muy atractiva, pero muy tramposa.*  
*Wit is a brilliant, very attractive ability, but very deceitful as well.*

(8) *Mucho más difícil es animar a alguien o consolarlo.* [HV, 155]  
*Much more difficult is to cheer someone up or comfort him.*

Apart from the tendency to place focal information towards the end of the clause, the inversion of the subject in this type of construction is favoured by the placing of a non-subject argument in initial position. The verb acts as a kind of pivot, with both arguments to the right and left of the predicate lending a certain balance to the clause.

Other clauses have a nominal subject in final position, with no preposing of another element (yielding VS sequences), in non-existential/non-presentative constructions. An example is (9):

(9) *[About the informant’s children and their fondness for music]*  
*Pero, ¿toca alguno el piano?*  
*‘But, does any of them play the piano?’*
Está estudiando la... la cuarta. [CCM, 210]

is studying the... the fourth

‘My fourth child is studying (piano)’

In (9) the final position of the subject (la cuarta) signals that this is the focus of information that the speaker wants to emphasize (because it is, typically, new information or information contrary to expectation). Alternative orders are possible, such as SV in this case, but the informational status of the clause elements is then different.

3.2  The functional patterns of Spanish

Martínez Caro (2006) proposes one dominant functional pattern for Spanish which can, in principle, capture all declarative main clauses discussed so far, i.e. those showing a dominant SVO/SVX order (cf. 2) and others with postverbal subject in the constructions illustrated in (3–9):

(10) P₁ c V S O X

(10) reflects the most common ordering sequence assumed for Spanish declaratives in which the first position, a preverbal clause position, may be filled by any argument of the verb (typically the subject) or by an adjunct (or it could be left empty, see below), the verb is considered to occupy a fixed position, and the subject can appear either preverbally or postverbally or simply be left unspecified (cf. Martínez Caro 1989, 2006; Groos and Bok-Bennema 1986).

In (10), V stands for verb, S for subject, O for object and X represents non-subject, non-object constituents such as ‘oblique’ arguments or all kinds of adjuncts, known in FG as satellites. P₁ is a clause-initial position used for special purposes, including the placement of pragmatically relevant elements with Topic or Focus function (cf. Connolly 1991: 27; Dik 1997: 408, 420). Small c stands for clitics and other set particles like the passive or impersonal se, all of which occur in Spanish main clauses in the immediately preverbal position and are considered as a kind of minor category (cf. Martínez Caro 2006). It should be noted that V, S etc. do not represent the constituents themselves but slots in an abstract pattern; in other words, actual SVO order can still be the result of the application of a pattern where the V slot precedes the S slot. Notice also that the positions S, O, c and X may be left empty.¹

The pattern in (10) can capture the dominant SVO/SVX ordering on the assumption that the subject is placed in P₁, by virtue of its status as Topic (Dik 1997: 409), as in (2).

Note that in Spanish there is no need to postulate two positions for the finite and non-finite elements of the verb (VF and Vi), as in English or Dutch (cf. Dik 1997: 420), since it is impossible to separate these two verbal forms by inserting for example a Subject or satellite in between. Also notice that in a more detailed description of Spanish constituent order, further X positions may be required (cf. Dik 1997: 421), mainly to account for the variable positioning of satellites.

¹
Constructions whose defining feature is the presentation of a focal element (the subject) in final position, such as presentatives or those with an experiencer verb (as in 3–6), are also captured by (10): the subject then occupies its pattern position and $P_1$ is filled by an initial satellite as in (3) or (6). In the case of verb-initial clauses (as in VS presentative constructions, e.g. 4), we assume that $P_1$ is left empty and the verb occupies its slot position in the pattern (cf. Martínez Caro 2006).\(^5\) In SV sequences where the subject is non-explicit, $P_1$ may also remain unfilled.

$P_1$ is also assumed to be left empty in constructions with preverbal clitics, as in (5), where the clitic is placed in the minor position immediately preceding the verb in the pattern in (10). However, if these constructions involve ‘clitic doubling’ (cf. Fernández Soriano 1999; Martínez Caro 2006) or contain some other fronted element with an emphatic meaning, as in (11), then this initial element will be assigned to $P_1$ ($A$ mí in (11a) and $A$ la gente in (11b)):

\[
(11) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad A \text{ mí } \text{no me } \text{gusta } \text{la palabra } [HV, 71] \\
& \quad \text{to me } \text{NEG } \text{me:DAT please:3SG the word} \\
& \quad \text{‘I don’t like the word’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad A \text{ la gente } \text{le } \text{gusta } \text{sentir } [HV, 77] \\
& \quad \text{to the people:SG:F her:DAT: SG please:3SG feel:INF} \\
& \quad \text{‘People like feeling’}
\end{align*}
\]

Also captured by (10) are the constructions illustrated in (7) and (8), where the final subject occupies its pattern position and $P_1$ is either filled with the initial object or complement. The construction known as left dislocation – with typical OcVS order in Spanish – is considered to be in this language functionally similar to the OVS construction illustrated in (7), and thus sharing the same functional pattern. Following previous work (Martínez Caro 1999: 111; 2006) and contrary to more traditional views, we assume that the initial argument (typically an object) in the more grammaticalized instances of the construction in Spanish is not to be considered as a peripheral element to the clause but as an integrated argument with a similar topical status and function to the types of object occurring in (7). Following this line of argumentation, it is thus assigned to $P_1$, rather than to the extra-clausal Theme position $P_2$,\(^6\) as is the case with muchos de ellos in (12):

\[
(12) \quad \text{[Hay muchos autobuses y trolebuses.} \\
\quad \text{‘There are many buses and trolleybuses.’]}
\]

---

\(^5\) See Mackenzie (forthc.) for an alternative view on this for Portuguese where the $P_1$ position is assumed to be necessarily filled.

\(^6\) For further discussion about this construction and a distinction between this and the so called ‘hanging-topic’ construction in Spanish, see Martínez Caro (2006).
Por cierto, que muchos de ellos los conducen las mujeres
by the way, that many of them: m them: acc: m drive: 3 p the women: nom: f

[CCM, 157]

‘By the way, many of them are driven by women’

All cases discussed so far can be captured by the dominant $P_1 V S O$ pattern of (10), but there is at least one construction which clearly does not fit this pattern at all. These are constructions in Spanish which front an argument or satellite and maintain the preverbal position of the subject (i.e. $P_1 S V \ldots$ patterns), as in (13) and (14):

(13) Para nosotros eso es afectación, hipocresia y falta de sinceridad. [HV, 124]
for us that is pretension hypocrisy and lack of sincerity
‘For us that is pretension, hypocrisy and lack of sincerity.’

(14) En la escuela, los profesores debemos intentar que el alumno
in the school the teachers must: 1 pl try: inf that the student
sepa que va progresando [HV, 81]
knows: SBJV that goes progressing
‘At school, we teachers have to try and make the student know that s/he is making progress.’

Given that the order in these constructions cannot be derived from the pattern in (10), a second functional pattern was postulated in Martínez Caro (2006), which is to be seen as a secondary pattern, and aimed at complementing the one in (10). This is given in (15):

(15) $P_1 S c V O X$

In FG, the test for basic $P_1 V S O$ order as opposed to basic $P_1 S V O$ order is whether the subject remains preverbal if another constituent is positioned preverbally; if it does – as can happen in Spanish – then the language qualifies, or also qualifies in our case, as $P_1 S V O$ (cf. Dik 1980: 70, and Siewierska 1988: 120). The pattern in (15) attempts to capture examples in Spanish in which, indeed, $SV$ order remains with a preverbal constituent (satellite or non-subject argument) in $P_1$, such as the clause-initial constituents in (13) and (14). Since this $P_1$ position is occupied, the preverbal subject must be placed in its slot position, rendering a $P_1 S V \ldots$ pattern. For further details of this less dominant syntactic pattern, see Martínez Caro (2006).
3.3 The VXS construction and a reconsideration of the functional patterns

Now consider a clausal pattern in Spanish that does not fit into the two functional patterns in (10) and (15): the extraposition of (typically clausal) subjects in attributive constructions reporting an attitude or stance, as illustrated in (16):

\[(16)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Es verdad que somos seres contradictorios.} \quad \text{[HV, 78]} \\
& \text{is true that be:1pl beings contradictory} \\
& \text{‘It is true that we are contradictory beings.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{Es imposible saber lo que ocurrió.} \quad \text{[HV, 107]} \\
& \text{is impossible know:inf what happened} \\
& \text{‘It is impossible to know what happened.’}
\end{align*}
\]

These cases are best analysed as involving a construction with an initial verb, followed by X, which is a non-object argument of the verb, in this case a complement occurring immediately after the verb, and a final subject.\(^7\) In the functional patterns proposed for Spanish in (10) and (15), however, the X slot, where we would want to place the complement, appeared in a post-subject position. That is, neither of the two patterns appears to be able to accommodate these verb-initial sequences.

A large number of these constructions have a clausal subject which tends to be a much more complex element than the initial verb and complement. The final position of the subject is favoured by its ‘heaviness’, as Dik’s principle of LIPOC predicts (cf. Dik 1997: 411). This principle refers to the general tendency in language to order constituents according to increasing complexity. Notice, however, that less complex NP subjects can also occur finally, as in (17), although in this case the final position of the subject is not the unmarked one:

\[(17)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Es curiosa la relación con el tiempo.} \quad \text{[HV, 83]} \\
& \text{is curious the relation with the time} \\
& \text{‘The relation with time is curious. / It is curious, the relation with time.’}
\end{align*}
\]

One characteristic feature of this pattern is the fact that the complement invariably follows the verb, and forms with it a kind of compact and cohesive unit, whose components are difficult to separate (cf. the principle of verb-object bonding discussed in Tomlin 1986: 73–101; cf. also Fernández Ramírez 1986: 434). Apart from ser (‘to be’), other attributive verbs are used in this construction, such as parecer (‘appear’) or resultar (‘turn out, ‘result’). These verbs are inherently light, contributing no information that is new to the discourse, the complement conveying most of the lexical content of the

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\(^7\) Notice that (8) would also fall in this category of attributive constructions reporting an attitude or stance with an extraposed clausal Subject. In (8), however, the complement is fronted, and assigned to P1, on the basis of its connective function with the preceding discourse. The resulting XVS sequence can be related to the OVS structures illustrated in (7) and easily captured by the functional pattern in (10).
Last things first

These features seem to suggest a similarity in meaning and function between this construction and the verb + subject sequence in presentatives and with other unaccusative predicates (e.g. experiencer verbs). Consider (18) and (19) in this regard:

(18) a. Era sorprendente comprobar que…
   'It was surprising to see that…'
   b. = Me sorprendía comprobar que
   'I was surprised to see that…'

(19) a. Es necesario aprender de la historia
   'One needs to learn from history'
   b. = Me parece necesario aprender de la historia [HV, 179]
   'We need (lit: it appears necessary to me) to learn from history'

What is striking here is the similarity in meaning between the extraposition constructions in the (a) sentences and the experiencer constructions in the (b) sentences.

Spanish has other V + NP sequences which appear to function similarly to these VXS constructions, but which contain a delexical transitive verb followed by an object and conforming then to the VOS pattern. As with VXS patterns, the verb-object sequence also forms a compact cohesive unit. Another similarity with the VXS construction discussed here is that they exhibit meanings which can be associated with this construction, used to report an attitude or stance, as in (20a-b):

(20) a. Nos cuesta trabajo valorar lo que tenemos [HV, 27]
   'We find it hard to value what we have.'
   b. Por eso tienen tanta importancia en nuestra vida intelectual
   'Hence the importance in our intellectual and practical life of words beginning with pre or pro'

In other cases, they convey meanings which are best associated with VS patterns with experiential or presentative predicates, as in (21) and (22):

(21) Da miedo la realidad [HV, 25]
   'One is frightened by reality'
(22) *Hace falta una gran energía para pensar bien,*
do:3sg lack a great energy to think properly,
un gran entrenamiento y una resistencia de cazador. [HV, 103]
a great training and a resistance of hunter
‘One needs great energy to think properly, great training and the resistance of a hunter’

All this evidence suggests that the extraposed subjects (together with the related VOS patterns considered) seem to behave in a similar way, both syntactically and semantically, to subjects in presentatives and other VS unaccusative patterns, as if the VX (or VO) unit in the first type of construction were similar to the V of the second pattern. This would then justify treating them similarly, for instance by including them in the same wider group.8

Now, returning to our original problem, i.e. how to capture VXS (or similar VOS) constructions with the functional patterns proposed, let us look at a number of possible solutions (cf. also Martínez Caro 2006). The first possibility is to posit a third functional pattern that can accommodate these constructions, which would look like (23), set alongside (10) and (15) for convenience:

(23) $P_1 \text{ c V O X S}$
(10) $P_1 \text{ c V S O X}$
(15) $P_1 S \text{ c V O X}$

The proposed pattern in (23) would be seen as a specific pattern for the constructions under discussion with a final clausal subject. The X (or O) postverbal constituents would then be placed in their corresponding pattern slots and the subject in final position.

There seem to be at least two arguments against this option. First, the adoption of a basic pattern where O, or for that matter X, precedes S is generally regarded as

8. It has been argued that “fully transitive” VOS clauses are felicitous in Spanish under a narrow-focus context, with the Subject, and only this, in focus (cf. e.g. Zubizarreta 1999: 4232ff):

(i) *[¿Quién se comió un ratón? ‘Who ate a mouse?’]*
Se comió un ratón EL GATO
refl ate:3sg a mouse the cat
‘The cat ate a mouse / A mouse was eaten by the cat’

However, within this narrow-focus context with focus on the Subject, it seems to us that this kind of pattern does occur in Spanish as a clitic-VS sequence since the object is of course a given entity:

(ii) Se lo comió EL GATO
refl it:acc ate:3sg the cat
‘It was eaten by the cat’

Even if we recognize that patterns such as (i) may occur in Spanish, there are various pieces of evidence that suggest that this VOS order is not an unmarked order but one which should be seen as a variant of a dominant one (cf. Zubizarreta 1999: 4233 and Siewierska 1997: 551).
undesirable in FG (Dik 1980: ch. 6; Hannay 1985: 178; Siewierska 1988: 116). The idea is that, since the syntactic functions Subject and Object in FG are both defined in terms of the notion of perspective, in principle an object which is seen as imposing a secondary perspective on the state of affairs in the predication could not in the unmarked instance precede a subject which is taken to determine the primary perspective.

Second, although theoretically FG sets no upper limit on the number of patterns, Dik (1978: 184) does state that the existence of more than one pattern for a given language is to be regarded as “a powerful means of distinguishing clausal types”. VXS sequences in Spanish do not appear to constitute a different clause type and so it seems that there is no justification for positing an additional functional pattern to account for this kind of construction alone.

A second option for handling the order of VXS constructions involves postulating a single comprehensive pattern which can accommodate all types of order in declarative main clauses in Spanish, with different slots for the subject, and which as such comes close to an overall syntactic template:

\[
P_1 (S) c V (S) O X (S)
\]

This option is highly economical as, in principle, it would make it possible to capture all types of order in Spanish declarative main clauses. A possible disadvantage is that it fails to reflect the differences prevalent in the various clausal patterns in Spanish, notably the differences between the presentative constructions and related patterns, on the one hand, and other patterns in Spanish associated with a topic > focus order, on the other. These differences in order reflect, in turn, the speaker's pragmatic intentions and the choice of the pattern will then depend on the speaker's decision as to which will best express his/her pragmatic intention.

The characteristic of having more than one functional pattern is one of the requirements mentioned in the FG account of linearization in variable word order languages (Siewierska 1991: 223). The other two requirements are special positions other than \(P_1\) and multiple placement in \(P_1\) or in another special position. The idea is that such languages are viewed as exhibiting at least two of these three characteristics.

In an FG study of clitic pronoun position in Portuguese as compared to Castilian Spanish, Mackenzie (forthc.) proposes a single functional pattern for Portuguese constituent ordering where \(S\) is absent from the pattern and added by a mechanism following a principle of restrictive apposition. This proposal is preferred to introducing more than one \(S\) slot in the pattern or proposing further \(P\) positions and, as Mackenzie states (and is more important for our present purposes), it also could be applied to Spanish. Although Mackenzie himself recognizes that “ultimately the choice between the two approaches may be a matter of taste”, a proposal such as his appears difficult to apply to Spanish without radically changing the characterization of this language presented in this paper. More specifically, this would entail for Spanish, among other things, considering that \(P_1\) cannot be left unfilled under certain conditions, allowing placement of
the verb in $P_1$ position in verb-initial clauses and assuming that Spanish clitic pronouns are syntactic rather than morphological elements (cf. Martínez Caro 2006).

Finally, a third option involves considering a tentative proposal made in Martínez Caro (2006) for the recognition in Spanish of a final $P_\emptyset$ position, associated with elements with a Focus function. The VXS construction would then be captured by a revised pattern of (10):

(25) \[ P_1 \text{c V S O X } P_\emptyset \]

More generally, this proposal assumes retaining the two patterns in (10) and (15) and adding a special $P_\emptyset$ position to both patterns in the last position of the clause proper. The revised version of (15) would be as in (26):

(26) \[ P_1 \text{S c V O X } P_\emptyset \]

The postverbal subject in the VXS constructions discussed would be placed in $P_\emptyset$ by virtue of its focal status and special syntactic position. An obvious advantage of this option is that it allows us to retain the two functional patterns for Spanish which we would want to see as reflections of basic kinds of pragmatic intentions on the part of the speaker, by means of positing a final $P_\emptyset$ special position, as suggested above.

This also stands out as a better solution than the previous two if we consider, in general, the syntactic nature of the elements which occur in clause-final position in Spanish. More specifically, we need to make sure that it is not only subjects that behave in this way, in which case we would be better off with a pattern-final $S$ position in the functional pattern, as in (23) or (24). A look at the data in Spanish suggests, however, that there are other elements that are sent to final position for what appear to be pragmatic reasons.

Constructions with what Quirk et al. (1985) call postponed objects (cf. also Ward et al. 2002: 1382ff), for instance, occur in our data in two main contexts: with preposing of adjuncts in adjunct-object sequences, as in (27–28), or with preposing of complements of the object in complement-object sequences, as in (29):

(27) \[ \text{Corea del Norte ha admitido oficialmente por primera vez que posee armamento nuclear} \]

‘North Korea has admitted officially for first time that it possesses nuclear weapons.’

(28) \[ \text{El presidente brasileño Lula y Chávez dibujaron en su reciente entrevista en Caracas las líneas de una futura alianza estratégica} \]

‘The Brazilian prime minister Lula and Chávez designed in their recent interview in Caracas the lines of a future strategic alliance.’
(29) El comunicado considera un acto de favoritismo la apertura del Mercado de la televisión… [EP, 17/2/05]

‘The press release considers an act of favouritism the opening of the television market.’

In (27) the clausal object que posee armamento nuclear has been placed in final position after the two adjuncts, oficialmente and por primera vez. In (28) the adjunct precedes the object las líneas de una futura alianza estratégica. Likewise, in (29) the direct object is placed finally following the object complement, which tends to follow the constituent it complements. In section 4 we will look in more detail at the corresponding English construction and consider the kind of discourse context which may encourage object postponement. \( P_\phi \) is then conceived of as a special position located in a clause-final position for a single element with the pragmatic function of Focus, like the final subjects seen in previous examples and the postponed objects in (27–29).

These additional cases lend weight to the third option discussed above, and we conclude that the two functional patterns in (25) and (26), both with a final \( P_\phi \) position, are the most appropriate solution for dealing with VXS constructions and that, in general, they offer the best characterization of Spanish constituent ordering.

4. Clause-final phenomena in English

We now turn to English. Section 4.1 surveys clause-final focus constructions and section 4.2 looks in more detail, as we did with Spanish, at a particular subtype of one such construction, namely object postposing. We do so by considering a small set of data taken from a literary text, since whereas clause-final focus seems in Spanish to be predominantly a structural issue, in English it is arguably a more discourse-strategic matter. Section 4.3 then considers the implications for the functional patterns relevant for English declarative clauses, which are themselves more problematic than earlier work in Functional Grammar work might suggest.

4.1 An overview of constructions

Perhaps the most characteristic clause-final focus construction in English is the presentative construction, with its clause-final subject. The presentative is illustrated in (30):

(30) On every table had been placed a ring of small vases.

But in addition to presentatives, English has other clause-final constructions in the form of extraposition structures and constructions with postposed elements.
Subject extraposition involves a clausal subject placed in clause-final position with the subject slot being filled by dummy it, as illustrated by (31–32):

(31)  a. It surprised me that nobody claimed the money.
     b. That nobody claimed the money surprised me.

(32)  a. It would be a good idea to do it again.
     b. To do it again would be a good idea.

Some verbs require the extraposition structure, but often the (a) and (b) forms are both possible, as here. In such cases, as Ward et al. (2002: 1404) point out, the extraposed form tends to be the more frequent, in keeping with the crosslinguistically valid principles of end-focus and end-weight, and it is the (b) form in the above examples that is pragmatically marked, with initial position of the subject being governed by a constraint regarding background knowledge.

As for postposing, Ward et al. (2002: 1382) distinguish a number of different subtypes. The postposed versions are illustrated in (33a-36a) and the ‘basic’ versions in (33b-36b). The first two have postposed subjects: (33a) involves the postposing of the subject in comparative constructions, while (34a) has an adjunct preceding the subject in an existential construction. The last two have postposed objects: in (35a) an adjunct intervenes before the object, while in (36a) it is a complement that intervenes.

(33)  a. Spain’s financial problems were less acute than had been those of Portugal. (Ward et al. 2002: 1382)
     b. Spain’s financial problems were less acute than those of Portugal had been.

(34)  a. There was in his eyes a flicker of disdain.
     b. There was a flicker of disdain in his eyes.

(35)  a. We have considered in great detail four major options.
     b. We have considered four major options in great detail.

(36)  a. I consider of great value everything that you say.
     b. I consider everything that you say of great value.

Ward et al. note that weight and relative weight are major factors in determining the actual ordering of constituents but they also consider the discourse contexts which may promote postposing, noting that discourse-newness is a prerequisite for postposing. Such a condition is arguably also relevant with regard to the discontinuous elements in (37) and (38):

(37)  a. A number of differences have been found between the two best-selling stomach tablets.
     b. A number of differences between the two best-selling stomach tablets have been found.
(38)  a. The question then arose of what contribution the public should pay.
   b. The question of what contribution the public should pay then arose.

But in addition to recognizing discourse constraints on postposing we need to consider discourse motivation in specific contexts, since the constraint of discourse newness is only a necessary condition for postposing: it is by no means inevitable that postposing will be chosen in all cases where the newness condition is met. Various authors have investigated the claim that not only syntactic and processing principles such as increasing complexity (e.g. LIPOC) are responsible for clause-final phenomena but that discourse considerations, too, may be involved. On the basis of an analysis of written text performed within the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar, Fries (1994) introduced the term N-rheme to distinguish that clause-final part of the rheme which appears to constitute the most newsworthy information in the clause, information which the writer wants the reader to remember. The reason why the writer wants the reader to remember this information is that it is bound up with his communicative goals on a more macro level, for instance the paragraph. In a similar vein, Matthiessen (1995: 600) introduced the notion of culmination to characterize textually oriented syntactic strategies such as object postposing which writers employ for marking informational prominence.

4.2 Postposed objects in English

In order to consider the discourse status of clause-final focus constituents in more detail, we looked at the cases of object postposing in the novel *Enduring Love* by the British novelist Ian McEwan, who in his writing exhibits a meticulous detail to sentence formulation and clarity of expression. Of the total number of 61 cases, there were 16 instances involving clausal objects, which we discounted from the closer analysis on the assumption that end weight might be considered a strong motive for final position. This left 45 object NPs, 26 of which were relatively light in that they either had no postmodifying elements at all or had postmodification consisting of a simple prepositional phrase. While we recognized that relative weight of adjunct and object might also be involved in determining constituent order, we wanted to consider the discourse motivations in more detail in these cases as well. It is important to note that all cases of postposed objects occurred absolutely clause-finally, that is to say there were no further constituents following the object within the same clause.

The first thing we sought to establish was whether the adjunct and the object were fully switchable. We defined switchability as the reversal of adjunct and object while still allowing (a) readability (seen as in particular the ready interpretation of the scope of the adjunct) and (b) retention of a focus reading on the object. If switching was possible, this would suggest that, alongside discourse-newness being involved, there might

9. We would like to thank Yuliya Chavdar for her work in organizing the data.
be a specific discourse motivation for the choice of constituent ordering. If switching was not possible, then this would mean that the focus interpretation of the object constituent might well be lost. In both kinds of situation we thus assumed that evidence might be sought for the idea that a specific strategy lay behind final focus placement.

Consider first the following examples of switchability, with the objects printed in bold:

(39) She drew my head against her breasts. I shut up and closed my eyes. I caught in the fibres of her sweater the tang of open air and imagined I saw the sky spread before me. [EL, 30][10]

(40) For a few seconds it wore about its muzzle a look of undisguised triumph. The writer concluded that the dog must have had a plan, a sense of the future which it attempted to shape by the practice of a deliberate deceit. And its pleasure in success must have been mediated by an act of memory. [EL, 41]

The sentence in (39) comes at the end of a paragraph in which the narrator is sitting at home describing how difficult it is for him to recount to his partner how he experienced an accident with a hot air balloon. The image which he presents at the end of the paragraph comes from linking the notion of open air and the sky spread out before me. The focal pair thus constituted would not be as easily identifiable if the fibres of her sweater had come in the way, as it were, by being placed clause-finally. In a similar vein, the postposing of the object in (40) allows a kind of presentational relief to be given to the look of undisguised triumph, which becomes the subject matter for the next two sentences.

A slightly different case is presented in (41):

(41) For all that, there’s an uneasiness I have to conceal when I meet a child. I see myself through that child’s eyes, and remember how I regarded adults when I was small. They seemed a grey crew to me now, too fond of sitting down, too keen on small talk, too accustomed to having nothing to look forward to. My parents, their friends, my uncles and aunts, all seemed to have lives bent to the priorities of other, distant, more important people. For a child it was, of course, simply a matter of local definition. Later I discovered in certain adults dignity and flamboyance and later still these qualities, or at least the first, stood revealed in my parents and most of their circle. But when I was an energetic, self-important ten-year-old and found myself in a roomful of grown-ups, I felt guilty, and thought it only polite to conceal the fun I was having elsewhere. When an aged figure addressed me – they were all aged – I worried that what showed in my face was pity. [EL, 119]

---

Here, the postposing of *dignity and flamboyance* allows it to be picked up as topic of the following clause, but in addition to that the whole paragraph is about how the narrator used to view adults when he was a small child, and the clause-final placement of the object promotes a contrast between how he saw adults when he was young and how he saw them later on. As such, *dignity and flamboyance* is newsworthy in the paragraph-wide sense of Fries (1994).

Now let us look at cases of non-switchability. First consider (42a).

(42) a. She was pulling something from the pocket of her skirt. She took the bag from me and put in my hand a **small silk scarf with grey and black zebra markings in stylised form**. ‘Smell it,’ she commanded as she carefully stowed the bag in its corner. [EL, 116]

b. ?She took the bag from me and put a small silk scarf with grey and black zebra markings in stylised form in my hand.

Here it is clear that postposing is favoured because of the weight of the object. The problem with the version in (42b) is that the distance between *put* and *in my hand* is so great that it is takes time for the reader to relate the two, thus impairing readability. A similar case is (43):

(43) a. If I had stood up while she did so and had turned towards the entrance I would have seen across half an acre of talking heads **two figures come in and speak to the maitre d’**. One of the men was tall, but I don’t think I took that in. [EL, 169]

b. If I had stood up while she did so and had turned towards the entrance I would have seen two figures come in and speak to the maitre d’ across half an acre of talking heads.

If the object had not been postposed in this case the danger would be that the scope of the adjunct would be misinterpreted as relating to *speak* and not *have seen*. But not only that, the object would not have been given the presentational prominence which leads to one of the two figures becoming the topic of the next sentence and in fact the subsequent pages.

In fact, a number of unswitchable cases involve even more strongly than this case the idea that final placement is necessary to make clear what is precisely in focus. Consider (44) in this regard:

(44) a. I had moments when I wondered if I had truly understood what God wanted from me. Was I to deliver into His hands **the author of these hateful pieces against Him**? Perhaps I was intended for something simpler and purer. I mean, I knew you wrote about science, and I was prepared to be baffled or bored, but I didn’t know you wrote out of contempt. [EL, 133]

b. Was I to deliver the author of these hateful pieces against Him into His hands?
In (44b) the final position of a directional adverbial combined with the immediately postverbal position of an object including definite noun phrases which contain given information would together invite an interpretation with *into His hands* as focus, but this would not make sense in the context. In other words, writers make sure that focus can be identified and they use an order which guarantees this. A similar case is given in (45):

(45) a. Counter arguments welled from between the neat lines of text. What possible evidence could I produce to suggest that the novels of Dickens, Scott, Trollope, Thackeray etc. had (ever) influenced by a comma the presentation of a scientific idea? Moreover, my examples were fabulously skewed. [EL, 50]

b. What possible evidence could I produce to suggest that the novels of Dickens, Scott, Trollope, Thackeray etc. had (ever) influenced the presentation of a scientific idea by a comma?

In the (b) version the final position of the adjunct *by a comma* even invites the unlikely interpretation whereby *a comma* is taken literally.

Our conclusion on the basis of this small scale analysis is that the data on object postposing reveal a number of different strategies which in general can be understood in terms of the notion of culmination introduced by Matthiessen (1995: 600). That is to say, information stands out because it is placed at the end of the clause and at the same time is in an unexpected position. This creates a kind of presentational relief. As such it can tie with other final focus information in the previous or following sentence, and often this extends to the level of the paragraph. Moreover, the presentational relief that emerges can serve to set up a topical sequence in the ensuing text. On top of all this, by also looking at non-switchability we have seen that writers use absolute final position in the clause quite simply to present focal information which may otherwise not be identifiable as such. This suggests to us a principle whereby language users, or at least users of certain written genres, in the first instance select constructions which allow the focal information to come naturally at the end of the clause, but that where there is a danger that ultimately less important information might take up end position, they have devices like object postposing at their disposal which guarantee focus identification. In the former case, and seen from a FDG perspective, there may be no need to account for final focus phenomena by means of special pragmatic function assignment or special linearization rules, precisely because end focus is the outcome of the combined selection of lexemes, predicate frames and pragmatic frames as the input to formulation. In the latter case, by contrast, we would conclude that underlying representations in FDG do indeed have to account specifically for the special encoding of the focal status of the constituents concerned.
4.3 Implications for the functional patterns of English

How can we deal with the phenomenon of clause-final focus constructions in general and postposed objects in particular in terms of the functional patterns of English? To consider this question we first need to take a brief detour and consider the functional patterns in a broader context.

The basic functional pattern for English declarative clauses that has been assumed since Dik (1978) is given in (46):

(46) P1 S Vf Vi O X

In this pattern, Vf stands for finite verb and Vi for non-finite verb. The special position P1, which can only be filled by one constituent, can house all kinds of constituents which have a special pragmatic status, such as Topic or Focus. The pattern is illustrated in (47):

(47) Early next week Mary will start her new job in this very room.

In addition to the basic pattern we need to recognize two other functional patterns in English. First, inversion structures in English follow the pattern of wh-interrogatives, with the subject constituent occurring in between the two verbal forms. The pattern is given in (48) and exemplified in (49):

(48) P1 Vf S Vi O X

(49) Not until today did he realize the importance of what he had said.

More importantly for our present concerns, a separate pattern is necessary in order to deal with presentative structures. Hannay (1985: 176) gives the pattern in (50), which is illustrated in (30), repeated here for convenience:

(50) P1 Vf Vi S

(30) On every table had been placed a ring of small vases.

However, consider (51), which does not fit into any of the patterns proposed:

(51) At first light there had entered the building a group of SAS men.

The final positioning of the subject suggests the presentative pattern, but the presence of a dummy subject suggests the basic declarative pattern. To solve this problem, Hannay (1985: 176) considered a conflation of the two patterns as in (52), which as with
the Spanish conflation that we saw in section 3.3 might be seen as the basis for an overall syntactic template.

(52) \[ P_1 (S1) Vf (S2) Vi O (S3) X \]

A following step involved dropping the S3 slot and assuming that presentative subjects in fact take up a clause-final position, as a result of which the pattern in (53) might be sufficient to handle the basic constructions.

(53) \[ P_1 (S1) Vf (S2) Vi O X \]

This has the advantage that it is not necessary to stipulate a basic pattern where the object constituent appears before the subject constituent, which is the case in presentatives like (51). However, the consequence is that the X slot is used for a constituent whose position is pragmatically motivated and which is also a defining characteristic of the construction. Now, we can in fact solve this problem if we add a PÆ slot at the end of the pattern. Presentatives like (51) can thus be handled by (46’), and we can now also keep the two basic declarative patterns separate, as follows:

(46’) \[ P_1 S Vf Vi O X PÆ \]

(50) \[ P_1 Vf Vi S \]

The presentative pattern in (50) is relevant for cases like (30), but also for cases like the following:

(54) Underlying this new approach is the assumption that the voters are essentially interested in money in the pocket.

(55) Particularly important in this regard is how the finances are arranged.

It should be noted, however, that on this view constructions with there, including presentatives with object constituents as in (51), appear to be organized syntactically according to the pattern which is mainly associated with non-presentative structures. We will come back to this in section 5.

Most importantly, we can now deal with object postposing as discussed in section 4.2 by the functional pattern proposed in (46’), with the postposed object being placed in the PÆ slot. This is exemplified in (56), with the subject filling the P1 slot:

(56) a. Even before I had finished he laughed, or rather he whooped and slapped his thigh, cowboy-style. He must have heard from me a rallying cry to love. He was almost shouting in his joy. [EL, 130]

b. He must have heard from me a rallying cry to love.

P1 Vf Vi m\textsuperscript{11} PÆ

Note that we take from me to be in a minor slot for adjuncts and other satellite expressions, following the proposals of Connolly (1991).
Thus, while the presentative pattern is characterized structurally by a clause-final subject which is always in focus, the essentially non-presentative pattern has a final slot $P_0$ which can be filled by constituents which the speaker wishes to afford presentational relief. What we see from this discussion of the functional patterns relevant for English is that by distinguishing the two basic patterns in (46$'$) and (50) as syntactic moulds we can begin to see, as we did for Spanish in section 3, how the functional patterns are put to work to encode essentially different kinds of message.

5. A comparison of Spanish and English

In this section we present a comparative characterization of Spanish and English on the basis of the analyses in the previous two sections.

For Spanish we have argued that the $P_1 V S...$ pattern is the basic pattern, supplemented by a $P_1 S V...$ pattern, and that both patterns have a final $P_0$ slot. The patterns are repeated below for convenience:

\[
\text{(25) pattern 1: } P_1 c V S O X P_0 \\
\text{(26) pattern 2: } P_1 S c V O X P_0
\]

Given the kinds of constructions that we find with the two patterns, we see them as strongly reflecting a distinction between categorical statements, typically organized into a topic-focus frame, and thetic statements, which involve the setting out of a state of affairs with no obvious topic (cf. Kuroda 1972; Siewierska 1991: 162; Hidalgo Downing 2003). Indeed, it has been argued elsewhere that Spanish has a general preference for categorical and SV vs thetic and VS (Casado Velarde 1993: 26ff), although it is not a one-to-one relation, as we have seen here too.\textsuperscript{12} The way these SV vs. VS orders in Spanish would relate to the functional patterns in (25) and (26) is by means of a one-to-many relationship. Whereas both categorical and thetic judgments can in principle be associated with pattern 1 in (25) – by assigning the subject (or object) to the $P_1$ position by virtue of its status as topic in some categorical statements – in the case of categorical statements with a preverbal non-subject constituent followed by SV (thus $P_1 S V...$ patterns), in other words a subgroup within the wider group of categorical statements, we would need the second pattern in (26). Consequently, we view (25) as a dominant

\textsuperscript{12} Interestingly, it has also been suggested for Spanish that the different clause types dominate in different kinds of text: narrative/continuative texts feature a predominance of the SV pattern associated with categorical judgments while introductory and descriptive texts favour the VS pattern associated with thetic judgments (Hernando Cuadrado 2005: 167).
pattern which can capture most Spanish declarative main clause patterns, both categor- 
oclineical andthetic, and (26) as a secondary pattern with a more restricted use/function.13

With respect to final focus we claim that a P₀ slot is relevant for each of the two 
patterns but in different ways. The P₁ S V pattern has a strategic P₀ slot for Presentative 
Focus elements such as postposed objects. Structures built with this pattern and exhib-
iting final focus thus need not necessarily make use of this slot. By contrast, we would 
claim that P₀ is a characterizing feature of the P₁ V S pattern in (25). This pattern, 
which is much more dominant than the English presentative pattern, not only includes 
presentative structures but also se-passives, experiencer predicate constructions, and 
extraposition constructions, including VXS constructions. Significantly, the P₀ in the 
P₁ V S pattern can house focus elements which may not have Presentative Focus but 
rather for instance Contrastive Focus; this is because the P₁ V S pattern is also used to 
encode categorical statements, e.g. OVS/XVS structures like (7–8) in section 3.

In contrast to Spanish, the basic pattern in English is clearly the P₁ S V pattern, but 
we have noted the need to additionally recognize a minor P₁ V S pattern for presenta-
tives. The patterns are again repeated here for convenience.

0 ½) P₁ S Vf Vi O X P₀
(50) P₁ Vf Vi S

Only the dominant pattern has a P₀ slot, which as with Spanish is necessary to deal 
with Presentative Focus constituents such as postposed objects. With regard to the 
minor presentative pattern no P₀ slot is needed because the pattern is used for a single 
construction which always has the subject in final position.

For English we have a different situation in Spanish as far as the syntactic realiza-
tion of judgment types is concerned. Here we see that the dominant pattern is mainly 
used to encode utterances which are pragmatically categorical, but that certain prag-
matically presentative structures are also encoded using this pattern. While in Spanish 
it is the minor categorical pattern that houses only one type of judgment (the P₁ S V 
pattern in 26), in English it is the minor presentative pattern (the pattern in 34). In 
both cases, however, it is the dominant pattern that attracts judgment types associated 
with the minor pattern. Table 1 provides a summary of these findings.

13. We are conscious that the patterns in (25) and (26) may involve a certain degree of overlap, 
in that there are constructions in Spanish which may be seen as being captured by both (25) and 
(26), notably SVO/SVX constructions in categorical judgments. This is the basis for postulating 
the dominance of the pattern in (25) and the secondary status of the one in (26).
Table 1. Relationship between type of judgment and syntactic realization in Spanish and English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Judgment Type</th>
<th>Realization by Functional Pattern</th>
<th>Status of Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPANISH</td>
<td>Thetic</td>
<td>$P_1 c V S O P_\phi$</td>
<td>dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Categorical</td>
<td>$P_1 S c V O P_\phi$</td>
<td>minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>Categorical</td>
<td>$P_1 S Vf Vi O X P_\phi$</td>
<td>dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presentative</td>
<td>$P_1 Vf Vi S$</td>
<td>minor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Modelling clause-final phenomena in FDG

The analysis in sections 3 and 4 shows us that we cannot adequately capture all kinds of clause-final focus by assuming that Dik’s ‘natural outcome’ approach applies to Spanish and English across the board. This section considers how FDG might handle the structural and strategic positioning of clause-final focus on the basis of our proposals so far. We will look at two crucial stages of production within the grammar, the first being formulation at the interpersonal level and the second being linearization at the structural level (cf. Figure 1 in section 2 above).

For formulation, FDG assumes the application of pragmatic frames. Although these have not yet been developed in detail within the emergent model of FDG, one interesting possibility is to assume a set of frames corresponding to the modes of message management proposed for the standard model in Hannay (1991). Message modes were conceived as specific configurations of pragmatic functions that define patterns of information packaging which represent the different ways in which speakers can manage their utterance. The basic idea behind the message mode system is that the nature of a message can be characterized by linking two notions. The first is that the relative ordering of elements in sentences is essentially governed by the two conflicting principles of given-new (cf. for instance Gundel 1988: 239 and Siewierska 1988: 67ff) and communicative task urgency (Givón 1988: 275), which predicts that speakers will choose to start off by expressing information which is either less predictable or more important. The second is that the clause-initial element forms what has been variously labelled a foundation for developing a mental representation (Gernsbacher and Hargreaves 1988), a perspective for constructing and interpreting sentences (Macwhinney 1977) or a point of departure for the clause as a message (Halliday 1985). What this boils down to is that the information structure of a message can be characterized by the pragmatic functions involved and by the status of the initial element (for an early
The role of pragmatic frames in the process of formulation, as presented briefly in section 2 above, is a central one: as language-specific primitives they contribute together with predicate frames to defining what combinations of elements are possible (Hengeveld 2005: 67). A pragmatic frame based on the presentative or thetic mode would for both English and Spanish comprise the pragmatic functions of Focus and Stager (cf. Hannay 1991), but at least for English would not include the option of the Topic function. Further specifications in the grammar would lead to positioning of the Stager constituent in P1 and the Focus constituent in S or P₀, as in (57) and (8) respectively:

(57) Particularly important is the fact that the movement rejects violence.

\[
\text{Stager} \quad \text{Focus} \\
\text{P}_1 \quad \text{Vf} \quad \text{S}
\]

(8) Mucho más difícil es animar a alguien o consolarlo. [HV, 155]

\[
\text{Stager} \quad \text{Focus} \\
\text{P}_1 \quad \text{V} \quad \text{P}_0
\]

much more difficult is to cheer someone up or comfort=him

'Much more difficult is to cheer someone up or comfort him'

Similarly, a frame based on the topic mode would involve an obligatory Focus constituent plus an optional Topic constituent and an optional Setting constituent.¹⁴ The judgment type here is categorical but also has the feature that the speaker wishes to proceed from given to new, with clause-initial topical information providing a specific kind of address for the storage of the new information to be presented. A further additional feature is that this type of judgment permits the strategic device of a Presentative Focus. (58) in English and (59) in Spanish are examples of an utterance constructed on the basis of the topic frame:

(58) On another level we identify in this domain a discourse of liberalism.

\[
\text{Setting} \quad \text{PresFoc} \\
\text{P1} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{Vf} \quad \text{m} \quad \text{P}_0
\]

(59) [-Estoy interesado en qué podrá ser esto.]

'I am interested in what this could be.'

\[
\text{Esto} \quad \text{son} \quad \text{puertas} \quad \text{[CCM, 332]} \\
\text{Topic} \quad \text{PresFoc} \\
\text{P}_1 \quad \text{V} \quad \text{P}_0
\]

This: are doors

'These are doors.'

¹⁴. Topic is arguably not a relevant pragmatic function in English; that is to say, topics are not formally coded as such (cf. Mackenzie and Keizer 1991). An alternative position is based on cases such as (31–32) in section 4, where clausal Subjects can appear clause-initially when they provide a specific kind of background knowledge.
Butler (2003: 97) recognizes the potential value of message modes but questions their position in the standard model of FG, claiming that their true function is in an interface between the grammatical and pragmatic components of a wider model of the language user. The source of the problem is that the message modes are presented in the standard model as specifications of illocutionary operators, and therefore have the status of an actual linguistic choice made by language users; but in fact the modes should be seen as responsible for the choices that the speaker makes. While the present proposal still places the pragmatic frames within the grammatical component, the status of the frames is consonant with Butler’s suggestion in that they represent primitives which the language user calls upon to help him translate a specific communicative intention into a linguistic expression. As input to a grammatical process, their role is thus suggestive of the interface function which Butler envisages.

But what effect does the choice of pragmatic frame have on the further path of production? This brings us to morphosyntactic encoding, and in particular the process of linearization of constituents. Morphosyntactic encoding in FDG makes use of language-specific syntactic templates as primitives. Each position in the template is filled in turn, from left to right. Each position has a series of preferred rules attached to it, and using these rules a search is made of constituents as specified by the formulation process at the interpersonal and representational levels (cf. Bakker 2001; Connolly 2005). The templates are essentially conflations of the functional patterns that we have discussed here, but our analysis suggests that functional patterns can be profitably retained, at least for Spanish and English, because they are so strongly linked to particular judgment types and particular pragmatic frames. If we therefore redefine the syntactic templates as the individual functional patterns, then we can reduce the complexity of the linearization procedure. What we therefore propose is to establish a formal relation between pragmatic frames and the syntactic templates. This is indicated by the arrow numbered A in Figure 2 below, which is a revised and simplified version of the relevant part of Figure 1.

Let us take the case of presentatives as an example. The choice of pragmatic frame entails the choice of specific pragmatic functions and triggers the application of the relevant functional pattern. By doing so we have actually predetermined the positioning of the Focus constituent in the final slot of the pattern, in other words we have dealt with last things first. The consequence of ‘deconflating’ the templates, as it were, is that the rules for linearization can be considerably simplified: it is not necessary to proceed through the preferred rules for each slot in the template until one finds a constituent which fulfils the conditions. The basic idea here is quite simply that the speaker who wants to build a certain kind of message makes choices at the formulation stage which will cut out possible
formats for expression and which will facilitate others. We therefore do not need a potentially very large and complex set of preferred rules for linearization.\textsuperscript{15}

If we accept this adjustment to the procedures proposed by Hengeveld (2004), then the relevant steps through the grammatical component for English presentative constructions can be summarized as follows:

a. As an input to the formulation process a pragmatic frame is chosen that provides the closest possible fit with the incoming communicative intention from the

\textsuperscript{15} An alternative approach might be to retain the idea of an overall syntactic template and allow the choice of pragmatic frame to freeze out part of the system of preferred rules for linearization, the effect again being to simplify the linearization procedure. But note that in such an alternative approach it will still be necessary to build in a procedure whereby the choice of frame has a direct effect on which possible linearization rules apply and which do not.
conceptual component; the choice may be determined by information stored in the contextual component, such as genre and mode of communication, but the choice may also be dependent on speaker attitude in the given communicative situation.

b. Together with the pragmatic frame a choice is made with regard to the lexemes to be used and the predicate frame into which these will be inserted. The choice of predicate frame may be seen as codetermined by the pragmatic frame.

c. The choice of pragmatic frame triggers the application of a specific functional pattern.

d. When it comes to linearization, because pragmatic frames contain a specification of the information status options for the element to be placed in $P_1$, the preferred rules for $P_1$ will be considerably simplified.

e. The Focus constituent can be seen as frozen out of the search for relevant constituents for each slot, because it has already been reserved for final position.

We must readily admit that what we are proposing here is a first sketch of a procedure for an alternative, pragmatically-driven approach to constituent ordering. And the approach is clearly not without its problems. With both Spanish and English we have seen that an utterance may be constructed according to a functional pattern which is primarily associated with a different kind of judgment. This lack of a one-to-one correspondence between type of judgment, pragmatic frame, and functional pattern used to encode that judgment means that the grammar will have to respond to specific features of underlying representations which we have not considered in the present context. Clearly there are semantic considerations that have to be taken into account here. For instance, bare existentials in English are always constructed according to the dominant declarative pattern rather than the presentative pattern. Then there is the difference between presentatives with and without *there*, as in (60) from Bolinger (1977):

(60) In my right hand is a pencil, and in my left there's an eraser.

Bolinger points out that (60) is most likely in a situation where the speaker has a pencil in their open palm, extended forward, and an eraser in the other hand, clenched shut behind their back. The difference between the constructions with and without *there* has been described in terms of visual impact: lack of visual impact requires the use of a *there* construction (Breivik 1981; cf. also Hannay 1985: 174 for a discussion in terms of Functional Grammar). However, the formal treatment of these and other cases will have to be the subject of later research.

7. Conclusions

We have sought in this paper to use the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar to study clause-final focus phenomena in two syntactically divergent languages,
Spanish and English. We have seen that both languages have a range of constructions characterized by final focus, and have analysed these constructions in terms of the type of judgment involved and in terms of the functional patterns which can best account for the constituent ordering possibilities of the languages concerned.

For both languages there is a strong correlation between the type of judgment and the syntactic patterning but this is not a one-to-one relation. In Spanish as well as English the dominant syntactic pattern attracts utterance types associated with the less dominant pattern. Spanish has a dominant syntactic pattern – $P_1 \cdot c V S O P_\emptyset$ – which involves clause-final focus as a defining feature. But because the pattern is also used for encoding different types of judgment, different kinds of focus element may appear clause-finally. The minor pattern – $P_1 S c V O P_\emptyset$ – does not have final focus as a defining feature, but within this pattern, as with the dominant pattern, focus constituents may under various conditions be placed in final position to create specific discourse effects.

English, by contrast, has a dominant syntactic pattern – $P_1 S Vf Vi O X P_\emptyset$ – which does not have final focus as a defining feature, but as with the Spanish minor pattern, this pattern does include a special slot for what we have tentatively labelled Presentative Focus. The minor pattern in English is a presentative pattern – $P_1 Vf Vi S$ – which is used solely for encoding a particular judgment type.

From a broader theoretical point of view, we conclude that a systematic treatment of pragmatically-based word order within FDG may be possible if we take on board the idea of pragmatic frames as language-specific primitives. Pragmatic frames can be seen as comprising a specific grouping of obligatory and optional pragmatic functions, together with a specification of what kind of information the speaker wishes to commence her/his utterance with. In particular cases the choice of a pragmatic frame will also be enough to determine that the constituent assigned Focus function will take up absolute clause-final position. This is what we mean by ‘last things first’. In other words, pragmatic frames function as a mould configuring the information structure of the discourse act. Because the choice of a pragmatic frame in principle triggers the application of a specific functional pattern, we can achieve a considerable simplification of the linearization rules that apply in the framework of morphosyntactic encoding at the structural level. The broader consequence is that FDG can move further toward a more dominant pragmatic chain of command, as Anstey (2004: 52) calls it, whereby discourse moves condition illocutions and propositions and both of these condition syntax.

Finally, our analysis allows us to respond to Dik’s statement on final position and focus. For English and Spanish we see three ways whereby focus information might find its way to the end of the clause, formalized in terms of FDG:

(a) **Via a dedicated pattern**

There are cases where the whole construction is characterized by clause-final focus. In such cases the choice of a pragmatic frame in FDG will trigger a specific functional pattern – $P_1 c V S O P_\emptyset$ in Spanish and $P_1 Vf Vi S$ in English – with the specification that the Focus constituent is placed in clause-final position.
(b) Via a strategic P-position

In other cases, the focal element is not a defining element of the construction. Nevertheless it may be placed in clause-final position in order to create a distinct discourse effect. In such cases the trigger in the grammar is the assignment of a particular pragmatic function, Presentative Focus, leading to placement in a strategic P-position, P₁. For Spanish this may be relevant with both patterns – P₁ c V S O P₀ and P₁ S c V O P₀ – while in English it only occurs with utterances constructed according to the dominant pattern, namely P₁ S Vf Vi O X P₀.

(c) By default application of linearization rules, the natural route

In cases where neither (a) nor (b) above apply, the focal element may nevertheless be placed in clause-final position – even though the utterance may have been constructed using a structural pattern including a Pᵢ slot, this slot is not filled. In such cases the grammar does not need any specification at the interpersonal and representational levels which is designed to trigger clause-final position of the focal element. Rather, the focal element gets where it does because end position is a high-probability outcome given the combined selection of lexemes, predicate frames and pragmatic frames as the input to formulation. This is how we would interpret what we have labeled Dik’s (1997: 427) ‘natural outcome’ approach in the context of FDG.

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Contrastive perspectives on cleft sentences*

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This study examines the use of cleft sentences in J. K. Rowland's *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* and the Norwegian and Spanish translations of this novel, finding that clefts are most frequent in the Norwegian translation and least frequent in the Spanish translation, with the English original somewhere in between. The results are consistent with earlier findings that frequency in cleft usage differs considerably across languages which have this structure and that these differences cannot be attributed solely to information-structural properties of clefts in the three languages or to differences in structural properties such as word order or intonational flexibility.

1. Introduction

I will be concerned in this paper with sentences like (1), where information expressed in a simple clause like (2) is 'split' into a more complex structure, in which part of the material from the simple clause is contained in a subordinate clause

(1) It was an elephant (that) I saw. (cleft)

(2) I saw an elephant.

I will refer to (1) and corresponding structures in other languages as cleft sentences, to be distinguished from pseudo-clefts, as in (3), and reverse pseudo-clefts, as in (4). 1

(3) What I saw was an elephant. (pseudo-cleft)
(4) An elephant is what I saw. (reverse pseudo-cleft)

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1. Sentences like (1) have also been referred to in the literature as 'it-clefts', and those like (2) and (3) have also been called 'wh-clefts' and 'reverse wh-clefts', respectively. The difference between pseudo-clefts and reverse-pseudo-clefts is that the headless relative appears in subject position in the former and in predicate position in the latter.
Following Hedberg (2000), I consider cleft sentences across languages to consist of four main components, as illustrated in (5).

(5) It was an elephant (that) I saw

(Cleft Pronoun) (COP) Clefted Constituent Cleft Clause

The cleft clause may be omitted when the content is already in focus, what Hedberg (2000) calls a truncated cleft (but see Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski 2005 for an alternative analysis.) The truncated counterpart of (1) for example would be ‘It was an elephant’, e.g. as an answer to ‘What did you see?’

There are language-specific differences in whether or not clefts have a copula or a cleft pronoun, as some languages lack expletive subjects or a copula, or both. Languages may also differ in the type of constituent that can be clefted. For example, Irish, unlike most dialects of English, allows clefting of adjective and verb phrases.

Although clefts are found in many, probably most, languages there is variation across languages in the frequency with which such structures are used. Jesperson (1937) attributes this variation to differences in word order flexibility, noting the frequency of cleft usage in relatively rigid word order languages like English, French and Scandinavian languages as compared to the relative infrequency in German, Spanish and Russian, where word order is more flexible. Differences in cleft frequency have also been attributed to intonational flexibility (e.g. relative frequency in French, compared to the intonationally more flexible English, and restrictions against preverbal focus. Van Valin and La Polla (1997) and Lambrecht (1994) invoke the latter property to explain more frequent cleft usage in English than in Spanish, for example.

In this chapter, I provide empirical support for differences in frequency of cleft use in English, Norwegian and Spanish, comparing clefts in the original British English version of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* with Norwegian and Spanish translations of this novel. I argue that none of the proposed structural/typological explanations for frequency differences in cleft usage is completely satisfactory and will suggest some alternatives.

2. Information structural properties of clefts

Before discussing information structural properties of clefts, it is necessary to distinguish two independent given-new concepts that have often been conflated in the literature (see Gómez González 2001; Gundel 1988, 1999a,b; Gundel and Fretheim 2002, 2004).

2.1 Relational givenness-newness

One givenness-newness distinction involves a partition of the semantic/conceptual representation of a sentence into two complementary parts, X and Y, where X is what
the sentence is about (the logical/psychological subject) and Y is what is predicated about X (the logical/psychological predicate.) X (also known as topic//theme/ground) is given in relation to Y in the sense that it is taken for granted and outside the scope of the predication; and Y (also known as comment, rheme, focus) is new in relation to X, in the sense that it is the new information predicated about X.

2.2 Referential givenness/newness

The other givenness-newness distinction involves a relation between a linguistic expression and a corresponding non-linguistic entity in the discourse model or (speaker’s mental model of) the hearer’s mind. It includes notions like referential presupposition (Atlas 2004) as well as cognitive statuses such as accessibility, activation, familiarity and identifiability (Prince 1981; Ariel 1988; Gundel et al 1993; Chafe 1994; Lambrecht 1994; inter alia).

I assume here the referential givenness statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy proposed in Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993).

(6) The Givenness Hierarchy and associated English forms
(Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski (1993)
in focus > activated > familiar > identifiable > referential > identifiable

\( it, this/that/this \ N, that \ N, the \ N, \text{ indefinite} \ this \ a \ N \)

Referential givenness and relational givenness are logically and empirically independent of one another. Something may be referentially given, but relationally new, as in (7) and (8).

(7) A. Who called?
   B. Pat said SHE called. (Gundel 1980).

(8) A. (one Austinite to another) What bothers you about Austin?
   B. What bothers me is that it’s so hot in summer

(Lambrecht 2001)

In (7B), if the referent of SHE is Pat, it would be referentially given in every possible sense, as Pat is referentially presupposed, familiar, activated, and in focus at the point just before the pronominal subject of the embedded clause is encountered. Yet Pat is part of the relationally new information predicated about the topic of (7B), (the one) who called, which is also why it receives the primary stress in the sentence. Similarly, in (8B), the interpretation of it’s so hot in the summer is referentially given in the sense that the addressee, who is a resident of Austin, would already be aware of this fact. Yet the fact is part of the relationally new information predicated about the topic of (8B), what bothers the speaker about Austin.

The two kinds of givenness correspond to two different senses of presupposition, referential and relational, where relational presupposition entails referential
presupposition, but not vice-versa. This is illustrated in (9) and (10), which show that a cleft clause is always referentially presupposed, but not always relationally presupposed:

(9) A. Who called? B. (It was)~PAT (who) called  
   Relationally Presupposed: (the) x (who) called  
   Referentially Presupposed: (a) Pat: (b) the x who called

(10) (Why don’t we ask Pat what to do?) After all, it was Pat who CALLED  
   Relationally Presupposed: Reason for asking Pat what to do  
   Referentially Presupposed: (a) Pat: (b) the x who called

Someone fitting the description ‘(the) x (who) called’ is referentially presupposed in both (9B) and (10), at least in the sense that the addressee in both cases is expected to assign a unique representation to something fitting that description, and possibly in the stronger sense of being already familiar or even in focus, as in (9B). In (9), ‘(the) x (who) called’ is also relationally presupposed as this is the topic of both (9A) and (9B). By contrast, in (10), ‘x called’ is part of the relationally new information predicated about the (relationally presupposed) topic, reason(s) why we should ask Pat what to do.

Clefts are optimal syntactic structures for encoding both types of givenness/newness. They allow material that is referentially given and conceptualized as a single entity to be encoded within a single syntactic unit, the cleft clause. Thus, while both (1) and (2) convey the information that the speaker saw an elephant, in (1), unlike in (2), the fact that it is already taken for granted that some individual fits the description ‘speaker saw x’ is made structurally explicit by being expressed as a separate constituent in the embedded cleft clause. Material encoded in the cleft clause is always referentially given/presupposed in the sense that it is at least uniquely identifiable. The cognitive status of the cleft clause may thus correspond to any status on the Givenness Hierarchy that entails uniquely identifiable. Consider the examples in (11) and (12), both from J.K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone*. In (11), someone fitting the description ‘x should be sorry’ is activated, possibly even in focus, as Harry has just said he was sorry.

(11) (Harry has just said he was sorry.) Sorry? barked Hagrid, turning to stare at the Dursleys who shrank back into the shadows. It’s them as should be sorry!  
   (p. 58)

In (12), the content of the cleft clause, someone fitting the description ‘x spoke first’, is at least uniquely identifiable, possibly familiar, as it is expected that when a group of people are together one of them typically says something first. But the fact that someone spoke first is clearly not activated, as there has been no recent mention of someone speaking first and there is no reason to believe that the fact that a group of people are together automatically evokes a representation of the first one to speak.

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2. Hedberg (2000) argues that this follows from the fact that the cleft clause forms a discontinuous definite NP/DP with the cleft pronoun.
(12) Harry got to his feet. He was shaking and out of breath. Ron was standing there with his wand still raised, staring at what he had done. It was Hermione who spoke first, ‘Is it – dead?’ (p. 192)

Clefts also make it possible to keep relationally new, non-topical material (focus/comment/rheme) out of subject position, thereby realizing a more direct mapping between psychological/logical predicate and syntactic predicate. In the prototypical case, the cleft clause is both referentially and relationally given, and only the clefted constituent is relationally new, as in (9) above. But since referential and relational givenness are independent of one another, clefts can also encode an information structure where the cleft clause is referentially presupposed, but both the clefted constituent and the cleft clause are relationally new/focal (cf. the ‘informative presupposition’ clefts of Prince 1978). In such cases, primary stress generally falls inside the cleft clause, as in (10), (11), and (12). In (12), for example, the fact that someone spoke first is referentially given, but it is also part of the relationally new, focal information, as evidenced by the fact that the primary stress here would fall inside the cleft clause (on first), not on the clefted constituent (Hermione). A simple sentence with stress on first (‘Hermione spoke first’) would have been equally appropriate in this context, but it would represent a less direct mapping of information structure onto syntactic structure in that part of the psychological/logical predicate (the relationally new information focus), Hermione, would be in syntactic subject position, whereas in the cleft sentence it is in post-copular, syntactic predicate position. The possibility of having referentially presupposed material inside the (relationally new) information focus is analogous to having a definite description inside the focus (see Hedberg 2000).

3. Frequency differences in use of clefts

3.1 Previous work. Clefts in English and Norwegian

The frequency with which clefts are exploited as a means for directly mapping information structure onto syntactic structure varies from one language to another. In a comparison of the use of clefts in the first 78 pages of the Norwegian novel Sofies verden by Jostein Gaarder and its English translation Sophie’s World by Paulette Møller, Gundel (2002) found a total of 32 clefts in the original Norwegian but only 11 in the corresponding English translation.

Nine of the English clefts (all but two) translated clefts in the Norwegian original. The cleft clause in these examples typically had a high degree of referential givenness, as in (13).

(13) a. Empedocles also raised the question of what happens when we perceive something. How can I “see” a flower, for example? What is it that happens? (p. 37)
The majority of Norwegian clefts (23 of 32) were not translated as clefts in English; most of these were questions, as in (14), or clefts where the content of the cleft clause has a low degree of referential givenness, at most uniquely identifiable or familiar, as in (15).

(14) a. Did you say joker? (p. 70)
   b. Var det joker du sa (p. 78)

(15) a. there was a sharp bend known as Captain's bend. People seldom went that way except on the weekend. (p.1)
   b. Det var nesten bare på lørdager og søndager at det gikk mennesker her

To determine whether the findings from the first study simply reflected a tendency to use simpler structures in translation rather than a more general difference in frequency of cleft usage in the two languages, a second study was conducted (Gundel 2006), this time comparing cleft use in the novel Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone by J.K. Rowling (British version) and the Norwegian translation by Torstein Bugge Hoeverstad. The expectation was that the difference in frequency of clefts would not be as great in translations from English to Norwegian since it would be less likely that a simple canonical structure in one language would be translated as a more complex, non-canonical structure in another, given that conditions for appropriate use of both structures are almost identical in the two languages. As it turned out, however, the proportion of Norwegian clefts to non-clefts in English was even greater than in the first study. There were roughly five times as many clefts in the Norwegian translation (94) as in the English original (19). 14 (all but 5) of the English clefts, roughly 75%, were translated as clefts in Norwegian. This is in sharp contrast to translations of Norwegian to English found in the first study, where only a little over 25% of clefts in the original Norwegian were translated as clefts in English, and further supports the finding that clefts are used more frequently in Norwegian than in English.

All but 5 of the 19 English clefts were translated as Norwegian clefts. Examples are provided in (16) and (17).

(16) a. He understood what he had to do all right.
    b. It was doing it that was going to be the problem. (p. 185)
b. Det var å gjøre det som ble problemet. (p. 159)
   it was to do it that was problem.the

(17) a. …any more showers of owls tonight, Jim? ‘Well Ted,’ said the weatherman, ‘I don’t know about that. But it’s not only the owls that have been acting oddly today.’ (p. 12)
   b. det er ikke bare uglene som har oppført seg rart
   it is not only owls REL have behaved strange (p.13)

There were 80 Norwegian clefts that did not translate English clefts. 25 of these were wh-questions, for example (18) and (19).

(18) a. What’s his name again, Howard, isn’t it? (p. 13)
   b. Hva var det han het igjen (p. 16)
      what was it he is.called again

(19) a. (asking about how is parents died)
   ‘But why?’ ‘What happened? Harry asked urgently (p. 63)
   b. Hva var det som skjedde?
      what was it REL happened (p. 55)

19 (close to 25%) translated reverse pseudo-clefts3

(20) a. Voldemort’s power somehow broke
   and that’s why he disappeared. (p. 19)
   b. og at det er derfor han forsvant
   and that it is therefore he disappeared (p. 19)

(21) a. …the cupboard under the stairs was full of them,
   and that was where he slept. (p. 26)
   b. og det var der han sov (p. 25)
   and it was there he slept

The remaining Norwegian clefts that didn’t translate English clefts were examples like the following, where the subject of the original English sentence is relationally new, (part of) the focus/comment/rheme4.

(22) a. …strange things often happened around Harry and it was just no good telling the Dursleys that he didn’t make them happen. (p. 31)
   b. det ikke var ham som gjorde dem
   it not was he REL did them

3. Norwegian doesn’t allow headless relatives that begin with the equivalents of when, how, and why, which partly explains the relatively low frequency of reverse pseudo-clefts in Norwegian.

4. In the framework I assume here, the terms ‘comment’, ‘rheme’ and ‘focus’ are more or less synonymous, as are the terms ‘topic’, ‘theme’ and ‘theme’. The terms have been used differently by other authors (cf. Gómez González 2001, inter alia).
(23)  
    a. Only Ronny stood by him (p. 265)  
    b. Det var bare Ronny som ikke sviktet ham (p. 225)  
       it was only Ronny not abandoned him

(24)  
    a. (reporting on an on-going game,) Slytherin in possession. Flynt with the Quaffle. (p. 205)  
    b. det er Flynt med sluffen (p. 177)  
       it is Flynt with quaffle.the

As the glosses indicate, any of these examples could have been clefts in the English original. Examples like (24) where the whole sentence is relationally new (cf. ‘sentence focus’ in Lambrecht 2004) are especially interesting. The purpose of (24) is not to say something about Flynt, but to report the current state of the game, answering the implicit question “What’s happening now?” Such examples, which are especially common in reports of ongoing sports events, were almost always rendered as clefts in the Norwegian translation, but less frequently in the English original. This is especially noteworthy since English allows clefts in such contexts, often with a non-finite clause. It might even be argued that (24) is a reduced cleft. Gómez González and Gonzálvez-Garcia (2005: 170) cite examples like the following from their corpus study.

(25) And it’s Altaya leading,

(26) But it’s Australia now spreading the ball to Belcher.

Only 3 of the 80 Norwegian clefts could not have been clefts in English

(27)  
    a. I can’t tell yeh everythin’. It’s a great myst’ry.. (p. 63)  
    b. [det er’ke allting jeg kan fortelle] (p. 55)  
       it isn’t everything I can tell

(28)  
    a. (It’s cold, and they are trying to start a fire.) Could do with some of those letters now, eh? (p. 53)  
    b. Det var nå vi skulle hatt noen av de brevene (p. 46)  
       it was now we could have some of the letters

(29)  
    a. Snape wants the Stone for Voldemort..and Voldemort’s waiting in the forest...and all this time we thought Snape just wanted to be rich. (p. 281)  
    b. at det bare var Slur som ville bli rik (p. 239)  
       that it just was Slur wanted become rich

Although the Norwegian cleft in (29b) has a grammatical cleft counterpart in English (It was just Slur who wanted to be rich), the English cleft would not have been appropriate in this context. The purpose of (29b) is not to identify who it was that wanted to be rich; rather it is to identify the reason why someone was after the stone. That is, the whole sentence is relationally new (an example of a sentence focus), as evidenced also by the fact that the main stress in both the original English and the Norwegian cleft translation would be on ‘rich’, not on ‘Snape/Slur.’ What is noteworthy here is that
while English allows clefts in which both the clefted constituent and the cleft clause are part of the focus (i.e. relationally new), such an interpretation would not be available for the English cleft counterpart of (29b). As noted in Gundel (2006), a possible reason for this may be that the relative marker som (literally ‘as’) in Norwegian clefts does not function as clearly to divide the clefted constituent from the cleft clause, making it easier to process the two together as a single unit. In support of such an analysis, it is of interest that English would in fact allow a truncated cleft in the context of (29b) where the clefted constituent is a non-finite clause with no following relative clause, as in (30). Such examples are reminiscent of examples like those in (25) and (26) above, cited by Gómez González and Gonzálvez García (2005).

(30) Snape wants the Stone for Voldemort...and Voldemort’s waiting in the forest... and all this time we thought it was just Snape wanting to be rich.

3.2 Clefts in Spanish

To further address frequency differences in cleft usage across languages, the current study examined clefts in the Spanish translation of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* by Alicia Delepiane Rawson, comparing this to the previous study of clefts in the original English and its Norwegian translation. Spanish clefts differ structurally from their English and Norwegian counterparts in three respects (Gómez González and Gonzálvez García 2005, 160–170): (1) they lack a pronominal subject; (2) the copula typically agrees with a nominal clefted constituent and is plural if the nominal is plural; (3) the cleft clause may be headless as in English and Norwegian or it may be headed (thus resembling a right dislocation). Because of these differences, some authors maintain that Spanish does not have clefts. As I do not consider an overt pronominal subject to be a crucial component of the cleft structure (see section 1), I follow Gómez González and Gonzálvez García in assuming that Spanish sentences like those in (31) and (32), both from the Spanish translation of Harry Potter examined here, are equivalent to clefts in other languages.

(31) es gracias a Malfang que la tengo (p. 141)  
| is thanks to that it got-1sg |
| “It’s thanks to Malfang that I got it.” |

(32) fue él quien le dijo que yo estaría aquí’ (p.19)  
| was he who it said that I come here |
| “Was it he who told you I’d be here?” |

The study focused primarily on comparison of clefts in the original version with their Norwegian and Spanish translations, and thus may have missed some clefts in Spanish that were not clefts in either English or Norwegian. However, even with this limited scope, some interesting generalizations emerged.
Of the 19 clefts in the original English, only 5 (26%) were translated as clefts in Spanish. This compares to 14 (75%) that were translated as clefts in Norwegian.

Two examples of English clefts translated as clefts in both Norwegian and Spanish are given in (31) and (32) above. The other three are provided below, in (33)-(35).

(33) a. Perhaps it was because he was now so busy, what with.. but Harry could hardly believe it when he realized.. (p. 185)
   b. Kanskje det var fordi han hadde faat det saa trave..
   c. Tal vez fue porque estaba ocupado

(34) a. ‘Well, I say your father favored it – it’s really the wand that chooses the wizard, of course.’ (p. 93)
   b. naturligvis er det jo staven som velger sin trollman (p. 81)
   c. es la varita la que elige al mago

(35) a. D’you think that was a centaur we heard earlier? (p. 275)
   b. Tror du det var en kentaur, det vi hoerte foerst? (p.234)
   c. Crees que era un centauro el que oimos antes

There were only two examples that were translated as clefts in both Norwegian and Spanish, but were not clefts in the English original. One was a *wh*-question.

(36) a. What’s that dog guarding? (p. 199)
   b. Hva er det den bikkja vokter?
   c. Qué es lo que guarda el perro?

The other was a reverse pseudo-cleft in the original English.

(37) a. Piers was a scrawny boy with a face like a rat.
   He was usually the one who held people’s arms behind their backs while Dudley hit them. (p. 31)

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5. It is difficult to distinguish Spanish clefts with a pronominally headed cleft clause, as in (35), from corresponding identificational structures where the subject has simply been postposed, an issue that does not arise in English and Norwegian, which have an overt cleft pronoun and where postposing of subjects (i.e. VOS order) is prohibited. However, since I do not assume constructions to be primitive, this issue of classification does not need to be resolved here.
b. det var som regel han som holdt armene til ...  
it was as rule he held arms of ... (p.28)
c. era el que, habitualmente, sujetaba los brazos de ...  
was he that usually held the arms of the.. (27)

As noted in section 2, a number of Norwegian clefts that didn't translate English clefts were reverse pseudo-cLEFTs in the English original. (37b) represents one such example, but there were many more. However, while there is a clear preference for clefts over reverse pseudo-cLEFTs in Norwegian, this does not appear to be the case in Spanish. Reverse pseudo-cLEFTs were more common than cLEFTs in the Spanish translation. Most of the English reverse pseudo-cLEFTs that were translated as cLEFTs in Norwegian were translated as reverse pseudo-cLEFTs in Spanish, as in (38) and (39),

(38) a. When he couldn't kill Harry Potter, Voldemurt's power somehow broke – and that's why he disappeared. (p. 19)
   b. det er derfor han forsvant
   it is therefore he disappeared (p. 19)
   c. Ésa es la razón por la que se ha ido
   this is the reason for it that disappeared (p. 18)

(39) a. …the cupboard under the stairs was full of them, and that was where he slept. (p. 26)
   b. det var der han sov.
   it was there he slept (p. 24)
   c. allí era donde dormía
   there was where slept (p.25)

There was also one example of a reverse pseudo-cLEFT in Spanish that translated an English cLEFT translated as a cLEFT in Norwegian.

(40) a. “Sorry? …“It's them as should be sorry!” (p. 58)
   b. Det er vel dem der som sku' beklaga
   it is them there sh'd apologize (p. 50)
   c. Ellos son los que tienen que disculpase!
   they are the (ones) that should apologize (p. 48)

Five examples were cLEFTs in the original English, but not in Norwegian or Spanish. In two of these, the cLEFTed constituent was a locative phrase that was simply preposed in Norwegian and Spanish, as in (41).

(41) a. He got into his car and backed out of number 4's drive.
   It was on the corner of the street that he noticed the first signs of something peculiar – a cat reading a map. (p. 8)
   b. Ved gatehjørnet så han det første tegnet på at ...
   on street.corner.the saw he the first sign.the that ... (p.10)
c. Al llegar a la esquina percibió el primer indicio de que at corner of the street saw the first sign of that (p. 10)

Two were arguably examples of a sentence focus. Thus, the purpose of (42) is not to say something about Aunt Petunia’s voice, but rather to remark on what happened next. It is of interest that while the English cleft here was translated as a simple copular structure in both Norwegian and Spanish, the order of the two DPs is different in the two languages.

(42) a. Yet Harry Potter was still there, asleep at the moment, but not for long. His Aunt Petunia was awake, and it was her shrill voice which made the first noise of the day. (p. 25)

b. dagens første lyd ble den skingrede stemmen hennes day’s first sound was the shrill voice hers (p. 24)

c. su voz chillona era el primer ruido del día her voice shrill was the first sound of the day, (p. 23)

(43a) contains a special type of all-focus cleft that appears to be restricted to colloquial British English, with a non-finite reduced cleft clause and a demonstrative subject. The purpose of the underlined sentence in (43a) is not to say something about Harry, but rather to comment on the situation in general, noting that the job is finished,

(43) a. (M has been fitting Harry for a robe. They’ve been talking.) What’s your surname, anyway?’ But before Harry could answer, Madame Malkin said ‘That’s you done, my dear’ (p. 89)

b. Så da var du ferdig, unge venn. (p. 77)
So there were you ready young friend

c. Ya estás listo, guapo already are ready, handsome

One example of an English cleft not translated as a cleft in Norwegian or Spanish is a wh-question.

(44) a. Unfortunately, something about their guilty faces caught Snape’s eye. He limped over. He hadn’t seen the fire, but he seemed to be looking for a reason to tell them off anyway. “What’s that you’ve got there, Potter?” (p. 197)

b. Hva har du der Potter?
what have you there, Potter? (p. 170)

c. Qué tienes ahí, Potter?
What hold-2sg there Potter (p. 153)

6. As noted above, I follow Hedberg (2000) in assuming that the cleft pronoun can be a demonstrative. The cleft in (44a) is thus considered to be equivalent to What is it you’ve got there?, the only difference being that the cleft pronoun in the latter structure is it rather than that. But see Gómez González (2004: 87) for a different view.
4. Discussion

The comparison of cleft sentences in *Harry Potter and the Philosophers Stone* with the Norwegian and Spanish translations of this novel, yields a dramatic difference in frequency of these structures. Of 19 clefts in the English original, 75% (plus an additional 76) were translated as clefts in Norwegian, while only 5% were translated as clefts in Spanish. Moreover, there is reason to believe, based on published research as well as informal observations, that these differences are not just an idiosyncratic property of translation, or of these particular translations. Rather, it reflects differences in the frequency with which cleft sentences are used in the three languages. What then is the explanation for such differences? One possible structural/typological explanation for the low frequency of clefts in Spanish, suggested by Jesperson (1937) among others, is its greater word order flexibility. Thus, it may be that Spanish does not need to use cleft structures for encoding information structure since word order is available for this purpose. While a more complete understanding of the effect of word order flexibility on cleft usage awaits further study, it is important to note that word order flexibility alone cannot account for the dramatic differences in cleft usage found in this study. First, clefts are considerably much more frequently used in Norwegian than in English, even though word order is relatively rigid in both languages. Second, Spanish word order flexibility was not exploited in translating English clefts in the works investigated. Most English clefts that were translated as clefts in Norwegian were translated into Spanish as simple SVO structures, as in (45)-(48) or as reverse pseudo-clefts, as in (49)-(51).

(45) a. Going to be any more showers of owls tonight, Jim? ‘Well Ted,’ said the weatherman, ‘I don’t know about that. But it’s not only the owls that have been acting oddly today’. (p. 12)
   b. no solo las lechuzas han tenido hoy una actitud extraña
   Not only the owls have had today an attitude strange

(46) a. Was that the sea, slapping hard on the rock like that?
   b. Por qué el mar chocaría con tanta fuerza contra las rocas?
   Why the sea slaps with such ferocity against the rocks

(47) a. That’s Adrian Pucey speeding off towards the goalpost.
   b. Adrian Pucey cogiendo velocidad hacia los postes de gol
   Adrian Pucey speeding off towards the goalpost

(48) a. It was only then that Harry realized what was standing behind Quirrel
   b. De pronto, Harry vio lo que estaba detrás de Quirrel.
   only then Harry saw it that stood behind Quirrel

(49) a. It’s them as should be sorry!
   b. Ellos son los que tienen que disculparse!
   They are ones who should be sorry
(50) a. It was doing it that was going to be the problem.
   b. El problema era conseguirlo.
      the problem was doing it

(51) a. It was Hermione who spoke first. (p. 192)
   b. Hermione fue la que habló primero. (p. 149)
      Hermione was the (one) who spoke first

The only example in the data that might be interpreted as a VOS structure in Spanish
could also be analyzed as a cleft.

(52) a. D’you think that was a centaur we heard earlier? (p. 275)
   Crees que era un centauro el que oímos antes? (p. 211)
   Think.2sg that was a centaur it which heard-1pl before

As noted in footnote 4, structures like (52b) with a headed cleft clause are indistinguishable
from simple copular sentences with postposed subjects in Spanish.

Finally, there was one example of an English reverse pseudo-cleft that was trans-
lated as a cleft in Norwegian and as a pseudo-cleft in Spanish.

(53) a. “Harry you need your strength,” said Seamus Finnigan.
   “Seekers are always the one who get nobbled by the other team.” (p. 200)
   b. Det er stoett speiderne som …. (p. 172)
      it is Seekers rel
   c. Los únicos que el otro equipo marca son los buscadores. (p. 155)
      the only ones who the other team beat are the seekers

It appears then that syntactic properties of the three languages cannot account for the
usage findings. Moreover, while this is yet to be fully confirmed for Spanish, informa-
tion-structural conditions on appropriate use of clefts in the three languages are almost
identical. In examples where a cleft in the English original was translated by a non-cleft
structure, a cleft would have been grammatical and contextually appropriate in the
other two languages. Similarly, in all but three examples of Norwegian clefts that did
not translate a cleft in English, a cleft could have been used appropriately in the English
original. In all three languages, the cleft clause encodes information that is presup-
posed or taken for granted in some sense, thus facilitating conceptualization of the
presupposed material as a single, individuated entity with a referential givenness status
of at least uniquely identifiable. With respect to relational givenness/newness, i.e. top-
ic-focus structure, the prototypical cleft in all three languages is one where the cleft
clause encodes the topic and the clefted constituent encodes the information focus.
Each of the three languages also allows focal material to be contained within the cleft
clause, with focal stress falling within the clause as well, though clefts with the latter
information structural properties are most common and also somewhat less restricted
in Norwegian.
The three languages also have relatively free focal accent placement (as compared to French, for example). Focal accent on the subject is not as common in Norwegian as in the other two languages, and clefts are a common way of avoiding focal subjects in Norwegian, as seen in (54) and in the examples in (22)-(24) above.

(54)  
   a. You let the troll in? (p. 311)  
   b. Var det du som slap in trollet? (p. 264)  
      was it you REL let in troll.the  
      “Was it you who let the troll in?”  
   c. Usted fue el que dejó entrar al troll?  
      you were he that allow enter the troll (p. 238)  

The Spanish translation in (54c) and the examples in (55)-(57) (Spanish translations of (22)-(24) above) indicate that Spanish is more like English than like Norwegian in lacking a strong tendency against preverbal focus.

(55)  
   …ocurrían cosas extravías cerca de Harry y no conseguía  
   …occurred things strange around Harry and not achieve  
   nada con decir a los Dursley que él no las causaba  
   nothing with tell to the that he not them cause  
   “Strange things often happened around Harry, and there was no use telling  
   the Dursleys that HE didn't make them happen.”

(56)  
   Sólo Ron lo apoyaba  
   only Ron him supported  
   “Only Ron stood by him.”

(57)  
   Flynt con la quaffle.  
   Flynt with the quaffle  
   “Flynt with the quaffle.”

The greater tolerance for preverbal focus in English and Spanish may partly account for the smaller number of clefts in Spanish and English as compared to Norwegian. It is important to note, however, that all three languages have some tendency to avoid preverbal focus, and there are no absolute restrictions against preverbal focus in any of the three languages. For example, the English original, as well as the Norwegian and Spanish translations, all have preverbal focus in (58), even though a cleft would have been possible in any of the three languages.

(58)  
   a. Harry couldn’t take it in. This couldn’t be true. It couldn’t.  
      “But Snape tried to kill me!”  
      “No, no, no. I tried to kill you.” (p. 310)  
   b. Langt ifra. Jeg prøvde å drepe deg. (p. 263)  
      far from I tried to kill you  
   c. No, no, no. Yo traté de matarte.  
      I tried to kill.2sg.
Thus, any attempt to attribute the relatively high frequency of clefts in Norwegian as compared to Spanish and English to a strong preference against focal subjects in Norwegian simply pushes the question one step further. Why should there be a tendency to avoid focal subjects at all, and why is there a stronger preference against focal (and therefore focally stressed) subjects in Norwegian as compared to English and Spanish, when none of the languages has an absolute restriction against focal subjects?

As proposed in Gundel (2006), the difference in cleft usage in Norwegian and English reflects a stronger tendency to use syntactic structure to directly encode information structure in Norwegian. Specifically, (a) there is a stronger tendency in Norwegian to encode referentially given material in a separate (nominal) constituent, the cleft clause (this explains the high percentage of clefted wh-questions, especially when the presupposition typically associated with wh-questions is strong, i.e. has a high degree of referential givenness); (b) there is also a strong tendency to keep relationally new material out of preverbal, subject position in Norwegian, which explains the high number of clefted subjects. While Norwegian does allow focal subjects, clefts are the preferred option when results would serve to make presupposed, referentially given content and the distinction between topic and focus structurally explicit by encoding these information structural units as separate syntactic constituents. In English and Spanish, on the other hand, explicit encoding of information structure by syntactic structures is primarily a stylistic option that may be exploited for pragmatic effect, including emphasis on the content of the clefted constituent when necessary conditions are met, but it is not the preferred option.

Results of the Spanish study suggest, moreover, that the higher number of clefts in English than in Spanish is attributable to a stronger preference for pseudo-clefts and reverse pseudo-clefts over clefts in Spanish, rather than a general weaker tendency to use syntactic structure to encode information structure. However, more research is obviously needed here, specifically research investigating the use of clefts in original Spanish texts.

Another question that naturally arises is why clefts should be the preferred structures for mapping information structure onto syntactic structure in Norwegian, while pseudo-clefts and reverse pseudo-clefts are more common in both English and Spanish than they are in Norwegian, and Spanish especially appears to prefer pseudo-clefts and reverse pseudo-clefts. As suggested in Gundel (2006), an answer to this question may lie in the greater flexibility of clefts (and especially Norwegian clefts) in encoding different topic-focus structures. First, clefts, unlike either pseudo-clefts or reverse pseudo-clefts, can encode an information structure where the whole sentence (both the cleft clause and the clefted constituent) is focal. Second, since the subject of a cleft is a (possibly null) pronoun with little descriptive content, clefts may encode an information structure in which the cleft clause is topic and the clefted constituent is focus; this is the prototypical case, analogous to the information structure of a pseudo-cleft. Third, clefts can also encode an information structure in which the clefted constituent is topic and the cleft clause is focus (what Hedberg 1990 refers to as a topic-comment
cleft); this is analogous to the information structure of a reverse pseudo-cleft. The three possibilities are illustrated respectively in (34), (35) and (37) above, repeated here for convenience. Note that the English original in (37) is not a cleft, but it was translated as a cleft in the other two languages.

All-Comment cleft

(34) a. ‘Well, I say your father favored it – it’s really the wand that chooses the wizard, of course.’ (p. 93)
   b. naturligvis er det jo staven som velger sin trollman (p. 81)
   c. es la varita la que elige al mago

Comment-Topic cleft

(35) a. D’you think that was a centaur we heard earlier? (p. 275)
   b. Tror du det var en kentaur, det vi hoerte foerst? (p. 234)
   c. Crees que era un centauro el que oímos antes

Topic-Comment cleft

(37) a. Piers was a scrawny boy with a face like a rat.
   He was usually the one who held people’s arms behind their backs while Dudley hit them. (p. 31)
   b. det var som regel han som holdt armene til ….
   c. era el que, habitualmente, sujetaba los brazos de …

Prototypical clefts, i.e. comment-topic clefts as in (35), with information focus and focal stress on the clefted constituent only, are distributionally more restricted than pseudo-clefts. They cannot begin a discourse, since the cleft clause is always a topic with a high degree of referential givenness (see Gundel 1988; Gómez González and Gonzálvez García 2005, inter alia). However, this type of cleft seems to be less prototypical (and may in fact not be prototypical at all) in Norwegian, partly accounting for the higher frequency of clefts in this language. Even if this is the case, however, it simply reformulates the facts in another way. It does not explain why topic-comment and es-

7. It is difficult to distinguish Spanish clefts with a pronominally headed cleft clause, as in (35), from corresponding identificational structures where the subject has simply been postposed, an issue that does not arise in English and Norwegian, which have an overt cleft pronoun and where postposing of subjects (i.e. VOS order) is prohibited. However, since I do not assume constructions to be primitive, this issue of classification does not need to be resolved here.
especially all-comment clefts, in which the cleft clause is relationally new, may be more frequent in Norwegian.

5. Conclusion

This study provides further empirical support for earlier claims concerning frequency differences in the use of clefts across languages. Specifically, the findings were that clefts are more frequently used in English than in Spanish, and much more frequently used in Norwegian than in the other two languages. It has also been suggested that the frequency differences cannot be attributed solely to structural differences of the three languages, e.g. differences in word order or intonational flexibility, or to information-structural properties/constraints on clefts.

A possible explanation for the greater frequency of cleft usage in Norwegian than in English, and its greater frequency in English than in Spanish, that has not yet been explored to my knowledge, may be the degree of contact with and influence from Celtic languages (especially Irish), which have a strong preference for the use of cleft structures. It is clear, in any case, that a good deal more research is needed to establish both the facts of cleft usage across languages and possible explanations for such facts.

References


The position of adverbials and the pragmatic organization of the sentence
A comparison of French and Dutch*

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This paper presents a comparative study of the positions adverbials can occupy within a declarative sentence in French and Dutch. The theoretical assumption is that sentence constituents can be classified as either focusable or not, and that these concepts can also be applied to the entire sentence. A French sentence contains a non-focusable and a focusable section separated by the position for the negation particle, while in Dutch the whole sentence, with the exception of the two peripheral positions, is focusable. An empirical study with informants brings out that French is characterized by a strong correlation between the focusability of adverbials and the positions they can occupy, but that in Dutch all types of adverbials can occur in all available positions.

1. Introduction

Adverbials can occupy different positions within a declarative sentence, both in French (1) and in Dutch (2):

(1) a. *Intelligemment, Jean n'a pas abordé le problème.*
    /intelligently, John has not tackled the problem/

b. *Jean n'a *intelligemment* pas abordé le problème.*
    /John has *intelligently* not tackled the problem/

c. *(?)Jean n'a pas *intelligemment* abordé le problème.*
    /John has not *intelligently* tackled the problem/

d. *(?)Jean n'a pas abordé *intelligemment* le problème.*
    /John has not tackled *intelligently* the problem/

* I am very grateful to Ana Drobnjakovic for her helpful remarks on an earlier version of this article.
e. Jean n’a pas abordé le problème *intelligemment*.
/John has not tackled the problem *intelligently*/

f. Jean n’a pas abordé le problème, *intelligemment*.
/John has not tackled the problem, *intelligently*/

(2) a. *Intelligent, Jan heeft het probleem niet aangesneden.*
/Intelligently, John has the problem not tackled/

b. *Intelligent heeft Jan het probleem niet aangesneden.*
/Intelligently has John the problem not tackled/

c. *Jan heeft intelligent het probleem niet aangesneden.*
/John has intelligently the problem not tackled/

d. *Jan heeft het probleem niet intelligent aangesneden.*
/John has the problem not intelligently tackled/

e. *Jan heeft het probleem niet aangesneden intelligent.*
/John has the problem not tackled intelligently/

f. *Jan heeft het probleem niet aangesneden, intelligent.*
/John has the problem not tackled, intelligently/

However, the differences in meanings triggered by different positionings of adverbials are less pronounced in Dutch than in French. The utterances in (1) are all acceptable1 and are to be interpreted either as ‘According to the speaker, the fact that John did not tackle the problem testifies of John’s intelligence’ (1a, 1b, 1f) or as ‘John did tackle the problem, but not in a very intelligent way’ (1c, 1d, 1e). This is not valid for their Dutch equivalents in (2), where only (2b) and (2d) appear to be acceptable. The examples (2a), (2e) and (2f) are obviously ungrammatical, and the meaning of (2c) is not clear.

In this paper, I present a comparative study of the positions adverbials can occupy within a declarative sentence in French and in Dutch, based on the pragmatic organization of the sentence. First, I argue that each position that can host an adverbial within a declarative sentence in French is basically reserved for certain specific type(s) of adverbial(s), whereas in Dutch, with few exceptions, any adverbial position can host any type of adverbial. Second, I posit that this difference between French and Dutch is closely related to the pragmatic organization of the sentence in the two languages.

In spite of there being a large number of studies dedicated to the notion of adverbials in French (Melis 1983; Nølke 1990; Nojgaard 1992–1995; Le Goffic 1993; Guimier 1993; Guimier 1996; Leeman 1998; Gezundhajt 2000; Molinier and Levrier 2000,

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1. The example (1e) is preferable to (1c) and (1d), but this is related to the length of the argument le problème ('the problem'). Compare:

(i) Jean n’a pas abordé *intelligemment* le problème du harcèlement psychologique dans son département.
/John has not tackled *intelligently* the problem of psychological harassment in his department/

‘John did not tackle the problem of psychological harassment in his department in an intelligent way.’
Mertens 2001; Touratier 2001; Charolles and Prévost 2003; Lacheret-Dujour 2003) and in Dutch (Verhagen 1986; Klein 1998), only a few have dealt with the possible positions an adverbial can have within a sentence (Melis 1983; Verhagen 1986; Noijgaard 1992–1995; Le Goffic 1993; Guimier 1993; Geundhajt 2000; Molinier and Levrier 2000). However, none of these studies has, to my knowledge, made a systematic overview of the different factors that can determine the position of an adverbial, nor have they done that from a comparative perspective.

The notion of ‘pragmatics’ must be understood as what Lambrecht (1994: 4–6) calls ‘discourse pragmatics’ or ‘information structure’. For the term ‘information structure’, the author proposes the following definition:

That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.

(Lambrecht 1994: 5)

Thus, still following Lambrecht, the information structure of a sentence must be seen as “the formal expression of the pragmatic structuring of a proposition in a discourse” (Lambrecht 1994: 5) and intervenes “at all meaning-baring levels of the grammatical system” (Lambrecht 1994: 6). The keywords of this study are the terms focusable and non-focusable (cf. Verstraete 2002). While the concept of focus2 is used to refer to the ‘real’ or ‘actual’ status of constituents or parts of constituents in a sentence, the terms focusable and non-focusable are based on the idea of a “potential focus domain, that is, the syntactic domain in which the focus element(s) may occur” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 212; emphasis mine). They refer to the potentiality of certain positions to contain the focused element and of certain phrasal elements to become ‘focus’ of the sentence, with focus being defined as “that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion” (Lambrecht 1994: 207). I will show that the value of the terms focusable and non-focusable lies in the fact that they can be applied to different levels of the analysis, i.e. not only to the organization of the sentence, but also to adverbials. This approach will allow to investigate the correlations between the pragmatic status of different sentence positions and the pragmatic status of the adverbials these positions can host in French and in Dutch, respectively. Thus, pragmatic status must be seen as the possibility for sentence positions to contain the focus of the sentence and the possibility for adverbials to become focus of a sentence. In what follows, focusable will refer to sentence positions that can contain the focused element, on the one hand, and to constituents that can become sentence focus, on the other. Conversely, non-focusable will

refer to sentence positions that cannot contain the focused element, as well as to constituents that do not have the possibility of becoming sentence focus.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I define the positions available for adverbials in a declarative sentence in French (2.1) and in Dutch (2.2). In section 3, I present different tests frequently used for detecting the pragmatic status of sentence constituents (clefting, interrogation, negation) and show that they must be differentiated for the present study (3.1), and I apply the pragmatic concepts focusable and non-focusable to the sentence positions previously defined (3.2, 3.3 and 3.4). In section 4, I present the classification of adverbials that will be used in this study (4.1) and I show how the notions focusable and non-focusable can be applied to adverbials in order to detect their intrinsic pragmatic status (4.2). Section 5 explains how the data for an empirical study were chosen and collected. In section 6, I discuss the results of that empirical study and show the correlations between the pragmatic status (focusable vs non-focusable) of different sentence positions and the pragmatic status (focusable vs non-focusable) of the adverbials that can fill those positions in French (6.1) and in Dutch (6.2).

2. The syntactic organization of the sentence in French and Dutch

2.1 French

Syntactically, the canonical French declarative sentence can be schematized as follows (cf. Magnus 2007):

(3) **IPP# S – V\textsubscript{aux} – pas – V\textsubscript{main} – Arg\textsubscript{1} – Arg\textsubscript{2} #FPP**

S stands for the subject, V\textsubscript{aux} and V\textsubscript{main} represent the auxiliary verb and the main verb respectively, and Arg\textsubscript{1} and Arg\textsubscript{2} are the verb’s arguments. The negation particle pas (‘not’) occupies a fixed position between the auxiliary and the main verb. IPP and FPP denote the initial and the final peripheral position respectively. They are intonationally detached from the rest of the sentence, which I indicate by the sign #. This basic scheme, which can be considered as the ‘frame’ of the sentence, allows adverbials in the following positions (see scheme 4): in the initial peripheral position, preceding the

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3. The initial peripheral position is characterized by a strong rising intonation (cf. Rossi 1999: 66–73) and by an obligatory prosodic boundary or OPB. Following Mertens (2001: 3), the constituent preceding the OPB “must be stressed and hence form an intonation group, and it cannot be merged with the next constituent into a single larger intonation group”. The final peripheral position presents a flat intonation pattern, called an appendix: “This is a sequence of unstressed syllables with a flat (neither rising, nor falling) pitch contour. It is only found after stressed tones which can occur sentence-finally; (…). The pitch level of the appendix matches the end of the preceding (stressed) syllable, resulting in a low or a high appendix.” (Mertens 2001: 3)
subject (X₁), between the subject and the auxiliary verb (X₂), between the auxiliary verb and the negation particle (X₃), between the negation particle and the main verb (X₄), between the main verb and the (first) verb argument (X₅), between the two verb arguments (X₆), sentence-finally following the arguments (X₇), and in the final peripheral position (X₈).

(4)  \( X₁ \# S \#X₂ \# V_{aux} X₃ \text{pas} X₄ V_{main} X₅ \text{Arg}, X₆ \text{Arg}, X₇ \#X₈ \)

Two remarks have to be made. Firstly, these eight potential positions can never be realized simultaneously in a concrete sentence. Secondly, this scheme obviously represents the maximum number of positions. Several factors can, however, reduce the number of positions available. In the first place, the absence of the negation particle pas causes X₃ and X₄ to coincide, which may engender confusion as to the interpretation of the adverbial inserted between the auxiliary and the main verb, as in (5), which has two interpretations:

(5)  \( \text{L’affaire s’est heureusement terminée.} \)
     the affair REFL is fortunately/well ended
     lit. the affair itself is fortunately/well ended
     – ‘Fortunately, the affair ended.’
     – ‘The affair ended well.’

Secondly, the use of a simple verb form rather than a compound form causes the positions X₈ and X₉ to coincide. Consequently, in an affirmative sentence with a simple verb form, the three positions X₃, X₄ and X₅ coincide. The third point that has to be taken into account is the valency of the verb, in particular the number of its arguments and their formal realization (as a clitic pronoun, a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase). The scheme in (4) above shows X₇ to be the sentence-final position following the verb argument(s), X₈ to be the postverbal position preceding the verb argument(s), and X₉ to be the position between the two verb arguments. This means that the latter position is only available if the verb governs two arguments which both take the form of a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase. In the case of an intransitive verb, the only postverbal position available is X₈. Finally, formal properties also play a part in the preverbal ‘zone’, where X₂ is unavailable when the subject is a clitic pronoun. By the very nature of the scheme, it automatically excludes sentence-initial position with subject inversion, as illustrated in the following example:

(6)  \( \text{À ce moment entra son frère.} \)
     /At that moment came in his brother/
     ‘At that moment his brother came in.’

However, since this constituent order is predominantly used in literary language and since it depends on specific elements (Lahousse 2003), no account will be taken of it in this study.

2.2 Dutch

The description of word order in Dutch can be considered from a topological approach (ANS 1997: 1225–1234): the sentence is seen as containing two fixed positions or ‘poles’, which delimit a number of ‘zones’. The sentence-initial zone ($Z_0$) precedes the first pole or $P_1$, the middle zones ($Z_1$ and $Z_2$, which are attracted by $P_1$ and $P_2$ respectively) occur between the two poles and the sentence-final zone ($Z_3$) follows the second pole or $P_2$. In a main clause, $P_1$ is represented by the finite verb, while $P_2$ incorporates the non-finite verb forms (past participle, infinitive):^5

(7) [Marie]$_{Z_0}$ [heeft]$_{P_1}$ [gisteren een nieuwe mantel]$_{Z_1}$ [gekocht]$_{P_2}$ [in de boetiek van haar tante]$_{Z_3}$.

/Mary [has] yesterday a new coat [bought] in her aunt’s shop/ ‘Yesterday, Mary bought a new coat in her aunt’s shop.’

The Dutch sentence can thus be captured in the following scheme:

(8) $Z_0 – P_1 – Z_1 – Z_2 – P_2 – Z_3$

Dutch is a Verb-Second or V2 language, which implies that in declarative sentences the finite verb ($P_1$) occupies the second position in the sentence. The sentence-initial zone $Z_0$, which contains at most one constituent, is occupied by the grammatical subject or by any other constituent. In the latter case, the subject occurs obligatorily in the middle zone immediately after $P_1$. The middle zone $Z_1$ can host different types of constituents: besides the grammatical subject, it can contain objects and adverbials. That means that $Z_1$ can contain at most three arguments of the verb (the grammatical subject and two other arguments), which I designate with the letters A, B and C. $Z_2$ is reserved for specific constituents (such as the subject complement or the object complement), called inherent constituents, which always have to occupy the position preceding $P_2$ and can never be separated from it by another constituent (cf. Magnus 2007: 86–87). The sentence-final zone $Z_3$ can only be filled with prepositional phrases or certain types of dependent clause. Finally, as in French, the structure cited in (8) can

^5. In dependent clauses, by contrast, $P_1$ is represented by the subordinating word (subordinating conjunction, relative pronoun, etc.), while the verb phrase (auxiliary and past participle or infinitive) forms $P_2$ (cf. ANS 1997: 1226).
be completed with an initial peripheral position (IPP) and a final peripheral position (FPP), both detached from the actual clause by an intonational break.

(9) IPP# Z₀ – P₁ – A – B – C – Z₂ – P₂ – Z₃ #FPP

Adverbials can be inserted in the following positions: in the IPP (Y₁), in the sentence-initial zone Z₀ (Y₂), between the first pole and the verb arguments (Y₃), between the first two arguments (Y₄), before the third argument (Y₅), between the arguments and the inherent constituents (Y₆), in the sentence-final zone Z₃ (Y₇) and in the FPP (Y₈).

(10) Y₁# Y₂ – P₁ – Y₃ – A – Y₄ – B – Y₅ – C – Y₆ – Z₂ – P₂ – Y₇ #Y₈

The two remarks I made for the French scheme (4) in section 2.1 are also valid for Dutch. The eight positions defined above cannot be realized simultaneously in a concrete sentence. And several factors can reduce the number of positions available. In particular, Y₂ is lacking when the sentence-initial position already contains an argument (the grammatical subject or another argument):

(11) Jan heeft gisteren een ongeluk gehad.
    /John has yesterday an accident had/
    'John had an accident yesterday.'

Secondly, the number of positions available in the middle zone Z₁ depends on the verb’s valency and the place of the arguments in the sentence. For instance, Y₃ is only available if the subject follows P₁. Thus, whatever the number of verb arguments (three, two or one), I call Y₃ the position inserted between P₁ and the subject occupying the middle zone Z₁. Nevertheless, even if the subject occurs in the middle zone, the presence of other constituents between P₁ and the subject is governed by specific constraints (ANS 1997: 1312). For this reason, no account will be taken of the position Y₃ in the present study. The other positions in the middle zone Z₁ (Y₄, Y₅ and Y₆) are all available only if the verb governs, besides the subject, two arguments that both occupy the middle zone. I call Y₄ the postverbal position, preceding the verb’s arguments; this position is only realized if the verb governs, besides the subject, at least one argument that occurs in the middle zone. Y₅ denotes the position between the two arguments, and is thus only available for verbs governing, besides the subject, two arguments which both occur in the middle zone. Y₆ designates the position preceding the inherent

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6. Since Dutch is a V2 language, the initial peripheral position can be defined by syntactic criteria only: it is the position before the constituent preceding the auxiliary verb. Just like the corresponding position in French, the Dutch IPP is characterized by an “obligatory prosodic boundary” (cf. note 3). The final peripheral position can be defined as the constituent following P₂ provided that it also follows the main sentence accent (Magnus 2004: 132). Consequently, the sentence-final zone Z₃ is a focused one: if a constituent following P₂ does not carry an accent (i.e. the last sentence accent), it occupies the final peripheral position. As in French, the constituent in the FPP presents a flat intonation pattern or appendix intonation.
constituents or, in the absence of the latter, preceding \( P_2 \). In the case of an intransitive verb, this position is the only one available in the middle zone.

Finally, the absence of \( P_2 \) (in the case of a simple verb form) may pose some problems for the delimitation of positions \( Y_6 \) and \( Y_7 \), especially if the sentence does not contain an inherent constituent. However, it will not cause a reduction in the number of positions available, since the two poles are to be considered as abstract positions and the absence of \( P_2 \) does not affect constituent order (cf. ANS 1997: 1226–1227).

3. The pragmatic organization of the sentence in French and Dutch

In section 3.1, I present the two tests I use for determining the potential focus domain of a sentence, i.e. insertion of the negation particle and dialogical linking, and I argue why clefting and questioning are not appropriate methods here. Then I move on to the pragmatic status of the positions available for adverbials in French (section 3.2) and in Dutch (section 3.3) and demonstrate that the pragmatic organization of a sentence in French differs fundamentally from one in Dutch (section 3.4).

3.1 Potential focus domain

Two tests will be used to detect the potential focus domain or focusable elements of a sentence: insertion of the negation particle and coordination to an “antagonistic focus” (Berrendonner 1987: 11), which consists in adding to the sentence a constituent that contrasts with one of the sentence elements.

Focusable elements may be affected by the negation particle *pas* (in French) or *niet* (in Dutch), non-focusable elements may not. For example, the adverb *intelligemment* (‘intelligently’) as used in the examples (12a) and (13a) respectively falls under the scope of negation in (12b), but not in (13b):

(12) a. Jean a répondu *intelligemment*.
    /John has answered *intelligently*/
    ‘John answered cleverly.’

b. Jean *n’a pas* répondu *intelligemment*.
    /John has not answered *intelligently*/
    ‘John did not answer cleverly.’

(13) a. *Intelligemment, Jean a répliqué à la critique.*
    /Intelligently, John has replied to the criticism/
    ‘Intelligently enough, John replied to the criticism.’
    (= According to the speaker, the fact that John replied to the criticism testifies of John’s intelligence.)
b. *Intelligemment, Jean n’a pas répliqué à la critique.*  
/Intelligently, John has not replied to the criticism/  
‘Intelligently enough, John did not reply to the criticism.’  
(= According to the speaker, the fact that John did not reply to the criticism testifies of John’s intelligence.)

The antagonistic focus test is illustrated in the following example:

(14) *Jean a répondu intelligemment, et non bêtement.*  
/John has answered intelligently, and not stupidly/  
‘John answered in an intelligent, and not a stupid way.’

The coordinated constituent *et non bêtement* (‘and not stupidly’) in (14) relates to the adverbial *intelligemment*. Thus, if it is possible to relate to a constituent another constituent which expresses an opposition or a contrast, the former belongs to the potential focus domain of the sentence. More generally, a constituent is focusable if it can be the subject of dialogical linking, i.e. if it is an element to which the interlocutor can link up or that s/he can contest.

The negation and dialogical linking tests can be combined, as illustrated in (15):

(15) *Jean n’a pas répondu intelligemment, mais bêtement.*  
/John has not answered intelligently, but stupidly/  
‘John did not answer in an intelligent, but a stupid way.’

Two other tests are frequently used for detecting the focus of a sentence, but are not usable in this study: questioning and clefting. Questioning must be rejected because it causes changes in constituent order, which is precisely the subject of this study. But there are two other reasons for avoiding questioning as a focus detector. Firstly, for certain types of adverbials, there is no appropriate interrogative term. Secondly, insertion of the negation particle into a French sentence has the advantage that it allows one to draw a distinction between two sentence positions that can be filled with adverbials (cf. section 2.1).

As far as the clefting construction [it is *X* who/that …] is concerned, its application leads to circularity. While it is true that the adverb *demain* (‘tomorrow’) as used in (16a) can be clefted, clefting in (16b) is excluded for the very reason that the adverb appears sentence-initially in the original sentence:

/his homework? he it will-do tomorrow/  
‘His homework? He will do it tomorrow.’

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7. Especially in Dutch, questioning almost always modifies word order. In a yes/no question, the finite verb appears sentence-initially, followed by the subject, which thus occurs in the middle zone $Z_1$. In the case of a WH-question, the interrogative term occupies the initial zone $Z_0$ and if it is not the grammatical subject, the subject appears after $P_1$ in the middle zone of the sentence.
→ Son devoir? C’est demain qu’il le fera.
→ /his homework? it is tomorrow that he it will-do/
→ ’His homework? It is tomorrow that he will do it.’

b. Demain, j’irai chez le médecin.
   /Tomorrow, I will-go to the doctor/
   ’Tomorrow, I will go to the doctor.’
→ *C’est demain que j’irai chez le médecin.
→ /It is tomorrow that I will-go to the doctor/

3.2 The pragmatic organization of the sentence in French

The application of the negation and dialogical linking tests to French shows that this language is characterized by a very rigid pragmatic structure. The scope of negation falls only on the verb or on the constituents following the verb (postverbal ‘zone’), and never on the subject or on the constituents preceding the subject:

(17) a. Marie n’est pas allée chez le médecin. [Elle est restée à la maison.]
   /Mary is not gone to the doctor [she is stayed at home]/
   ’Mary did not go to the doctor. [She stayed at home.]

b. Marie n’est pas allée chez le médecin. [Elle est allée chez le dentiste.]
   /Mary is not gone to the doctor [she is gone to the dentist]/
   ’Mary did not go to the doctor. [She went to the dentist.]’

The subject, cf. (18a), and the constituents preceding the subject, cf. (18b), cannot fall within the scope of negation:

(18) a. *Marie n’est pas allée au marché. [C’est Pierre qui y est allé.]
   /Mary is not gone to-the market [it is Peter who there is gone]/

b. *Ce matin, Marie n’est pas allée au marché. [Elle y est allée hier.]
   /This morning Mary is not gone to-the market [she there is gone yesterday]/

Accordingly, the potential focus domain in French generally covers the verb and the postverbal positions. It covers neither the subject nor the constituents preceding the subject (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 212). In order to accentuate the subject, the speaker has to indulge in a reorganization of the sentence (Sleeman, Verheugd and Vlugter 2000: 290):

(19) C’est Marie qui est allée chez le médecin [et non Pierre].
   /It is Mary who is gone to the doctor [and not Peter]/
   ’It is Mary who went to the doctor [and not Peter].’
A French clause contains thus two parts: a non-focusable part and a focusable part, separated from each other by the negation particle *pas.* This can be schematized as follows:

\[(20) \quad \text{[[non-focusable] pas [focusable]]}\]

The mapping of this pragmatic scheme onto the syntactic one representing the positions available for adverbials (cf. section 2.1, example 4) brings out the fact that a French sentence clearly contains two types of positions: four focusable positions, i.e. positions that can fall under the scope of negation, and four non-focusable positions, which are never affected by the negation particle. The focusable positions include the intonationally integrated positions following the negation particle *pas*: \(X_4, X_5, X_6\), and \(X_7\). The non-focusable positions include the intonationally integrated position preceding the negation particle \(X_3\), the intonationally detached position \(X_2\) and the initial and final peripheral positions \(X_1\) and \(X_8\).

### 3.3 The pragmatic organization of the sentence in Dutch

The pragmatic organization of a Dutch sentence is closely bound up with intonation. Sentence accent allows attention to be drawn to a specific constituent or even an individual word. Following Keijsper (1985), a sentence accent will imply that a particular word is not ‘not present’. Verhagen (1986) proposes to replace the notion of ‘non-presence’ with that of ‘choice’ or ‘relevant alternative’: “the ideas evoked by the elements of an utterance are all ‘made present’ (i.e., in some sense, ‘not not present’) simply through the act of speaking, but some of them are additionally presented as relevant alternatives” (Verhagen 1986: 87, emphasis in original). Thus, a sentence accent indicates that the speaker could have chosen another element evoking another idea, but that s/he opted for the element carrying sentence accent and that s/he wants to communicate that to his/her interlocutor.

This is not to say that any constituent carrying sentence accent can be said to be the most important part of the sentence from the point of view of information structure, since a sentence may contain two or even more accented constituents. Rather, the absence of accentuation on a particular constituent indicates the absence of any relevant alternative in the act of communication: the constituent is simply ‘given’ in the

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8. It should be pointed out, however, that parenthetical constituents can be inserted into the focusable part, causing a break in the intonation pattern of the sentence. These constituents present a flat intonation pattern copying that of the preceding constituent (Morel and Danon-Boileau 1998: 58–59). Consider the following example:

(ii)  *Le document ne mentionne pas #pour autant que je sache# le nom de l’auteur.*

/‘As far as I know, the document does not mention the author’s name.’/

communication context.\textsuperscript{10} Thus, if a sentence contains one accent, “the accented material is necessarily (part of) the ‘news’, because this is the only material that is presented as an alternative at all, hence interpreted as an alternative to something in the existing body of common information” (Verhagen 1986: 92). If a sentence contains two or more accents, the last one indicates the ‘news’ or the ‘focused’ part of the sentence. In the remainder of this study, focused refers to the constituent or element carrying the last sentence accent, and non-focused to the other sentence elements.

Concretely, the last sentence accent can affect any constituent or even individual word, whatever its position.\textsuperscript{11} The localization possibilities of the last sentence accent indicate the focusable parts of the sentence and thus invoke the notion of potential focus domain. The actual realization of the last sentence accent in a concrete sentence marks the actual focus domain. Consider the following examples, in which small capitals indicate the word carrying the last sentence accent:

\begin{enumerate}[label=(\arabic*)]
\item \textit{Ik gaf Mark dat boek gisteren. [niet vanmorgen]}
\hspace{1cm} /I gave Mark that book yesterday [not this morning]/
\item \textit{Ik gaf Mark dat boek gisteren. [niet die cd]}
\hspace{1cm} /I gave Mark that book yesterday [not that CD]/
\item \textit{Ik gaf Mark dat boek gisteren. [niet dat andere]}
\hspace{1cm} /I gave Mark that book yesterday [not the other]/
\item \textit{Ik gaf Mark dat boek gisteren. [niet mijn broer]}
\hspace{1cm} /I gave Mark that book yesterday [not (to) my brother]/
\item \textit{Ik gaf Mark dat boek gisteren. [niet Marie]}
\hspace{1cm} /I gave Mark that book yesterday [not Mary]/
\end{enumerate}

The examples show that in Dutch all constituents are focusable and that the potential focus domain extends to the whole clause. In each sentence, the constituent carrying the last sentence accent is the actually focused one. The pragmatic organization of a Dutch sentence is thus radically different from French: it does not distinguish a non-focusable part from a focusable part, since the whole clause is focusable. Rather, the

\textsuperscript{10} The notion of ‘givenness’ should not be confused with ‘presupposition’. While the former “evokes a discourse notion referring to the informational status of the constituents of a message that is determined by de speaker/writer’s view of the situational and linguistic co(n)text (…) and that is indicated by attenuated morpho-syntactic and phonological forms (…), the latter is a “logico-semantic notion realized by sentence form which involves a proposition (…), whose assumability is required for the success of the message” (Gómez González 2001: 35). It follows that “a proposition may convey Given information, but need not be presupposed” and that, “vice versa, informationally new items may occur within a presupposition” (Ibid.). The given-new contrast has been accorded different interpretations, including relational and referential ones (cf. Gómez González 2001).

\textsuperscript{11} There are some exceptions, since certain words cannot carry sentence accent: definite and indefinite articles, clitic pronouns, and certain prepositions.
relevant distinction is that between a non-focused (but focusable) part and a focused part. Schematically:

\[
(22) \quad \text{[[non-focused] [focused]]}
\]

Consequently, a Dutch sentence contains only two non-focusable positions, i.e. the initial peripheral position Y1 and the final peripheral position Y8, while all other positions (Y2, Y3, Y4, Y5, Y6 and Y7) are focusable ones. Additionally, it should be emphasized that Y7 is not simply a focusable position but a focused one, since a non-focused constituent following P2 occupies the final peripheral position Y8 (cf. note 6).

### 3.4 Comparison of French and Dutch

The comparison of the pragmatic organization of the sentence in French and Dutch shows fundamental differences between the two languages. A French sentence contains a non-focusable and a focusable part distinguished from each other by the fixed position of the negation particle *pas*. In Dutch, by contrast, the whole sentence, with the exception of the two peripheral positions, is focusable. Pragmatic sentence structure in Dutch is closely related to intonation and a Dutch sentence contains a non-focused (but focusable) and a focused part.

### 4. Adverbials: classification and pragmatic status

#### 4.1 Classification

In the context of the comparison of Dutch and French, the classification of adverbials has to fulfil the following criteria. First, it has to be applicable to both languages. This implies that the classification may not be based on language-specific criteria or properties (e.g. the construction type in the sentence: intonationally detached vs integrated in the clause). Second, sentence position may not be used as a criterion for establishing the classification, since the position of adverbials in a sentence is the very subject of the study.

The classification of the adverbials to be used here is based on a semantic analysis of the verb, the arguments and the sentence (Melis 1983; Magnus 2004). A distinction must be made between four major groups.

Being selected by the lexical properties of the verb, *characterizing adverbials* are used to characterize the verb or the relation between the verb and one of its arguments. This group of adverbials includes four subclasses. Attitudinal adverbials, as in (23a), describe the way in which the agent executes the process denoted by the verb and are compatible with a large number of verbs. Like attitudinal adverbials, instrumental adverbials, as in (23b), refer to the agent of the sentence, but unlike them, instrumental adverbials have a close semantic relation with some specific verbs (e.g. *paint with a paintbrush* vs *cut with a knife*). Aspectual adverbials, as in (23c), relate to the verb or to...
the relation between the verb and an argument which is not the agent. They characterize the internal course of the process denoted by the verb and combine with a large number of verbs. ‘Semiematic’ adverbials (Melis 1983: 89), as in (23d), are selected by the specific semantic properties of the verb and can be subclassified into quantitative, qualitative, intensive, appreciative and locative adverbials.

(23) characterizing adverbials
    a. Jean a soigneusement peint la porte. / Jean a peint la porte avec soin.
       ‘John painted the door carefully/with care.’
    b. Jean a peint la porte manuellement/à la brosse.
       ‘John painted the door manually/with a paintbrush.’
    c. Jean a rapidement peint la porte. / Jean a peint la porte en dix minutes.
       ‘John painted the door quickly/’ ‘John painted the door in ten minutes.’
    d. Jean a entièrement peint la porte. / Jean a peint la porte en partie.
       ‘John painted the door entirely/’ ‘John painted the door in part/partially.’

Situating adverbials (the second main group) are selected by the grammatical properties of the verb. They locate the state of affairs in place, see (24a), or in time, see (24b), or establish an argumentative relation (e.g. causative, conditional, concessive, etc.) with another state of affairs, as in (24c).

(24) situating adverbials
    a. Il a acheté ces pommes au marché.
       ‘He bought these apples at the market.’
    b. Hier, il est allé à la mer.
       ‘Yesterday, he went to the seaside.’
    c. Comme il faisait beau, il est allé à la mer.
       ‘As the weather was fine, he went to the seaside.’

The other two main types of adverbials express comments on different aspects of the transmission of the message. Comments on the utterance convey the speaker’s judgement on the content of the message and include four subclasses: epistemic adverbials, evaluative adverbials, adverbials expressing the speaker’s judgement on the activity of the subject, and adverbials expressing the source of the message, as in (25a) to (25d) respectively:

(25) comments on the utterance
    a. Il a peut-être raté le bus.
       ‘Maybe, he missed the bus.’
    b. Il a malheureusement raté le bus.
       ‘Unfortunately, he missed the bus.’

---

12. The term ‘semiematic’ refers to the notion of sémième, which designates the combination of distinctive semantic features in a word (cf. Damourette and Pichon 1911–1940, § 59).
c. *Intelligemment, il s’est tu.*
   ‘Intelligently enough, he kept quiet. / He was clever enough to keep quiet.’
   (= According to the speaker, the fact that John kept quiet testifies to his intelligence.)

d. *Selon moi, il n’en connaît rien.*
   ‘In my opinion, he doesn’t know anything about it.’

Comments on the utterance act concern the relations between the interlocutors, are used for justifying the utterance act or the form of the utterance or serve to apologize to the interlocutor for saying something; see (26a) to (26c) respectively:

(26) comments on the utterance act
   a. *Franchement, je n’en crois rien.*
      ‘Frankly, I don’t believe any of it.’
   b. *Si vous me permettez, je crois que vous oubliez l’essentiel.*
      ‘If you allow me, I think you forget the main thing.’
   c. *Bien que ce ne soient pas mes affaires, on te paie combien pour faire ce travail?*
      ‘Although it’s none of my business, how much are you paid for doing this work?’

For methodological reasons, I have only taken into account adverbs and short prepositional phrases and I have excluded from the study dependent clauses and other long constituents (which, because of their complexity, tend to appear only in the peripheral positions of the sentence).

4.2 Pragmatic status

In section 3.1, I argued that the clefting test is not appropriate for determining the pragmatic status of sentence constituents because its application leads to circularity. Whereas the clefting test is not usable at the sentence level, it is usable at the level of the four types of adverbials in order to detect their intrinsic pragmatic status. I posit that adverbials which can be used in the construction \[ \text{it is X who/that …} \] are focusable and that adverbials that do not allow this structure are non-focusable. The application of the clefting test to the four categories of adverbials yields the following results. Characterizing adverbials are focusable, cf. (27):

(27) characterizing adverbials
   a. *C’est avec beaucoup de soin que Marc a nettoyé la cuisine.*
      ‘it is with a lot of care that Marc has cleaned the kitchen/
   b. *C’est à la brosse qu’il a peint la porte.*
      ‘it is with a paintbrush that he has painted the door/
   c. *C’est en dix minutes qu’il a peint la porte.*
      ‘it is in ten minutes that he has painted the door/
Just like characterizing adverbials, situating adverbials are focusable: place, time and argumentative adverbials allow clefting, cf. (28a) to (28c) respectively:13

(28) situating adverbials
a. C’est dans la boutique de sa tante qu’elle a acheté ce manteau.
   /it is in her aunt’s shop that she has bought that coat/
b. C’est demain qu’elle ira chez le médecin.
   /it is tomorrow that she will-go to the doctor/
c. C’est à cause de la pluie qu’ils ont dû interrompre le match.
   /it is because of the rain that they have had to interrupt the match/

Comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act are non-focusable, and clefting is correspondingly not possible, cf. (29) and (30) respectively:

(29) comments on the utterance
a. *C’est probablement qu’elle ira chez le médecin.
   /it is probably that she will-go to the doctor/
b. *C’est peut-être qu’il a raté le bus.
   /it is maybe that he has missed the bus/
c. *C’est intelligemment qu’il s’est tu.
   /it is intelligently that he has kept quiet/

(30) comments on the utterance act
a. *C’est franchement que je n’aime pas ta nouvelle coiffure.
   /it is frankly that I do not like your new hairstyle/
b. *C’est puisque tu es tellement curieux que sa fille s’appelle Isabelle.
   /it is since you are so curious that his daughter’s name is Isabelle/

The application of the clefting test to the four types of adverbials reveals a clear bipartition: characterizing and situating adverbials (with the exception of concessive and justifying adverbials) are focusable, while comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act are non-focusable adverbials.

The following step consists in examining the correlations between the pragmatic status (focusable vs non-focusable) of adverbials and the pragmatic status (focusable vs non-focusable) of the sentence positions available for those adverbials in French and Dutch, with the aim of investigating which positions can be occupied by different types of adverbials. Before moving on to the results, I will explain in the next section how I collected the data.

13. However, concessive adverbials (iii) are non-focusable (cf. Melis 1983: 208 note 41, and Verstraete 2002: 118–124). The same holds for justifying adverbials (iv).

   (iii) *C’est malgré la pluie que la fête a continué.
   /it is despite the rain that the festival has continued/
   (iv) *C’est puisque Marc est malade qu’il a été hospitalisé.
   /it is since Mark is ill that he has been hospitalized/
5. Empirical study

The analysis is based on almost 200 series of constructed examples (about 100 series of 8 sentences for each language) that have been shown to three monolingual native speakers of French and three monolingual speakers of Dutch respectively (cf. Magnus 2004). The use of constructed examples rather than authentic corpora is justified by the relatively limited availability of contrastive corpora of French and Dutch. In addition to that, the relevant elements and structures are not very frequent and their abstract nature makes them difficult to find in corpora. Thirdly, while the presence of a particular construction in a corpus confirms its usage, the absence of a particular type of adverbial in a particular position does not mean that this construction is grammatical or unacceptability. Finally, the reason why even comparable corpora (instead of contrastive corpora) do not constitute a satisfactory solution is that numerous parameters are uncontrollable within a corpus: the valency of the verb (intransitive vs transitive, direct vs indirect transitive, ditransitive), formal (pronominal vs nominal) realization of the verb arguments, formal realization of the adverbial (adverb, noun phrase, prepositional phrase, dependent clause), pragmatic status of the adverbial (focusable vs non-focusable, focused vs non-focused), sentence properties (affirmative vs negative, declarative vs interrogative vs exclamatory, main vs embedded clause). Thus, unlike corpus-based research, the use of constructed examples enables one to test all theoretically possible constructions in a number of syntactic contexts in which some criteria are neutralized while others are varied.

The examples were constructed as follows (I will use English to illustrate). Firstly, each subtype of adverbial (cf. section 4.1) was represented by an adverb and by the corresponding prepositional phrase, e.g. carefully – in a careful manner, quickly – in five minutes, outside – in the garden, probably – in all probability, etc. Secondly, all adverbials were inserted into three ‘types’ of sentences. The first type contained the direct transitive verb paint (the door), the second the ditransitive verb give (the packet to one’s sister), and in the third the verb governed a prepositional object (répondre à la question, ‘to reply to the question’). This variety of verbs enabled me to investigate the role of the number of arguments and the impact of the type construction (direct vs prepositional).

In order to cover the maximum number of theoretically possible positions available for adverbials, I adopted the following rules. First, all arguments were noun phrases (proper name or [definite article + noun]) or prepositional phrases and I avoided clitic pronouns, since they reduce the number of positions (cf. section 2.1). Secondly, in all sentences the verb was in the perfect tense. In Dutch, this constraint makes it possible to distinguish the middle zone from the sentence-final zone.

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14. Exploratory corpus research on six Dutch articles and their French translation published in an economics review yielded only a very limited number of adverbials in many varied contexts, so that the occurrences found were hard to compare.

15. For time adverbials, I also included a noun phrase, e.g. Last week, I went to London.
Ilse Magnus (cf. section 2.2), and in French the use of a compound verb is necessary in order to realize all possible positions (cf. section 2.1). Finally, the insertion of the French negation particle *pas* is essential to distinguish the positions $X_3$ and $X_4$ (cf. section 2.1).

For each language, each subtype of adverbial (and for each subtype, an adverb and a prepositional phrase) was placed in each of the positions available in each of the three types of sentences. This very systematic approach yielded about 100 series of sentences of the following type for each language:

(31) $X_1$: *Soigneusement*# Jean a peint la porte.
     /Carefully# John has painted the door/

$X_2$: Jean *#soigneusement*# a peint la porte.
     /John #carefully# has painted the door/

$X_3$, $X_4$: Jean a *soigneusement* peint la porte.
     /John has carefully painted the door/

$X_5$: Jean n’a *soigneusement* pas peint la porte.
     /John has carefully not painted the door/

$X_6$: Jean n’a pas *soigneusement* peint la porte.
     /John has not carefully painted the door/

$X_7$: Jean a peint *soigneusement* la porte.
     /John has painted carefully the door/

$X_8$: Jean a peint la porte *soigneusement*.
     /John has painted the door carefully/

$X_9$: Jean a peint la porte #soigneusement.
     /John has painted the door #carefully/

The French series were shown to three native speakers of French and, analogously, the Dutch series were shown to three native speakers of Dutch. The native speakers had to indicate for each sentence whether it was acceptable, doubtful or unacceptable and if a particular sentence position caused a change of meaning of the adverbial. The limited number of native speakers does not cause a problem in my view, since the aim of the study is to offer a qualitative analysis, rather than a quantitative one, of the possible positions for different types of adverbials in declarative sentences.

6. Results

This section presents the results of the empirical study and shows the correlations between the pragmatic status of different sentence positions and the pragmatic status of the adverbials these positions can host in French (6.1) and in Dutch (6.2).

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16. For each language, the first native speaker studied Romance languages, the second native speaker studied Germanic languages and the last specialized in another field of study.
6.1  French

As shown in Table 1, the distribution of the four categories of adverbials in the eight sentence positions available in French is relatively simple and univocal. The four types of characterizing adverbials generally occupy one of the four intonationally integrated positions after the negation particle \textit{pas} (X_4, X_5, X_6 or X_7), and they are generally excluded from the other four positions. By contrast, comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act are found only in the latter positions, i.e. the peripheral positions X_1 and X_8, the intonationally detached position X_2, and the intonationally integrated position X_3. Comments cannot be inserted anywhere else in a sentence, unless they are intonationally detached (cf. section 3.2, note 8). Finally, situating adverbials can occupy each of the eight positions, with the exception of the position X_4. The table also brings out the symmetry between the peripheral positions X_1 and X_8. These two positions can be filled with the same types of adverbials, i.e. situating adverbials, comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act. Characterizing adverbials only rarely occupy one of these positions and their presence depends on specific factors.

Table 1. Positions of different types of adverbials in French

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>X_1</th>
<th>X_2</th>
<th>X_3</th>
<th>X_4</th>
<th>X_3 - X_5 - X_6 - X_7</th>
<th>X_8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>characterizing adverbials</td>
<td>(-^a)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+^b)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(-^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situating adverbials</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comments on the utterance</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+^c)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comments on the utterance act</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+^d)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)  X_1 and X_8 in principle exclude any characterizing adverbials, but they can contain instrumental adverbials and certain semiematic adverbials, especially in sentences triggering a generalizing interpretation.

\(^b\)  Only adverbs, no prepositional phrases.

\(^c\)  Only adverbs, no prepositional phrases.

\(^d\)  Only adverbs, no prepositional phrases.

In the remainder of this section, I first describe more in detail the placement possibilities for each category of adverbials (6.1.1) and then demonstrate that French is characterized by a (near) one-to-one mapping of the pragmatic status of an adverbial and its possible positions in a sentence (6.1.2).

6.1.1  Positions of adverbials in a sentence

Characterizing adverbials, which are focusable, can occur in each of the four focusable positions, X_4, X_5, X_6 and X_7. Their position in a concrete sentence depends not only on the formal realization of the adverbial (e.g. X_4 only allows adverbs), but also on the
length and the pragmatic status of the arguments following the verb. It turned out that the complexity principle plays an important role in the position of characterizing adverbials in a sentence, especially for positions $X_5$ and $X_7$, which are, in a certain way, in complementary distribution: a characterizing adverbial prefers to occupy the sentence-final position $X_7$, cf. (32a). Its insertion in $X_5$ is completely acceptable only if the argument is a relatively long or complex constituent (32b vs 32c).

(32) a. *Jean a peint la porte avec soin.*  
/John has painted the door with care/

b. *Jean a peint avec soin la porte.*  
/John has painted the door with care/

c. *Jean a peint avec soin la porte de la cuisine.*  
/John has painted the door of the kitchen/

However, the length or complexity of a constituent does not necessarily refer to the presence of a restrictive relative clause (*la porte qui donne sur la cuisine*, ‘the door that opens onto the kitchen) or a prepositional phrase (*la porte de la cuisine*, ‘the door of the kitchen’). This property also refers to the opposition between direct object (cf. 33a) and prepositional object (cf. 33b), the latter type of verb argument more easily allowing the insertion of an adverbial into $X_5$:

(33) a. *Jean a peint en quelques minutes la porte.*  
/John has painted in some minutes the door/

b. *Jean a répondu en quelques secondes à la question.*  
/John has replied in some seconds to the question/

The presence of a characterizing adverbial in $X_5$ can be found more frequently when the verb governs two postverbal arguments (as in 34) rather than only one (cf. 32b):

(34) *Jean a donné avec circonspection le paquet à sa sœur.*  
/John has given with circumspection the packet to his sister/

The category of instrumental adverbials presents a more extensive distribution than the other types of characterizing adverbials. Instrumental adverbials that designate a concrete object may also occupy the peripheral positions $X_1$ (as in 35a) and $X_8$ (as in 35b), especially in sentences triggering a generalizing interpretation:

(35) a. *À la brosse il peint merveilleusement.*  
/with a paintbrush he paints wonderfully/

b. *Il peint merveilleusement à la brosse.*  
/he paints wonderfully with a paintbrush/

The possibility of placing instrumental adverbials in a peripheral position depends on their degree of referential autonomy, which has to be relatively high in order to allow this type of detached construction.
As a final remark on characterizing adverbials, it is worth emphasizing that in the categories of attitudinal and aspectual adverbials placement of the adverbial in position X	extsubscript{1} may cause a change of meaning. While an X	extsubscript{1}-placed attitudinal adverbial might be interpreted as a comment on the utterance expressing the speaker's judgement on the activity of the subject (as in 36a), an aspectual adverbial occupying X	extsubscript{1} is easily interpreted as a situating adverbial, expressing the time passing before the process of the verb starts (as in 36b), rather than the internal course of the process (as in 36c):

(36) a. *Soigneusement* Jean a peint la porte.
   /carefully# John has painted the door/
   ‘Thoughtfully enough, John painted the door.’
   (= According to the speaker, the fact that John painted the door testifies of his thoughtfulness.)

b. *Rapidement* Jean a peint la porte.
   /Quickly# John has painted the door/
   ‘Quickly, John started painting the door.’ (= ‘after a short time’)

c. *Jean a peint la porte rapidement.*
   /John has painted the door quickly/
   ‘John painted the door quickly.’ (= ‘in a short time’)

Situating adverbials can occupy each of the eight positions, with the exception of the focusable position X\textsubscript{4}. This position seems to be reserved for characterizing adverbials, which affect the verb or the relation between the verb and one of its arguments, and are, therefore, the only adverbials to be allowed in the nearest position to the main verb. Situating adverbials occupying one of the non-focusable positions (X\textsubscript{1}, X\textsubscript{2}, X\textsubscript{3}, and X\textsubscript{8}) are non-focusable, while situating adverbials in X\textsubscript{5}, X\textsubscript{6}, or X\textsubscript{7} are focusable. In X\textsubscript{8}, the situating adverbial is necessarily focused (otherwise it occupies the final peripheral position X\textsubscript{9}). Concessive and justifying adverbials, which are non-focusable adverbials (cf. section 4.2, note 13), are excluded from the focusable positions.

Comments on the utterance generally occupy one of the non-focusable positions X\textsubscript{1}, X\textsubscript{2} or X\textsubscript{8}. The intonationally integrated position X\textsubscript{3}, though also non-focusable, is less common or even excluded for adverbials expressing either the speaker's judgement on the activity of the subject or the source of the message. Inserted elsewhere in the sentence, a comment on the utterance always causes a prosodic break in the intonation pattern of the sentence (cf. section 3.2, note 8).

As for comments on the utterance act, the analysis has been restricted to the subtype of adverbials expressing the relation between the speaker and his interlocutor, because the other types consist predominantly or even exclusively of dependent clauses. While comments on the utterance act seem most frequently to occupy one of the two peripheral positions or the detached position X\textsubscript{2}, some of them can also occupy the integrated position X\textsubscript{3}. Just like comments on the utterance, they are excluded from the focusable positions.
Correlation between adverbial types and sentence positions in French

The overview in the preceding section clearly shows that each of the eight positions available can be filled with a number of specific categories of adverbials. The non-focusable positions $X_1$, $X_2$, $X_3$ and $X_8$ can contain situating adverbials, comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act. In more exceptional cases, the peripheral positions $X_1$ and $X_8$ can be filled with a characterizing adverbial. The focusable position $X_4$ is reserved for characterizing adverbials taking the form of an adverb. The other focusable positions, i.e. $X_5$, $X_6$ and $X_7$, can be filled with characterizing and situating adverbials (adverbs or prepositional phrases). The placement of a situating adverbial in one of the two groups of positions is closely linked to its pragmatic status: a situating adverbial is non-focusable in a non-focusable position, but focusable when occupying a focusable position.

This shows that in French the pragmatic status (focusable vs non-focusable) of the sentence positions available for adverbials and the pragmatic status (focusable vs non-focusable) of the adverbials these positions can be filled with coincide. The focusable positions ($X_4$, $X_5$, $X_6$ and $X_7$) can only be filled with focusable adverbials (characterizing and situating adverbials). Similarly, non-focusable adverbials (i.e. comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act) always occupy a non-focusable position ($X_1$, $X_2$, $X_3$ or $X_8$). In order to be allowed somewhere else in the sentence, they have to cause a break in the intonation pattern of the sentence. However, certain focusable adverbials (situating adverbials and certain characterizing adverbials) can occur in a non-focusable position if they are not focused.

This one-to-one mapping of the pragmatic status of adverbials and their possible sentence positions can best be illustrated by the following adverbs:

(37) a. sincèrement (‘sincerely’), honnêtement (‘honestly’), franchement (‘frankly’)

b. prudemment (‘cautiously’), soigneusement (‘carefully’), intelligemment (‘intelligently’)

c. heureusement (‘well’/’fortunately’)

Considered in isolation, out of context, all these adverbs are ambiguous in the sense that their mere lexical form does not suffice to determine their ‘meaning’. They therefore differ from adverbs such as probablement (‘probably’) or peut-être (‘maybe’), which can only relate to the transmission of the message and always function as comments on the utterance. For instance, the adverbs cited in (37a) can relate not only to the relation between the verb and one of its arguments, but also to the transmission of the message. In the former case, they function as (attitudinal) characterizing adverbials, in the latter case as comments on the utterance act (expressing the relations between the interlocutors). Similarly, adverbials such as prudemment, soigneusement and intelligemment in (37b) can assume the role of a characterizing adverbial (attitudinal adverbial) or a comment on the utterance expressing the speaker’s judgement on the activity of the subject. The adverb heureusement in (37c) can function not only as a comment on the
utterance (evaluative adverbial, ‘fortunately’) but also as a characterizing adverbial (‘successfully, well’).

One can clear up the ambiguity by taking into account the position these adverbials occupy in a sentence and their construction type (intonationally integrated vs detached). The adverbs sincèrement, honnêtement and franchement in (37a) can only be considered as attitudinal adverbials if they occur in a focusable position, i.e. X₄, X₅, X₆ or X₇, cf. (38). If they occupy a peripheral position (X₁ or X₈), the detached position X₂ or the integrated position X₃, which are all non-focusable positions, they are necessarily interpreted as comments on the utterance act, see (39):

(38) X₅: Jean n’a pas répondu franchement à cette question.
/John has not replied frankly to that question/
‘John did not answer that question frankly.’

(39) X₁: Franchement# Jean n’a pas répondu à cette question.
/Frankly# John has not replied to that question/
‘Frankly, John did not answer that question.’
X₂: Jean #franchement# n’a pas répondu à cette question.
/John #frankly# has not replied to that question/
‘Frankly, John did not answer that question.’
X₈: Jean n’a pas répondu à cette question #franchement.
/John has not replied to that question #frankly/
‘John did not answer that question, frankly.’

Interpretation as a comment on the utterance act is also obvious if the adverbial occupies one of the positions after the negation particle while causing a prosodic break. In the following example, the adverb franchement presents a flat intonation pattern:

(40) X₄: Jean n’a pas #franchement# répondu à la question.
/John has not #frankly# replied to the question/
‘To be frank, John did not answer the question.’

Adverbs such as prudemment, soigneusement, intelligemment, etc. in (37b) behave in a similar way: in the focusable positions X₄, X₅, X₆ and X₇, the interpretation is that of a characterizing adverbial, cf. (41), while in the other positions, or when they cause a prosodic break, the interpretation is that of a comment on the utterance, cf. (42):

(41) X₅: Il n’a pas répondu très intelligemment à cette question.
/he has not replied very intelligently to that question/
‘He did not answer that question very intelligently.’

(42) X₁: Intelligemment# Jean n’a pas répondu à cette question.
/intelligently# John has not replied to that question/
‘Intelligently enough, John did not answer that question.’
(= According to the speaker, the fact that John did not answer that question testifies of his intelligence.)
As a final example, I cite the adverb *heureusement* in (37c) which, occupying a non-focusable position (X₁, X₂, X₃ or X₇), relates to the transmission of the message and assumes the role of an evaluative comment on the utterance, cf. (43). The integrated construction in a focusable position (X₄, X₅, X₆ or X₈), on the other hand, enables the adverbial to be interpreted as a characterizing adverbial, cf. (44):

(43) X₈:  *L’affaire s’est terminée heureusement.*  
/ the affair itself is ended fortunately/  
‘The affair ended, fortunately.’

(44) X₇:  *L’affaire s’est terminée heureusement.*  
/ the affair itself is ended well/  
‘The affair ended well.’

For all of these adverbs, it is sufficient to know their position in a sentence and their construction type (intonationally detached vs integrated) in order to determine their ‘meaning’ without ambiguity.¹⁷

6.1.3 Conclusion

The different positions the adverbials can occupy and the different interpretations that depend on those positions emphasize the specific character of each position: in the case of an ambiguous lexical form, sentence position and construction type determine the ‘meaning’ of that adverbial. In this interpretation process, the negation particle *pas*, which occupies a fixed position, plays a pivotal role. The four integrated positions following the negation particle fall within its scope: they are focusable. The other positions

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¹⁷. The main case of ambiguity concerns adverbs between the auxiliary and the past participle in affirmative sentences: in the absence of the negation particle *pas*, the focusable position X₇ and the non-focusable position X₈ coincide (cf. section 2.1) and it can be very difficult to distinguish them from one another:

(v)  *L’affaire s’est heureusement terminée.*  
/ The affair itself is fortunately/well ended/  
‘Fortunately, the affair ended.’

(vi)  *Il a curieusement disparu.*  
/ he has curiously disappeared/  
‘Strangely enough, he disappeared.’

A second problem arises in written language, where the absence of punctuation might lead to confusion between the intonationally integrated position X₇ and the final peripheral position X₈:

(vii)  *L’affaire s’est terminée heureusement.*  
/ The affair itself is ended fortunately/well/  
‘Fortunately, the affair ended.’
cannot be affected by the negation particle: they are non-focusable. While the focusable positions can only be filled with focusable adverbials, the non-focusable adverbials always occur in non-focusable positions. Yet, the latter positions can contain certain focusable adverbials if these are not-focused.

### 6.2 Dutch

In contrast to French, where each position has its own specific properties, as I argued above, all types of adverbials in Dutch can occur in all available positions (Table 2). There are only a few exceptions. In the first place, the always focused position $Y_7$ (cf. section 2.2, note 6, and section 3.3) can only be filled with characterizing and situating adverbials, the non-focusable comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act being excluded. Moreover, comments on the utterance are also excluded from the initial peripheral position $Y_1$. Thirdly, as in French, characterizing adverbials are generally excluded from the two peripheral positions. It should be noted, finally, that the presence of a characterizing or a situating adverbial in the initial peripheral position $Y_1$ requires repetition of that adverbial by a coreferential pronoun intonationally integrated in the clause.

**Table 2. Positions of different types of adverbials in Dutch**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$Y_1$</th>
<th>$Y_2$</th>
<th>$Y_4$, $Y_5$, $Y_6$</th>
<th>$Y_7$</th>
<th>$Y_8$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>characterizing adverbials</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situating adverbials</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comments on the utterance</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comments on the utterance act</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
<td>$-$</td>
<td>$+$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$a$ $Y_1$ and $Y_8$ in principle exclude any characterizing adverbials, but they can contain instrumental adverbials and certain semiematic adverbials, especially in sentences triggering a generalizing interpretation. The use of a coreferential pronoun intonationally integrated into the clause is obligatory for adverbials occupying $Y_1$.

$b$ A change of meaning is possible for attitudinal and aspectual adverbials.

$c$ The use of a coreferential pronoun intonationally integrated into the clause is obligatory.

$d$ Certain types of comments on the utterance act require a detached construction and are, therefore, excluded from these positions.

I will first describe in greater detail the placement possibilities for each category of adverbials (section 6.2.1), in order to show that Dutch, unlike French, is not at all characterized by a one-to-one mapping of the pragmatic status of an adverbial and its possible positions in a sentence (section 6.2.2): leaving aside the few exceptions mentioned above, all types of adverbials are allowed in all sentence positions in Dutch.
6.2.1 Positions of adverbials in a sentence

Characterizing adverbials normally occupy the middle zone or the sentence-final position $Y_7$, which is however reserved for prepositional phrases. While it is true that characterizing adverbials rarely occupy the peripheral positions $Y_1$ and $Y_8$ or the sentence-initial position $Y_2$, they are certainly not completely excluded from them. However, it should be pointed out that the presence of an attitudinal or an aspectual adverbial in $Y_2$ frequently causes a change of meaning: an attitudinal adverb can be confused with the corresponding comment on the utterance expressing the speaker’s judgement on the activity of the subject (as in 45a), while an aspectual adverbial might be interpreted as a situating adverbial indicating the time passing before the action denoted by the verb takes place (as in 45b).

(45) a. Zorgvuldig heeft Jan de deur geschilderd.
   /carefully has John the door painted/
   ‘John painted the door carefully.’
   (= According to the speaker, the fact that John painted the door testifies of his thoughtfulness.)

   b. Snel heeft Jan de deur geschilderd.
   /quickly has John the door painted/
   ‘John painted the door quickly.’ (= ‘in a short time’)
   ‘Quickly, John started painting the door.’ (= ‘after a short time’)

The change of meaning is much less probable or even impossible if the attitudinal adverbial explicitly refers to a ‘way of doing’ ($op$ ADJ $wijze$, ‘in a ADJ way’) (see 46a) and if the aspectual adverbial denotes a precise interval ($in$ $x$ $minuten$, ‘in $x$ minutes’) (see 46b):

   /In a careful way has John the door painted/
   ‘John painted the door carefully.’

   b. In $tien$ $minuten$ heeft Jan de deur geschilderd.
   /in ten minutes has John the door painted/
   ‘John painted the door in ten minutes.’

Certain instrumental adverbials which designate a concrete object or a process can occupy the sentence-initial position $Y_2$ (as in 47a) and the peripheral positions $Y_1$ (as in 47b) and $Y_8$ (as in 47c), especially in sentences triggering a generalizing interpretation. Whereas the use of a coreferential pronoun intonationally integrated into the clause is obligatory for instrumental adverbials occupying $Y_1$, it is optional if they occur in $Y_8$.

(47) a. Met een borstel heeft Jan de deur geschilderd.
   /With a paintbrush has John the door painted/
   ‘John painted the door with a paintbrush.’
b. *Met een borstel*# *daarmee kan Jan de deur heel mooi schilderen.*
   /With a paintbrush# *with-that can John the door very nicely paint/*
   ‘With a paintbrush, John is able to paint the door very nicely.’

c. *Jan schildert prachtig*# *met een borstel.*
   /John paints wonderfully #*with a paintbrush/*
   ‘John paints wonderfully with a paintbrush.’

The three types of situating adverbials (place, time and argumentative) can be found in all available positions. The only restriction is that concessive and justifying argumentative adverbials, which are non-focusable, are excluded from the focused position Y7. The initial peripheral position Y1 (as in 48a) requires repetition of the adverbial by an anaphoric term, unlike the final peripheral position Y8, for which the use of a coreferential pronoun is optional (as in 48b).

(48) a. *Vorige week*# *toen heeft Jan de deur geschilderd.*
   /last week # *then has John the door painted/*
   ‘Last week, John painted the door.’

   b. *Jan heeft de deur geschilderd*# *vorige week.*
   /John has the door painted #*last week/*
   ‘John painted the door, last week.’

Comments on the utterance can occupy all positions, with the exception of the focused position Y7 and the initial peripheral position Y1. Just like comments on the utterance, comments on the utterance act are excluded from the sentence-final position Y7, but unlike them, comments on the utterance act can occupy the two peripheral positions Y1 and Y8. As a result, the detached construction in the initial peripheral position Y1 (as in 49a) alternates with the intonationally integrated construction in the sentence-initial position Y2 (as in 49b) for comments on the utterance act:

(49) a. *Eerlijk gezegd*# *Jan heeft die vraag niet beantwoord.*
   /frankly # *John has that question not answered/*
   ‘Frankly, John did not answer that question.’

   b. *Eerlijk gezegd heeft Jan die vraag niet beantwoord.*
   /frankly has John that question not answered/
   ‘Frankly, John did not answer that question.’

6.2.2 Correlation between adverbial types and sentence positions in Dutch

Whereas in French each position available for adverbials has its own specific character, this is not true of Dutch, where, save for a few exceptions, the different positions can be filled with near all types of adverbials.
Contrary to French, the non-focusable peripheral positions $Y_1$ and $Y_8$ are far from being symmetrical in Dutch. While the final peripheral position $Y_8$ can be filled with situating adverbials, comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act, the initial peripheral position $Y_1$ does not admit comments on the utterance and can only be filled with situating adverbials if these are repeated by an anaphoric term. The presence of a characterizing adverbial in one of these positions is closely linked to the type of adverbial, which must designate a concrete entity or a process. Just as for situating adverbials, the use of a coreferential pronoun is obligatory if the characterizing adverbial occupies $Y_1$, but is optional or even excluded if the adverbial appears in $Y_8$.

Being excluded from the initial peripheral position $Y_1$, comments on the utterance frequently occupy the sentence-initial position $Y_2$. The latter position can also contain comments on the utterance act and situating adverbials. The presence of a characterizing adverbial is less frequent, but not impossible. However, attitudinal adverbials may be confused with the corresponding comments on the utterance expressing the speaker’s judgement on the activity of the subject, what can be ascribed to the very nature of the sentence-initial position: on the one hand, it can contain elements which are or can be under the scope of negation; on the other hand, it can also be filled with non-focusable adverbials (comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act).

The sentence-final position $Y_7$ is the focus position par excellence: the adverbial occupying this position necessarily carries a sentence accent, which is at the same time the last sentence accent, since non-accentuated elements following $P_2$ occupy the final peripheral position $Y_8$. However, it is particularly important to establish that the characterization of this position as a focus position does not automatically enable us to determine the focused part of a sentence. In other words, the focused part does not necessarily occupy the position $Y_7$, but can also appear somewhere else in the sentence:

18. Cf. Magnus (2006), where I argue that the differences between French and Dutch with respect to the behaviour of adverbials in the IPP and the FPP can be related to the Verb-Second word order of Dutch and the specific status of the sentence-initial zone $Z_0$, and to the strict bipartition between arguments and adjuncts with respect to the use of a coreferential pronoun in French, but not in Dutch.

19. In order to prove that attitudinal adverbials and comments on the utterance expressing the speaker’s judgement on the activity of the subject, which frequently adopt the same lexical form, can both appear in the sentence-initial position $Y_2$, I cite pairs such as *wijs/wijselijk* (‘intelligently’), in which the two adverbs differ formally and can both occupy $Y_2$:

   (viii) *Erg wijs heeft hij niet geantwoord.*
   /very intelligently has he not answered/
   ‘He did not answer in a very intelligent way.’

   (ix) *Wijselijk heeft hij zijn mond gehouden.*
   /intelligently has he his tongue held/
   ‘Intelligently enough, he held his tongue.’
   (= According to the speaker, the fact that he held his tongue testifies of his intelligence.)
in the middle zone or even in the sentence-initial position $Y_\circ$.

Moreover, it has been said (cf. section 2.2) that $Y_\circ$ can only be filled with prepositional phrases: if the focused constituent is a noun phrase or an adverb, it necessarily occurs elsewhere in the sentence.

The positions $Y_4$, $Y_5$ and $Y_6$ are focusable ones: they can all contain the focused part of the sentence. However, by analogy with the sentence-initial position $Y_2$, they can all also be filled with intrinsically non-focusable adverbials such as comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act.

### 6.2.3 Conclusion

In Dutch the potential focus domain extends to all intonationally integrated positions: each integrated position can contain the focused element. A Dutch sentence thus contains only two non-focusable positions (the peripheral positions $Y_1$ and $Y_8$) and five focusable positions, including the focused one $Y_7$.

The two non-focusable positions do not allow any type of non-focusable adverbial: comments on the utterance are excluded from the position $Y_1$. Moreover, the presence of a situating adverbial in $Y_1$ requires the use of a coreferential pronoun integrated into the clause. The final-peripheral position $Y_8$ does not impose such restrictions: it admits comments on the utterance, and situating adverbials occupying this position do not have to be accompanied by a coreferential term.

The focusable positions include the sentence-initial position $Y_2$, the positions $Y_4$, $Y_5$ and $Y_6$ in the middle zone and the sentence-final position $Y_7$. The latter position can only be filled with focusable, i.e. characterizing and situating, adverbials. It is, however, subject to one major formal restriction: $Y_7$ can only be filled with prepositional phrases. Adverbs and noun phrases occupy other positions, which are, in addition, also accessible to prepositional phrases. While the positions $Y_4$, $Y_5$ and $Y_6$ can be filled with any type of focusable adverbial, this does not hold for the sentence-initial position $Y_2$, which is not freely accessible to all characterizing adverbials. Unlike the focused position $Y_7$, the focusable positions $Y_4$, $Y_5$, $Y_6$ and $Y_7$ can also contain non-focused adverbials (situating and characterizing adverbials that are not focus of the sentence) and even non-focusable adverbials (comments on the utterance and comments on the utterance act).

This means that the focusable positions $Y_2$, $Y_4$, $Y_5$ and $Y_6$ in Dutch can contain any type of adverbial: focused adverbials, focusable but non-focused adverbials, and non-focusable adverbials. This phenomenon contributes to the confusion as to the meaning of adverbials. It explains at the same time the impossibility of establishing a correlation between the meaning and the pragmatic status of an adverbial on the one hand and its position in a sentence on the other. In Dutch, the pragmatic status (focusable vs non-focusable) of the sentence positions and the pragmatic status (focusable vs non-focusable) of the different types of adverbials these positions can host do not at all coincide. On the contrary, the focusable positions (with the exception of $Y_7$) can contain any

20. I did not take into account the position $X_\circ$, between $P_1$ and the subject occupying the middle zone $Z_1$ (cf. section 2.2).
type of adverbial (focusable or non-focusable), the focused position Y₇ does not allow any focused adverbial (only prepositional phrases) and the non-focusable positions (in particular Y₁) do not admit all types of non-focusable adverbials.

7. Conclusion

This study has investigated the correlations between the pragmatic status of different categories of adverbials and the pragmatic status of the sentence positions available for these adverbials in French and Dutch. Pragmatic status has been seen as the possibility for adverbials to become focus of a sentence and the possibility for sentence positions to contain the focus of the sentence.

The application of the notions focusable and non-focusable to adverbials and to the organization of the sentence required the use of appropriate tests that enabled us to detect pragmatic status. It was shown that the negation, dialogical linking, questioning and clefting tests do not all operate on the same level and must therefore be differentiated. Negation and dialogical linking can be used to detect the potential focus domain or the focusable positions in a sentence. While it is true that the clefting test leads to circularity in the latter context, it does allow us to determine the intrinsic pragmatic status of adverbials. The questioning test was rejected because it easily modifies constituent order, which precisely was the subject of the study.

The results of the comparative empirical study provide support for the view that French is characterized by a very rigid pragmatic organization and Dutch has a more flexible pragmatic structure and constituent order. The rigid pragmatic organization of a French sentence can be related to the specificity of each sentence position: a clear distinction has to be made between non-focusable positions and focusable positions, separated from each other by the negation particle *pas*, which occupies a fixed position. Focusable positions only admit focusable adverbials, and non-focusable adverbials always occur in non-focusable positions, which can, however, also host non-focused focusable adverbials. In Dutch, on the other hand, the negation particle has no fixed position and can affect all intonationally integrated positions, which are, therefore, not specified: they can all (with the exception of Y₇) be filled with focused adverbials, focusable but non-focused adverbials and non-focusable adverbials. The middle zone of the sentence (between the auxiliary verb and the main verb) is the zone *par excellence* where the three types of adverbials appear together.

For these reasons I have compared the placement *possibilities* of different types of adverbials in declarative sentences in French and in Dutch. Additionally, I have indicated some elements that may play a role in determining the actual position an adverbial occupies in a concrete sentence (e.g. the valency of the verb, formal realization of the verb’s arguments, formal realization and pragmatic status of the adverbial). This study therefore prepares the way for future corpus-based investigations, because such
The position of adverbials and the pragmatic organization of the sentence

studies might be able to shed light on the exact role of these elements for individual adverbials, as well as reveal other elements.

References


PART II

Lexis in contrast
Swedish verbs of perception from a
typological and contrastive perspective

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Uppsala University/Sweden

Verbs of perception hold a central position among mental verbs. What makes such verbs particularly interesting is their complex patterns of polysemy that both show crosslinguistic regularities and language-specific (or area-specific) characteristics. This paper accounts for the major semantic extensions of the basic verbs of perception in Swedish from a crosslinguistic perspective based primarily on data from two translation corpora. Varying patterns of semantic extensions are found in Swedish and the other languages within the field of perception. There is also a rich variety of extensions into cognition, verbal communication and more distant fields such as possession, social contact and causation. Verbs of perception appear in a wide range of constructions. Brief indications are also given of the interactions between various meanings of the perception verbs and morpho-syntactic devices such as complementation, impersonal constructions, the passive, spatial markers and prefixed forms of verbs.

1. The typological framework

The lexical typological profile of a language (Viberg 2006a) is an account of the distinctive character of its structure in relation to other languages based on various approaches to crosslinguistic lexicology such as general typology and contrastive linguistics (see Viberg 2006b for a brief review). This paper will account for the basic verbs of perception in Swedish as one aspect of the lexical typological profile of that language. Since verbs of perception have been described from a general typological perspective in two earlier studies (Viberg 1983, 2001), based on data from a wide range of languages, this section will give a rather brief summary of the typological framework, whereas the rest of the paper will focus on a more detailed comparison of Swedish and a number of languages that are closely related genetically and/or areally and for which corpus data are available which make it possible to take actual usage patterns into consideration.
Table 1 displays a basic semantic grid for verbs of perception using English as an example. Vertically, the words are displayed according to the sense modality. Horizontally, three major classes are distinguished based on Aktionsart and semantic roles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Phenomenon-based</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEUTRAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>observe</td>
<td>seem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>examine</td>
<td></td>
<td>perceive</td>
<td>notice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>check</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>appear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SIGHT</strong></td>
<td>watch</td>
<td></td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look at</td>
<td></td>
<td>see</td>
<td>sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HEARING</strong></td>
<td>listen to</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOUCH</strong></td>
<td>touch</td>
<td>feel</td>
<td>feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TASTE</strong></td>
<td>taste</td>
<td>taste</td>
<td>taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SMELL</strong></td>
<td>smell</td>
<td>smell</td>
<td>smell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a basic distinction between an Activity which can be controlled but is not resultative and an Experience which is an uncontrollable state (or achievement): Peter was looking at the bird vs. Peter saw the bird. In both of these cases, the subject refers to the experiencer. Phenomenon-based perception verbs take the phenomenon or stimulus as subject: Peter looked happy. The activities tend to have an oblique object marked with a preposition: look at and listen to and sometimes also smell at. As we will see, this is very systematic in Swedish, where på ‘on’ is generally used as a marker showing that the object is not affected or only partly affected. Perceptual activities are in a certain sense non-resultative in comparison to experiences: Peter looked through the window without seeing anything.

A general characteristic of the field of perception verbs in English is that the sense modalities are lexically distinguished in a clear way. An important characteristic of Swedish (see Table 2) is that not all of the experiences are expressed with separate words. Experiences in the taste and smell modalities use the same verb as touch, namely känna ‘feel’, which tends to be combined with a noun meaning ‘taste’ or ‘smell’ in other modalities than touch, which is the default interpretation when känna is used as a verb of perception.
Table 2. The basic grid for verbs of perception in Swedish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Phenomenon-based</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEUTRAL</strong></td>
<td>observera</td>
<td>fönnimma, varebl.</td>
<td>verka tyckas, förefalla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>undersöka</td>
<td>kolla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SIGHT</strong></td>
<td>titta på</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>se på</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HEARING</strong></td>
<td>lyssna på</td>
<td>höra</td>
<td>låta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>höra på</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOUCH</strong></td>
<td>känna på</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TASTE</strong></td>
<td>smaka på</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SMELL</strong></td>
<td>lukta på</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Swedish, *se* ‘see’ and *höra* ‘hear’, which are basically experiences, can be used as activities if the object is marked with the preposition *på* ‘on’: *Jag höra på radion* ‘I’m listening to the radio’ vs. *Jag höra grannens radio* ‘I can hear my neighbour’s radio’. The first example refers to a controlled activity, whereas the second refers to a situation which is not controlled by the subject (and actually might be something the subject would rather avoid). The use of *på* as an oblique object marker with the activities represents a well-established pattern in Swedish and is used to signal a non-resultative activity rather than a completed action. Further examples are *skriva en bok* ‘write a book’, *skriva på en bok* ‘be writing a book’ or *skjuta en älg* ‘shoot an elk’, *skjuta på en älg* ‘shoot at an elk’. (An analysis of Swedish perception verbs has earlier been presented in Viberg 1981.)

The use of one verb in several sense modalities is common in many languages but follows various patterns such as in Yoruba, whose basic grid is shown in Table 3.
One interesting characteristic of Yoruba which reflects a general tendency across languages is the use of verbs with a relatively concrete (physical action) meaning to express an activity in some of the sense modalities. As can be observed with respect to the experiences in Table 3, the verb for ‘hear’ is also used for the experience of a smell, whereas the experiences of touch and taste are expressed with longer phrases. (It is unclear to me to what extent these expressions are conventionalized.)

With respect to the experiences, the pattern of polysemy is different in Swedish and Yoruba and several other patterns exist, but as shown in Viberg (1983, 2001) there is a lexicalization hierarchy for verbs of perception which in its most general form is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. The sense-modality hierarchy of the verbs of perception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOUCH</th>
<th>HEARING</th>
<th>TASTE</th>
<th>SMELL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIGHT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGHT</td>
<td>HEARING</td>
<td>TASTE</td>
<td>SMELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For example, a pattern that is relatively widespread among African languages is to extend ‘hear’ to modalities lower in the hierarchy (‘hear taste’, ‘hear smell’). The extension TOUCH => TASTE/SMELL which is found in Swedish has a parallel in some other European languages but is not universal. There are languages where the extensions between the three modalities at the bottom of the hierarchy form other patterns. However, verbs with a basic meaning referring to one of these modalities never extend upwards to cover ‘hear’ or ‘see’.

The hierarchy – in particular the dominance of vision – is firmly grounded in human biology and general cognition. A very large part of the primate brain is devoted to the processing of visual information. There has also been a variety of psychological experiments set up to test what happens when conflicting information is presented to two different senses. In general, subjects tend to rely more on visual information than on auditory or tactile information (see Viberg 2001: 1306–1307 for references).

2. Corpus-based contrastive analysis

The more contrastively oriented part of the present chapter is based on data from two translation corpora. One is the English Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC) prepared by Altenberg and Aijmer (2000), which contains original texts in English and Swedish together with their translations. The texts are divided into two broad genres: Fiction and Non-fiction with several subcategories. The original texts in each language contain around half a million words. The other corpus is more restricted and will be referred to as the multilingual pilot corpus (MPC). It is being compiled by the author and consists at present of extracts from 10 novels in Swedish with translations into English, German, French and Finnish (a total of around 250,000 words in the Swedish originals).

The analysis of Swedish presented below is based on the Swedish original texts. Translations are used for various purposes, the most important of which is to identify language-specific characteristics of Swedish. In principle at least, the number of different translations of a word into English or across the languages in the MPC serves as an indication of the degree to which a word can be regarded as language-specific. Translations also serve as a test of the semantic analysis, in particular with respect to polysemy. The existence of different sets of translations corresponding to the senses that have been proposed for a word represents one type of corroborating evidence for the sense boundaries that have been drawn.

With respect to English, it is possible also to compare the patterns of use of the closest equivalent of a Swedish word as in a contrastive analysis of an ordinary kind. Even when meanings appear to correspond to one another across languages, there may be striking contrasts with respect to actual usage patterns. In principle, it would be interesting to look at the usage patterns in original texts from all the languages in the MPC if the corpus is extended in the future.
The presentation of the findings will to a great extent be organized according to the sense modalities. The next section will be devoted to visual verbs centred around *se* 'see' and how this verb contrasts with *titta* 'look'; the section after that will present an analysis of some of the extended meanings of *se* reaching outside the domain of perception. Then follow sections on auditory verbs, taste and smell, the language-specific polysemy of *känna* 'feel; know' and the weak lexicalization of pain and other bodily sensations. Finally, an example is given of a language-specific complementation pattern of a set of perception verbs.

3. **Meaning distinctions between the major visual verbs**

Visual verbs are the most complex of the perception verbs and have also been more extensively studied than other verbs within the domain. In this paper, it will only be possible to present some of the major semantic distinctions among such verbs. (For a fine-grained semantic analysis of English 'verbs of vision', see Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976: 583–618). A contrastive analysis of visual verbs in German and French is found in Schepping (1982) and (1985)).

The nuclear verbs of perception English *see* and Swedish *se* dominate within the field of perception verbs both with respect to frequency and with respect to the number of meanings and syntactic constructions they can appear in. For that reason, this section will start with a quantitatively oriented overview. The major translations of English *see* into Swedish and Swedish *se* into English are shown in Table 5. The first thing to notice is that Swedish *se* is considerably more frequent than its English cognate. (The original texts in both languages comprise around half a million words and are therefore comparable.) As will be shown, this reflects a wider spectrum of uses overall of *se* even if this does not mean that the uses of *see* only represent a subset of those of *se*.

As in several of the tables in this chapter, the most frequent translations are shown together with a selection of less frequent translations. The selection of the less frequent alternatives is justified by their being characteristic in some respect and is not strictly based on frequency. For example, since *look* is a very frequent translation of *se* it is interesting to note that *titta* 'look' is used only 11 times as a translation of *see*. Another characteristic which also applies to some of the other tables is that the category *Various (other alternatives)* is rather high (more than 20%). This is due to the fact that the total number of alternatives is usually (as in this case) very high and a complete listing would be very cumbersome. Besides, a more fine-grained statistics is presented for the translation of some of the specific senses of the words (see below).
Table 5. The major translations of English *see* and Swedish *se* in the ESPC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>in the English original texts</th>
<th></th>
<th>in the Swedish original texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major translations</strong></td>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td><strong>%</strong></td>
<td><strong>Major translations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>se</em></td>
<td>841</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td><em>see</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betrakta ‘regard as’</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td><em>look</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>få syn på ‘catch sight of’</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td><em>watch</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titta ‘look’</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td><em>notice</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>synas ‘be visible’</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td><em>regard</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>förstå ‘understand’</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td><em>consider</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inse ‘realize’</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td><em>seem</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>träffa(s) ‘meet’</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td><em>appear</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Various</strong></td>
<td>296</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td><strong>Various</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 1289 100

Table 6. The major perceptual meanings of Swedish *se* in the ESPC and their major translations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All meanings</th>
<th>Major perceptual meanings</th>
<th>Various other meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Phenomenon-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major translations</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>see</em></td>
<td>916</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>look</em></td>
<td>534</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>watch</em></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>notice</em></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>seem</em></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>appear</em></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>regard</em></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>consider</em></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Various</strong></td>
<td>449</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 2031 99.9

Proportion of all meanings: 14% 44% 15% 27%
It should come as no surprise that the two cognates se and see serve as the most frequent translations of each other but what is more remarkable is that se serves as the translation of see in 65% of the cases whereas the proportion is considerably lower for see as a translation of se (45%). The major reason for this is the contrasting patterns of polysemy of the two verbs. If the various meanings of Swedish se are taken into account, the translations form clearer patterns, as can be observed in Table 6. In its basic meaning as a verb of perceptual experience, which covers 56% of all the textual occurrences of see, the Swedish verb se accounts for no less than 84% of the translations, whereas it only accounts for 41% of the translations when see has some other meaning. One of the major differences between English see and Swedish se is the frequent use of the latter as an activity verb (translated with look in 72% of the cases according to Table 6 above) and as a phenomenon-based verb (translated with look in 77% of the cases).

3.1 Activity versus Experience

When se is used as an activity verb, there is another verb titta which is a more direct equivalent to look as an activity verb. In example (1), taken from the multilingual pilot corpus (MPC), there is a contrast between a visual activity and a visual experience and in this example se corresponds to see in English and to sehen in German, voir in French and nähdä in Finnish. There is also a close correspondence between titta and look, regarder (French) and katsoa (Finnish; In other examples, this verb often appears in the frequentative form katsella.) German in this example uses a nominalization.

(1) Därför sa hon bara att hon hade sett en fot när hon tittade in genom fönstret. KE

So she just said she had seen a foot when she looked through the window. KE

Deshalb erzählte sie nur, daß sie beim Blick durchs Fenster einen Fuß gesehen habe. KE

Elle dit donc seulement qu'elle avait vu un pied quand elle regardé par la fenêtre.

Siksi hän sai vain että oli nähdä jalan katsoes-ikkunasta.

However, in most cases when titta is used in Swedish, se can also be used. As noted by Gruber (1967), look and see are combined with different types of spatial complements. Look is combined with prepositions indicating direction toward a target (The bird looked toward the tree), whereas see can be combined with prepositions indicating the reaching of a goal, such as to (Astronomers have seen to Andromeda). In Swedish, se as well as titta can be combined with a wide range of directional complements. The default is på ‘on’ as in (2).
Among the languages in the MPC, only German can also use the major experience verb *sehen* as an activity verb (in alternation with activity verbs such as *schauen*, *gucken* and *blicken*), whereas the other languages use the major equivalent of *titta* 'look' as in (1) above. In Swedish, there are many elaborate combinations of spatial particles and prepositions which primarily indicate the direction of the gaze as in (3)-(5):

As in the earlier examples, English and Finnish use the major activity verbs as translation, whereas German uses *sehen*, except in (5). Being a verb-framed language in Talmy’s (2001) sense, French often has special constructions when elaborate directional complements are used. 'Look up' is often as in (3) rendered as 'raise the eyes'; 'look down' in (4) is rendered as 'cast an eye down' (in other examples *baisser les yeux* 'lower the eyes') and in (5) *regarder* 'look' is used only with a direct object without any indication of the direction of the gaze.
That the same verb can be used both as an activity and an experience verb is not unique. In Swedish (and German), directional markers can be used to mark an activity, whereas the experience basically takes a direct object. Another possibility, found for example in Hindi and several other South Asian languages, is the contrast between a dative subject to signal an experience and an ordinary subject to signal an activity. However, as already mentioned, Swedish also has an activity verb that corresponds rather directly to *look* as an activity verb. The major translations of *look* (in all its uses) and *titta* are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. The major translations of English *look* and Swedish *titta* in the ESPC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major translations / Gloss</th>
<th>Look in the English original texts</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Titta in the Swedish original texts</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titta</td>
<td>'look'</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betrakta</td>
<td>'regard (as)'</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>have/take a look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leta (efter)</td>
<td>'look for'</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>söka</td>
<td>'seek'</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>stare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verka</td>
<td>'seem'</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>glance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td></td>
<td>294</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be observed, the dominant translation of *titta* is *look*, which accounts for 67% of the translations. In addition, there are expressions that are closely related to *look* in meaning such as phrases with supportive (or light) verbs like *have/take a look*, the language-specific English verb *watch* and hyponyms (or troponyms) of *look* such as *stare* and *glance*. The verb *titta* appears to be a stylistically somewhat more informal alternative to *se* when it is used as a visual activity verb. In the ESPC, it has approximately the same frequency as *se* used as a visual activity verb. The verb *titta* is used primarily in fiction, but the same applies to *se* when used as an activity verb. As shown in Table 6, *se* as an activity verb has 290 occurrences (Fiction 277, Non-fiction: 13), whereas *titta* (Table 7) has 232 occurrences (Fiction: 203, Non-fiction: 29). Another characteristic of *titta* is that it has rather few extended uses, whereas *se* has many extended uses even when it is used in combination with spatial particles (*Se upp! 'Watch out!*, *se upp till 'look up to, admire*, *se ner på 'look down on, scorn* and many more).

The verb *look*, which is the closest English equivalent to *titta*, is almost five times as frequent and has a usage pattern of much greater complexity. As can be observed in Table 7, the most frequent Swedish translation is *se* but that covers both *look* as an activity verb and as a phenomenon-based verb (see 3.2). *Look* has a number of cognitive meanings such as looking forward and back in time. *Se* but not (or only marginally)
titta can be used as a translation in such uses, as can be observed in (6) taken from the English Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC). (Examples containing only English and Swedish are from this corpus. The original is always shown to the left.)

(6) So each week he looked forward to his one expedition. FF

Så varje vecka såg han fram emot sin enda utflykt.

Cognitive verbs are also used as translations, such as tänka ‘think’ in (7) (possible alternatives in Swedish are se and blicka, a somewhat archaic or poetic visual verb).

(7) When I look back on that time it seems happy enough — compared at any rate to now. FW

När jag tänker tillbaka på den tiden verkar den nog så lycklig — åtminstone i jämförelse med hur jag har det nu.

There are even some examples such as (8) where look appears in the syntactic frame NP___to + VP_{Infinitive} and is translated with a Modality verb such as försöka ‘try’.

(8) “Who were you looking to get in touch with?” SG

“Vem är det ni försöker få tag i?”

3.2 Phenomenon-based uses of se

In simple examples like Mary looks happy and Harry looks like a scarecrow, look is used as a phenomenon-based visual perception verb. The major correspondence in Swedish is se in combination with the particle ut ‘out’ in the two syntactic frames NP + se + ADJ + ut and NP + se ut + som + NP. (In addition, there are sentential complements. See section 9 below.) A simple example of the first frame is shown in (9):

(9) Vattnet såg kallt ut. KE

Das Wasser sah kalt aus. Leau avait l’air froide. Vesi näytti kylmältä

The function of se ut is to describe an inference based on visual evidence. The inference, furthermore, has a low to medium degree of certainty. (In Swedish, strong certainty based on visual evidence would be expressed by: Det syns att vattnet är kallt ‘You can see that the water is cold’. See section 9). The adjective can also express a subjective evaluation which can either be true or false: Eva ser bra ut ‘Eva looks good’. The languages in the MPC all have a major correspondent of se ut + Adjective which is used rather consistently as a translation (Eng. look, German aussehen, aus- ‘out’, Fr. avoir l’air ‘have the appearance’, Fi. näyttää ‘show’ + Adjective in ablative case: -ltä/-ltä). When se ut appears in combination with som ‘as, like’ + NP, the function is usually to
make a comparison based on the visual appearance of the Phenomenon (the subject of
the verb) and some other object. Often the standard of comparison is a noun with
vivid connotations, which means that the comparison also contains an evaluative or
expressive element as is the case in (10).

(10) Köket såg ut som en slaktarbod MF
The kitchen looked like an abattoir

Die Küche sah aus wie ein Schlachthaus,

La cuisine ressemblait à un étal de boucherie,

Keittiö oli kuin teuras-tamo, ['was like']

To a great extent, the same translations are used in this construction as in the other
construction with se ut but (especially in French) a verb meaning 'be similar' (French:
ressembler à) is used with a certain frequency. In the ESPC, look like + NP is also trans-
lated with Swedish likna 'be similar' in several cases. Besides functioning to form a
comparison, se ut + som NP can also be used to express uncertainty with respect to the
identity or categorization of something due to unclear perception or insufficient
knowledge: Det ser ut som blod 'It looks like blood (, but maybe it isn't)'.

Inferences based on visual evidence can also be expressed in special types of sen-
tential complements. Even in this case, the degree of certainty is low to medium. In
Swedish, se ut can be used as an impersonal verb in the syntactic frame det 'it' + se ut
+ som om-S 'as if-S' (alternatively som-S 'as-S' and som att-S 'as that-S'). A typical ex-
ample is shown in (11).

(11) Det såg ut som det var grädd-kartonter i den. KE
The carrier looked as if it held car-
tons of cream.

Es sah aus, als waren Sahne-
pakkungen darin.

On aurait dit qu’il y avait des boîtes de crème fraîche dedans.

Näytti kuin siinä olisi ollut ker-
mapurkkeja.

With respect to the translations, there is in general one major correspondent to se ut in
all its functions in the languages in the MPC, except in French. Even if the basic mean-
ing of the translations varies, there is a rather strong functional similarity across these
languages. [In total, there are 185 occurrences of se ut in this function in the MPC
which are translated as look in English (165 times), aussehen in German (149), näyttää
in Finnish (114, olla näköinen: 28) and with more variation in French (avoir l’air ‘have
the appearance’ (48), ressembler à ‘be similar to’ (23), on aurait dit que ‘one could have
said that’ (18) and paraître ‘seem’ (14). Verbs meaning ‘seem’ appear as translations to
some extent in all the languages.]
4. Beyond perception: extended meanings of Swedish *se*

The polysemy of the verb *see* in English has been treated in Alm-Arvius (1993) and in Aijmer (2004), which is based on the ESPC and characterizes *see* in relation to its translations into Swedish. The present study also makes use of the ESPC and partly overlaps with Aijmer’s study but focuses on Swedish rather than on English. (It is important to observe that the present study includes non-fiction, which means that frequencies cannot be directly compared.)

4.1 Direct and indirect perception

Verbs meaning ‘see’ have a strong tendency across languages to extend their meaning to other semantic domains than perception. However, it is often difficult to draw a sharp line between perceptual and other meanings. This applies in particular to the distinction between perceptual and cognitive meanings. Even typical cases like *Peter saw a bird* involve categorization which often is immediate but sometimes can be experienced as a separate process: *Peter saw something move which he thought must have been a grasshopper.* Across languages, verbs of perception and in particular ‘see’ have a tendency to take a wide range of sentential complements which signal distinctions between ‘pure’ perception and increasing degrees of mental processing. In particular, a distinction can be drawn between direct and indirect perception. Direct perception requires that the situation described in the complement is simultaneous with the time of the matrix clause and is conceptualized as a perception which is not mediated by inferencing or other cognitive processes. In Swedish, the clearest way to mark direct perception is to use an object + bare infinitive complement as in (12):

(12) Då, till sist, *såg* han hennes läppar stilla skilja sig åt, POE

Then, at last, *he saw her lips quietly open,*

Und dann, endlich, *sah* er, *wie* sich ihre Lippen still öffneten,

Alors, enfin, il *vit ses lèvres se séparer,*

Silloin hän *näki* Eeva-Lisan huulien, vihdoin, avautuvan hiljaa,

All the languages in the MPC can use various types of non-finite complements to mark direct perception (bare infinitive or *-ing* clause in English, bare infinitive in German and French and a present participle in *-va/-vä* in Finnish). Such constructions are used as translations in (12), except in German which in this example uses a sentential complement introduced by *wie ‘how’,* a frequent alternative in German (see 16 for a German infinitive complement). Swedish can also use such a complement introduced by *hur ‘how’* to signal direct perception as in (13).
(13) jag såg hur vattnet sjönk. I watched the water flowing away. ich sah, wie das Wasser sank. je vis l'eau baisser. näin miten vesi laski.

In (13), English uses an -ing clause and French uses a bare infinitive complement as translation, whereas German and Finnish use a 'how'-S complement. There appears to be a difference between the MPC languages in this respect. Such complements seem to be used most frequently in German and not at all in French, whereas Swedish is positioned somewhere in between. (Using larger monolingual corpora would make it possible to give a more exact characterization.)

When se is combined with a finite that-clause complement introduced with att 'that', the resulting interpretation is often some type of indirect perception involving more cognitive processing as in (14).

(14) Men när han undersökte flickan såg han att det var insektsbett som fått hennes ansikt att svullna upp. But when he examined the child, he saw the swellings on her face had been caused by insect bites. Als er das Mädchen untersuchte, stellte er jedoch fest, daß es Insektenstiche waren, die ihr Gesicht hatten anschwellen lassen. Mais en examinant la fillette, il constata que c'étaient des piqûres d'insectes qui avaient fait enfler son visage. Mutta kun hän tutki tytön, hän huomasikin että hyönteisten puremat saivat näyttämään turvonneltta.

In (14), the sentential complement represents an inference based on visual evidence. A similar type of complement (without a complementizer in the English example) is found in all translations. When the complement represents indirect perception, the translation of se tends to vary a lot more than when the perception is direct, even if all languages in principle can use 'see' to refer to indirect perception. In (14), 'see' is used as a translation only in English, whereas the other languages use a cognitive verb as translation (German feststellen dass-S and French constater que-S mean 'lay down, establish that-S', whereas Finnish huomata että-S means 'notice that-S'). A special type of indirect perception is the reception of information transmitted via writing or other visual symbols as in (15).
Hon tog upp sin tidtabell ur handväskan och såg att hon hade ledigt från nästa söndag eftermiddag till tisdag morgon. HM

She took her schedule from her handbag and saw that she had time off from next Sunday afternoon until Tuesday morning.

However, direct perception is not completely ruled out when a that-S complement is used, as can be observed in (16), where the translations contain an –ing clause complement in English and a bare infinitive complement in German, which serve as markers of direct perception.

(16) Hon ser att de raglar, både han och far. MF
She sees them both staggering about, him and Father.
Sie sieht beide Männer schwanken, sieht ihn und auch den Vater.
Elle voit qu’ils titubent tous deux, le père et lui.
Hän näkee että miehet hoippuvat, sekä Rudolf että isä.

There may be different varieties of indirect perception. In a recent article, Ono (2004: 424) claims that a bare infinitive complement in English such as I saw Peter cross the street (referred to as ‘pure perception’) “represents the perceiver’s pure perception of an event with which the perceiver does not experience psychological concern”, whereas an –ing clause complement such as I saw Peter crossing the street (referred to as ‘cognitive perception’) “represents the perceiver’s instantaneous cognition of an event with which the perceiver experiences psychological concern.” I will not go further into this interesting proposal since Swedish lacks this formal contrast and only uses the bare infinitive. For the purposes of this chapter, all examples discussed so far will be considered as examples of se used as a verb of perception, since some type of visual information is crucial, at least as a an initial trigger.

Another borderline case is visualization, the imaginary perception of some phenomenon. Arguably, vision is activated to some degree in cases such as (17) even if no physical stimulus is present in the external world that immediately surrounds the perceiver. Judging from the translations of (17), ‘see’ can be used with this meaning in all the MPC languages.
Och hon såg för sej Lovis rika förråd i visthus-kammaren, AL

And in her mind’s eye she saw Lovis’s rich stores in the great larder: Vor sich sah sie Lovis’ reiche Vor-räte im Speicher, AL

Elle revit en esprit les provisions abondantes que Lovise avait stockées dans le.cellier: Ja Ronja näki silmissään Loviisan runsaat var-astot ruoka-aitois, AL

In Swedish, se is usually combined with (fram)för sig ‘in front of oneself’. In (17), a similar expression is used in German (vor sich), whereas the French translation has the literal meaning ‘saw again in mind’ and the Finnish one ‘saw in her eyes’. Sometimes cognitive verbs like imagine are used as translation as in (18).

Hon försökte se mormors ansikte framför sig. MG

She tried to imagine Grandmother’s face.

4.2 Cognitive meanings

The appearance of an abstract noun as object is a clear sign that ‘see’ has a cognitive meaning. Examples such as (19) and (20) are found primarily in non-fiction in the ESPC. To a great extent, ‘see’ is used as a translation in both Swedish and English irrespective of the direction. For that reason, such examples will be dealt with rather briefly in this contrastively oriented study.

Does she not see a contradiction between what she says and what the Treaty says? EJAC

Ser hon inte motsättningen mellan det hon säger och vad fördraget säger?

Projektutveckling är att se möjligheter, PEA

Project development is seeing opportunities.

We will turn now to two specific uses of ‘see’ with a cognitive meaning.

4.2.1 Understanding

As could be observed in Table 5, English see is relatively frequently translated in the ESPC with Swedish verbs referring to understanding rather than visual perception such as förstå ‘understand’ (34 occurrences) and inse ‘realize’ (16), whereas the corresponding cognitive verbs understand and realize do not occur as translations of Swedish se in the ESPC. Typical examples are shown in (21) and (22).
(21) ‘Well, I can’t see the sense of leaving here, even if there isn’t any work.
PDJ

“Jag förstår inte vad det ska vara bra för att åka härifrån även om det inte finns något jobb här.”

(22) Colleagues, more politically sophisticated than he, saw the usefulness of these attributes. NG

Kamrater — mer politiskt sofistikerade än han — insåg värden av dessa attribut.

Even extended meanings based on the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING are used as translations: *fatta* ‘seize; understand’ (5 occurrences) and *begripa* (prefix *be- + gripa* ‘grasp’) ‘understand’ (4 occurrences) shown in (23).

(23) ‘If He wasn’t a God, I don’t see that it matters much what He taught. PDJ

“Om han inte var Gud, så begriper jag inte vad det spelar för roll vad han förkunnade.”

As described by Aijmer (2004), *you see,* *I see* and *see* are used with various textual and interpersonal functions as discourse markers outside the utterance or parenthetically. The main function of *I see* according to Aijmer is “as a feedback signal receiving information” which can be translated with *förstå* ‘understand’ as in (24) and (25) but also with an interjection like *jaså* (composed of ‘yes’ + ‘so’) as in (26) and (27).

(24) See what I mean? BR

*Förstå* du vad jag menar?

(25) “I see,” said Cooper kindly. MW

“Jag förstår”, sade Cooper vänligt.

(26) “*I see,*” Macon said. AT

*Jaså på det sättet*, sade Macon

(27) “I see.” RD

“Jaså.”

In the two corpora used in this study, Swedish *se* does not appear as a discourse marker in any similar function. However, in certain spoken varieties of Swedish, there is a particle *serru* (also rendered *seru, sörru* in writing) which is an amalgamation of *ser* ‘see-Present’ and *ru,* a spoken variant of *du* ‘you’ in inverted word order. In the monolingual Swedish corpus Novels II (printed 1981–82) in the Bank of Swedish, there are a few examples in direct speech such as (28) and (29).

(28) – Inte förrän de är gifta, *serru,* sa Groggy, får man lugn. Novels II

– Not until they are married, ‘*you see,*’ Groggy said, can you relax. [My translation]
Hon kan dyka upp mitt i natten, hon är jävligt svartsjuk, sörru. Novels II

She can show up in the middle of the night, she is awfully jealous, ‘you see’. [My transl.]

Without a spoken corpus of the appropriate variety, it is impossible to make any deeper analysis but it is obvious that this particle functions as a discourse marker with an interactive function serving to involve the listener in the conversation.

4.2.2 Categorization
In Swedish, se appears in the syntactic frame NP₁ se NP₂ som NP₃, which has a close parallel in English: NP₁ see NP₂ as NP₃, as can be observed in (30).

(30) Först såg jag det som ett hot. PCJ At first I saw this as a threat.

Following FrameNet, this use of English see is referred to as Categorization. The referent of NP₂ is construed as belonging to a category specified in NP₃. According to Usonienė (2003), who presents a detailed analysis of this use of see in English, the as-phrase conveys evaluatively charged information and this is an important characteristic. Translations in the ESPC are shown in Table 8. It should be noted that the ‘see as’ construction is approximately twice as frequent in non-fiction as in fiction in both English and Swedish originals in the ESPC.

Table 8. Extended Meanings of English see and Swedish se in the ESPC: Categorization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>see in English original texts</th>
<th>se in Swedish original texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major translations</strong></td>
<td><strong>Major translations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se som</td>
<td>‘see as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betrakta som</td>
<td>‘regard as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anse</td>
<td>‘consider’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uppfatta som</td>
<td>‘experience as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Various</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most frequent translation in both directions is the verb ‘see’ but there is an interesting parallel also with respect to the second most frequent translation. In English, regard, borrowed from French regarder ‘look at’, is used as an alternative, whereas Swedish uses betrakta borrowed from German (betrachten) as shown in (31) and (32).
In the donor languages, these verbs are used as perceptual activity verbs, whereas the more abstract categorization meaning is dominant in the borrowing languages.

(31) Matematik bör *ses som* ett språk vid sidan av andra språk. BB
Mathematics should *be regarded as* a language.

(32) People in Zebulon County *saw* friendliness *as* a moral virtue. JSM
Folk i Zebulon County *betraktade* vänlighet *som* en moralisk dygd.

The evaluative element often found in the categorization use is also reflected in the use of opinion verbs as translations in Swedish and English (*anse* and *consider*, respectively).

4.3 Social contact

Crosslinguistically, SEE has a strong tendency to extend its meaning to cover social contact. A more or less standard example of this use in English is the expression *You should see a doctor*. Other lexical items belonging to the same semantic domain are *meet, run across, get in touch* and *visit*. The Swedish verb *se* can also be used as a verb of social contact as an alternative to expressions such as *möta* 'meet', *träffa* 'meet', *stöta på* 'meet unexpectedly, run into', *besöka* 'visit' and *hälsa på* 'visit'. In the MPC, it is possible to find examples where 'see' is used as a translation in all the five languages:

(33) När vi inte *ses* på två månader! PCJ
We won't be *seeing each other* for two months!"

Wo wir *uns* jetzt zwei Monate *sehen*! On ne va pas *se voir* d’ici deux mois!
Mehän emme nää toi-siamme kahteen kuukauteen!

In spite of the fact that SEE from a crosslinguistic perspective has a rather strong tendency to have social contact as one of its extended meanings, there may be striking differences with respect to the more exact patterning within individual languages. A comparison between English and Swedish is a good illustration of that. As can be observed in Table 9, *see* is used as a verb of social contact approximately nine times as much as *se* in the ESPC (91 occurrences vs. 10). There is also a morphological difference. In most cases, *se* appears in the s-form which is characteristic of the Swedish passive but in this particular case is used with a reciprocal function (‘see each other’). English usually has an active form as translation as in (34).

(34) - Vi *ses* i morgon, sa han. HM1
“I’ll *see* you tomorrow,” he said.
The difference between English and Swedish is clearly also represented in the patterns of translation as can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9. Extended Meanings of English see and Swedish se in the ESPC: Social contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>see in English original texts</th>
<th>se in Swedish original texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major translations</strong></td>
<td><strong>Major translations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se (ses)</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>träffa ‘meet; hit a target’</td>
<td>meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>möta ‘meet’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prata/tala med ‘talk/speak to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta hand om/ta emot ‘take care of’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hälsa på ‘visit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>91</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10*</td>
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</table>

*ses ‘see-Passive’ 8, se varandra ‘see one another’ 1, det gläder mej att se er 1

The most frequent translation of see in this use is the Swedish social contact verb träffa, which serves as a translation in around one third of the examples (see example 35).

(35) I last saw him at Sarah’s college graduation four years ago. MA
     Sist jag träffade honom var när Sarah gick ut från college för fyra år sedan.

The fact that other verbs than se are preferred in Swedish translations of this meaning of see lends support to the claim that the social contact meaning is much less prominent in Swedish than in English. In addition to that, there are certain semantic differences. When used as a social contact verb, English see can actually be used as an agentive verb. In examples such as (36) and (37), se (or ses) is completely ruled out in Swedish.

(36) Also I don’t see salespeople — AH
     Dessutom tar jag inte emot försäljare...

(37) Only twice did he have to emerge to see a customer personally. FF
     Bara två gånger kom han ut för att ta hand om en kund personligen.
In some cases, *titta* ‘look’ in combination with various particles can be used as a translation in certain agentive contexts as in (38). (Cf. *titta in, titta förbi, titta över* ‘make a brief visit’, *titta till* ‘make a brief visit in order to look after someone’.)

(38) Or could Sarah come see to him, two or three times a day? AT Kunde Sarah komma och *titta till* honom två, tre gånger om dagen?

The use of the passive form of *se* as a social contact verb which has a parallel in a similar use of *höra* ‘hear’ (se below) fits into a Swedish cultural pattern of the passive. There is a tendency to use the passive (or an impersonal construction) to avoid being too direct. An expression like *Finns det växel?* ‘Do you have change? (literally ‘Is there change’) can be heard at the checkout counter of a supermarket to avoid choosing between the pronoun *Ni* (polite use of the ordinary plural form) and *du*, the normal second person singular pronoun, which may appear too informal in this particular situation (one of the few where *Ni* is heard in present-day Sweden as a polite address to one person). To say something like ‘we will be seeing each other’ makes the meeting appear more as a coincidence rather than ‘I’ll see you’ which could be interpreted as one-sided and intrusive.

4.4 The monitoring causative

The primary periphrastic causative verb in English is *make* but *get* and *have* can also be used under certain conditions. The verb *see* is also used as a periphrastic causative verb in examples such as (39).

(39) He’d see to it that all the people working in the outer rooms got cakes and drink. JC Vid närmare eftertanke skulle han nog *se till så att* alla anställda blev bjudna på bakelser och någonting att dricka.

In Swedish, *se* in its use as a periphrastic causative is followed by the stressed verbal particle *till* (a stressed form of the preposition *till* ‘to’) in combination with a that-S complement (*se till att*-S). The examples in the MPC are too few to form the basis for any firm conclusion but the other languages tend to use expressions which do not include ‘see’ (e.g. Finnish pitää huolta ‘hold/provide care’), even if such alternatives do appear (in particular in German):
Därför måste hon nu *see till att* inte Ska-lle-Per gjorde några onödiga fun-deringar. AL

So she must *make sure* now that Noddle-Pete did not start think- ing any unnec-es-sary thoughts. AL

Maintenant, elle devait *s’arranger pour que* Glatzen-Per ne réfléchisse pas trop.

So she must *make sure* now that Noddle-Pete did not start thinking any unnecessary thoughts. AL

Deshalb musste sie *dafür sorgen, dass* Glatzen-Per keine unnötigen Gedanken machte.

Deshalb musste sie *dafür sorgen, dass* Glatzen-Per keine unnötigen Gedanken machte.

Siksi oli *pi-deittävä huol­ta ettei* Kalju-Pietu ryhtyisi syyttää suotta ajattelemaan.

Maintenant, elle devait *s’arranger pour que* Glatzen-Per ne réfléchisse pas trop.

So she must *make sure* now that Noddle-Pete did not start thinking any unnecessary thoughts. AL

Deshalb musste sie *dafür sorgen, dass* Glatzen-Per keine unnötigen Gedanken machte.

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Siksi oli *pi-deittävä huol­ta ettei* Kalju-Pietu ryhtyisi syyttää suotta ajattelemaan.

For English, the picture is rather clear, however, as can be observed in Table 10 based on the ESPC-corpus. There is a marked contrast between the two major genres in this corpus. In non-fiction, the most frequent translation is *ensure* and in fiction it is *make sure*.

The person responsible under this section shall *ensure* the co-ordination of safety precautions at the workplace.

Wallander asked Björk to *make sure* they got suitable maps.

Sometimes *see to it* (or *that*) is also used as a translation but this is clearly a less fre-quent alternative than *make sure* or *ensure*:

‘He’s to stay here, I’ll *see to that*.’

This is a case where *see* in principle can be used in a similar way as *se* but where the actual usage patterns differ in a striking way in the two languages. A comparison of the original texts in English and Swedish shows that *se till* appears approximately twice as often as *see (to it that-S)* in the ESPC.

Jag ska genast be honom *ordna* sak­en.

There are two major periphrastic causative verbs in Swedish; *få ‘get*’ (see Viberg 2002, 2006a) which is the major periphrastic direct causative in the sense of Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) and *låta ‘sound; let’* (see below) which is the major indirect causative. *Se till att-S* represents a kind of monitoring causative. The subject of the verb is
responsible for the coming about of the situation described in the sentential complement leaving it open by what means this is achieved. More specifically, the distinction between direct and indirect causation is neutralized. In an example such as *Se till att bilen fungerar* ‘See to it/make sure that the car works’ it is left open whether the addressee should, for example, repair the car personally or have it repaired by someone else or prevent people from messing with the car if it already is working.

### Table 10. Extended Meanings of English *see* and Swedish *se* in the ESPC: Causation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major translations / Gloss</th>
<th>see in English original texts</th>
<th>se in Swedish original texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Major translations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se till (att-S)</td>
<td>lit. ‘see to’</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordna</td>
<td>‘arrange’</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta hand om/</td>
<td>‘take care of’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta itu med</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>29</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*All Non-fiction **All but one Fiction

### 4.5 Prefixed forms of se with an abstract meaning

In Swedish, spatial particles such as *in* ‘in’, *ut* ‘out’ and *upp* ‘up’, are used primarily as independent words as in *Ann gick in i huset* ‘Ann went into the house’. Spatial particles can, however, also appear as prefixes and in that case they tend to have an abstract meaning *Moms ingick i priset* ‘VAT was included in (“went into”) the price’. (Such prefixed forms can sometimes also be used with a spatial meaning but then are stylistically very formal. Irrespective of meaning, the prefixed form is obligatory in participles.) There are a number of prefixed forms of *se* most of which have a cognitive meaning or some other abstract meaning. Such forms have not been included in the statistics presented in this study. (The prefixed forms treated above are often referred to as compounds, since the prefix is stressed and the resulting verb has accent 2 which is characteristic of compounds. Prefixes in the strict sense are unstressed. The distinction is important but not taken into consideration here, since both compound and prefixed verbs tend to have an abstract meaning.) Examples based on spatial particles are *insåg* (*in* + *se*) ‘realize’ and *utse* (*ut* ‘out’ + *se*) ‘appoint, elect’ shown as examples (45) and (46):

(45) Plötsligt *insåg* hon att hon hade kört fel och bromsade in bilen. HM2

She suddenly *realized* she was on the wrong road, and braked.
Stockholm appointed ten members, Gothenburg three and smaller towns one or two.

Se can also be combined with certain prefixes that only appear in bound form. The most important such derivation with se is *anse* ‘consider, hold the opinion’ (see Viberg (2005: 147–148)).

In the Stockholm region the incidence of mites has been considered low,

The prefixed form *förs* (med) (unstressed *för* - *+ se*) ‘supply (with)’ is an example of a derivation belonging to the semantic field of Possession.

Her father came to the rescue, supplying her with enough cash to keep the wolf from the door.

5. Auditory verbs

5.1 Listen and hear as perceptual verbs

In all the MPC languages, the distinction between an activity and an experience can be signalled lexically with two different verbs as in (49): Swedish *lyssna/höra*, English *listen/hear*, German *lauschen/hören* and French *écouter/entendre*. Finnish uses derivationally related verbs: *kuulla* ‘hear’, *kuunnella* ‘listen’.

She listened but could hear nothing but silence.

Sie lauschte, hörte aber nichts anders als Stille.

Elle écouta attentivement, mais n’entendit que le silence.

Hän kuunteli, mutta ei kuullut muuta kuin äänet-tömyyden.

However, in Swedish *höra* can also be used in an activity sense in combination with the preposition *på* ‘on’ as in the example *Maria lyssnade på/hörde på radion* ‘Maria listened to the radio’ and this is similar to German (*zuhören*). When no object is specified as in (50) *på* must be used to obtain an activity reading but is stressed like a particle. The fact
that höra also can be used as an activity verb is reflected in the translations into English in the ESPC which are shown in Table 11.

(50) Lovis stod där tigande och hörde på. Lovis had listening in silence. Depuis le début, Lovise écoutait sans rien dire. Lovisa seisoi vahti ja kuun-teli.

As was the case with se, direct perception is clearly signalled in the construction Object + bare infinitive shown in (51).

(51) Hon hörde Saddie traska ut i farstun KE She heard Saddie plodding out to the porch Sie hörte, wie Saddie in den Flur tappte Elle entendit Saddie filer dans le vestibule, Hän kuuli Saddien köpöttävän kuistille, Margareta kan höra hur Christina borstar tanderna ute i badrummet. Margareta can hear Christina brushing her teeth in the bathroom. Margareta kann hören, wie Christina ihre Zähne im Badezimmer putzt. Margareta l’entend se laver les dents dans la salle de bains. Margareta kuulee Christinaan harjaan van ham-paitaan kylpy-huoneessa.

As an alternative, a how-clause (hur) can be used to signal direct perception as in (52). In both (51) and (52), German uses a how-clause (wie), whereas the other languages use non-finite complements (see comments on example 12. –va is the present participle ending in Finnish).

(52) Margareta kan höra hur Christina borstar tanderna ute i badrummet. Margareta can hear Christina brushing her teeth in the bathroom. Margareta könn hören, wie Christina ihre Zähne im Badezimmer putzt. Margareta l’entend se laver les dents dans la salle de bains. Margareta kuulee Christinaan harjaan van ham-paitaan kylpy-huoneessa.

When höra refers to indirect perception or has a cognitive interpretation, a that-clause complement must be used as in (53) where the sentential complement refers to an inference based on auditory stimuli specified in a prepositional phrase introduced by på ‘on’ which in this construction does not indicate activity but evidential source. ‘Hear’ is used as a translation in German (hören) and Finnish (kuulee), whereas English uses tell. In the French translation, the inference is introduced as a sentential complement of savoir ‘know’ (‘she heard a regular breathing and knew-Perfective that-S’).
Table 11. The major translations of English *hear/listen* and Swedish *höra/lyssna* in the ESPC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major translations</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Major translations</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>höra</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>listen</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>be (part of, one of…)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>belong (to)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>include</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>say/tell/question</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>there is/come</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>342</td>
<td>100</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>591</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major translations</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Major translations</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lyssna</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>listen</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>höra (på)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>100</td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(53) och Ronja *hörde på* andetagen att nu sov hon. AL
and Ronia *could tell* from her breathing *that* she was asleep.

und Ronja *hörte an* ihren Atemzügen, *dass* sie schlief.

elle *entendit* une respiration régulière et *sut que* Lovise s’était endormie.

ja Ronja *kuu- yksestä, että* hän nukkui. [*-stä elative case*]

A that-S complement can also be used with *höra* to indicate the propositional content of an utterance as in (54) (literally: ‘Then she got to hear that-S’). Even in this example, ‘hear’ is used as a translation in German and Finnish, whereas more cognitively oriented verbs are used in English and French (*apprendre* ‘learn, be informed’).
In English, *hear* can be combined with a prepositional phrase indicating the topic as in *hear of* in a way that is characteristic of verbal communication verbs (cf. *speak of* etc.). In Swedish, *höra* is usually combined with the passive form (-s) of *tala om* 'speak of/about' as in (55). The French and Finnish translations also use 'hear' in combination with 'speak' (-sta is the Finnish elative case which is used also to mark the topic of verbal communication verbs).

It is natural that 'hear' has meanings that overlap with those of verbal communication verbs and in some form such overlap would be expected in any human language, even if there appears to be considerable variation at a more precise level. In (54), *höra* is still an indirect perception verb since there is an auditory input.

### 5.2 Verbal communication

Swedish *höra* has a number of metonymically extended usages where it refers to various speech acts such as asking, where hearing and obtaining verbal information represents the intended result of the activity. These uses appear to be relatively language-specific. In (56), *höra med* 'hear with' is translated with 'hear' only in Finnish (in a different construction: *Sitten hän sai kuulla, että* John Broman oli käynyt isän puheilla, heti maanantaina,)

In (55),

(55) Vi hade aldrig hört talas om frihet IB

We had never heard of freedom

Wir hatten noch nie etwas von Freiheit gehört,

Jamais nous n’avions entendu parler de liberté,

Me emme olleet koskaan kuultaan puhut- tavankaan vapaudesta,
The verb *höra* with a direct object **att höra någon** lit. ‘to hear someone’ can be used as in (58) in the sense ‘to question, cross-examine’. The same meaning can be expressed explicitly with a prefixed form of *höra* (with the unstressed prefix *för*-) as in (59). Finnish uses a derived form of ‘hear’ as translation, whereas English and French use verbal communication verbs.

| (56) | Han skulle hüra med mormor. PCJ | He would ask Grandma. | Er würde *sich bei* Großmama erkundigen. | Siitä hän sais *kuulla* isoäidiltä. |
| (57) | Ring den skadade taxichauffören, /---/ och hör exakt var klubben låg. LM | Call the injured driver. /---/ Ask him exactly where the club is. | Ruf den verletzten Taxifahrer an, /---/, und *laß dir* genau *erklären*, wo der Club liegt. | Ah, téléphone au chauffeur /---/. Il *te dira* où se trouve cette boîte exactement. Soita loukkaan- tuneelle tak-sikusille, /---/, ja *kysy* missä klubbi tarkkaan ottaen sijaitsee. |

| (59) | - Hon blev förhörd KE | She was *questioned* | Sie ist *verhört* worden, | - Elle a été *interrogée* | - Häntä *kuulu- lsteltiin* |

In combination with the stressed particle *efter* (lit. ‘after’), *höra* is used in the sense ‘interrogate’, ‘try to find out by making inquiries’ as in (60), where none of the languages uses ‘hear’ as a translation.
Even if it cannot be taken for granted that a verb meaning ‘hear’ is completely ruled out in a language using a verbal communication (or cognitive) verb as translation in one of the examples presented in this section, the high incidence of such translations indicates that translators experience such uses of höra as rather language-specific. As can be observed in Table 11 the verbal communication verbs say, tell and question together appear 16 times as translations of höra in the ESPC.

A meaning related to verbal communication and often associated with ‘hear’ in many languages is obedience. In many languages, an auditory verb has developed the meaning ‘obey’, ‘to listen to what someone in authority says and act accordingly’. This meaning is not prominent for any auditory verb in present-day Swedish but the verb lyda ‘obey’ originally meant ‘listen’ (SAOB Online).

### 5.3 Social contact

In certain constructions höra, too, is used as a social contact verb. In the printed corpora, it is primarily the expression höra av (sig) ‘hear from (reflexive)’ that is used, as in (61) where another verb than ‘hear’ is used as a translation in all languages except German (Fin. ottaa yhteyttä ‘take contact’).

(61) - Jag ska höra **av mig**, sa Wallander. 
- Ich **lasse von mir hören**’, sagte Wallander. 
- Je **vous tiendrai au courant**, promit Wallander. 
- Minä **otan yhteyttä**, Wallander sanoi.

```plaintext
(60) När hundrataler människor dör i en olycka så ringar i alla fall jag till min dotter och **hör efter** att hon mår bra. HM

When hundreds of people die in an accident, at least I call my daughter to see if she’s all right.

Wenn Hunderte von Menschen bei einem Unglück sterben, rufe ich jedenfalls meine Tochter an und **frage**, ob es ihr gutgeht.

Quand des centaines de gens meurent dans un accident, moi, j’appelle ma fille pour **savoir si** elle va bien.

Kun jossakin onnettomuudes- sa kuolee satoja ihmisiä, minä ainakin soitan tyttärelleni ja **varmistăn**, että hän on kunnossa.
```
The passive form of höra is used in vi hörs which similar to vi ses (see above) has a reciprocal meaning when used as a social contact verb. It can be used in informal situations and (at least basically) implies verbal contact rather than a personal meeting. It can be used, for example, over the phone to indicate a renewed contact but it is also extended to writing and can be used at the end of a letter or e-mail to indicate a renewed contact.

5.4 Part/Whole and Possession

In combination with a prepositional phrase introduced by till 'to', höra can be used to express the meaning 'be part of, belong to'. Typical examples are found in (62) and (63).

(62) Hon hör till en stor samesläkt. KE

She's one of a large Sami family. Sie stammt aus einem großen Samigeschlecht. Elle appartient à une grande famille lapone,

(63) Det såg inte ut som den hörde till torpet KE

It didn't seem to belong to the holding, Es sah nicht so aus, als ob er zu der Kate gehörte,

Apparemment elle n’appartenait pas à quelqu’un de la ferme,

Se ei tuntu- nut kuuluvan torppaan,

Being part of something and being possessed by someone represents a set of related senses that are completely lacking in English hear. However, parallel extensions exist in German (gehören) and Finnish, which has an etymologically unrelated verb kuulla ‘hear’ which governs the illative ‘into’ case in this particular use. In Swedish, till can also appear in the prefixed form tillhöra as in (64).

(64) - Du har upptgett att du inte tillhör Stjärnbergskollektivet, sa han. KE

‘You’ve stated you don’t belong to the Starhill commune,’ he said. "Sie haben angegeben, daß Sie nicht zur Stjärneberg-kommune gehören", sagte er.

-Vous avez déclaré ne pas appartenir à la communauté de Stjämborg, dit-il.

- Olet aiemmin ilmoittanut ettet kuulu kollektiivin, poliisi sanoi.
The part/whole relation can also be expressed with höra in combination with hit 'to here' and dit 'to there' as in (65) from the ESPC.

(65) Trädgården vi just körde förbi hör dit. SW

The garden we just drove by belongs to it.

In many languages as in English, there is a close semantic relationship between the part/whole relation and possession clearly seen in English in have (The hand has five fingers, Peter has a car) and also in belong to. In Swedish, Finnish and German, the use of 'hear' discussed in this section also covers possession. (The relationship of part to whole is equated with the relationship of property to owner.) In present-day Swedish, possession is usually indicated with the prefixed form tillhöra (as a converse to ha 'have', where the property is subject and the owner object). (66) is a representative example.

(66) Teknikerna har hittat en del föremål inne på arenan som de tror tillhörde offret. LM

The techni-
cians have found some stuff inside the arena they believe belonged to the victim.

Die Techn-
niker haben innerhalb der Arena eine Menge Objekte gefunden, die ihrer Vermutung nach zum Opfer gehören.

Les experts ont découvert plusieurs objets dans le stade qui, selon eux, ont appartenu à la victime.

Tekniset tuto-

The part/whole relation can also be expressed with höra in combination with hit 'to here' and dit 'to there' as in (65) from the ESPC.

5.5 Höra as a discourse marker

In certain varieties of informal spoken Swedish, there is a discourse particle variously written hördu, hörru, hörro in direct speech in fiction and formally derived from hör 'hear-Present + a reduced form of du 'you' (cf. serru, söru in 4.2.1). Discourse-initially, it serves as an attention-getter as can be observed in (67)-(68).

(67) - Hördup, vart är du på väg? skrek en brandman. LM

"Hey, where do you think you’re going?" a fireman shouted.

"Sie da, wollen Sie denn hin?” a Feuerwehrmann. - Dites donc, où allez-vous comme ça?

- Hei, minne matka? palomies huusi.

(68) - Hördru, vart är du på väg? skrek en brandman. LM

"Hey, where do you think you’re going?" a fireman shouted.

"Sie da, wollen Sie denn hin?” a Feuerwehrmann. - Dites donc, où allez-vous comme ça?

- Hei, minne matka? palomies huusi.
It can also serve various other interactional functions, in particular to influence the listener emotionally (in combination with variable intonations). In (69), it introduces an encouraging and entreating tone and in (70), it adds emphasis to the protest (with strong stress on du ‘you’).

(69) Reine, hörru, du ska inte ligga här. Novels II
Reine, ‘listen’, you should not be lying here. [My translation]

(70) -- Nä hörru du! protesterade Evert. Novels II
‘Hey—watch it!’ Evert protested. Literally: ‘No listen-you you’ [My translation]

5.6 Aspectual

The verb höra in combination with the particle upp (or opp) can serve as a periphrastic marker of terminal aspect, as shown in (71). The alternative with prefixed upp- shown in (72) is more frequent in accordance with the principle that prefixed forms tend to have an abstract meaning. As can be observed in (72), this use has a parallel in German.

(71) Gästgivarfrun hörde opp med vad hon hade för händer och stirrade på henne. KE2
The innkeeper’s wife dropped what she was doing and stared.

(72) Det livslånga förmyndar-skapet skulle upphöra. IB
The lifelong guardian-ship was to cease.

5.7 Phenomenon-based auditory verbs

The verb låta can be used as a phenomenon-based auditory verb rather closely corresponding to English sound as in (73).
(73) och plötsligt låt Claes gamla Fiat som ett helt pansarregemente.

MA

and suddenly Claes’s old Fiat sounded like a battalion of armored tanks.

As already mentioned, the Swedish verb låta can also serve as a periphrastic causative verb of the indirect type, see (74). This polysemy is not found in the other languages included in the MPC.

(74) Han /---/ låt hissen åka några meter PCJ

He /---/ let the elevator go down a short distance

Er /---/ ließ den Aufzug einige Meter fahren

Il /---/ laisse descendre l’ascenseur sur quelques mètres

Hän /---/ antoi hissin laskeutua muutamia metrejä

As an auditory verb, låta has rather direct equivalents in the MPC languages with the reservation that French sonner is actually used only a few times as a translation (see Table 12).

Table 12. The most frequent translations of låta in various meanings in the MPC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Finnish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect causation</strong></td>
<td>låta</td>
<td>let*</td>
<td>lassen</td>
<td>laisser</td>
<td>antaa 'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>119</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phenomenon-based perception</strong></td>
<td>låta</td>
<td>sound</td>
<td>klingen</td>
<td>dire 'say'*</td>
<td>kuulostaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Various</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total låta</strong></td>
<td>210</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Another relatively frequent alternative: allow 9
** Other alternatives: paraître 'seem' 6, être 'be' 6, sonner 'sound' 3, sembler 'be similar' 2
As a causative verb, låta is translated with verbs that are etymologically related (see OED Online) except in Finnish. The etymologically related verbs all share use as an indirect causative verb. But in other respects the semantic extensions contrast. The combination of the meanings ‘sound’ and ‘let’ in Swedish låta at first appear rather arbitrary. Historically, however, there is a natural link between the two senses of the Swedish verb. OED Online provides the following information on the etymology of let:

“The primary sense of the vb. would thus seem to be ‘to let go through weariness, to neglect’; cf. the development of the Romanic synonym (F. laisser: L. laxäre, f. laxus loose).” The development is shown in broad outline in Table 13 and is based also on the Swedish historical dictionary SAOB Online. It is unlikely that a present-day speaker of Swedish would associate the two meanings in the way indicated in Table 13, so the link is purely historical even if there are old-fashioned expressions like låta väder ‘break wind’ and låta sitt vatten ‘make water’ pointing to an earlier wider use ‘to let go air and fluids from the body’, not just sound-producing air. (The causative use of låta will be treated in Viberg, in progress.)

Table 13. The development of Swedish verb låta ‘sound’; ‘let’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older meaning</th>
<th>Initial differentiation</th>
<th>Present-day Swedish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘being lazy’; ‘allow something to move or to happen by being passive’</td>
<td>‘give off a sound’</td>
<td>(1) Phenomenon-based perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Indirect causation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the historical link between the meaning ‘sound’ and the meaning ‘let’, låta as a phenomenon-based perception verb has a chain of meaning extensions that are still active. Basically, låta provides a description of acoustic features as in (75) and in (76) which contains a comparison with som ‘like’.
Swedish verbs of perception from a typological and contrastive perspective

(75) Rösten låt dov. SW
His voice sounded muffled.

(76) När vinden blåser genom asparna låter det som en öppen vattenkran. PCJ
The wind blowing through their leaves sounds like a tap left running.

There is also an evidential use presenting *inferences based on acoustic evidence* as in (77) and (78).

(77) Här låt det som om luren lades på. MG
It sounded as if the receiver had been put down.

(78) Han låt besviken. MG
He sounded disappointed.

The meaning can also be extended from the sound of an utterance to its propositional content as in (79) and even further from oral language to the propositional content of written language as in (80). The meaning *judgement based on something said or written* forms a parallel to the close connections between verbal communication and the polysemy of ‘hear’.

(79) - Det låter väl spännande? HM1 “That sounds exciting, don’t you think?”

(80) En beskrivning av ett företags historia låter både ytlig och oinspírande om den byggs upp kring tabeller och diagram. BB
A description of the history of a company sounds shallow as well as uninspired when built up around tables and diagrams.

As can be concluded from the examples, the extensions characteristic of *låta* as a perception verb apply also to English *sound*. However, Swedish has lost the initial link in this chain ‘to give off, produce a sound’. When *sound* has such a meaning *låta* cannot be used as a translation in Swedish (except, perhaps, marginally: *låta ’make noise’ Förskräckligt, vad du låter! ’Terrible, the noise you’re making!’). The most direct correspondent is the verb *ljuda* (related to the noun *ljud ’sound’) as in (81) but even more specific verbs can be used depending on the context as in (82) (*börja ringa ’begin to ring’).*

(81) Inspector Holyland spoke into his radio and seconds later a klaxon sounded ST
Kommissarie Holyland talade i sin kommunikationsradio, och några sekunder senare *ljöd* en siren
At that moment the bell in the corridor **sounded** for the end of class.

I samma ögonblick **började** klockan ute i korridoren **ringa** och lektionen var slut.

6. **Taste and Smell**

The verbs *smaka* ‘taste’ and *lukta* ‘smell’ are primarily used as phenomenon-based verbs but can also be used as activities in combination with the preposition *på* as shown for *lukta* ‘smell’ in (83).

We will turn now to the phenomenon-based uses which are the most characteristic ones. Taste and smell are hedonistic senses which are closely associated with a feeling of pleasantness or unpleasantness (for simplicity, the opposition good/bad will be used in what follows). In some languages, there is no neutral term. Instead, there is an obligatory choice between verb roots meaning taste=good or taste=bad and smell=good or smell=bad (Viberg 1983, 2001). In Swedish, there is a default interpretation ‘good’ for *smaka* (**jag hoppas det smakade** ‘I hope it tasted’ which can be said by the host to a guest after having served food). For *lukta* ‘smell’, the default is ‘bad’: **Han luktar** ‘He smells (gives off bad smell)’. This tendency appears to be rather widespread, even if it has not been studied systematically. As mentioned, Swedish *lukta* tends to be interpreted ‘smell bad’ if the verb is used in isolation as in (85). The same appears to hold in the other languages. Only in the English translation is **bad** explicitly specified.

The combination *lukta illa* ‘smell bad’ is perfectly idiomatic even in Swedish but the addition of *illa* is not obligatory. However, if the smell is positive this must in general
be specified explicitly as *lukta gott* 'smell good' as in (86) and in this case the evaluation is specified explicitly in all the translations, although it should be noticed that Finnish in addition uses another verb than in (85). *Haista* used in (85) has the default interpretation ‘smell bad’, whereas *tuoksua* used in (86) has the meaning ‘smell good’. In example (87), ‘good’ is not given an independent translation in Finnish but understood from the choice of *tuoksua* ‘smell=good’ as translation (in combination with ‘hair-spray’ in the ablative case).

(86) Själv *luktade*  
   hon ganska  
   gott, AL  

She herself  
smelled  
quite all  
right,

Sie selber  
*roch* ganz  
gut,  

Pour sa  
part, elle  
*sentait*  
plutôt *bon*.

Hän itse  
tuoksui  
melko *hyväältä*,

(87) snygga högstadiumbruk  
*nuktade*  
*av här-spray*  
MN  

good-look-  
ing senior  
school girls  
who  
smelled nice  
of hair-spray,

hübsche  
Oberstufen-  
bräute, die  
gut *nach*  
Haarspray  
rochen  

de belles  
pépées du  
collège qui  
*sentaien*  
*bon la*  
laque à  
cheveux

hyvännäköiset  
yläastelaistyöt, jotka  
tuoksuvat  
hiuslakalta

In Swedish, there are actually two verbs that incorporate an evaluation: *stinka* ‘stink’ and *dofta* ‘smell nice and softly’. (The most typical association is the smell of flowers.) The evaluation in these cases is not a default that can be suppressed. Whereas *lukta* can freely be combined with adjectives meaning ‘good’ and ‘bad’ this is not the case with *stinka* and *dofta*. To ‘stink good’ sounds like a contradiction. Furthermore, when *lukta* is combined with a noun as in (88), the verb has a neutral evaluation, which is not the case with dofta in (89) and *stinka* in (90).

(88) Hela moster  
Emma *luktar*  
klister. IB  

All of Aunt  
Emma  
*smelt of*  
glue.

Die ganze  
Tante  
Emma  
*riecht nach*  
Klebstoff.

Tante  
Emma tout  
entière, *sent*  
la colle.

Koko Emma-  
täti *haisee*  
tuolta lii-  
malta.

(89) Hans hud  
doftar fort-  
farande man-  
del. MA  

His skin  
still *smells*  
of almonds.

Seine Haut  
*duftet* im-  
mer noch  
nach Mandeln.

Sa peau *sent*  
toujours  
*bon*  
l’amande.

Hänén ihon-  
sa *tuoksuu*  
yhä mante-  
lilta.
Hon stinker ju rök till och med ur... PCJ

She stinks of smoke, too, even out of her...

Sie stinkt Rauch, sogar aus der...

Elle pue le tabac de partout même...

Hänhän haisee tupakalle joka paikasta... sieltäkin!

The verb *smaka* is constructed in the same way as *lukta*. It can be combined with a bare noun (i.e. without any article) as in (91) or with an adjective in neuter form ending in –*t* as in (92).

(91) Ölet smakade hö. MN

The beer tasted of straw.

Das Bier schmeckte wie Heu.

La bière avait un goût de foin.

Olut maistui heinälle.

(92) Det smakade sött och äckligt. KE

They tasted sweet and revolting.

Es schmeckte süß und eklig.

C’était douceâtre et écœurant.

Se maistui makealta ja ällöttävältä.

As can be observed throughout this section, the dimension pleasant/unpleasant is very salient for taste and smell. This characteristic is firmly grounded in the processing of gustatory and olfactory stimuli by the human sense organs and the brain for human interaction with the environment in order to find nutritious substances and to avoid poisonous ones. According to Mather (2006), taste is closely associated with food and nutrition, whereas one of the primary functions of smell is to indicate the presence of decomposing organic matter. The dimension of (un)pleasantness is particularly strong with smell which can be related to the fact that it is the only sense with a direct pathway to the amygdala which plays a central role in the experience of various emotions, in particular negative ones such as fear. There is also a firm biological ground for the default association of taste with pleasantness and smell with unpleasantness. In addition to the four traditionally distinguished taste qualities sweet, salty, sour and bitter, recent research on the perception of taste has identified a fifth quality which has been named *umami* (Japanese for ‘good taste’ or ‘yummy’) that can be experimentally evoked by glutamic acid, a substance that is also often added by snack manufactures to their products. Mather (2006: 52) also refers to a brain-imaging study of the regions of the brain that were activated by pleasant and unpleasant smells. A strongly unpleasant smell evoked its strongest effect in the amygdala which also was affected by pleasant smell but only to a non-significant degree: “displeasure dominates odour perception” (2006: 52).

There is no simple verb in Swedish that refers to the experience of smell or taste. Usually, the verb *känna* ‘feel’ (see next section) is used in combination with a noun...
referring to the sense modality as in (93) and (94). (*en lukt ‘a smell’; doften is the definite form of doft, a noun related to the verb dofta*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(94) Hon ---/ kände doften av kaffe, MF</td>
<td>She ---/ sniffed the smell of coffee,</td>
<td>Sie ---/ roch den duftenden Kaffee</td>
<td>Elle ---/ respira l’odeur du café</td>
<td>Hän tunsi kahvin tuoksun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An alternative way to express the experience of smell or taste is to use *känna* in combination with a sentential complement containing a phenomenon-based verb which indicates the sense modality as in (95), which can be literally paraphrased ‘Through the window, Johan felt that the grass smelt strongly’.

| (95) Genom fönstret kände Johan att gräset luktade starkt. | Through the window, Johan could smell the grass | Durch das Fenster drang ein kräftiger Geruch nach Gras zu Johan herein. | De la fenêtre, une forte odeur d’herbe parvint à Johan. | Johan haistoi ikkunan takaan ruohon väkevän tuoksun. |

### 7. Feeling and bodily sensations

As a verb of perception, the Swedish verb *känna* primarily refers to the sense of touch. In this sense modality, it can be used to indicate an experience as in (96) and in this use it has rather direct correspondents in the MPC languages: English *feel*, German *spüren* (in other examples also *fühlen*), French *sentir* and Finnish *tuntea*.

In combination with the preposition på ‘on,’ kännna can also refer to an activity as in (97). French has a specialized verb for the activity (tâter) and so does German in example (97) (abtasten) but (be)fühlen appears in other examples. Finnish uses tunnustella which is a derivation of tuntea ‘feel’.

| (97) | medan läkaren kände på hennes kropp under tröjan och kjolen. KE | Während der Arzt unter dem Pullover und unter dem Rock den Körper abtastete, | tandis que le médecin tâtaît le corps sous le pull et la jupe. | ja lääkäri tunnustellut hänen ruumistaan neulepuseron ja hameen alta. |

When kännna is used as a phenomenon-based verb, it appears in the s-form (‘passive’) kännas as in (98).


The verbs of perception in general describe *external perception* which is triggered by stimuli in the environment of human beings, external to the body. In addition to the sensation of touch, the verb kännna can be used about *internal perception* of a wide range of sensations originating within the human body such as tensions in the muscles as in (99).
(99) och [du] känner hur det spänner till i vadmusklerna. MN and you can feel your calf muscles getting tense. und spürt, wie es in den Wadenmuskeln zieht. et tu ressens une tension dans les muscles des mollets. ja tunnet reisilihaksiesi jännittyvän.

There is wide range of bodily sensations such as hunger and fatigue that have to do with the general condition of the body. Känna can be used to describe the experience of such internal sensations in combination with an abstract noun such as känna smärta ‘feel pain’ or an adjective as in känna sig (Reflexive) hungrig ‘feel hungry’ and känna sig trött ‘feel tired’. The reflexive form of känna, which is obligatory when it is combined with an adjective, is a signal of internal perception concerning one’s own body. The verb känna can also be used with reference to emotions, both of a primary type such as fear, sorrow and joy exemplified in (100) and extended types of emotion such as social emotions like pride, shame and inferiority exemplified in (101). The experience of emotions is often closely associated with sensations of various types of bodily reactions.

(100) Men Ronja kände ingen fröjd, AL but Ronia felt no joy, Doch Ronja empfand keine Freude, Mais Ronya n’éprouvait aucun plaisir. Mutta Ronja ei tunnet iloa.

(101) Hon kände sig minder­värdig. MN She felt inferior. Sie fühlte sich minder­wertig. Elle se sentait inférieure. Hän tunsi itsensä alem­piarvoiseksi.

As can be observed, the correspondents of känna in its primary use to describe the experience of touch are extended in a similar way and can often be used as translations referring to various types of internal perception. In German, empfinden is used as an alternative to fühlen and in French éprouver as an alternative to sentir (see 100) in reference to emotions. The association between touch (‘feel’) and internal perception is, however, an areal phenomenon. In several Sub-Saharan African languages, the verb meaning ‘hear’ is extended to cover the experience of bodily sensations and emotions (Viberg 1986). As already mentioned in the preceding section, the extension of känna to refer to the experience of taste and smell is found in only some of the MPC languages. It appears, however, in several Slavonic languages (at least Polish, Russian and the languages earlier referred to as Serbocroatian) and therefore appears to be an areal phenomenon.

As described in greater detail in Viberg (2005), känna has a very language-specific pattern of polysemy with respect to its combination of perceptual and cognitive meanings. In particular, there are three rather frequent uses with cognitive meaning. One is
'to know about a fact', to be aware of its existence in distinction to simply 'knowing a fact'. In English, *know* is used in both cases but in Swedish and the other languages, there is a lexical distinction between these two types of knowing as can be observed in Table 14. In Swedish, the verb *känna* in combination with the particle *till* is used to express 'to know about a fact' as in (102). German in this case uses the cognate *kennen*, which is not used as a perceptual verb, whereas French uses *connaître*. Finnish uses the verb *tuntea* 'feel', which semantically corresponds rather closely to Swedish *känna*.

(102) Mormor, tant Ester och Beda kände till hans svaghet IB

Grandmother, Aunt Ester and Aunt Beda knew of his weakness

Grand-mère, tante Ester und Tante Beda kannten seine Schwäche

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISOAİTİ</th>
<th>Ester-</th>
<th>täti ja Beda-</th>
<th>tunsivat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinan</td>
<td>tuntea</td>
<td>hänen heik-</td>
<td>koutensa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two more cognitive uses of *känna* that are rather frequent, one of which is 'to know a person' shown in (103).

(103) - Du känner honom. KE

You know him.

-Sie kennen ihn.

-Vous le connaissez.

-Sinä tunnet hänet.

The meaning to 'know a person' is expressed with *känna* in combination with a direct object in Swedish and the translations follow the same pattern as 'to know of a fact'. To a great extent the same verbs are also used as translations of the third cognitive use of *känna* shown in (104). In combination with the particle *igen* 'again', *känna* means 'recognize'. German *kennen* and French *connaître* are used as translations also of this meaning with the addition of an element indicating repetition as in French *reconnaitre* and optionally in German (*wieder)erkennen*. Finnish uses a special derivational form *tunnistaa* of *tuntea* 'feel'.

(104) -Ja, jag kände igen hans fot, sa hon nu. KE

Yes, I recognised his foot, she said now.

“Ja, ich habe seinen Fuß erkannt”, sagte sie nun.

-Oui, j’ai reconnu son pied, dit-elle alors.

-Tunnistin, se oli hänen, Annie sanoi.
Table 14. Major correspondents of the Swedish verb *känna* as a perceptual and cognitive verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Touch</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Finnish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activity</strong></td>
<td><em>känna</em></td>
<td>feel (touch)</td>
<td>(be)fühlen</td>
<td>täter</td>
<td>tunnustella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>känna</em></td>
<td>feel</td>
<td>fühlen</td>
<td>sentir</td>
<td>tuntea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phenomenon-based</strong></td>
<td><em>kännas</em></td>
<td>feel</td>
<td>spüren</td>
<td></td>
<td>tuntua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taste: Experience</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Finnish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>känna smak</em>&lt;sub&gt;N&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>taste</td>
<td>spüren</td>
<td>sentir</td>
<td>maistaa/ tuntea maku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smell: Experience</td>
<td><em>känna lukt</em>&lt;sub&gt;N&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>smell</td>
<td>spüren</td>
<td>sentir</td>
<td>haistaa/ tuntea haju</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive:</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Finnish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'know about a fact'</td>
<td><em>känna till</em></td>
<td>know of</td>
<td>kennen</td>
<td>connaitre</td>
<td>tuntea/ tietää</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'know a fact'</td>
<td>veta</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>wissen</td>
<td>savoir</td>
<td>tietää</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Pain and other bodily sensations

In addition to ‘the five senses’ usually recognized in everyday language, there are a number of bodily senses which are not systematically coded in the lexicon. According to Mather (2006: 55), there are two anatomically separate systems, namely the somatosensory system, which provides information about touch, and about the position and movement of the body parts, and the vestibular system, which provides information about the position of the body itself. Apart from touch, much of this information is used unconsciously, which explains why bodily sensations are weakly and unsystematically coded in everyday language. The vestibular system which regulates the balance of our bodies is primarily commented on only when it does not work properly. In Swedish, the adjective *yr* ‘giddy’ refers to this sensation and the experience can be expressed as *känna yrsel* ‘feel giddyness’ or *känna sig yr* ‘feel giddy, dizzy’ as in (105).
(105) Jag kände mig yr, det snurrade i huvudet; jag glömde bort att andas. MN
I felt dizzy, my head was spinning, I forgot to breathe. Ich fühlte mich butterweich, alles drehte sich mir im Kopf, ich vergaß sogar zu atmen.
Un vertige me prit, ma tête tourna, j’oubliais de respirer. Minua himasi, päässäni pyöri, unohdin jopa hengittää.

(105) also contains a phenomenon-based expression to refer to the experience of giddiness: *det snurrade i huvudet* lit. ‘it turned in the head’. This type of construction consisting of formal *det ‘it’ + Verb + Prep + Bodypart* is very characteristic of Swedish and used in a number of expressions that describe various bodily sensations usually related to pain. As can be observed in (105), English uses an expression with the bodypart as subject (My head was spinning) and both French and Finnish use parallel expressions. The same holds for the translations of (106), which literally means ‘It ached and prickled in the legs and the back’. Only German uses an expression that is of the Swedish type.

(106) Det stack och värkte i benen och ryggen. KE
His legs and back ached and prickled. Es stach und schmerzte in den Beinen und im Rücken.
Ses jambes et son dos cuisaient et l’élançaien. Jalkoja ja selkää särki ja pisteli.

The most general expression of pain in Swedish is based on the same type of impersonal construction *det gör ont* ‘it does bad’, optionally followed by a prepositional phrase indicating the bodypart that hurts as in (107).

(107) Han försökte skrika igen men det gjorde ont i halsen. KE
He tried shouting again, but that only hurt his throat. Er wollte schreien, doch ihm tat der Hals weh. Il essaya de crier à nouveau mais sa gorge était dou- louloureuse. Hän yritti huuttaa taas mutta kurkkkuun koski.

The verbs *ha* ‘have’ and *få* ‘get’ can also be used in combination with *ont* ‘bad’ to create experiencer-based expressions as in (108).
French has a literal correspondent of *ha ont* namely *avoir mal*, whereas German forms an experiencer-based expression by preposing the experiencer in dative case: *Ihr taten die Beine weh* 'to her did the legs pain.' (The same construction is used in 107.) Finnish frequently uses a similar strategy and preposes an experiencer in the partitive case as can be observed in (105) above: *minua huimasi* (‘me-Partitive giddied’) ‘I felt giddy’.

### 9. Sentential complementation: Phenomenon-based verbs

Before leaving the verbs of perception, some other characteristics which appear to be relatively language-specific will be commented on. There is a variety of phenomenon-based perception verbs that indicate the existence of a stimulus, the fact that something can be perceived. For sight, the verb *synas* with a lexicalized passive form is used, and for hearing there is the verb *höras*, which is the regular passive form of *höra* 'hear' although it differs functionally from canonical passives. These verbs can be used with the phenomenon as subject *Huset syns från vägen* ‘The house is visible from the road’ or with an impersonal subject *Det syns ett hus bakom träden* ‘You can see a house behind the trees’ (Literally: It can=be=seen a house behind the trees). The latter is a kind of existential construction. This type of perception verb appears to be rather language-specific judging from the MPC:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Finnish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(109) Tältet synes inte längre. KE</td>
<td>The tent was no longer visible.</td>
<td>Das Zelt war nicht mehr zu sehen.</td>
<td><em>On ne voyait plus la tente.</em></td>
<td>Telttaa ei näkynyt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(110) Det hördes häftiga röster från köket KE</td>
<td>Loud voices came from the kitchen,</td>
<td>Aus der Küche waren laute Stimmen zu vernehmen,</td>
<td><em>On entendit un échange de voix sec dans la cuisine</em></td>
<td>Keittiöstä kuului kii-vaita åäniä</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

(108) Hon *hade* ont i benen, det *fick* hon alltid när hon blev för trött. LM

(109) Tältet *synes* inte längre. KE

(110) Det *hördes* häftiga röster från köket KE
Only Finnish appears to have relatively direct equivalents containing the so-called reflexive suffix -u-/y- on stems meaning ‘see’ and ‘hear’. The most frequent translation in German is an ordinary perception verb in a special construction: zu sehen/hören/vernehmen sein ‘be to see/hear/perceive’ and in French, an experiencer-based perception verb is used with a generic subject (‘One (on) heard a car’).

Swedish has an interesting contrast with respect to impersonal phenomenon-based verbs of perception with a sentential complement as demonstrated in Table 15. Whereas phenomenon-based verbs of the type Mary looks happy express an inference based on sensory evidence, the Swedish verbs synas and höras express a fact.

Table 15. Sentential complements of Swedish impersonal perception verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-factive (with as-if-complement):</th>
<th>Factive (with that-complement):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>det ‘it’ + V + som om ‘as if’ + S</td>
<td>det ‘it’ + V + att ‘that’ + S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det såg ut som om han var trött. It looked as if he was tired.</td>
<td>Det syntes att han var trött. ‘You could see that he was tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det låt som om han var trött. It sounded as if he was tired.</td>
<td>Det hördes att han var trött. ‘You could hear that he was tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det känns som om värmen är på. It feels as if the heating is on.</td>
<td>Det känns att värmen är på. ‘You can feel that the heating is on’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-factive type which expresses an inference based on sensory evidence has relatively close correspondents in the MPC languages, except in French where an expression meaning ‘one might say that’ appears to be a common translation of both det ser ut som om and det låter som om.
The factive type does not have clear parallels except in Finnish. To a rather great extent, ordinary perception verbs are used with an experiencer as a subject which is rather often generic (German man and French on 'one'):

(113) Det syntes att hon hela tiden tänkte på honom. KE

It was clear she was thinking about him all the time.

Man sah, daß sie unablässig an ihn dachte. KE

Et l’ont voyait qu’elle ne cessait de penser à lui.

Näkyi että hän ajatteli miestä koko ajan.

(114) Genom trossbotten hördes det att Per-Ola frågade nåt och Torsten svarade. KE

Through the floorboards, Johan could hear Per-Ola asking something and Torsten answering.

Durch die Zwischen-decke war zu hören, daß Per-Ola etwas fragte und Torsten darauf antwortete. KE

A travers le plancher, Johan entendit Per-Ola demander quelque chose et Torsten répondre.

Välikaton läpi kuului että Per-Ola kysyi jotain ja Torsten vastasi.

The construction with factive sentential subjects of impersonal perception verbs appears to be a relatively language-specific characteristic of Swedish.
10. Summary and discussion

Certain basic aspects of the structure of the lexical field of perception verbs in any language are motivated by lexical universals firmly grounded in human biology and general cognition such as the strong tendency to rely more on visual information than on information from other senses and the very close relationship between smell and taste and evaluation along the dimension pleasant/unpleasant. Within this general typological framework, however, a large variety of contrasting patterns are found even when relatively closely related languages are compared, such as the ones in this study.

The typological profile of Swedish perception verbs can be summarized from three perspectives: field-internal polysemy, field-external polysemy and interaction with characteristic syntactic and morphological structures. Field- Internally, the most distinctive characteristic is the extension of känna ‘feel’ to internal perception in general but this appears to be an areal feature found also, for example, in several Slavonic languages. Another field-internal characteristic is the possibility of extending the experiential verbs ‘see’ and ‘hear’ to cover activities, which is shared only with German in the present sample but has parallels in various other languages. Among the field-external extensions, the extension of känna ‘feel’ into the cognitive field is a language-specific characteristic even if a close relationship between perception and cognition represents a universal tendency (see Viberg 2005 for more specific suggestions). The extension of se ‘see’ into cognition has parallels in many languages and, if anything, Swedish se is relatively restrictive in this respect. In particular, it was shown that the meaning ‘understand’ was much more prominent in English see. The extension to categorization (‘see as’, ‘regard as’), on the other hand, turned out to be rather similar across the five MPC languages (data from a wider sample are lacking).

To be meaningful, a typologically oriented characterization must be formulated at a rather general level. One of the major advantages of corpus-based contrastive analysis is that it makes it possible to refine the analysis by showing that languages that are similar at a general level can contrast in a striking way with respect to usage patterns. Examples of this are the difference between English see and Swedish se with respect to social contact and monitoring causation.

One important aspect that it has not been possible to develop more than in part is the interaction between the lexical and the morpho-syntactic profiles of Swedish. For example, the fact that Swedish is a satellite-framed language with a rich inventory of spatial particles and prepositions appears to be a precondition for the use of se and höra as activities, even if it in no way is mandatory, since English and Finnish do not follow the same pattern. The use of prefixed verbs to form abstract extended uses has also been exemplified. One typologically very specific characteristic of Swedish (shared with a small number of closely related languages) is the abundant use of det ‘it’ as an impersonal or formal subject (one part of the place-holder constraint, see Hammarberg and Viberg 1977). The use of that structure in phenomenon-based expressions is partly productive in the sense that many motion verbs or physical contact verbs can be
used with an impersonal subject to refer to sense impressions of various types. Some typical examples are *Det går i trapporna* lit. ‘It goes in the stairs’ (when only the sound is heard of someone walking) or *Det knackar på dörren* lit. ‘It knocks at the door’ (‘There is a knock at the door’).

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‘Abroad’ and semantically related
terms in some European languages
and in Akan (Ghana)

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The reference of the English word *abroad* used as a predicate or as an adverbial adjunct can be determined in one of two ways. Depending on contextual evidence, a token of *abroad* in a discourse must be processed either as an anaphor with the meaning ‘away from the subject referent’s country’ or as a deictic word with the meaning ‘away from the speaker’s/writer’s country’. Certain Akan nouns may be roughly translated as ‘abroad’. Among them the compound noun *aburokyiri*, with the original meaning ‘white man’s homeland’, is of particular interest. The reference of *aburokyiri* is never determined by the reference of the subject of its clause, it is always determined relative to the homeland of the speaker, and the fact that it is only used about those parts of the world that are dominated by the white man reflects its original meaning. A different, less frequently used word in Akan, *amannwe*, may be used to represent a place which is not native to the subject referent, like English *abroad*.

1. Introduction

This paper takes a look at a semantic field that comprises on the one hand linguistic expressions which encode a movement away from a spatial deictic centre, or origo (Bühler 1934; Levinson 2004) defined as a country or a nation (a homeland), and on the other hand the state of being outside the deictic origo or the locating of an event somewhere outside the deictic origo. The central lexical term with this meaning in English is *abroad*. We are concerned with the denotative meaning of *abroad* and corresponding expressions in some other European languages, among which Norwegian will be given the most attention. What referent is designated by a given token of *abroad*, or by its closest semantic relatives in other languages? There are two strategies that are available to the communicator in English, and correspondingly to the addressee trying to determine the reference of tokens of *abroad* in a discourse: the spatial deictic origo may be identified as the communicator’s homeland, or it may be defined as the homeland of
some salient discourse referent. The latter includes what Bühler (1934) used to call *Deixis am Phantasma* (“deixis in the imagination”), which counts on the addressee’s ability and willingness to transpose himself to an imagined deictic origo and to identify the reference of *abroad* relative to that domestic location, whether fictional or factual.

Our use of *abroad* and similar terms in European languages is compared to the way that the closest lexical correspondents of *abroad* are used and understood in Akan, a Kwa language of the Niger-Congo family and the dominant indigenous language in Ghana. Two points of difference between the European situation and the Akan situation will receive special attention. Users of Akan rely almost exclusively on a speaker-oriented strategy that causes the hearer to identify the deictic origo as Africa, or more narrowly as Ghana, or even more narrowly as what is domestic to the Akan people. Moreover, while the English term *abroad* has very little connotative meaning for the average speaker, the corresponding terms in Akan are characterized by a mixture of denotative and connotative meaning.

Some other terms belonging to the same semantic field as *abroad* do have a connotative meaning component, like their lexical counterparts in Akan. What is foreign to us is unfamiliar and may even impress us as being odd, and we believe this particular connotative meaning to be responsible for the tendency of such terms to have developed signs of lexical ambiguity (polysemy) over time, maybe via metonymic associations. Words in this category include adjectives like English *foreign* (“strange” in addition to “non-domestic”) and French *étranger* and *étrange*, and nouns like English *foreigner* and French *étranger*. The lexical base of *foreign* and *foreigner* is that of the Latin adverbs *forīs*, meaning “outside”, especially “outside the home”, and *forās*, the directional partner of *forīs*, whose meaning is “out”, especially “out of a house”. The stem *for-* of these adverbs is derived from the Latin word for “door”, *foris*, which is primarily a device whose function is to shut those people out who have no business on the other side of the door. *Domi* (“at home”) is the Latin antonym of the adverb *forīs*. It is derived from *domus* (“house”), a noun that has also given rise to the Latin adjective *domesticus*, a polysemous word meaning “pertaining to the house” but also “homely”, “private”, “personal” and “national” (cf. the modern English adjective *domestic*).

The reference of words like *foreign* and especially *foreigner* is strongly context-dependent, like the reference of *abroad*, but in addition their denotative and connotative meanings are intertwined in such a way that it is difficult to describe the former independently of the latter. Within this particular subfield of the lexical field examined in this article we find just as much interdependence of denotative and connotative meaning in the European languages discussed as in Akan.

While our paper is largely descriptive in nature, our relevance-theoretic allegiance (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 1995; Carston 2002) will be seen to shine through. We regard utterance comprehension as an enterprise that relies on different perceptual and cognitive inputs, one of which is the encoded logical form of the linguistic stimulus. Linguistic semantics underdetermines not only what the communicator means but also what she explicitly says. Processing an utterance that contains the adverb *abroad*
involves resolution of the reference of this word, without which no proposition can be construed. We conclude that the assignment of reference to a given token of *abroad* is often a highly context-sensitive task. Insomuch as it is possible to identify one or more words in Akan which fulfill a similar communicative function, we conclude that assigning reference to those Akan expressions is not context-dependent to quite the same extent.

2. The European situation

2.1 “Abroad”

The original meaning of the place adverb *abroad* was “over a wide (or, if you like, broad) area”. It was unknown before the Middle English period but has been conventionally used with a number of related, yet conceptually distinct lexical meanings since then, like “out of one’s own country”, “away from one’s place of residence”, “out of doors”, “on the move”, “at large” and “broadly” (or “widely”).

The meaning that we are going to focus on is the salient present-day concept “away from someone’s home country”, where one important issue to be resolved by the addressee is the reference of this “someone”. It appears that the individual whose nationality determined the reference of a token of *abroad* in an English utterance was originally the communicator, so that the word referred to any country that was foreign to the communicator. This usage involving resolution of the reference of *abroad* in relation to a deictic origo which is the country of the speaker herself is still very much alive to this day, of course. Someone uttering (1) presupposes that the interlocutor is able to determine the reference of *abroad* pragmatically, without any grammatical cuing. Even if the language in (1) is English, the reference is to anywhere outside Finland if the speaker is a Finn, anywhere outside Switzerland if the speaker is Swiss, and so forth.

(1) These products tend to be cheaper abroad.

It is important to remember, though, that the reference here is not really to all those countries in the world that count as foreign countries for the speaker; *abroad* in (1) may be said to refer loosely (Sperber and Wilson 1986a, 1986b; Carston 2002) to certain countries whose price level, for the kind of product referred to, the speaker happens to be familiar with.

Linguistic data such as (1) represent a major challenge for any ‘minimal semantics’ approach to truth-conditional content, which ascribes truth conditions to compositional properties of the linguistic semantics of sentences (cf. Borg 2004; Cappelen and Lepore 2005) rather than to utterances of sentences processed in a context (cf. Carston 2002; Recanati 2004).

Faced with an utterance of (2), an addressee could be said to determine the reference of *abroad* by the same pragmatic strategy as in (1), but one could also argue that
the reference of abroad in (2) is determined by the reference of the grammatical subject, the 1st person pronoun. The speaker and the subject referent coincide here.

(2) I was abroad for two weeks.

The bottom-up, linguistically driven, reflexive comprehension of what abroad refers to reflects a tendency to let the reference of a number of conceptually related adverbial lexical entries be determined by the reference of the grammatical subject, like the adverb home in They were home, or Come home! or out in How often did you go out?, in the sense of “How often did you leave home?” Thus, abroad, like home, is in effect an indexical expression. It is a characteristic of all indexicals that their reference may be determined through local discourse-driven resolution or through purely extra-linguistically driven resolution.

Suppose that an utterance of (1) above was produced by an Englishman by the name of Martin. A Canadian could report on Martin’s statement in (1) by uttering (3).

(3) Martin believes those products to be cheaper abroad.

The meaning of (3) could conceivably be that the Canadian speaker claims that Martin holds the belief that those products are cheaper outside Canada than in Canada, but that would not only be a misrepresentation of what Martin actually said in (1), it would also be an interpretation which the hearer is extremely unlikely to access even in the absence of adverse contextual evidence. The proposition expressed in the complement of the matrix clause verb form believes in (3) will normally be understood to be the speaker’s reported interpretation of Martin’s thought, and as the term abroad will be understood to belong to the speaker’s interpretation, or metarepresentation (Sperber 2000; Noh 2000; Ifantidou 2001) of a thought attributed to Martin, its reference will be determined relative to Martin’s homeland rather than the speaker’s. If the hearer knows that Martin is English, that knowledge will determine his resolution of the reference of abroad. If the hearer is unaware of Martin’s nationality, he will still not opt for the alternative speaker-oriented interpretation, unless there is rather strong contextual evidence that the two different perspectives on how to process the word abroad coincide.

Observe, though, that what we have here described as the grammatically reflexive resolution of the reference of abroad does not have to be due to a linguistic item that ‘binds’ the reference of this word, so that abroad would be judged to take a referential value that contrasts with and excludes the nationality of the matrix clause subject referent. The second utterance in (4) is an instance of ‘free indirect speech’, or ‘free indirect thought’, as the case may be (Sperber and Wilson 1986a; Lucy 1993). It metarepresents something Martin said, which accounts for his decision reported in the preceding utterance.

(4) Martin decided not to buy a large quantity of vitamin C tablets in the local pharmacy. Those products tended to be cheaper abroad.

Past tense tended reveals that the second sentence in (4) is neither a direct speech report nor a descriptive statement issued by the speaker of (4). If this “local pharmacy”
is in, say, Saffron Walden, abroad refers loosely to countries on the other side of the British Channel. That recognition depends just as much on pragmatic inference as the alternative processing which takes the speaker’s homeland to be the deictic origo rather than Martin’s homeland.

Occasionally a conflict may arise between contextual, top-down resolution and grammatically local, bottom-up resolution of the intended reference of abroad. Suppose a Norwegian informs an Englishman as shown in (5).

(5) Ross and Linda went abroad on the 1st of September.

Suppose further that the hearer knows that the referents Ross and Linda are US citizens who settled in Norway very many years ago but who were supposed to spend part of the season back in the USA; the hearer may still have insufficient contextual evidence for drawing either the conclusion that the couple left Norway, i.e. went to America, on the 1st of September, or the conclusion that they left America (where they had already been for some time) on that date. On the former interpretation the reference of abroad would presumably be interpreted relative to the home country of the speaker; on the latter interpretation the reference would be conceived relative to Ross and Linda’s home country, bound by the reference of the subject nominal Ross and Linda.

This looks like a reference resolution task that involves just bottom-up processing, yet obviously there is just as much top-down processing in this case, because the utterance presupposes the hearer’s knowledge of what would count as abroad for Ross and Linda. This is a contrived example, and it is probably very seldom that a communicator would choose the descriptive indexical adverb abroad in a situation where it may create problems for the hearer’s inferential processing because he or she cannot readily decide whether a grammatically reflexive interpretation or a speaker-oriented interpretation of the reference of abroad is intended. It is somehow misleading to say that the couple Ross and Linda in (5) went abroad if they are still US citizens who went to their original homeland, and it would presumably be just as confusing to be told that they went abroad if the intention of the speaker of (5) was to convey that they returned to Norway on the 1st of September.

The problems pertaining to the proper usage of the term abroad in a context like the one considered in the preceding paragraph are not so different from the problems that speakers of Akan in Ghana may encounter in their non-native use of English abroad in less artificial contexts than the one stipulated for the utterance of (5), or in their selection of the appropriate Akan term when they use their native Akan to refer to the whereabouts of people who are not Akans, and not even Africans (see section 3 of this paper).

As noted, abroad is an indexical adverb, although not in the same sense as the deictic place adverbs here and there, for example, because the reference of here or there is never reflexively bound by the subject nominal of the sentence, and an even more crucial difference is that the lexical meaning of abroad is defined negatively: the word can
denote anything except the home country of some salient discourse referent, like the communicator or someone whose thought is metarepresented by the communicator.¹

In other European languages, the concept that corresponds most closely to the concept encoded by the English adverb abroad is typically expressed by means of a prepositional phrase in which the concept “foreign” is taken care of with the help of a (nominal) prepositional object, while the difference between staying there, as in She was living abroad, and going there, as in She went abroad as often as she could, is typically expressed by a difference in the choice of preposition, as when the German neuter gender noun Ausland (lit.: outland) is preceded by im (= in dem) for duration abroad and ins (= in das) for movement to somewhere abroad. Expression of movement from abroad requires use of a prepositional phrase even in English – from abroad – corresponding to aus dem Ausland (lit.: out of the outland) in German.

In French the noun corresponding to German Ausland is étranger, which happens to be the French word for “stranger” or “foreign person” as well, a word which is conceptually different from the noun étranger corresponding to English abroad and German Ausland, as in the prepositional phrase à l’étranger (“abroad”). The latter word does not encode the information that the country is strange in the sense of unfamiliar, exotic, even mysterious, it simply denotes whatever country is not the home country of the person whose nationality negatively determines its reference. In addition there is even an adjective étranger/étrangère with the two meanings of “foreign”, as in “foreign language”, exemplified by M. Durand connaît deux langues étrangères (“Mr. Durand knows two foreign languages”) or as in “unfamiliar”, exemplified by Je suis étranger à cette affaire (“I’m unfamiliar with this matter”). This is probably not a case of lexical vagueness but rather an ambiguity at the lexical level, because if you speak and write a foreign language, you are clearly not unfamiliar with it.

In Norwegian and the other Scandinavian languages the definite article is suffixed to the nominal stem, so the indefinite form utland (lit.: outland) of the nominal part of the Norwegian expression that equals English abroad appears as a bare indefinite noun only in set phrases like (gjester) fra inn- og utland ((guests) from in- and outland, that is, “(guests) from Norway and from abroad”). The definite form utlandet (outland + definite article) combines with a preposition meaning “to the place”: til utlandet, or “at the place”: i utlandet, or “from the place”: fra utlandet. In addition there is an adverb utenlands, with an added genitive -s which works just like English abroad in that it is used without a preposition both for residence in a foreign country and for going to a foreign country, while the expression of “coming from abroad” is fra utlandet, never just utenlands or the ungrammatical *fra utenlands.

Old Norse had the same form útland, but the extension of the Old Norse word was considerably more restricted, as fara út (“go out”) was typically used with reference to a voyage westwards to places like Iceland, the Faroes, the Orkneys, Shetland. To this

¹. The deictic adverb here can also refer loosely to some newly presented information in a discourse, as in Here we see a good example of how ruthless scientists can be.
day the Norwegian phrase reise ut (“go out”) is associated mainly with travelling out of Norway, to foreign countries; it does not simply mean “to depart”. There is a conceptual difference between the compounds utreise (lit.: out-travel) and avreise (lit.: off-travel), the former being used mainly with reference to air flights and the latter with reference to the start of a journey on ground, like a train departure. In (6) the sentence itself encodes information which activates a context that enables the reader to identify the Norwegian nation as the deictic origo. There is an antonymous pair of expressions in (6). Hjemme (“at home”) contrasts with ute (lit.: out), and here the most suitable gloss for ute is “abroad”. The illustration in (6) is from the Oslo Multilingual Corpus, henceforth abbreviated as OMC (http://www.hf.uio/german/sprik/english/corpus.shtml). The arrow pointing to the right, →, shows that what follows is a translation of the source text preceding the arrow.

(6) Av politiske fanger og motstandsfolk døde 658 hjemme, 1.433 ute.
→ ‘Among political prisoners and members of the underground, 658 died at home and 1,433 abroad.’

Though it looks very much like a truism, we wish to stress at this point that it is totally unproblematic to translate a token of the Norwegian phrase i utlandet (meaning “abroad”) into English as abroad and still preserve the idea that abroad in the target text can refer to anywhere except Norway, and it is equally unproblematic to translate in the other direction. The reason we are saying this will become clear when we later turn to a consideration of the correspondents of “abroad” and related concepts in Akan. Consider the illustration in (7), which we have also taken from the OMC. The pronoun they in the English target text refers to Norwegians, and it is their national identity that determines the reference of the later indexical adverb abroad in the same clause. We can easily switch the perspective needed to interpret the reference of such indexicals as abroad, depending on our knowledge of the nationality of the subject referent. Translated texts will include instances of ‘Deixis am Phantasma’ which involve deictic transpositions of even a higher order than the original text that the translation is based on.

(7) Dessuten hadde de bodd i utlandet i flere år,
→ ‘They had even lived abroad for several years, in Sweden to be precise.’

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The reference of an occurrence of abroad is arguably more context-dependent when the subject of the clause does not bind its reference, which is true of the following example from the OMC, again a translation from Norwegian into English. In (8),
the reference of *abroad* depends on our identification of those who made the investments, and unlike example (4) this is not free indirect speech.

(8) Inntektene fra investeringer i utlandet ble halvert.  
Income-DEF-PL from investments in outland-DEF became halved  
→ ‘Revenue from investments abroad was halved.’

The English prepositional object *investments abroad* in the English translation refers to “Norway’s investments outside Norway”. This interpretation is made available through top-down processing which includes the strongly manifest assumption that this is a text whose topic is the state of Norway’s economy. A similar illustration is given in (9), where the English target text happens to include a bit more information than the corresponding Norwegian source text due to differences in the segmentation of the text into periods. Here the phrasal conjunctions of *i Norge og utlandet* and *in Norway and abroad* are also seen to cue the reader’s interpretation of *utlandet* in the source text and *abroad* in the target text by making it clear that the two conjuncts are complementary.

(9) Firmaet har investert 20 milliarder kroner i Norge og utlandet  
firm-DEF has invested 20 billion crowns in Norway and abroad  
i fem år uten å øke sin gjeld.  
in five years without to increase its debt  
→ ‘In December 1985, Norsk Hydro was 80 years old and it had invested 20 billion kroner in Norway and abroad over the past five years, without increasing its debt.’

Finally, agentless passives do not contain a grammatical subject that can bind the reference of a later occurrence of *abroad*, so we understand *abroad* in (10), from the OMC, to refer to what is abroad for the buyer of the goods referred to by the pronoun *they* (maybe as opposed to the narrator who is responsible for the hedge “doubtless”), and the referential identity of the buyer must again be retrieved through top-down, context-sensitive processing.

(10) They had doubtless been bought abroad and were more than likely grossly expensive.

Language vastly underdetermines not only what a speaker intends to communicate by means of an utterance but also its explicitly communicated truth-conditional content (Sperber and Wilson 1986a; Carston 2002; Recanati 2004). Pragmatists who recognize the normality of semantic underdetermination at the level of explicit propositional content will not be worried by the absence of a linguistic item that binds the form *abroad* referentially. We have no reason to postulate a covert syntactic element which is supposed to ‘compensate’ for the lack of overt reference to Norway in the English translation in (8) above. The NP *investments* is enriched in context as “Norway’s investments”, so that *abroad* can be enriched as “outside Norway”.

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(10) They had doubtless been bought abroad and were more than likely grossly expensive.
As “going abroad” means crossing a border between one’s home country and a foreign country, it is not surprising that the Norwegian directional adverbial phrase til utlandet in the source text of (11) is translated into English as shown here.

(11) Men til utlandet kommer hun seg nå ihvertfall ikke, …
    but to outland-DEF comes she REFL now at-least not
    → ‘She won’t be able to cross the border, though, …’

The phrase cross the border in the English translation will be conceptually enriched (Carston 2002; Recanati 2004) through context-driven inference as a crossing of the border between Norway and one of the three countries that border on Norway: Sweden, Finland, or Russia. The set of contextual assumptions accessible to the reader will determine whether or not the author’s intention is for the reader to narrow the selection of countries down to just a single one of those three; it could be that the intended reference is indiscriminately and disjunctively to any one of those three countries. In one respect the English translation cross the border may be said to constrain the reader’s interpretation more than til utlandet in the Norwegian source text does. You can go abroad by crossing an ocean as a passenger in an airplane but if you say that you cross the border between two countries, you normally imply that there is no ocean between the country you leave and the country you arrive in. On the other hand, the phrase til utlandet, which contains an indexical, utlandet, must be saturated in context by being associated with an ‘antecedent’ individual whose homeland serves the role of deictic origo and fixes the identity of the country that the agent leaves. The phrase cross the border does not do that, because it contains no indexical whose referential resolution depends on a process of antecedent-based enrichment. However, either concept “go abroad” or “cross the border” must be embedded in a specific context that determines how they are to be manipulated pragmatically in the inferential phase of the reader’s comprehension task.

In the German OMC excerpt presented in (12), the term abroad is applied with reference to a rather special situation: the City of Berlin, surrounded by East Germany (DDR) on all sides, was divided into East Berlin, which belonged to the German Democratic Republic (DDR), and West Berlin, which belonged to the Bundesrepublik, i.e. West Germany, but even the population of West Berlin were subjected to rules and regulations which meant that West Germany was to all intents and purposes “abroad” to the citizens, another country.

(12) Denn nicht nur servierte man ihnen ein plattes Nein auf die Frage, for not only served one them a straight no on the question
    ob über Schritte zur deutschen Einheit gesprochen werden könnte, if over steps to the German unity talked be could
    Chruschtschow selbst gab ihnen auf den Weg, Krushchev himself gave them on the way
    die Bundesrepublik solle für West-Berlin Ausland werden. the Federal Republic should for West Berlin abroad be
'For not only were they given a straight 'No' to the question if it would be possible to take steps toward a united Germany, Khrushchev himself gave them the message on the way, that the Federal Republic of West Germany (BRD) should be 'abroad' (outland) for West Berlin.’

We have shown in the present section that the addressee must frequently have recourse to certain information presented in an earlier part of the discourse in order to resolve the reference of abroad. We used the term ‘anaphoric’ about those occurrences of abroad whose reference must be determined locally through a search for some ‘anteecedent’ in the immediately preceding discourse, but we have also seen that there is not always an antecedent-like expression in the immediately preceding discourse which will provide the information necessary to saturate the indexical abroad, that is, to fill it with that conceptual information about the homeland of some salient person or institution, which is required to resolve the reference of this very special element of spatial deixis. An illustration like (8) above shows that the information about the homeland which is complementary to the geographical area denoted by abroad may be accessible only if the addressee takes a global perspective on the discourse topic. It would not be consonant with accepted conventions to call the token of abroad in (8) an instance of ‘anaphora’ (see De Mulder 1998 on different definitions of this term in linguistic literature).

The adjective foreign requires the same context-dependent recognition of the intended deictic origo as abroad. Occasionally there is nothing in the sentence itself or in the preceding sentences belonging to the same discourse segment which cues the reader’s assignment of reference to the attributive adjective foreign. Look at the following excerpt from the OMC.

(13) He talks about Kenya, the country’s economy, foreign aid, the contrast between town and country, what do I think of Nairobi?

Someone reading and processing (13) in the discourse in which this sequence of meta-represented predications and a final question occurs must bear in mind that he or she is reading an English translation of a Norwegian novel, and not an English source text. The 1st person narrator and the male referent of the pronoun he are both Norwegians, the country referred to is Kenya, but the indefinite NP foreign aid refers to Norway’s aid to developing countries in general and, in the present context, to Kenya in particular. The adjective foreign refers to what is outside Norway, but the complex phrase foreign aid refers to Norwegian aid bestowed upon countries in the Third World, and not aid given by foreign states (cf. the term Foreign Office).

While English foreign and French étranger refer either to what is outside some contextually determinate home country or to what is unfamiliar or strange, these terms translate into Norwegian in one of two ways: as utenlandsk (literally ‘outlandish’, but
without the special meaning and connotations of that English adjective)\(^2\) relating to things abroad, or as fremmed, relating to what is unfamiliar.

### 2.2 “Foreigners”

The Norwegian noun utlending (“foreigner”) is evidently a close semantic relative of i utlandet (“abroad”) and utenlandsk (“foreign”) but while there are no negative connotations attached to i utlandet/abroad and few, for most citizens, to utenlandsk/foreign, the nouns utlending and foreigner have a certain affective meaning, which may be strengthened in some contexts and weakened in others. One reason for this lexical difference is probably that utlending and foreigner are terms that refer to human beings, to (groups of) individuals who may lose face and who may be insulted, while utenlandsk/foreign is not restricted to animates and i utlandet/abroad does not refer to anything animate.

A few instances of utlending, or plural utlendinger, in Norwegian source text excerpts from the OMC are translated as foreign visitor(s), and the definite singular form utlendingen (“the foreigner”) was even translated as the newcomer once. That translation may actually be interpreted as a kind of ‘euphemistic’ alternative to use of the English term foreigner, which is undoubtedly the most straightforward, unmarked translation of Norwegian utlending.

When we refer to certain people as foreigners, we classify them as foreigners not because of where they are in relation to a deictic origo (as is the case when we interpret the adverb abroad), but because we attribute certain inherent properties to them, and with some language users, some of those properties may be not altogether favorable. Does the observed tendency to avoid use of the term foreigner in English translations of the noun utlending in the OMC mean that the English term is more stigmatized than its Norwegian counterpart? That would be too rash a claim. Norwegian utlending is also stigmatized in certain contexts, probably more so today than a couple of generations ago, when Norway had much fewer immigrants from outside Europe. We asked ten informants, five males and five females, all of them holding a university degree, what kind of person they would immediately think of as the referent of the nominal phrase en utlending (“a foreigner”) in (14), which is part of an imagined conversation between two Norwegians. The informants were asked whether they interpreted the

\(^2\) The English adjective outlandish grew out of Old English ðālendisc, which is derived from the noun ðāl (“foreign land”), the same form as present-day Norwegian and Swedish utland, which is the nominal base of the prepositional phrase i utlandet (literally “in the outland”, i.e. “abroad”). Chambers Dictionary of Etymology (1988: 741) states that, “The extended sense of unfamiliar, strange, odd, bizarre, is first recorded in 1596.” This semantic narrowing (rather than ‘extension’, we would claim) testifies to the widespread cognitive link between what is foreign/ alien and what is strange and therefore sometimes incomprehensible. The “foreign”/“strange” polysemy was lost in the adjective outlandish, leaving us with just the latter meaning.
person described as a foreigner to be a non-Norwegian residing in some foreign country or an immigrant to Norway who is of foreign extraction, like a Pakistani or a Turk.

(14) Jeg søkte på den jobben, men det var en utlending som fikk den.
'I applied for that job, but a foreigner got it.'

Everyone's most immediate thought was that the job had been offered to a person who was neither native to Norway nor someone of non-Norwegian lineage who had settled in the country. When asked why they associated the term utlending with a foreigner residing in a foreign country rather than with an immigrant who had possibly become a Norwegian citizen, no one hinted that their subjective interpretation was coloured by the fact that, after all, first generation immigrants in Norway usually have a hard time finding themselves a job that matches their qualifications. All ten informants said they would be hesitant to describe an immigrant who masters the Norwegian language reasonably well and is accustomed to Norwegian culture as en utlending (“a foreigner”). Two of them added that the person who got the job and was described as en utlending could not be someone from one of the other Scandinavian countries either. One informant said that he would not refer to someone as utlending if he knew what country was his or her home country; then he would rather describe the person as a German, an Italian, and so forth.

Our informants were also asked how they would interpret the speaker’s use of the term utlending if the job referred to was a job outside Norway, for example in France. Given that changed context, they all agreed that the description en utlending was not appropriate, whether or not the one who got the job was French, because as they said, in that situation even the speaker of (14) is a foreigner in the sense of not being French. The deictic origo is France, the country where the job is. However, the whole group of informants agreed that (15), where en utlending is replaced by en annen utlending (“another foreigner”), is considerably more natural than (14), if the job is not in Norway.

(15) Jeg søkte på den jobben, men det var en annen utlending som fikk den.
'I applied for that job, but another foreigner got it.'

Our conclusion, based on the reactions we obtained from our informants, is that utlending is at least a mildly stigmatized term for speakers of Norwegian, and for that very reason it is less of a problem to use it with an indirect reference to one’s own self, as in (15) where en annen utlending (“another foreigner”) implies that the Norwegian speaker places himself in the category of foreigners, relative to France, where the job is. Doing that cannot be a discriminatory act; nor would it be discriminatory to refer to the one who got the job as utlending, if that person is completely unknown to the speaker, though the description certainly implies that the person is not French. It is totally impossible for a Norwegian to refer to himself as a foreigner because he is not French and to another person as a foreigner because that person is not Norwegian, and
to group the two individuals linguistically together in one set, as in (15). In order for the description *en annen utlending* in (15) to be appropriate, the person denoted by the speaker of (15) cannot belong to the French nation, nor will this person be identified as another compatriot, a Norwegian. If both persons are Norwegians, the only relevant description would be *en annen nordmann* (“another Norwegian”) without an indexical expression, which focuses on what the two applicants have in common.

2.3 The antonymic “at home”

The reference of the indexical lexical phrase *at home* is usually determined by a grammatical subject that binds it, or identified through association with antecedent information in the discourse, but *at home* can also refer to what is home for the communicator, even when there is no explicit 1st person reference anywhere in the discourse. *Hjemme* (“at home”) is a Norwegian place adverb whose denotative properties are similar to those of English *at home*. These expressions may be classified as a kind of antonym of *abroad/i utlandet*, but they obviously do not encode information that restricts the deictic origo to someone’s homeland. As with Latin *domi* and *domesticus* mentioned in the Introduction, the deictic origo can be a family, a town, a region, or a nation, depending on various sorts of contextual clues. The unmarked interpretation of the juxtaposition of predications in the Latin expression *forīs bella, domi sēditōnes* (“abroad wars, at home conflicts”) is that the communicator refers to conflicts in the home country and wars outside the home country but this is not the only permissible interpretation.

Norwegian *i hjemlandet* (lit.: “in the homeland”) may also be classified as an antonym of *i utlandet*, and one that encodes the information that the deictic origo is a country, but this expression is hardly ever used with reference to the speaker’s/narrator’s homeland. It is almost invariably used ‘reflexively’ with reference to the homeland of a 3rd person subject referent, i.e. to someone else’s homeland. In the OMC it is seen to correspond to English phrases like *at home, in their homeland, in the motherland*, but also *in her country*, which creates a psychological distance, showing that the narrator does not empathize with the 3rd person referent. The most popular German correspondent of Norwegian *i hjemlandet* is the prepositional phrase *in der Heimat* (lit.: “in the home”) but the prepositional phrase *im Ursprungsland* (lit.: “in the origin land”) is also sometimes used as a translation of Norwegian *i hjemlandet*. The German noun *Heimat* is used both with reference to a home with the meaning of dwelling and to a home country (*Heimatland*), the same familiar vagueness that characterizes English *at home* and its Norwegian equivalent *hjemme*.

While a phrase like *at home* includes reference to someone’s residence as well as to larger geographical areas like a specific region of a country or one’s home country, *abroad* displays no comparable vagueness in its potential to refer, unlike Latin *forīs* (“abroad”). *Abroad* invariably refers to some geographical area which is at least a whole country and possibly the full complementary set of countries outside the deictic origo. In Norwegian,
however, the place adverb *ute* (“out(side)”) is occasionally seen or heard to alternate with the phrase *i utlandet*. This is found in the set phrase *hjemme og ute* ("at home and abroad") and even in collocations like *reise ute* (lit.: travel outside) which is normally used with the meaning of “travel (around) abroad” (see also example (6) in § 2.1).

3. The Akan situation

Akan belongs to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family of sub-Saharan languages and is spoken mainly by the Akans of Ghana.

The English word *abroad* has no exact equivalent in Akan but it may get an approximate translation by means of one of the two words *amannfne* and *aburokyiri*. Both words appear to be compounds, though the individual components of the former are not very transparent. What can be identified as one segment of that word is *aman*, which means “countries”. Both words refer to foreign land; however, the referential extension of *aburokyiri* is much more narrowly constrained than that of *amannfne*. On the other hand, *aburokyiri* is the default lexical choice when an Akan makes a general reference to foreign countries.

*Amannfne* refers to any place outside of the Akan’s home country. The word is quite formal and not as widely used in colloquial Akan as its near-synonym *aburokyiri*. However, in formal contexts like newscasting, *amannfne* is often heard to be used in such a way that its lexical properties approach those of English *abroad*, so that it may even be hard to distinguish *amannfne* and *abroad* semantically. On the other hand, *aburokyiri* is the default lexical choice when an Akan makes a general reference to foreign countries.

(16) Hun svarte med å rekke meg hånden, og jeg tolket det som et løfte. she answered with to reach me hand-DEF and I interpreted it as a promise
Det innebar imidlertid at jeg på et senere tidspunkt måtte gi henne min adresse, that implied however that I on a later time-point must give her my address
noe jeg alltid har vært svært forsiktig med når jeg er ute og reiser. something I always have been very cautious with when I am out and travel
‘Her response was to shake my hand, which I construed as a promise. This meant I'd have to give her my address later on, a thing I've always been wary about doing when abroad.’

The mundane Akan word *aburokyiri* can be roughly translated as “abroad”. As observed by Osam (1997), etymologically, the word can be said to consist of two forms, *oburoni* and *nkyi*. *Oburoni* is the Akan word for "white man" and *nkyi* refers to "homeland", so *aburokyiri* is the white man's homeland.\footnote{Compounds which use *oburoni* as a basis are not unusual in Akan. Christaller (1933) records a few, such as *aburobua* ("clay pipe"), *aburogua* ("armchair"), *burokurwaa* ("Western jar", "mug", "cup"), *buronya* ("Christmas") and *burongo* ("olive oil"). Though some of these words may have largely gone out of use, having been replaced by their nativized European names such as *kɔpoo* for cup, others such as *buronya* ("Christmas") and *aburokyiri* ("abroad") are still found in the everyday repertoire of Akan speakers. Another compound involving the root *oburoni* which has not become obsolete is *aburofo nkate* ("almonds", lit.: white men's groundnuts).} *Aburokyiri* in its initial use referred to Great Britain, the land of the colonial masters. As the Akan got exposed to the fact that there are other white people than the British, the concept was extended to cover the continents of Europe, America and Australia. While expressions like *abroad*, Norwegian *i utlandet*, German *im Ausland* or French *à l'étranger* are practically devoid of any conventionalized emotive meaning, Akan *aburokyiri* has retained much the same connotative meaning components as the noun *oburoni* (“white man”) has in the language.

*Aburokyiri* is frequently translated as *overseas*. This translation may be due to the fact that one had to cross the ocean to get into the white man’s land. Whether or not the continent of Asia is referred to as *aburokyiri* depends on the informant’s general view of the world. For most people with little education and/or western exposure, an *oburoni* is anyone who is light-skinned and has relatively straight hair vis-à-vis the dark skin and kinky curly hair of the African. For such people Chinese, Japanese and Indians are *aburofo* (“white people”) and subsequently their countries are referred to as *aburokyiri*. Some Akans, especially those who are educated or are aware of racial and other ethnic distinctions, are hesitant to refer to countries in Asia and the Middle East as *aburokyiri*, but apart from that, the consensus, by and large, is that *aburokyiri* refers to any geographical area outside of Africa. When the reference is to a country within Africa (or Africa and Asia, for some speakers), the Akan speaker will prefer to be specific and mention the name of the country rather than use a general term with loose reference, such as *aburokyiri*, or even *amann.mne*. What Akans refer to as *aburokyiri* was at least originally a conceptually fixed geographical area outside of Africa. It was the continent of Africa that was conceived as the deictic origo, not Ghana. After all, national borders were not fixed the way they are today.

Ekua E. Appiah kindly assisted our work by carrying out a survey intended to shed light on the Akan’s understanding of the denotative value of the noun *aburokyiri*. She asked eleven medical doctors in a hospital in Accra whether they would, or could say that a person was at *aburokyiri* if he or she had gone from Ghana to Togo. Just one out
of eleven said it would be in order to use that term under the circumstances, and the 
others present unanimously objected that this informant’s intuition was influenced by 
the way he would use English abroad.

It is significant that the location referred to as *aburokyiri* does not depend on one’s 
present whereabouts or one’s current home base. For instance, a native of Ghana based 
in Norway could produce an utterance of (17), where *aburokyiri* refers to where she is 
presently staying, but if she is going to spend a couple of weeks abroad in Germany, she 
will not say that she is going to *aburokyiri* or staying in *aburokyiri*, since she is already 
in Europe, which is *aburokyiri* for her.

(17) Me wɔ aburokyiri. 
   I be-at abroad 
   ‘I am abroad.’

Consequently, using *aburokyiri* is not an option when the reference of English *abroad* 
would have to be determined in the context of a deictic transposition (‘Deixis am 
Phantasma’).

This state of affairs differs markedly from the English use of *abroad* described 
above, and it is actually reflected in the Akan’s use of the English word *abroad*. Akans 
are often hesitant to use the word *abroad* in English conversation, unless the context is 
such that its use matches their concept of *aburokyiri*. Thus, when expressing themselves 
in English, in such context, they would generally prefer to mention the country 
they are going to and would avoid using the formulation *I’m going abroad*.

Even the term *amannɛne* is used cautiously in contexts analogous to what was 
described above. Nevertheless, unlike the situation with *aburokyiri*, the reference of 
*amannɛne* could be derived inferentially from one’s knowledge of the subject referent. 
For instance, it is appropriate to use *amannɛne*, but less so *aburokyiri*, as a near-equivalent 
of the concept encoded by the English word *abroad* in (18) with reference to an 
Englishman by the name of Tony who found a girlfriend outside Europe.

(18) Tony wɔ mpena wɔ amannɛne baabi, na mmom e-ŋ-yɛ 
   T. has girlfriend be-at foreign-land somewhere CONJ however it-NEG-be 
   obi a ɔ-te Ghana ha sei. 
   someone REL she-stay G. here DEM 
   ‘Tony has a girlfriend somewhere abroad (i.e. outside England), but it is not 
   someone who lives here in Ghana.’

Use of *amannɛne* does not exclude taking a particular non-African person’s perspective 
and using that person’s homeland as the deictic origo that determines the reference 
of this term. Substitution of *aburokyiri* for *amannɛne* in (18) would make the utterance 
extremely awkward, no matter whether Tony found his girlfriend somewhere in Africa 
or in a different part of the world. You would not normally use *aburokyiri* to refer to a 
foreign country perceived from the point of view of an Englishman.
As English is the only official language of Ghana, there has traditionally been no great demand for translation of texts, fiction or non-fiction, from a major European language into Akan. Finding a suitable Akan translation of a word with the conceptual meaning of English *abroad* and with no connotative overtones is by no means trivial. A normal strategy that would seem to work most of the time is to try to be referentially more specific, that is, to refer to what the original text calls *abroad* by means of an appropriate geographical name, a proper name, instead of using a referentially imprecise term that is supposed to render the meaning of the English indexical *abroad* in as literal a way as possible. It would not be absolutely impossible to approximate a literal translation into Akan of Norwegian *i utlandet* or English *abroad*, as the example in (18) was meant to demonstrate, but if a translator were to do so, comprehension of the linguistic result would usually require a bit of make-believe on the part of the Akan reader.

It should be added at this juncture that new coinages like *Amerika aburokyiman mu* (lit.: America abroad-land inside, i.e. “in America”) and by the same token *Pakistan aburokyiman mu, India aburokyiman mu*, etc., are gaining ground in news reports on something that has happened in a country outside of Africa, so that the deictic origo is to be construed as that foreign country. It is quite impossible, however, to refer to an African country by using this kind of nominal construction, and with the word *aburokyiri*, which is after all the most frequently used correspondent of *abroad*. No analogous shift of perspective would be possible, even though the reference of *aburokyiri* is no longer confined to the land of the colonial masters.

We claimed that the English [+human] noun *foreigner* and its equivalents in other European languages have a connotative meaning, or implicated meaning as some neo-Griceans might say, which is comparable to the connotative meaning of Akan *aburokyiri*. It is far from surprising, then, that the most natural Akan translations of *foreigner*, the words *f\ h\ f* and particularly *f\ manfrani*, are also laden with certain negative connotations. The Akan word *f\ h\ f* refers to someone who does not belong to a given geographical domain, a visitor or outsider, but the deictic origo is never transferred to a territory outside Africa. The geographical domain could range from a house to an institution to a town/city or a country. It is applicable not only to foreigners from outside Ghana but even to people who transcend a border inside the country of Ghana. Thus the concept *f\ h\ f* covers what is conceived as “visitor” as well as “foreigner” in a language such as English. A morphologically and semantically related term is *f\ h\ homani* (lit.: visitor + citizen) which refers to someone who was originally an outsider in the community but who has become completely assimilated to Akan culture and social conventions.

An *f\ manfrani*, on the other hand, was originally someone who had been captured as a slave and brought to a different geographical location, where he had later made his home. Such a person was invariably thought of as an alien and would not ever be regarded as native to the land where he was living, but he would typically have adapted fully to the conditions of his present place of abode. Morphologically, the word consists of the root *f\ man* (“country”) plus the verb *f\ ra* (“to mix”) and the human singular
suffix *ni* also occurring in *Ghanani* (“a person from Ghana”) and in the word *hohoma-ni* mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In present-day Akan, the word *manfrani* is offensive and is used only in contexts where provocation is intended. It still has the negative connotations pertaining to someone who was originally bought as a slave from outside of the geographical domain in question, but who has acclimatized much to the dislike of some natives. Our informants judge its use to be strongly pejorative.

4. Conclusion

English *abroad* and corresponding expressions in other European languages are a type of spatial deixis words whose reference can only be resolved through extra-linguistic inference. This is true even when the speaker’s intended interpretation is such that *abroad* refers to countries that are complementary to the homeland of the referent of the grammatical subject of the clause in which the word appears. For any given occurrence of *abroad*, the addressee has to draw on contextual assumptions to determine whether its reference is intended to be ‘bound’ by a local subject nominal, or to be computed on the basis of global assumptions about the subject matter of the discourse, or else to be determined by the nationality of the communicator, whether the voice is that of a speaker in a conversational dialogue or of a narrator in a novel.

The Akan terms corresponding most directly to *abroad* were shown to have very different denotative properties than the English term. The English language has a very strong position in Ghana, and in regard to certain types of literature it may be said to have what approaches a monopoly position. Not much fictional or non-fictional prose is published in the form of Akan translations from English or other European languages. The Ghanaian consumer of international literature cannot expect to find what he or she is looking for in a text translated into Akan. In our opinion, this is one reason why a shift of the deictic centre away from the Akan society, Ghana or Africa in attempts to identify the referents associated with the concepts signified by words such as *abroad* and *foreigner* has not really become part of the linguistic conventions governing either written or spoken Akan. The speaker of Akan is not accustomed to using Akan, at the expense of English, if a situation arises where some sort of ‘Deixis am Phantasma’ is required. It is simply not Akan one would use in a situation where a European perspective on matters outside Europe is required.

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References


The expression of emotion in Italian and English fairy tales

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Previous studies by educationalists and psychologists have shown that fairy tales appear to encode emotive content in such a way that may facilitate aspects of children's emotive development. This chapter deals with the representation of emotion in these tales and explores whether it varies across cultures and how this can be investigated. The first part sets out a methodology drawing on theories and models developed in semantics, discourse analysis and social psychology. The second part illustrates the application of the methodology to a corpus of English and Italian modern versions of traditional fairy tales. The final section suggests the findings from the analysis may relate to differences in the cultural context in which the tales are produced and read.

1. Introduction

Story-telling plays an important role within pre-school children's education both at home as well as at nursery school. Psychologists and educationalists have long argued that stories, particularly the traditional fairy tales, can transmit emotive content in such a way that may facilitate aspects of the children's own emotive development (Bettelheim 1976; Tucker 1981; Cooper 1983; Egan 1988; Rosen 1991; Tatar 1992; Greenhalgh 1994; Unnsteinsdottir 2002). This article deals specifically with the nature of the emotive expression to which children are exposed through the fairy tales they are told and attempts to answer the following questions: can a methodology be devised in our view which allows for the analysis of the emotive content of the tales? And, if so, how can it be applied to reveal differences and similarities in the expression of emotion between tales told in different cultural settings and through different languages? The first part is concerned with establishing a methodology which draws on the relevant theories and models adopted in discourse analysis as well as on insights gained from social psychology. Reference is made to Wierzbicka's work on emotion (1999), to Martin, Rose and White's concepts of “appraisal” and “affect” (Martin 2000; Martin and Rose 2003; White 2002) and to the “process theory” of emotion as presented by Planalp
Gabrina Pounds, and Berry et al. (2002). The second part illustrates the application of the methodology to a corpus of English and Italian modern versions of traditional fairy tales. The findings are presented and discussed in relation to the differences and similarities between the two corpora. In the final section the findings are further assessed in relation to one of the cultural contexts in which the fairy tales are read (the nursery school system). It is shown that the meaning of emotive expression is highly context-dependent, that is, pragmatic in nature and it is suggested that different expressive choices may reflect the function that fairy tales have traditionally performed and may continue to perform in specific social contexts.

2. Children’s emotive development and the role of fairy tales

As repeatedly claimed in the work of educationalists and psychologists such as Bettelheim (1976), Sheff (1979), von Franz (1982), Greenhalgh (1994: 154–156) and Unnsteinsdottir (2002), exposure to fairy tales has an impact on children’s emotive development and constitutes one of several social contexts in which the acquisition of emotional competence can occur. Findings from psychology (e.g. Oatley and Jenkins 1996 and Taylor and Bagby 2000) and studies related to the socialization of emotion (e.g. Dorr, 1985) and to human communication (Planalp et al., 1996) suggest that at the basis of emotional literacy lies the ability to appreciate the significance of events in terms of their impact on sentient beings, their thoughts and their feelings. Emotional competence appears to rely to a large extent, therefore, on the capacity to interpret and identify others’ emotions on the basis of the clues available, including direct reference by third parties to their own or others’ emotions and, particularly, reference to emotion-arousing situations or emotion-engendered actions and thoughts. It is argued (Taylor and Bagby 2000) that such a capacity may be founded on or even contribute to the general cognitive ability to form symbolic representations, essential for the acquisition of other mental skills, including language acquisition.

According to the more recent “componential” or “process” theories of emotion (as originally developed by Frijda in 1986 and subsequently reported and endorsed by Planalp 1999 and Berry et al. 2002) emotions are “processes” in which various “components” play a part, rather than fixed states. Such components may include essentially: a triggering situation or event (real or perceived), physiological changes, action and expression tendencies (e.g. approach or avoidance), degrees of engagement and manipulation and, most importantly, the “appraisal” stage, at which an emotion is experienced as such in relation to basic concerns. Within such theories it is possible to account for the whole gamut of emotive and emotive-like experiences for which terms are noticeably imprecise or even absent and, if present, typically untranslatable across languages. According to the components involved, emotions may differ in terms of duration and intensity and may be differently assessed as either ‘feelings’ or ‘moods’ or ‘sentiments’. It is possible to identify full-blown emotive experiences arising from full
awareness and appraisal of events and concerns. A concern with loss of well-being, for example, would typically give rise to fear-like emotions. A concern with the unexpected nature of a situation would engender surprise-like emotions. A concern with the importance of achieving goals would result in joy- or anger-like emotions and a concern with others would give rise to love- or sadness-like emotions. These emotive experiences largely correspond to the types that have been repeatedly identified on the basis of universal facial expressions (happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, disgust and, arguably, contempt).

Through fairy tales children are exposed to a variety of events and situations which, although imaginary and extreme, deal with basic emotion-raising human concerns as identified above, such as: potential or real loss, goal achievement, sudden and unexpected change in circumstances, interpersonal relationships and, noticeably, acts motivated by evil as well as virtue. It is precisely the imaginary and fantastic nature of fairy tales which is believed to promote the type of symbolic representation mentioned above, which, arguably, takes place at an unconscious dream-like level (Unnsteinsdottrir 2002). In other words, fairy tales allow children to deal with emotive content at a safe "aesthetic distance" (Sheff 1979) and provide clear boundaries within which dramatic events and, consequently, what we should feel about them (Egan 1988: 29–31) are dealt with successfully. Fairy tales typically provide solutions to the kind of archetypal fears (such as the fear of darkness, monsters, abandonment and death) which a child is likely to entertain (Rosen 1991: 29–37). The narrators of the traditional fairy tales are typically invisible entities, whose identities are merged with those who previously told the stories first orally and then in writing. In some of the older versions the narrators frequently express their evaluation of characters and events in the form of moral judgement but they rarely refer directly to the emotive impact of the events narrated (essentially: fear, sadness, anger, happiness, surprise and love). The absence of mediated interpretation provides the readers/listeners with the opportunity to identify and interpret such impact for themselves. Educationalists such as Wall (1991) have argued that good writers for children may be precisely those who can convey feelings by providing clues (reference to the characters' behaviours, bodily sensations, actions and words) through which they can be deduced rather than by specifically naming them. Walls argues that children are particularly receptive to such clues and can, therefore, derive greater insight and understanding from stories that make them available.

3. The linguistic analysis of emotive expression

Since the identification of an “emotive” or “expressive” function of language, noticeably by Jakobson (1960), several attempts have been made to identify those linguistic features that typically serve to express speakers’ emotive involvement, variously referred to as ‘attitudinal,’ ‘evaluative’ or ‘affective’. A number of key linguistic features underlying the expression of ‘intensity’ or ‘affect’ (such as emphatic adverbs or intensifiers,
repetition, interjections and explicit lexical reference) have been identified, for example by Labov (1984), Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) and Biber and Finegan (1989). Most studies recognize, to a greater or lesser extent, that emotive meaning is highly context-dependent, and that it tends to be expressed prosodically throughout a whole text rather than through individual grammatical or lexical realizations. Ochs and Schieffelin (1989: 22) actually conclude that “almost any aspect of the linguistic system that is variable is a candidate for expressing affect” and that “language has a heart as well as a mind of its own”.

One of the most recent attempts at identifying and classifying expressions of emotion has been made by White (2002) and Martin and Rose (2003). They are responsible for formulating an “Appraisal Theory” which allows for a detailed categorization of lexical reference to emotion in discourse under the category of “affect” and in the terms derived from Systemic-Functional Grammar. Within this framework emotion can be expressed as “quality” (typically through adjectives and adverbs such as happy or happily), as “process” (typically through verbal phrases such as loves, will hate, feared) and as “comment” (typically through clause-initial adverbs such as sadly). As in previous theories, the consensus is that such expressions cannot be analysed in isolation but in context and in terms of their overall contribution to establishing and shaping the interpersonal relationship between speakers or writers and their readers. There is a recognition, furthermore, that emotion can be indirectly referred to through mention of physical or behavioural manifestations compatible with emotional states, such as shaking, smiling, running away, screaming etc. Such a perspective is compatible with the process view of emotion outlined in the previous section and does, therefore, provide a useful model for assessing the representation of emotion in fairy tales in which direct reference to emotions is very rare. The basic categories by which emotional experiences and their dimensions may be classified are not, however, in our view, sufficiently clarified to allow for a systematic and comparative analysis.

A further linguistic approach to emotion is that proposed by Wierzbicka (1999), who is concerned with identifying the universal semantic components (the “Universal Semantic Metalanguage”) that constitute the building blocks of any language. One such universal language-independent semantic category would arguably encompass all FEEL-like expressions through which emotive meaning can be expressed. Wierzbicka argues, in other words, that all expressions of emotion can be reduced to the essential “I feel like…” in which the nature of the feeling is qualified through further reference to the specific cognitive, and/or physical aspects that are seen to be integral to such experience. So, for example, the English expression: X is angry with Y can be analysed compositionally as: X felt something bad because X thought the following: Y did something bad. I don’t want Y to do things like this. I want to do something because of this (simplified from Wierzbicka 1999: 88). The expression X is furious with Y would differ from the previous one mainly because the thinking that accompanies the feeling includes I want to do something bad to this person now rather than the more general I want to do something because of this (Wierzbicka 1999: 91). In the expression X blushed the emotive
meaning is cued mainly through reference to the “bodily events” which accompany the feeling and the thinking. It is argued that emotions can be further differentiated through language in terms of their duration, the relative control the experiencers feel over them, their intensity or whether they are perceived as states or processes (Wierzbicka 1999: 302). They can also, as pointed out by the “appraisal” theorists mentioned above, be referred to indirectly by mention of their consequences (physical sensations) only as in: My throat went dry (Wierzbicka 1999: 296). The basic emotions identified by Wierzbicka correspond roughly to the basic categories emerging from the psychological research seen above. They include essentially “fear-like”, “anger-like” and “shame-like” emotions in addition to a range of “feel-good” (happiness or joy-like) emotions and the types of emotion that relate to the caring for others (love-like emotions).

When comparing expressions of emotion in fairy tales, the type of analysis undertaken by Wierzbicka – involving the identification of the semantic components of emotion words – does not appear particularly relevant as such words are actually quite rare and highly undifferentiated in this type of discourse. A classification and comparison of emotion word types (“process”, “quality” or “comment”) on the basis of “appraisal” analysis is equally unlikely to be of great value both because the examples are not enough and because not much variation is to be expected in the case of the languages chosen: Italian and English. It is, however, worth turning to and building on Martin’s notion of indirect expression of “affect” and Wierzbicka’s similar concept of indirect reference to emotion as this appears to be the preferred mode of expression in fairy tales and may ultimately explain their function in promoting children’s emotional development. Our analysis is, therefore, particularly concerned with identifying and qualifying the linguistic level at which the indirect reference to emotion is achieved even though examples of direct reference are also taken into account. By using basic non-language specific categories of the type identified by Wierzbicka and by psychologists, it was possible to classify our examples under six main emotion types and draw a comparison between the two corpora of fairy tales. As in previous studies, the role of context in determining the interpretation of the emotive content in each case was acknowledged throughout. The details of the methodology are illustrated in section 5 following a brief introduction to the corpus considered and the motivation behind the choice in the next section.

4. Choice of fairy tales and corpus considered

Since one of the aims of the analysis was to reveal any similarities and differences in the ways in which emotion is encoded in corpora of fairy tales that are otherwise very similar, English and Italian modern adaptations (not direct translations) of the same traditional tales were selected. As confirmed by the nursery teachers consulted and judging by library and book stocks in England and Italy (Norwich and Milan respectively), they are amongst the tales most commonly read by or to pre-school children in
both cultural settings: Little Red Riding Hood, The Three Little Pigs and Goldilocks and the Three Bears. The tales have all been written by native speakers in the last ten years. Although the English versions may be available throughout Britain and their authors are British rather than exclusively English, the corpus is referred to as English because I could only check their availability and use (shops, libraries and nursery schools) within an English environment. Several versions of the same tale and of similar length were analysed, as follows (full details are provided in the reference section):

- **Little Red Riding Hood (LR):**
  - 4 versions in English (3115 words)
  - 4 versions in Italian (3054 words)

- **The Three Little Pigs (3P):**
  - 4 versions in English (2918 words)
  - 4 versions in Italian (2627 words)

- **Goldilocks and the Three Bears (G):**
  - 3 versions in English (1743 words)
  - 3 versions in Italian (1778 words)

Total word for English tales: 7776
Total word for Italian tales: 7459

In all cases it is possible to trace several older versions of the tales dating back to the 19th century by German and French authors in the case of LR and 3P and German and British authors for G (Tatar 2002). There may be some variation on the main themes and characters across the various versions. For the sake of comparability, the versions chosen are all very similar in terms of content and characters in each case.

5. **The analysis of the emotive content of fairy tales**

Emotion can be expressed/evoked in and through fairy tales at various levels, whereby several contextual features associated with the reading/listening experience can all have a bearing. The emotive impact on the children varies according to whether the tales are self-read or read to them and, in the latter case, depending on the identity of the reader and relationship to the child (e.g. parent, teacher), their voice, expression and overall attitude to the reading and the listeners. The impact is also affected by the setting (e.g. family, school), the number of co-listeners and the non-textual aspects which accompany the tales, particularly the presence of pictures. All these factors – in combination with the tale script – contribute to engendering a range of emotive reactions in the children. In this chapter, however, the focus is on the linguistic representation of emotion in the tales (the basic script itself). In the almost complete absence of
direct address to the children and emotive self-disclosure on the part of the authorial voice, the emotive meaning is essentially of a referential nature. The tales contain:

a. Direct lexical reference to the characters’ emotions
b. Indirect reference to the characters’ emotions through mention of their experiences, thoughts, actions and verbal expression encoded as experiential, thought, action or verbal (direct speech reporting) processes respectively. The functional term ‘process’ is taken here in its wider meaning of ‘event’, expressed lexically through finite or non-finite forms of the relevant verbs.

It is possible, in other words, to identify the linguistic reference to the experiences, thoughts, actions and reactions that would typically act as components of emotion, according to the componential theories presented in section 2 above. The emotions referred to – either directly or indirectly – can be categorised according to the types identified in the kind of psychological and semantic studies presented in sections 2 and 3 above, namely: anger-like, fear-like, happiness-like, sadness-like, surprise-like and love-like emotions. In the case of indirect reference, the interpretation is highly dependent on the “appraisal” component (as mentioned in section 2), whereby the actual nature of the emotion is assessed in the context of the characters’ main “concerns” at any given point in the tales. This again reflects the process view of emotion outlined in section 2 and can be visualised as shown in Table 1 below:

**Table 1.** Showing the main emotion types as appraised according to the characters’ main concerns in the context of the fairy tales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONCERN</th>
<th>APPRAISAL</th>
<th>EMOTION TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inability to obtain goal + ‘fight’</td>
<td>ANGER: frustration → fury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential loss + ‘flight’</td>
<td>FEAR: apprehension → terror</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-being/goal achieved</td>
<td>HAPPINESS: contentment → ecstasy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to obtain goal/loss + ‘no action possible’</td>
<td>SADNESS: dismay → desperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown/unexpected situation</td>
<td>SURPRISE: alarm → shock (related to ‘fear’ or ‘anger’), pleasant surprise (related to ‘happiness’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ties to others</td>
<td>LOVE: affection → adoration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HATE: dislike → despise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the representation in Table 1, the most basic reactions (‘fight’, ‘flight’) and experience (awareness that ‘no action is possible’) are included, when relevant, next to the basic concerns as they play a role in the appraisal of the emotions. Following this approach it is possible, for example, to analyse the emotion cued through the following expressions, which typically occur in the tales considered:

(1) ‘Somebody ate all the porridge!’ the Little Bear said (verbal process in G)
(2) The wolf smashed the door open (action process in LR)
(3) The little girl hugged her Grandmother (action process in LR)
(4) The three pigs heard the wolf climb on the roof (experiential process in 3P)

In example (1) the expression could be appraised as cuing surprise, anger or happiness depending on what is already known about the story and the characters. In the context it would be clear that the Little Bear did not expect the event to happen and is concerned with not being able to eat his porridge and may, therefore, experience an emotion of ‘negative surprise’ (surprise related to anger) rather than ‘positive surprise’ (surprise related to happiness) or simply anger or happiness. In example (2) the action could be appraised as cuing fear or anger, depending on whether the wolf is smashing the door out of a concern for his safety (fear) or following failure to achieve his goal (anger). In example (3) the children would know that Little Red Riding Hood hugged her Grandmother out of a genuine concern with showing her affection and would, therefore, appraise her action as love. In example (4) it would be clear that the three pigs – knowing the wolf’s intention – would be concerned with their safety and would, therefore not feel reassured (happy) or merely surprised about their experience but actually scared. In the following section further examples from the actual analysis of one of the tales are given.

6. Examples of analysis from the Three Little Pigs (English and Italian corpora)

At the basis of all the various versions of the tale of the Three Little Pigs is the following essential plot. Three brother pigs leave their family home and build their own houses. They use different materials for their constructions. They are confronted with a wolf who wants to destroy the houses in order to eat the pigs. The wolf manages to destroy the first two houses as their material is not resistant enough. As a result, the first two pigs are either eaten or they escape to the next brother’s house. The third house is made of brick and is too strong for the wolf to destroy. He, therefore, attempts to get into the house down the chimney but pig number 3 has the clever idea of putting a pot of boiling water on the fire. The wolf gets hurt and either dies or runs away never to come back again. The pigs live happily ever after. The versions from which the examples are drawn are indicated in the brackets.

As mentioned, in all the tales direct reference to the characters’ emotions is not very frequent but examples (categorized under the basic emotion types as given in Table 1) include:

(5) The little pig was very pleased (v1)  happiness
(6) This made the wolf so angry that… (v1) anger
Lexical realisations through adjectives, nouns and adverbs were equally common between the two corpora. Examples of verbs were not found in this tale but could have included expressions such as:

(9) The noise **scared** the pigs  
(10) Mother Pig **loved** her three little Pigs

Examples of *indirect reference* to emotion are presented below under the various process types. The basic emotion type is interpreted in relation to the characters’ main “concern” in each case (see section 5 and Table 1). The relevant concern and ensuing emotion type are indicated in the brackets below each example. In many cases the reference to the manner, reason and general circumstances that accompany the processes contributes considerably to the interpretation. Combinations of direct and indirect reference and mixed indirect reference are also relatively common, as shown in examples (24) and (25).

**Verbal processes** (in which the characters speech is reported directly with or without reference to manner of expression and voice. No examples of indirect reported speech were found):

(11) “**Oh help, help**” cried the Little Pig (v2)  
(danger → fear)

(12) “**I am coming down to eat you up!**” Roared the wolf down the chimney (v1)  
(potential inability to achieve goal → anger)

(13) “**This hay is light enough and soft enough**” said the first little pig (v4)  
(wellbeing achieved → happiness)

**Action processes** (referring to action processes that may be the result of emotion):

(14) …he jumped onto the roof of the little brick house. (v1)  
(potential inability to achieve goal → anger)

(15) **The little pig ran away as fast as his little legs would carry him.** (v4)  
(danger → fear)

(16) **They ran around the room trying to get away from the wolf** (v4)  
(danger → fear)

(17) **Si misero a ballare** [they started to dance] (v1)  
(goal achieved → happiness)
Bodily (re)action processes (referring to physical occurrences or states that may result from emotion):

(18) *He gulped… they gasped… they all shrieked…*(v4)
(potential danger → fear)

(19) *Il porcellino tutto tremante…*[the little pig all trembling] *(v1)*
(potential danger → fear)

Experiential processes (referring to physical experiences of hearing, seeing and noticing which may trigger emotion):

(20) *He heard the voice of the big bad wolf outside* *(v2)*
(potential danger → fear)

(21) *They heard crunching and crushing outside their house* *(v4)*
(potential danger → fear)

Thought processes (referring to cognitive processes of thinking, believing, knowing which may trigger emotion):

(22) *Thinking he was good and safe in his fine straw house* *(v2)*
(wellbeing → happiness)

(23) *They knew they had beaten the wolf and he would never trouble them again* *(v4)*
(wellbeing → happiness)

Process/ reference combinations:

(24) *He was smacking his lips with glee at the feast waiting just a short breath away* *(v4)*
(bodily reaction + thought process: wellbeing → happiness)

(25) *They all shrieked in terror when they saw the big bad wolf staring at them ravenously* *(v4)*
(direct reference to emotion + bodily reaction + experiential process: danger → fear)

7. General findings from the analysis and similarities between the corpora

A detailed analysis of the emotive expression in the fairy tales was carried out using the methodology illustrated above. The numbers of occurrences of direct and indirect reference to emotion are presented in the appendix (Tables 2 and 3). It may be noticed that, on the whole, the Little Red Riding Hood tales contain frequent reference to fear, surprise, love and happiness, the Three Little Pigs tales are mainly ones of fear,
happiness and anger, whereas the Goldilocks tales abound with reference to surprise (variably combined with anger, sadness or happiness) and fear.

The extent to which direct reference to emotion through lexical encoding is very limited is apparent throughout. Of the overall 188 references to emotion in the English corpus only 38 are direct; of the overall 227 references to emotion in the Italian corpus only 48 are direct (see Table 2/A in the appendix). As argued by educationalists and psychologists, these tales serve above all to tell action stories of cause and effect, good and evil, problems and successful resolutions of an archetypal nature. The children are provided with the raw material in relation to which they can safely start to build their emotion-appraisal skills through inference. At a time when they may still lack the abstraction skills to make sense of words such as angry, scared, happy and sad, they are given the opportunity to appreciate the basic scenarios and concerns that would lead to such feelings.

Apart from these general features, the tales share other significant similarities. Direct reference is generally more common for positive than for negative emotions. This is particularly noticeable in LR for reference to love and happiness (16 out of 24 occurrences in English and 15 out of 19 occurrences in Italian). Direct reference to happiness is also more common in 3P (7/12 in English and 13/24 in Italian). Direct reference is minimal in G but the negative outdoes the positive (5/7) in the Italian versions. Most of the indirect references, on the other hand, relate to negative emotions, particularly fear. Is this any measure of a difference at the level of emotive cognitive processing or simply a consequence of a general social reluctance to name negative emotions, particularly to children? This is very difficult to establish merely through linguistic analysis.

In both corpora reported speech through verbal processes (frequently accompanied by reference to the manner of speech) is the most common way to refer indirectly to the characters’ emotions. In the English corpus this amounts to 70 of the 150 indirect references and in the Italian corpus to 73 of the 179 indirect references (see Table 2/A in the appendix). In terms of words the reported speech accounts for a minimum of 15% to a maximum of 40% of the total number, depending on the tale. It may be argued that this type of cue – incorporating what the characters say, how they say it and including, if applicable, any changes in the reader’s voice and intonation – is particularly powerful. It may be one of the main types of clue on which young children rely to acquire emotive competence, in most situations. The emotion which, in the tales, is most frequently cued through speech is surprise (alone in LR or combined with sadness or anger in G). Negative emotions, particularly anger in G and fear in 3P, are also very often cued through speech. Overall, however, fear is mostly cued through other types of indirect reference (particularly actions and experiences and especially in 3P, Italian LR and English G). As illustrated in Table 5 in the appendix, fear is by far the most represented emotion in the tales considered and other negative emotions are also widely represented (anger and sadness on their own or in combination with surprise). Traditional fairy tales are often criticised for their violent and scary content which, it
is argued, may not be suitable for young children. If, on the other hand, one considers such tales as one of the means by which negative emotions can be safely dealt with, it might be possible to appreciate their educational potential.

As shown in Table 4 in the appendix, the most common way to refer indirectly to emotion, after reported speech, is through mention of the actions they can give rise to or the physical experiences that may cause them. Both actions and experiences are very basic and unequivocal in nature. Actions include typical avoidance actions (such as running away or hiding) or approach actions (such as touching or hugging). The experiences referred to are also the most universal ones, produced through hearing noises, smelling or touching things. Reference to bodily reactions is not uncommon in either corpus. Thought processes are less widely referred to. It has been argued (Harris, 1985) that the availability of concrete and tangible clues (situational features) might generally be compatible with emotive development in younger children (up to the age of six) whereas older children are more likely to refer to mental processes as mediating between situation and emotional response.

8. The main differences between the English and Italian corpora

Apart from the many similarities presented in the previous section, there emerged some differences in the distribution and nature of the cues provided in the Italian and English corpora. The Italian corpus contains noticeably more references to emotion across all the types (see Table 2/A in the appendix). The difference is particularly marked in the tale of The Three Little Pigs. In the Little Red Riding Hood tales it applies only to the indirect references whereas in the Goldilocks tales it applies only to the direct references. The use of reported speech is far more common in Italian 3P and LR but more common in English G (see Table 2/B in the appendix).

A closer look reveals that it is anger, fear and, particularly, happiness which are referred to more frequently in Italian 3P (see Table 3 in the appendix). Whilst the aggression of the English wolf tends to be associated with his feeling of hunger (arguably a bodily state rather than an emotion), the Italian wolf is often presented as acting or speaking out of frustration at not getting his way (a type of concern that would cue an appraisal of anger). So, for example, the English wolf “ate up the little pig” (v 4) but the Italian is also referred to as “cominciò a tempestare di pugni la porta” [started to pummel the door with his fists] (v 1) or as shouting at one of the little pigs “vieni qui, dove scappi?” [come here, where are you running away to?] (v 1). Similarly, the physical pain experienced by the wolf at the end of the story, when he gets burnt by the hot boiling water, is more likely to be interpreted simply as an unpleasant bodily experience in the English tales, through references such as: “he fell right into the pot” (v 1). The Italian tales, on the other hand, refer more often to the avoidance actions taken by the wolf following his concern for his own safety after experiencing the pain. He is often said to have run away never to be seen again. He is also referred to as screaming
“Aiuto, aiuto, vado a fuoco!” [Help, help, I am on fire!] (v 3). This type of clue allows the reader to appreciate the wolf’s fear as well as his pain. In the English versions it is mainly the pigs’ fear that is referred to in these ways. It is also interesting to notice that in the Italian 3P happiness-like feelings are also shown to be experienced inappropriately, that is, out of misinterpretation of the event, leading to incorrect appraisal. The actions and speech attributed to the little pigs refer not only to the positive sense of relief after escaping from the wolf but also to their state of ignorant bliss which prevent them from being more careful in the first place. They are frequently referred to as dancing and singing whilst unaware of the danger around them. The stories also refer to the wolf’s own feeling of happiness (through mention of his actions such as smacking or licking his lips and expressions of delight at the prospect of the rich meal awaiting him) derived from the misplaced belief that he is going to eat the little pigs. It is this kind of reference which accounts for the wider representation of happiness in Italian 3P. It is also worth noticing the wide reliance, in Italian 3P, on the action clues, both in relation to fear and happiness. The English versions, on the other hand, rely more frequently on reference to experience to cue fear (see appendix: Table 4).

In the Little Red Riding Hood tales the main character, a little girl by that name, is told by her mother to take some food to her grandmother who is not well. The girl has to cross a wood in order to get there and she meets a wolf. The wolf finds out where she is going and beats her to her destination by tricking her. He gains access to her grandmother’s house by pretending to be Red Riding Hood and attacks the grandmother (she escapes or is eaten). When Red Riding Hood arrives he attacks her too (she is eaten or tries to escape). The little girl and her grandmother are rescued by a woodcutter or the girl’s father and the wolf either escapes or is killed. It is fear, surprise and happiness that are indirectly referred to more often in the Italian than in the English versions of this tale (see Table 3 in the appendix). Red Riding Hood’s actions, thoughts and speech provide frequent cues to her fear as she is confronted with the wolf’s aggressive behaviour. Red Riding Hood’s surprise at the sight of the wolf dressed up as her grandmother is also more frequently referred to through her speech in Italian. A further difference relates to the girl’s happy feelings. As in the case of the three pigs, the higher number of references in Italian is due to the inclusion of appropriate as well as inappropriate happiness. Red Riding Hood’s happiness-related actions, thoughts and words are frequently presented as preventing her from appreciating the danger of the situation. References to love, which feature relatively frequently in this tale (not at all in Goldilocks and hardly at all in The Three Little Pigs), are achieved mainly through reported speech in the Italian and through action clues in the English tales. Direct references to love account, mainly, for the higher number of direct references in the English versions. In the Italian versions of this tale, the little girl’s thoughts are often referred to as clues to her emotional states (across the whole range of emotions) (see Table 4 in the appendix). This is particularly noticeable as the characters’ thoughts are not otherwise frequently referred to in the tales analysed. Such thoughts, however, are generally, presented as short utterances, resembling silent speech and, as such, they
may be seen as further examples of verbal cues (including reader’s changes in voice and intonation) rather than actual thought processes.

In the Goldilocks tales the main character is a little girl, Goldilocks, who enters the home of a family of bears, mother, father and little child, while they are out. She eats their food, sits on their chairs, sleeps on their beds and falls asleep. When they come back the bears are surprised at the intruders’ actions. Goldilocks wakes up as they find her sleeping on one of the beds and she runs away scared. In contrast to the previous tales, the indirect references to emotion are far more frequent in the English than in the Italian versions. The English corpus contains also more instances of negative surprise (combined either with anger or sadness), expressed through the bears’ words, and of Goldilocks’ fear, cued mainly through her actions.

One can see that the differences identified between the corpora depend on the specific tale and the type of emotions represented. They also vary in relation to the wider functional framework of the tales, including the overall representation of the characters and their situations. Further comparative analysis of the corpora (which could not be reported in detail as part of this chapter) reveals that the Italian versions of the tales are nearly always framed by an evaluative concern of an ethical nature. The authors explicitly assess the characters and their behaviours as essentially bad or good and are concerned with showing the negative consequences of certain behaviours. The younger pigs’ laziness and excessive love of the pleasures of life result in the loss of their houses or even their death. Goldilocks’ selfishness and excessive curiosity appear to be the causes of her frightening experience in the house of the bears. Little Red Riding Hood forgets her mother’s recommendations not to stop in the wood and not to talk to strangers, and her disobedience results in the attacks on her and her grandmother. Such a didactic aim was typical of stories for children during most of the 19th century and across Europe (Egoff et al. 1980) and appears to have been retained to a much higher degree in the Italian than in the English versions. Within this ethical framework emotions may be experienced by the good characters in relation to their temporary objectionable behaviours (the misplaced kind of happiness mentioned above), the consequences of their transgression (fear) as well as in relation to the happy resolution (justified happiness). The bad characters also appear to experience fully-fledged emotions (anger not just hunger and fear not just pain). They are thereby represented as humanised sentient beings who wilfully pursue their crimes and fully appreciate their punishment. In the Goldilocks tales the distinction between good and bad characters is ambiguous. Goldilocks is a little innocent girl but she trespasses into somebody else’s house and uses their property without asking for permission and for no good reason. The bears are frightening animals in themselves but in the tale they are actually the real victims of the situation. These are the only tales in which references to emotion are more common in the English than in the Italian versions, perhaps precisely because some of the features of the typical moral tale are missing.

The English tales do not contain any explicit moralizing messages. The good characters are confronted with problems and face dangers for which they are not responsible.
but of which they need to become aware. The behaviours contributing to their unpleas-
ant experiences are described rather than assessed. Such behaviours and choices are
presented as motivated by chance in the case of the little pigs (who stumble across dif-
ferent types of building materials for their houses, one of which turns out to be better
suited than the others), by a caring attitude in the case of Little Red Riding Hood (who
stops in the wood to pick flowers to please her grandmother and talks to the wolf out of
courtesy) and by the natural curiosity of childhood in the case of Goldilocks (who
wishes to taste, touch and experience food and objects in a new environment). The
emphasis is, thus, on the characters’ successful escape from the unexpected danger and,
in several versions, on their skills (quick-mindedness, courage and resourcefulness) in
coping with the adverse circumstances. Their feeling of fear is related to the danger they
encounter and their happiness to their successful escape or natural appreciation of the
environment. The bad characters are presented as more dangerous by their aggressive
nature and instincts than wilfully evil. As mentioned, they appear to experience feel-
ings of hunger and pain rather than full emotions of anger and fear. In the absence of
real bad characters and dangers, as in the Goldilocks tales, emotions are still widely
represented (more than in the Italian versions, as noticed) in relation to the characters’
reactions to their predicaments: mainly surprise in combination with anger or sadness
for the bears, and fear or surprise in combination with happiness for Goldilocks.

Overall, however, the fact that the representation of the characters’ emotion is less
prominent in the English than in the Italian versions could be due to further func-
tional differences. The English tales, for example, are characterised by greater struc-
tural and lexical repetition, which supports the effective build-up of tension and sus-
pense, challenges the readers/ listeners’ attention and participation and, arguably,
arouses their emotions. It could thus be argued that the English tales appear to promote
the readers’ emotive experience as much through the representation of the characters’
emotions as through the direct arousal of their emotions. This is also true for the Italian
tales but to a lesser extent. Further comparative analysis would be needed to support
this claim. In the English tales more words are also used to describe the settings of the
stories and in relation to the main characters’ nature (good or bad, as revealed through
their speech and actions) rather than their feelings. In many cases the descriptions of
objects, actions and settings through oppositional or incremental categories such as
hot/cold, small/big, weak/strong/very strong reveals a concern with teaching basic vo-
cabulary and concepts. This concern is less apparent in the Italian tales.

Some of the differences in the representation of emotion between the two corpora
relate to their greater or lesser reliance on the action, thought or experiential clues
provided in the tales. As mentioned, fear and happiness are represented through ac-
tion more often in the Italian than in the English Three Little Pigs, whereas in the
English versions of this tale, fear is more frequently represented through experiential
cues. Apart from the representation of surprise, combined with anger or sadness, in
the Goldilocks tales, the reliance on verbal clues is overall much stronger in Italian. In
the Little Red Riding Hood tales, love is more frequently expressed through action
clues in English and verbal clues in Italian. Differences can be observed also across emotions, in that, surprise, for example, is represented mostly through verbal clues in both corpora. Findings of this nature appear to point to the existence of preferential cognitive processing of emotion whereby some components may be perceived as more salient than others. It is impossible to draw any conclusions in this regard just on the basis of these findings. Further insight could be gained by analysing many more stories and, particularly, through experiments testing children's understanding of the emotive content of the stories in relation to the specific cues provided.

Some of the differences in emotive representation and emphasis seen above may have to do with the functions that these tales appear to fulfil in their respective cultural contexts. Some aspects of the educational contexts in which the tales are read and their potential significance in terms of emotive expression are briefly presented in the next section. A wider study of contextual features would be needed in order to draw stronger conclusions as to the link between linguistic choices and cultural factors.

9. The significance of the educational context

Modern versions of traditional fairy tales are still widely used at home and nursery school as a form of entertainment but also for their perceived educative value. They may be read by or to young children to promote their literacy skills, to instruct them in a particular use of language (e.g. words for sounds, materials, physical phenomena), to promote appropriate behaviour as well as, more or less consciously, to promote the acquisition of emotive literacy.

Following interviews with Mrs Martin, manager of the University of East Anglia nursery school in Norwich, England and with two Italian nursery teachers working in Monza, Italy (June 2005) and according to the research by New (1999) into current nursery teaching practice in Italy and how it compares to the Anglo-Saxon model, the following trends can be observed. In conformity with Anglo-Saxon teaching practice English nursery teachers use simplified versions of the traditional fairy tales to encourage literacy and early learning of vocabulary and concepts. Large picture books are the preferred presentation medium. The readings are often followed by activities in which the material of the stories is re-elaborated through the children's active involvement, particularly in drama and verbalization of issues and emotions, often with the specific aim of encouraging the development of creative skills and emotional literacy. Within the Italian nursery education system the emphasis is generally on interpersonal skills, that is, on establishing a good relationship between the children themselves and between teachers, children and their parents and other key members of the community. The aim is to forge strong social ties which may replicate and extend the children's family ties and values for the benefit of all involved. Key concepts are 'inserimento' (welcoming the child and family to childcare) and 'gestione sociale' (social management of children's early educational experiences). In this context story-telling times are seen as
promoting the emotive attachment between children and teachers, as exploring group strategies for dealing with adverse occurrences and negative figures (the tale of the Three Little Pigs was said to be particularly suitable here). Fairy tales also provide the opportunity to discuss ethical concerns such as obedience and the consequences of transgression (the tales of Little Red Riding Hood and Goldilocks were said to be particularly relevant in this respect). Story-telling is generally part of the wider ‘learning together’ approach which encourages discovery and exploration and provides opportunities for creative thinking and skill development but not in the context of a particularly formalised curriculum. The Goldilocks tale, for example, could also be exploited for sensorial discovery (the smell, taste, appearance and feel of food and objects).

It may be argued that the differences in emotive representation identified in the two corpora of tales broadly reflect the differences in educational functions outlined above. The emphasis on the interpersonal values promoted through nursery education in Italy is compatible with the prominent behaviour-forming function of the Italian tales and the focus on emotions related to transgression and the intentionally aggressive or deceitful behaviour of others. The focus on structured early learning (literacy, essential concepts, creative skills and emotive literacy itself) fostered in the English nursery education system is more compatible, on the other hand, with the emphasis on the problem-solving and exploratory function of the English tales. From this perspective emotions may be approached in terms of their overall range (not just in relation to transgression but also in relation to loss and good feelings towards others). This is the case, for example, in the Goldilocks tales (the anger and sadness experienced by the bears) and in the Red Riding Hood tales (the little girl’s love for her grandmother and vice versa). Emotion is also relevant in terms of the dramatic impact achieved through the structuring of the stories (in consideration of potential re-elaboration and alternative adaptations on the part of the children), which, as mentioned, is particularly important in the English tales but is not explored in this study.

10. Value of the research presented and concluding remarks

This study has shown that it is possible to devise a methodology which allows for the analysis of emotive expression in fairy tales. The methodology takes into account a componential view of emotion whereby emotive meaning can be derived through a variety of clues as experienced in the real world and encoded through language: verbal, behavioural, physical, experiential and cognitive. It was argued that linguists interested in the analysis of emotive meaning have repeatedly recognised that such meaning can be expressed directly (by direct lexical reference) and indirectly (by reference to emotion-arising or emotion-induced events). Both psychologists and linguists, therefore, appreciate the essential role played by context in the process of emotion-appraisal. The necessary contextual information has to do with an individual’s main concerns as
identifiable in the real world or in discourse (in the case of the fictitious characters in the fairy tales).

The linguistic analysis supports the view long held by educationalists and psychologists that fairy tales can communicate emotive content in a way that may contribute to children's emotive development. It was pointed out that this may be the case precisely because the characters' emotions are not frequently referred to directly by means of abstract words whose meanings children may still find difficult to grasp, but mostly indirectly by reference to emotion-related events and concerns. It was noticed that emotive content is conveyed primarily through verbal clues and then, very frequently, by means of reference to the characters' actions and experiences. It was argued that these are the types of basic clues on which early acquisition and conceptualization of any kind relies. The analysis also shows that negative emotions, particularly fear, are those most frequently cued in the tales. This can be seen as confirmation that fairy tales may provide children with the opportunity to deal with negative emotions in a safe environment, as mentioned in section 7.

As the two corpora analysed were produced in different cultural environments and through different languages, the analysis also raised the question of whether certain clues are more frequent or certain emotion types more widely represented than others between the corpora. This may point to variation in the socialization of emotion, in correspondence with different cultural practices. In section 9 it was suggested that some of the differences observed may be related to other aspects of the tales (the interplay between the emotive and further meanings expressed) and may be interpreted in terms of the educational context in which the tales are read. It was argued that the overall more frequent reference to emotion in the Italian corpus may be linked to the moral content of the tales, particularly in relation to transgression and its consequences and the emphasis on the evil intent of the bad characters. It was suggested that such ethical concerns are compatible with the value placed on interpersonal relationships within the Italian nursery education system. It was noticed that the moral aspect is hardly visible in the English tales, in which the focus is primarily on the dangers and predicaments faced by the good characters and their successful escape. It was also observed that the British authors are particularly preoccupied with the dramatic build-up of tension achieved through specific structural devices, that is, as much with producing as with representing emotion. It could be argued that the English tales share some of the features of typical action stories, in which the nature of the characters is unquestionably either good or bad, as repeatedly confirmed by their actions, words and behaviours. These stories are about the triumph of good over evil rather than about the characters' choices between good-producing and bad-producing behaviours as in the Italian versions. It was also mentioned that the English tales are vehicles for the teaching of basic vocabulary and concepts related to the physical world to a larger extent than the Italian tales. It was suggested that the problem-solving, effect-producing and pedagogical functions of the English tales seem to be compatible with the emphasis on early learning within the English nursery education system. The analysis of a larger
The expression of emotion in Italian and English fairy tales

The number of modern stories for children in the two different cultural settings may reveal and confirm further preferences and socialization paths in relation to the conceptualization of emotion through the medium of stories. As suggested at the end of section 8, appropriate experiments testing children’s reception of emotive meaning through the stories would also be necessary to gain a clearer picture.

The methodology employed in this study could be used to analyse the representation of emotion in other registers in which emotive content is widely coded. By focusing on the textual and cultural context through which emotive competence is mediated, it is possible to show the nature of the process by which words for different emotions acquire their meanings and emotions themselves may be conceptualised differently. In view of the fact that words and concepts acquire their meanings by association with specific experiences, activities and expressions in specific contexts, it is not at all surprising that they are particularly difficult to transfer across languages and cultures.

The methodology and approach adopted in this study were informed by theories and findings from the cognitive sciences and education as well as from linguistics and by a concern with the universal and biologically-programmed as well as culture-specific and socially-acquired aspects of language. It is hoped, therefore, that the study has further contributed to demonstrating the merits of cross-fertilization in linguistic analysis.

References

Fairy Tales (listed by corpus, tale and version):

**Italian tales:**

**The Three Little Pigs**

**Little Red Riding Hood**

**Goldilocks**

**English Tales**

**The Three Little Pigs**

**Little Red Riding Hood**
Goldilocks

Appendix

Tables Of Main Results

Tables 2 (A and B) Showing the number of occurrences of direct and indirect references to emotion in the Italian and English corpora in general (A) and by tale (B)

Table 2/A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English (7774 word)s</th>
<th>Italian (7459 words)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total references</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct references</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indirect references</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind references via direct speech</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2/B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The Three Little Pigs</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>Indirect reference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>65 (20 speech processes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36 (8 speech processes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Goldilocks and the Three Bears</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>Indirect reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>48 (31 speech processes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67 (44 speech processes)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little Red Riding Hood</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>Indirect reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>57 (22 speech processes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39 (18 speech processes)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Showing the number of occurrences according to emotion type and types of references. Verbal processes are presented separately from the other indirect references.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English (2918 words)</th>
<th>Italian (2627 words)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HAPPINESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>7 (including other positive)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17 (+3 repeated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANGER</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SADNESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOVE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>
Goldilocks and the Three Bears: a tale of surprise (+anger/sadness/happiness) and fear

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotion</th>
<th>Speech</th>
<th>Direct Reference</th>
<th>Indirect Reference</th>
<th>English (1743 words)</th>
<th>Italian (1778 words)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SURPRISE</strong></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(happinessx4; sadnessx3; anger/sadnessx27)</td>
<td>23 (happinessx3; angerx2; sadnessx5; anger/sadnessx6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HAPPINESS</strong></td>
<td>1 (+4 with surprise)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (+3 with surprise)</td>
<td>1 (other positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEAR</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANGER</strong></td>
<td>6 (+27 with surprise)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 (+8 with surprise)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SADNESS</strong></td>
<td>0 (+30 with surprise)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 (+11 with surprise)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Little Red Riding Hood: a tale of fear, surprise, love and happiness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English (3115 words)</th>
<th>Italian (3054 words)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>9 + 1(x3)</td>
<td>17 + 1(x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SURPRISE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HAPPINESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>7 (including other positive.)</td>
<td>11 (including other positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SADNESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct reference</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Reference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>
Table 4. Showing the number of occurrences by type of indirect reference other than verbal processes

The Three Little Pigs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference type</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action processes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36 (+ 3 repeated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodily (re)action or state proc</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiential proc (causes)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought processes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Goldilocks and the Three Bears

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference type</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action processes</td>
<td>10 (+ 6 repeated)</td>
<td>4 (+ 5 repeated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodily (re)action or state proc</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiential proc (causes)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought processes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Little Red Riding Hood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference type</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action processes</td>
<td>21 (+ 2 repeated)</td>
<td>19 (+ 1 repeated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodily (re)action or state proc</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 (+ 1 repeated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiential proc (causes)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought processes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 5. Showing the number of occurrences by emotion type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LR</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SURPRISE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LR</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HAPPINESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>1 (+ 4 with surprise)</td>
<td>1 (+ 3 with surprise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LR</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30 (+4)</td>
<td>59 (+3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SADNESS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>2 (+ 30 with surprise)</td>
<td>6 (+ 11 with surprise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3 (+ 30)</td>
<td>10 (+11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANGER</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>9 (+ 27 with surprise)</td>
<td>8 (+ 8 with surprise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LR</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12 (+ 27)</td>
<td>21 (+ 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOVE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LR</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The feminine stereotype in gay characterization
A look at English and Spanish*

Félix Rodríguez González
University of Alicante

In this article I give an account of the different terms related to effeminacy, as one of the main stereotypes associated with homosexuality. Some have a symbolic value and are used by gays in their self-characterization, but most are used by heterosexuals with humorous or insulting purposes. They belong to the historic and contemporary gay lexicon of both English and Spanish, and have been drawn from oral and written sources, in particular from an extensive forthcoming Spanish dictionary (Diccionario gay-lésbico) written by the author. The lexical items under consideration have been classified in semantic categories, and their analysis has enabled us to explore the affinities and differences in attitudes towards gays found in both cultures.

1. Introduction

In the last two centuries and especially in the last few decades we have witnessed radical changes in social attitudes towards homosexuality. Nevertheless, in spite of the decisive steps made towards normalization thanks to the pressure of the gay liberation movement, stigma is still perceived. And the best proof of this discrimination lies in language, where heterosexual society and even gays themselves project their own atavistic prejudices. In this article I will give an account of the different terms related to effeminacy, as one of the main stereotypes associated with homosexuality, and examine the relations between the two concepts, “effeminacy” and “homosexuality”, as they are not always placed on an equal footing. Some terms have a symbolic value and are used by gays in their self-characterization, but most are used by heterosexuals with humorous or insulting purposes. They belong to the historical and contemporary gay

* Special thanks to David L. Gold and Nancy Joe Dyer for their critical comments and suggestions. I alone bear the responsibility for the final text of the chapter.
lexicon of both English and Spanish, and have been drawn from oral and written sources, especially English lexicographic works and an extensive Spanish dictionary, *Diccionario gay-lésbico* soon to appear (Rodríguez 2008c). The lexical items under consideration have been classified in semantic categories, and their analysis has enabled us to explore the affinities and differences in attitudes towards gays found in both cultures.

2. Feminine references in gay denominations and allusions

2.1 Femininity and homosexuality

In the ancient Greek and Roman world the concept of effeminacy was not necessarily linked to homosexuality, for the simple reason that, to start with, the categories homosexual and heterosexual did not exist in the minds of the majority of people. In fact, several ancient writers called many heterosexual males “effeminate” (Boswell 1992: 361–362). In the ancient Greek World there was the idea that an effeminate man spent time with women since through contact with them he assumed their thoughts and gradually became more womanly.

This does not mean that effeminacy could not be present in a sexual relation between males but that notion was understood in a very special sense, in relation with the passivity shown in anal intercourse. In fact, in both Greece and Rome, but especially in Greece, the passive behaviour of a free adult man involved in a sexual relation with another male, especially if he was young, was branded as feminine and looked down on inasmuch as that was a role a woman was supposed to play. By taking on this role, the freeman was essentially putting himself in the position of a slave by voluntarily relinquishing his freedom and willingly giving it to another.

On the other hand, effeminacy in ancient times was also taken in a moral sense, which made the meaning especially imprecise, encompassing not only feminine traits but also unconventional and bizarre appearance and behaviour. Thus, in Roman times, Cicero, in his *Tusculanae disputationes*, in tune with his stoicism, warned against the effeminate soul, discrediting it as perverse, despicable and weak. But leaving this particular meaning, if we stick to the most frequent use of the term (external behaviour with feminine manners), we cannot say that in Imperial Rome effeminacy was rejected outright; in fact in some circles it was even praised.

In time, however, throughout the Middle Ages, as Christianity expanded, the repression of homosexuality became established and the connection between the style of conduct considered inappropriate to a man (effeminacy) and sexual preference (homosexuality) was clearer in people's minds, given the greater frequency of effeminacy among homosexual males. This prejudice is not alien to the man in the street of today, to whom speaking of effeminacy and affectation has been traditionally taken as a synonym of lack of virility and manhood. The fact that men were considered to be weak
and cowardly if they exhibited conduct or manners commonly attributed to women was a sign of misogyny and the latent machismo which still survives today. In the subconscious of many people, in accordance with the prevailing system of gender roles, a simplistic equation is established: if a man likes another man, he must be a woman, and if biologically he is not, then he is effeminate (cf. Enguix 2000).

Lexicography has witnessed such changes, reflected for example in the semantic evolution of a term like marica in Spanish (from ‘effeminate’ it came to mean also ‘homosexual’ and ‘weak man’). And these three semantic features, especially the first two, occur in other terms, both in Spanish and English. As for the effeminate stereotype which underlies most terms designating gay men, what is most interesting from a lexicosemantic view are the allusions and multiple associations they have with women.

2.2 Allusions to women

The first thing to notice when examining the various terms of gay characterization is the frequent reference to homosexuality and/or effeminacy with a euphemistic or dysphemistic purpose through words which make explicit allusion to a woman or to the double male/female condition of a person. Among the English examples gathered are womanish, antiman, unman, sissy-boy, sister-boy, galboy, girl, girlboy, lad-lass, gentlemiss, ladyboy, nancy boy, she-male, and most recently fembo (a blend of female and Rambo or bimbo). A similar list can be provided for Spanish: adamado, amadamado (from French madame ‘lady’), afeminado, amaricado, amujerado, cuasihembra, chico femenino, mediohembra, mediohombre, mujer, mujeril, niña, nena; and ruminé (lit. ‘effeminate’), from gypsy slang (cf. Rodríguez 2008c).

A similar reference can be noticed in the use of women’s names, through “antonomasy”, a very singular English device to judge from the numerous examples found: Agnes, Annie, Betty, Charlotte Ann, Daisy, Ethel, Jessie, Lily, Nancy, Miss Nancy (from which nancy boy derives), Mary, Mary Ann, margery (< Margery), nellie (or Nellie). But the semantic transparency is somewhat lost when these names are spelt with initial small letters instead of the capitals needed for proper nouns. And even more when they undergo some morphological change, as in nance (< nancy < Nancy) or moll, from Molly – which some authors in turn consider a diminutive of Mary and make us recall the molly-houses, the famous meeting places of homosexuals in Britain during the 18th and 19th centuries, apart from other lexical remnants such as mollycoddle, mollyfock, mollyhead and the verb molly ‘to sodomize’.

Spanish provides only few cases of this type. I have only found maría which, although it is rarely used in such form, has been very productive in its derivatives; apart from the well-known marica, maricón and mariquita, and the obsolete mariol, marión, marioso, one could add a great many individual coinages with the combining form mari- (diminutive of María), mariconchi, maripiercing, etc.; more recent is the humorous marujo, a masculine form derived from maruja, after Maruja, another name for a
woman. And in Hispano-America, teresita (dim. of Teresa) is used to mean “passive homosexual” (Mira 2002: 506).

Another peculiar denomination, quite dysphemistic in intention, is obtained by a metonymic allusion to a woman through her genitals (the vulva, or more popularly, the cunt). Thus in English pussy is used from the end of the 18th century to refer to a woman as a sexual object, but also to a homosexual or effeminate man, and from the 1960’s derives the expression khaki pussy, a soldier who offers his comrades sexual services ‘with his ass’. We can also cite yonic man ‘man who likes to be penetrated during sexual intercourse’, derived from the Hindi word yoni ‘vagina’.

In Spanish, likewise, I have attested chocho (‘cunt’ in slang) and chochón (‘big cunt’) generally used as affectionate terms of address among homosexuals, and also designations of ‘effeminacy’ through reference to other physical features of women, such as the lack of a beard (barbilindo, barbilampiño, barbilucio).

Mythology and folklore also provide some homosexual names which, in a metaphorical and less explicit way, allude to a woman. A good example is present-day English fairy, coined in American English at the end of the 19th century, although its etymology is debatable. Almost everybody assumes it comes from the word used to designate that supernatural creature of folklore, but according to Norton (2002) that is a reinterpretation, and hence a folk etymology, as the original term with a homosexual reference is fary ‘effeminate’, used for the first time, as far as he knows, to describe males participating in drag balls in New York in the 1890’s. Clearer is the mythological reference in a less known term, Shiva, from the association with the Hindu god, generally considered a male but also alluded to as a half-man, half-woman being. From US gay slang of the 1960’s there is also the word nymphette ‘attractive gay youngster’, whose equivalent Spanish term is ninfa (‘nymph’). Other evident terms in Spanish, with regard to mythology, are blanca nieves (‘Snow White’) and sirena (‘mermaid’).

2.3 Colour

One of the associations indirectly related to femininity is colour, which is used, also metonymically, to characterize homosexuality. The oldest one I have heard of in this regard is white. According to Ingemann (1981–82; cited by Espejo 1990: 10), in ancient Greece leikós (‘white colour’) was associated with cowardice and effeminacy, since brave and virile men were usually employed in tasks where their skin took on a dark shade, either by playing in the arena, working under the sun, or going to the agora. Thus, by contrast, the pale or whitish tinge of the skin used to be associated with women since, being confined to the house, she was not exposed to the rays of sunlight. This

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2. Even the word vagina itself and the concept of femininity are evoked by gays when they make use of humorous expressions such as mangina, generally used to refer to males’ anal sex, and mamhole (< ‘hole of mammy’) to mean ‘ass’.
explains why the word *leikóproptos* was coined to refer to adults who played a passive role in male sexual encounters.

But this particular association has not survived, because dark skin nowadays is regarded as a sign of prestige and sexual appeal which leads many, especially women, to get a suntan. What is well known today is the association of women and homosexuals with lavender, purple, and other similar colours such as violet, mauve, and lily.

Some authors claim that purple symbolizes homosexuality as it is a colour obtained through the combination of blue and red, which designate the masculine and feminine genders respectively. But such a wide consensus as to its symbolism leads us to think that it has deeper roots. Grahn (1990: 3–12) examines the presence of purple or lavender throughout history in many traditions and spheres of life, and suggests some points of connection between them.

Purple was a colour associated with spirituality and religious rites in the past, but also with people concerned with joie de vivre such as minstrels and jesters in the medieval age. Against such a historical background, we should not be surprised if in time it was chosen to form part of the secret culture of underground homosexual groups. Bearing this in mind one can understand why to psychologists who study colour, people with a tendency towards purple-violet usually have artistic and mystic/religious tastes because of the aura of mystery these colours evoke. It is also a colour which has an impact on the industry of women’s perfumes and is regarded the most sexual of all. Thus, one can understand why in time this colour has become an emblem for the homosexual movements that appeared in the second half of the 20th century.

In the United States, “lavender” has been known as the symbol of homosexuals since the 1930’s; some lesbians have even used it as a key code to refer to themselves. From then onwards, the symbolism of this gamut of colours has been reinforced to the point of being lexicalized. Thus, in English gay jargon one can attest purple and especially lavender as adjectives meaning ‘homosexual’, as in Purple Power, and lavender boy (Green 1994 [1993]: 231), as well as lavender convention, which designates a meeting of gays or hustlers (Neaman / Silver 1983: 238). As an adjective, lavender abounds in linguistic terminology specialised in gender identity: lavender language, lavender texts, lavender phonology/terminology, lavender lexicon.

Spanish offers similar symbolism with the terms *lila* (‘lilac’), *malvaloca* (‘rose mallow’) and *violeta* (‘violet’) but, in contrast with English, these have a highly pejorative connotation. Violeta was especially used by the police and the conservative press of the Franco regime during the 1950’s and 1960’s in order to discredit the homosexual male community, as shown in the book Redada de violetas by Arturo Arnalte (2003), although originally its symbolic value seems to have come from the name of the flower and was applied to a lesbian context. (cf. Mira 2002: 751)

Related to these colours is pink, which will always be remembered with sadness ever since the famous pink triangle became the emblem used by Nazis in their
concentration camps as an identification mark for transvestites and transsexuals, and later for homosexuals. But today it is used as a sign of “gay pride” and as a shelter for gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transsexuals, that is, the group known as GLBT in the specialized literature. And this occurs in many different languages and cultures. This symbol is not unknown in Russian where lesbians are also known by the slangy name rósavaya ‘pink’.

The choice of this colour is not accidental, if we consider that traditionally mothers chose it to dress their female babies and, occasionally, to decorate the bed of their young daughters; even advertising responds to these associations so that the publishing market often selects this colour when selling diaries, agendas, notebooks, etc. to young girls. In this way one can explain the high frequency of the adjective rosa ‘pink’ in idiomatic expressions such as cáncer rosa (‘pink cancer’), ladrillo rosa (‘pink brick’), sociedad rosa (‘pink society’), bodas rosas (‘pink weddings’), poder rosa (‘pink power’) and mafia rosa (‘pink mafia’) or its more literary synonym lobby carmesi ‘crimson lobby’. Occasionally the English term is used in the press untranslated as in the Anglicisms pink mafia and pink power. The symbolic value of the adjective rosa (‘pink’) in Spanish is so strongly felt that it has given rise to some derived nouns in slang, such as róseo, rosillo and rosita to refer to the effeminate and homosexual male (cf. Ramoncín 1993).

The colours examined so far, all traditionally related to homosexuality and present in many cultures, belong to the same gamut. I have also found sporadic references to the symbolism of other colours, such as blue and green, whose relation with femininity is not so clear. (For more on this point, see Rodriguez 2008a).

2.4 Flowers

Closely linked with colour and femininity is the world of flowers, because of the vibrancy, beauty and delicacy they suggest. To judge by these associations, one can understand why in our western societies sending a bouquet of flowers is a good compliment to pay a woman. In English denominations of gays metaphoric allusions to flowers are not absent. To start with, the male homosexual is referred to by the generic term flower, but also by means of specific names of flowers such as daisy, daffodil, pansy (whence the derived adjective pansified), and of a type of plant which has flowers, buttercup. Lily is the name of a woman, as I pointed out before, but it also designates a plant of flowers which symbolizes purity and virginity; furthermore, it is used to name the homosexual, especially the one who is afraid of revealing his sexual life (cf. Green 2002). All these names are dead metaphors, wholly lexicalized and incorporated into slang, although they have practically fallen out of use.

Spanish slang provides several terms which evoke the name flor ‘flower’, such as the dated floras, which Lorca used in reference to the queers of Alicante. A more explicit reference to homosexuals is found in mariflor, mariflora, marifloro because of the prefixed element mari- (see section 2.2 above).
The business involving flowers is a job traditionally associated with women, which explains why *ser florista* (lit. ‘to be a florist’) in Venezuelan Spanish means ‘to reveal one’s homosexuality’, as quoted by De la Pava (2000). Spanish *florista* like English *florist* can refer to a ‘flower vender’ as well as any ‘arranger or decorator of flowers’, and in the US it is the latter, the floral designers, often associated with an urban swish crowd, who are likely to be assumed to be gay.4

More slangy, although with no personal reference, is the use of Spanish *flor* and English *flower* to mean ‘ass’, and the same metaphor is found in Spanish *desflorar* and English *deflower* – which both have as their origins Latin *deflorare* ‘to deflower’ [a woman] – sporadically used by gays with the meaning ‘to begin to practice anal sex [with a male].’

2.5 Aesthetic qualities

Beauty, ornament and getting dressed up in order to highlight beauty is another code of femininity which has been traditionally used in our western societies. Today this code has begun to cross boundaries and its most evident prototype is the so-called *metrosexual*, a sociological category which encompasses the heterosexual male concerned with his physical appearance, dress, hairstyle and gentle manners (the actor Brad Pitt, the Spanish singer Alejandro Sanz, and the soccer player David Beckham are some of the more well-known icons).

In the past these affectations were only acceptable for women, and men were “intruders”: crossing that barrier signalled affectation, effeminacy and/or homosexuality. Hence, terms such as *esteta* (‘aesthete’), *lindo* (‘pretty’) and *rubio* (‘blond’) in Spanish. Likewise, in English one of the terms designating an effeminate male is *pretty boy*, and one has to bear in mind that *pretty* is an adjective used to refer to women and children (vs. the more masculine *handsome*).

Wearing jewellery and makeup is also related to feminine coquetry, and this is a practice in which the most effeminate homosexuals have engaged since antiquity. Cardín (1984) gives several testimonies of exotic tribes where men valued beauty and other external features which added to the feminine appearance of a young man.

2.6 Youth

Youth is a factor linked with beauty, and this is reflected in English *ephebe* (or in the Greek form *ephebos*) and Spanish *efebo*, as a synonym for an adolescent boy, which in

4. The design world in general is perceived to attract a large number of gays, and hence floral designers frequently fall into that group. Other “gay” professions are those of actors (especially in musicals), dancers (especially of classical ballet), choreographers, decorators, makeup artists, women’s hairstylists, and in the US Catholic priests, because of the numerous cases of pederasty found among the clergy.
ancient Greece was considered the ideal of beauty. Also from Greek mythology comes the word Ganymede (Spanish Ganímedes), a boy of youthful beauty whom Zeus carried off in the guise of an eagle to serve as his personal cupbearer, and who since Antiquity (as also throughout the Renaissance) has turned into an icon of female beauty and homosexuality. Derived from Greek Ganímedes and via Etruscan came Latin catamitus, the etymon of Spanish catamita and catamito and English catamite. Nowadays the Spanish word has become obsolete, being only sporadically used with a historical reference, but English catamite survives with the double meaning of ‘boy kept for homosexual practices’ and ‘the passive partner in sodomy’ [COD], although within a literary register.

The meaning of ‘attractive homosexual boy’ is found in Spanish ninfa and ninfo, both derived from the more frequent ninfa ‘a beautiful young girl’, another name borrowed from Greek mythology (nymph), and in danone (Dannon), yogurín(a) and yogurcito(a) (‘little yoghourt’) recorded also in heterosexual speech to refer to an attractive young girl. In English, the above-quoted pretty boy carries a similar connotation.

Likewise, childhood provides feminine associations. Well-known is the attraction gay adults feel for a hairless man, as if he were a woman, and none better than a child to evoke such a quality. This accounts for the frequent use of the Spanish adjective aniñado (‘with childlike and delicate features’) in the contact ads of the press addressed to homosexuals. The same feminine connotation is found in niña and nena (‘little girl’) cited above and, in connection with these, in reference to typical girls’ toys like dolls; hence the slangy terms muñeco, muñequita, moña, also used as general terms of affection, and their variants moñi, moño, and, with a more specific reference, teletubby. English also makes use of doll with the same meaning of attractive boy.

Another aesthetic reference is that made to angelic beauty, as is reflected in Spanish in the names of angels serafín ‘seraph’ and querubín ‘cherub’ to refer to a young and sexually attractive homosexual. In English, the more related term is angel / angelina ‘passive homosexual’ (Green 2002).

2.7 Psychological and moral qualities

Somewhat connected with a woman are greater sweetness, delicacy and refinement in manners, hence expressions such as English sweet, nice enough and gentlemess, and Spanish blanco (‘soft’), amable (‘kind’), modoso and modosito (‘well-mannered’) to allude to the effeminate man. That means that the effeminate who exhibits such manners is put on an equal footing with a woman, thus reproducing the heterosexist model of man/woman.

Sweetness, tenderness and softness are positive moral qualities, but in their extreme may turn into weakness and cowardice: weakness is a connotation implicit in

5. In Cuban Spanish, Paz (1998: 95) attests blandito (dim. of blanco ‘soft’) with the meaning of ‘homosexual male’.
Spanish *femenino* (‘feminine’) (and the related terms *afeminado* and *marica*), due to the contrast it bears in Spanish culture with *masculino* ‘masculine’ taken as synonym of virility, as I pointed out earlier. Significantly, English includes the expression *weak sister* with the same meaning. Via metaphor, weakness is reflected in the comparison of male homosexuals with some animals which connote tameness and docility, such as *lamb* and *chicken* (and *chick*), also found in English slang with the meaning of ‘young girl’. Awareness of these associations allows us to understand the effort the Alicante poet Juan Gil Albert put into redefining himself when he said: “No soy masculino pero soy viril” (‘I am not masculine but I am virile’).

### 2.8 Food

Another female association, perhaps not so well perceived in the existing literature, is with food because of the sexual connotations it bears. In one of the English studies on sexism, Nilsen (1972) relates the passive role expected in a woman with her identification with food (for example, *a peach* designates ‘an attractive young woman’). Similarly, in English there are many synonyms of male homosexual which allude to fruit (*fruit*, *fruitier*, *ripe fruit*, *fresh fruit*, *fruit for monkeys*, *fruit plate*, *fruit ma toot*) and cakes (*fruitcake*, *plum-cake*, *apple pie*) – both types being eaten, that is, connoting objects, something passive – as well as the one tasting and eating them (*fruit-fly*, *cake-eater*); and as an adjective with the meaning of effeminate, *fruity*. In the case of fruit, not only one may think in terms of food, also of the fact that they are easy to take.

Some of the terms denoting fruit could also be associated with the stereotypically soft nature of homosexuals to which I referred earlier, as is evidenced in the names of some specific types of fruit such as English *banana* and *quince* and Spanish *plátano* ‘banana’ and *paraguayo* ‘doughnut peach’.

Continuing with food, it is worth mentioning other synonyms coined from names of typical tasty dishes, such as *chicken* and *chicken delight*, which will delight the *chicken-hawk*, an older male homosexual who is in pursuit of young boys like a bird of prey. More specifically, “tacos” from Mexican cookery are recalled in the expression *taco queen*, ‘male attracted by Mexican men for sexual relations’, and also ‘Mexican drag-queen’. Likewise, Chinese homosexual males are characterized in slang as *chinese food* and *tiny meat* (cf. Stanley 1974: 390). As for Spanish, we could cite *yogurcito* and *danone* ‘attractive young boy’ mentioned above.

### 2.9 Occupations and professions

Some terms referring to gays, especially young gays, come from professions and occupations often associated with women such as hair-styling (*peluquera*), decorating

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6. Another expression related to homosexuals is *fruit loop*, which designates a cruising area where cars with gays circle continuously in the search of a sexual partner.
(tapicera), and fashion (zarina). Peluquera, lit. ‘hair-dresser’ [f] is a fairly uneducated gay who is concerned with hairstyles and creams; and in Venezuela peluquero [m] is a gay, in general [De la Pava 2000]. Tapicera, lit. ‘tapestry maker’ [f] is a gay devoted to designing and fond of having the house tidy. And zarina is a shop assistant, a stylist, a window dresser or a designer for the retail clothing chain “Zara” ([Infante/Alas 2002: 149).

Professional discrimination based on gender is not new. In general, society traditionally has assigned certain types of work to women, for example kitchen work, to such an extent that the person who enters that territory, and by extension, the one who is concerned with the tasks usually relegated to women, is nicknamed cocinilla(s) (from cocina ‘kitchen’). Of course this is changing nowadays with the rise of super gourmet chefs, mostly daytime TV heroes, like Carlos Arguiñano in Spain, and Emiril Lagasse, Mario Battaglia, and scores of macho types in the United States.

2.10 Prostitution

Another feminine association with homosexuality is “prostitution”, which in actual fact is another occupation or trade, the oldest trade in the world, as it is sometimes euphemistically called. Traditionally, it has referred to women, unless the sexual exchange involves males, in which case we talk of “male prostitution”. The association of ‘prostitutes’ with ‘homosexuals’ is not new and is reflected in many words and cultures. It derives not only from the relation between women and male effeminacy, but above all for socio-cultural and contextual reasons. In the eyes of society, a great number of prostitutes and homosexuals in the past lived a dissolute life in the underworld and at times ended up working in prostitution, although the male prostitute was often disguised and turned out to be less conspicuous and, perhaps because of that, more acceptable

In some terms of homosexual characterization, the relation between the two elements has been almost forgotten with the passing of time, so that it can only be traced after historical and etymological research. A good example is Spanish sarasa ‘effeminate/homosexual male’. According to Corominas (1980), the word comes from medieval Spanish zaraza, which was used in the 14th century (around 1335) with the meaning of ‘type of ointment or poisonous paste’, and later, in a figurative sense, ‘a loose woman’, after which it was applied to male effeminates in manners and appearance. The prevailing Andalusian pronunciation sarasa dates back to early 1900’s.

An examination of the long trajectory of the English words gay and queen to mean ‘homosexual’ also leads us to discover some connection with prostitution in a remote past. As for gay, although the meanings of ‘gay, merry’ and ‘loose’ significantly contributed to marking its homosexual reference, between the end of the 18th and the end of the 19th centuries it was applied to a loose woman who worked as a prostitute (Green 2002).

Nor is the semantic connection well-known with queen, as an older effeminate and homosexual man is called in Spanish. The term comes from English where it had taken on that meaning by the end of the 19th century. Although it is usually translated
and associated with the meaning of ‘queen’ (Spanish reina, hence its derivative reino-
na), actually it constitutes a variant of quean (from Old English cwene ‘woman’), used
since the 16th century to refer to a ‘prostitute’. Furthermore, in the 19th century it
added the meaning of ‘male prostitute’ (or hustler), often a transvestite, and from there
it became a general term for ‘homosexual’. The graphic variant quean was lost in the
1960’s (Thorne 1997).

2.11 Clothing

A more occasional reference to women is made by alluding to their clothes in a few
terms which, although they do not always have the general meaning of homosexual,
belong to sociological categories closely linked with that concept. Such is the case of
bardaje, ‘passive sodomite’, according to the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española
[drae], and, by extension, ‘homosexual’ (Gran Diccionario del Argot [gda]). The term
dates back to Persian bardag ‘slave’ and it was originally applied to a man who wore
female clothes and played the role of a woman. French adopted the form bardache,
which was borrowed by American English (berdache), to refer to a type of man who in
some Amerindian tribes was dressed as a woman and assumed her role in the house,
while the wife was concerned with war activities, thus inverting the traditional gender
roles (cf. Urdang 1969; Webster’s 1994).

Nearer to us and more well-known is the relation of dress with the English word
drag, which has also been borrowed into Spanish. In its straight sense it means the
clothing which is characteristic of one sex and worn by the other, although it is mainly
used to refer to the female dress that a man occasionally wears. Originally, it was used
in the context of the theatre to designate the female dress worn by an actor, and with
this meaning it is recorded in English for the first time, as far as we know, in 1870
(Lighter 1994), and later, in the 1920’s, now with a homosexual reference, being ap-
plied to the female dress worn by homosexual males in their performances (Green
2002). With this idea in mind, a few authors have given voice to what appears to be a
folk-etymology by claiming that it came earlier than that from the initials of the phrase
Dressed As A Girl, attributed to play annotations in Shakespeare’s times when women
were not allowed to play and men took their roles.

In Spanish drag is often used as an Anglicism in the gay jargon as an abbreviation
of drag queen ‘male homosexual who dresses as a woman’. Many gays and lesbians
disapprove of drag queens, thinking that their representations mock women inasmuch
as they generally disguise themselves in not very presentable roles, such as prostitutes,
Lolitas and showgirls. Others, to the contrary, defend the roles adopted by drag queens,
considering them to be practising the art of imitation, and rejecting any notion of de-
ceit or ridicule (White 1980: 240).

Still more evident, especially for the Spanish speaker, is the relation of dress to the
term travesti (or transvesti), and still more with travestido), used as adjectives and
nouns generally to refer to a man disguised as a woman with playful or erotic intentions.
It was first introduced by the German psychologist Magnus Hirschfeld in his work *Die Transvestiten* (‘The transvestites’), 1910. From then onwards it was associated with fetishism and eroticism, and later with homosexuality, although these meanings are not always placed on an equal footing.

Emphasis on the feminine side of drag queens and transvestites is further reflected in some varieties of American Spanish where one encounters cuina (from English queen), draga, dragona (< drag), transvestida, travestista, vestida, and also reina de la noche (lit. ‘night queen’) (cf. De la Pava 2000).

2.12 Gestures and manners

Although this is not always apparent, there is a close link with femininity in the terms which refer to the affectation and effeminacy of the homosexual male as shown in gestures and manners in the area of what is known as non-verbal language.

A reference almost lost today is found in the term *camp*, used with the meaning ‘affected, kitsch’ (and also, ‘old, démodé’). Of uncertain etymology, *camp* has a long history. As an adjective meaning ‘acting with exaggerated manners’ (especially applied to homosexuals) it dates back to at least the beginning of the 20th century (1909). Eventually, by extension, it was applied to a special sensitiveness which emerged and spread in wide literacy and artistic circles and was characterized by its love for the natural as well as for artful affectation and exaggeration. It was popularized by the North American writer Susan Sontag in the 1960’s, especially through the *Partisan Review*, and soon was borrowed and took root in Spanish as an Anglicism.

Grahn (1990 [1984]: 227) suggests an old origin which seems likely and which, if certain, would entail another association with clothing, to which I referred earlier. Basing her explanation on the special relation of gays with theatre circles, she defines the term after *camping*, in allusion to young men who wore female dress, and ultimately from French *campagne* ‘field, countryside’, as it was in the field or the outside that minstrels and actors entertained people in medieval plays.

More explicit, although metaphorical in nature, is the reference of Spanish *pluma*, lit. ‘feather’, one of the most frequent terms in Spanish gay slang. It is used to mean the characteristic manners and gestures of the affected and exhibitionist homosexual, as an extreme degree of mannerism. And the action of showing them is expressed by the idiomatic verbal phrases *tener / sacar / soltar / tirar... plumas*, as well as *desplumarse* and *plumar* (lit. ‘to drop feathers’).

The concept of a homosexual with “pluma” (*plumífero, plumero*) is known in Spanish as *loca*, which bears the double connotation of ‘joy, liveliness, happiness’ and ‘exaggeration, lack of control’. The exaggeration in gestures in English is expressed by the verb *swish* (‘move with a swishing sound’), from which derive the noun meaning ‘homosexual’ and ‘his effeminate style’ and the adjective *swishy* ‘effeminate, exhibiting the supposed characteristics of a male homosexual’ (Green 2002). The Oxford Bilingual English-Spanish dictionary [do] translates English *swish* as *loca* but under the entry
One finds English *queen*, which is its most frequent equivalent and is also used in Spanish (cf. section 2.10). Other appellatives with a similar connotative meaning which allude to body movement in a very general way are *flit* (from the verb ‘to move lightly, softly or rapidly’) and *shim*, probably after the verb *shimmy* (‘to move or dance shaking the whole body’). Still more obvious for its relation to gestures, and therefore more dysphemistic in intention, is the series of synonymous expressions which refer more specifically to the manners of a queen, in particular to the movements of feet and hands, e.g. *broken wrist, limp wrist*, lightfoot, and *yoo-hoo boy*. Other terms which allude to the homosexual and recall his postures and exaggerated and sinuous movements are *bender, bent, bent out of shape*, all associated with a ‘bent’ or ‘inclined’ position, in opposition to the ‘straight’ position of the male heterosexual, indeed known in slang as *straight*.

If despite growing tolerance the gay himself provokes rejection by conventional society as long as he remains ‘in the closet’, one can expect greater prejudice if his condition is made visible through gestures, but then rejection is also spurred from the homosexual side. The “pluma” or swish has also been an object of mockery and criticism by many homosexuals because it reinforces heterosexual views of gays and because it is associated with women, whom homosexuals despise. Hence the warning in many gay contact ads in Spanish ending with the well-worn phrase “abstenerse plumas” (lit. ‘no queens’).

3. Feminine language

Many of the terms cited above have been coined and are used by heterosexual community, and are either descriptive or characteristically pejorative as a result of homophobia. However, some of them, such as Spanish *marica* and *maricón*, paradoxically end up being used by gays as a sort of arm against society, following a process similar to the “semantic inversion” taking place in the U.S. with *queer*, and with ethnic slurs such as *negro* and *chicano*, etc. when appropriated self-referentially by the group to whom these words refer (cf. Allen 1990: 7). In what follows, I will try to examine the main features of the language of gays, or rather, of some of them, especially those who more significantly exhibit the most feminine linguistic markers and turn them into a sign of identity, in conjunction with a non-verbal language which also smacks of femininity.

3.1 Non-verbal language

Although less interesting for the linguist, and especially for the lexicographer, non-verbal speech is the most striking feature of the language of gays. Its expressiveness is in tune with their emotional demonstrations, especially of those who have ‘come out

7. Also in its adjectival form, *limp-wristed*. 

loca
of the closet’ or have never hidden their homosexuality, and still more, of those who make an external exhibition of it, the so-called *queens* in the jargon.

In addition to the greater physical proximity noticed in gays when they greet or show other external demonstrations of affection – a feature of interest for proxemics – one has to consider the kiss, which is the most visible indicator. Kisses between gays are a frequent practice which attracts the attention of the heterosexual observer, just in the same way as kisses between Arab males draw the eyes of people who are not Arabic. They are a sign of a greater affectivity, especially between ‘sisters’ or close friends who kiss one another on the lips. And in their letters and e-mail messages it is not rare to end with the word *kisses*, something very feminine which would be strange and suspicious in the writing of a heterosexual.

The swishing and swaying movements of the most ostentatious gays (queens), along with their use of jewellery (earrings and rings) and make-up (mascara), especially when cruising, has a seductive womanish air. Traditionally, in the US gays wore wedding rings on the right hand as a way of identification, and the same happened with the rings in the right ears in Europe in the 1970’s before they turned into a more general fashion. Their clothes are very colourful, very loud, with lively and daring colours (for example, red as a symbol of amorous passion). It has been the gays who have introduced very feminine hairstyles, including streaks of hair of different colours and a high-end thread, but all these indicators are now considered a thing of the past although they have borne some influence upon today’s youth. One would dare say gays have been in the vanguard of many of the innovations of contemporary fashion.

3.2 Phonic variation

Another striking feature of gay language is the affected pronunciation exhibited by some homosexuals, in tune with other marks of paralanguage. In the US it is commonly assumed that women have a high pitch and a “singsong” or “flowery” intonation, and that gay men’s speech mirrors the stereotyped high-pitched voices of women (Jacobs 1996: 50). More recently, Podesva et al. (2006 [2002]) have identified various linguistic features in a specific community (such as duration of /æ/, /ei/, duration of onset /s/, /l/ and release of mid-final stops), and, while admitting some with a more general character as index of a gay style (wide pitch ranges and prolonged /l/s among them), they make clear that they are indicating only one of many gay styles, since labeling a linguistic feature as gay is at once too general and too specific.

Certainly there is not a single gay way of speaking, as Podesva et al. indeed argue. Homosexuals constitute in effect a very heterogeneous group who perform different identities, to such an extent that in many cases to speak of gay speech would be imprecise, and there are authors like Barrett (1997) who deny the notion of “gay community”.

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8. One of the first to notice the different intonation of men and women in American English and the higher tone of women, was K.L. Pike (1945), cited by Brend (1975: 86).
The feminine stereotype in gay characterization

itself. But if we pay attention to such specific gay groups as the Spanish mariquitas or sissy guys mentioned above, the differences are clearly noticeable. In reference to phonetic variation in Spanish in her book *Cómo hablan las mujeres*, Pilar García (1999: 69) argues that some homosexual men – and no doubt she is thinking of the mariquitas – imitate some features of female speech such as a tense and prolonged pronunciation of s, and Ferrán Pereda (1989/2004) had commented on the same thing when identifying guapissima (‘very very pretty’) as a good example. One could also mention the assimilated final –r which in the 1950’s was a common feature among gay hairdressers in the Zona Rosa (‘Pink Zone’), the heart of the commercial and business area in Mexico City, and subsequently spread through female speech.

Recent works in the US, some with empirical support, indicate that the speech of a great number of gays (according to Renn 2003 around 2/3 of the total gay population) exhibits a different tonality, in contrast with lesbians among whom no specific pitch mark has been traced. It is also suggested that intonation interacts with various factors, such as visibility, since it is more noticeable in gays who have come out of the closet and assumed their sexual orientation, and still more conspicuous among those who form part of a subculture.

Where is no consensus at all is on the causes or conditioning factors which account for such differences. Traditionally the speech which “sounds gay” has been regarded as a social marker, as an identity sign which gives cohesion to a group (Barrett 1997). The use of such language would be, then, conscious. While this may be true in certain contexts, as in the case of drag queens, in more general terms there is reason to doubt this functional motivation hypothesis. In Renn’s (2003) view, such a hypothesis has not been proved, and in turn he claims that gay pitch is closely linked with the “gender nonconformity” that some gays and heterosexual males reflect from a very early age, in childhood and adolescence, when they imitate and adopt some linguistic patterns characteristic of women. According to this view, gays are more prone to experience this nonconformity, which explains why female intonation patterns are more associated with masculine homosexuality. It is precisely at that stage and for the same reason that one notices behaviours in some children who are fond of toys, fantasy roles, and dress-up play, although some authors remind us of the persisting social prejudice in considering everything that is feminine as ‘deviant’.

The manifestation of a different intonation in adolescence produces stigma and can lead to depression, and only a few get to de-feminize their behaviour by changing their pitch when they are adults. The difficulty of this change is similar to the one that is found when changing the intonation learned during the critical stage in language learning. Do not forget that it is also during that stage, and even earlier, during childhood, when desire is forged and structured and when sexual behaviour, whether it is homosexual or heterosexual, takes root (cf. Amézúa 1975: 12).
3.3 Lexical selection

According to the studies in variationist sociolinguistics, in English there is a series of terms which are typical of women’s speech, especially adjectives of praise such as divine, delightful and gorgeous, which are also more frequently used by homosexual males. (In the US a famous transvestite and cult-movie star was known by his artistic name Divine.) Another feature of these groups is that they discriminate between closely related colours, for example mauve and purple, a distinction which for the man in the street is very subtle. The first one to notice this was Robin Lakoff (1975) in her seminal work on the language of gender Language and woman’s place. Earlier, in the field of psychology, Sonenschein (1969) had already described gay males who used women’s speech to satirize the stereotype according to which gays sound like women, especially in the use of qualifiers such as terribly sweet (cf. Jacobs 1996: 58).

The same phenomenon is found in Spanish, and in the case of the first example, divino, the correspondence could not be more visible. The adjective divino occurs, in effect, in many texts with a gay context within expressions of praise with the general meaning of ‘good, beautiful, glamorous’ and, furthermore, in its feminine form, divina, it is used to refer to the queens who belong to the world of “goddesses”, who feel superior because of their beauty and physical appearance.

3.4 Morpho-syntax: feminine language

Undoubtedly, the most characteristic feature of gay language (or speech style) is addressing males in the feminine, especially when the speaker is a swish. The reason for this particular choice is the association of swishes with women, which leads to an exaggerated imitation of their appearance, gestures and manners, in correspondence with their language. Now, feminine language is not only found in formulas or terms of address, but in any grammatical category containing a personal reference.

As to pronouns, the gender category is applicable to the third person; thus one often finds Spanish ella (and its plural ellas) in reference to a homosexual male; for instance, “ella puede, ella es así...” [‘she can, ‘she is that way...’]. Also in English, one makes use of the equivalent pronoun she when referring to a gay and his male friends, and in parallel, lesbians sometimes use he. Even in some exotic languages one finds the same phenomenon, as is attested in Cardin’s (1984) work.

As regards adjectives, which are characteristically inflected in Spanish, some like the aforementioned divina have an evaluative meaning. No less frequent are others that connote negative qualities associated with the “mariquitas”, such as antigua ‘old-fashioned’, or that point to the loss of trust, like mala, maligna, referred to the one who is ‘bad’ and ‘cunning’, venenosa, viperina ‘poisonous, spiteful’, lagarta ‘sly bitch’, to which we can add other terms with their corresponding noun value (veneno ‘poison’, maladad ‘evil’, and mala pécora ‘bitch’ used as insults). Other typological classifications include deadjectival nouns like folclórica (an old-fashioned gay aged between 30 and
60 and fan of performers of traditional Spanish dances with a tendency towards transvestism and effeminacy) and histórica (a gay who lived before the time of the ‘ambiente’, when there were not homosexual ghettos).

In a few cases of lexical variation there is slight semantic differentiation. Thus, the above-mentioned lagarta figuratively means ‘sly bitch’, which has therefore a general meaning, whereas the augmentative lagartona as used in gay slang refers to a homosexual who is very cunning and is successful in cruising; and maricona, in the feminine, with respect to maricón, sounds more pejorative and alludes to a very effeminate gay with “pluma” (swish).

Double grammatical gender is also seen in marica and above all in mariquita, both used as adjectives and nouns, and although dictionaries do not usually indicate their difference in meaning, at least in connotation, I think that the former is more often used by gays who proudly lay claim to the term with a more positive value, whereas the latter highlights the original meaning of ‘effeminate’, hence its use to qualify the topical image of a homosexual with “pluma”. (Cf. Rodríguez 2008a)

An interesting subgroup of nouns with a feminine reference used to designate the male homosexual both in English and in Spanish is based on kinship and covers a wide range of hierarchical relations connected with age. Thus, in English we find auntie, daughter, uncle, mother, grandma, cousin, and sister, which gives way to various compound expressions: sister act ‘sexual relation between two male homosexuals’, sister-boy ‘male homosexual’, sister in distress ‘homosexual with problems, usually with the police’. And one should not forget the frequent adjective sissy ‘effeminate’ and its derivative sissified, which come from sis, a clipping of sister. (Likewise, in the Spanish of Puerto Rico and New York, the adapted Anglicism sisi is used [cf. De la Pava 2000]).

No less prolific is the series formed by auntie, a hypocoristic of aunt with the meaning ‘male homosexual of middle age or beyond’ (Aytö 1994: 103), and other compound creations, such as aunt Mame, aunt Mathilda and Auntie Em, which have the same meaning, and auntie queen (a young man looking for the love or the company of older men). In Spanish, likewise, we find a similar hierarchy: tía (‘aunt’), tita (‘auntie’), mami (‘mammy’), abuela (‘grandmother’). Tía (‘aunt’) is an older homosexual friend one values highly. In certain gay intellectual circles a famous writer, named Antonio, is known as la tía Antonia, and a distinguished poet, now dead, was known as tía abuela (‘great-aunt’). Madre (‘mother’) is also a synonym of homosexual, and in the jails under the Franco dictatorship, that was the name of the authentic effeminate and passive homosexual in contrast with niño (‘boy’, ‘child’) who did not have such an appearance. Like English sister, Spanish hermana (‘sister’) refers to a close intimacy one gay keeps with another with no sexual relations between them, and, Spanish prima (lit. ‘cousin’) is the ‘sister’ of a ‘sister’, taking this relation in terms of friendship and not of kinship;

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9. In English, cousin has been recorded since the 1950’s with the meaning of ‘older man’s younger lover’ (Green 2002).
it refers therefore to a gay friend with whom one has a less intimate friendship\textsuperscript{10}. And, to complete the picture, cuñada (‘sister in-law’) is the boy-friend of a former boy-friend of a gay.

One curious word family with a feminine reference within the denominations of queens, although today quite obsolete, is formed from royalty and nobility: e.g., Spanish reina, princesa, emperatriz, condesa, duquesa, infanta, which symbolize different degrees of age, haughtiness and rank within the group. This “camp” terminology was used especially in the 1980’s. Prior to this there was a similar terminology in English, although perhaps it did not contain a scale hierarchized to such an extent. Hayes (1976: 264) compiled the series emperor, empress, princesses, and royal court, as honorific titles granted in the course of drag dances held in many big cities in the USA. And still earlier, in 18th-century England, we come across princess, in Princess Seraphina, the name of a drag queen turned into a literary character, and faggot princess, ‘a very effeminate homosexual’. Fully lexicalized is duchess, which in English is not a mere term of address used to refer to someone of noble descent, as in Spanish duquesa, since it is recorded in dictionaries with the meaning of ‘homosexual’. More outstanding is the term queen, which beside its already cited use as a noun and as the second element of the compound drag queen, forms part of humorous lexical creations with many specifications, such as ass queen (a male lover of ‘asses’, that is, anal sex), auntie queen (young male looking for older males), browning queen (man with a preference for a passive role in anal intercourse), tearoom queen, also known as privy queen and toilet queen (man cruising for other men in public toilets), and the already cited taco queen. Although less numerous, Spanish also has some compound examples of reina, such as reina madre, who is the queen of the queens, used in circles of ‘sisters’ (Pereda 1989), and more or less equivalent to English Mother Superior (Green 1993: 233) and reina de los urinarios (English ‘toilet queen’).

With regard to terms of address we should add the use of Miss by some male homosexuals and drag queens. In the gay subculture of 17th-century England one finds the names Miss Selina and Miss Sweet Lips, and in American English, Rodgers (1972) records a great number including Miss Alice, Miss Ann, Miss Gooch, Miss Grey, Miss Lily, Miss Mabel, Miss Morales. Still more interesting from a linguistic point of view is its lexicalization in compound expressions such as miss man, used in Las Vegas black slang in the 1960’s, and in present-day miss nancy and miss boy. In Spanish we do not find common nouns used this way, but the term is used as part of the artistic name Miss Shangay Lily, by which the first drag queen of Spain is known after renouncing his former name, Enrique Hinojosa. Thus in an iconic, subversive and very expressive way, he reflects the fight against gender classification which is at the root of his queer philosophy.

This nickname is not an isolated case. Given the womanish atmosphere in the world of drag queens, adopting artistic names is a common pattern which persists

\textsuperscript{10} Recently Terry Victor, in conversation with Lillo (2005: 304), argues that the UK is generally recognised as a very repressed sexual society.
today (cf. for example La Veneno, another well known figure in today’s shows). Furthermore, in the past, using a feminine nickname was also a frequent practice among queens and a great number of homosexuals and this reached its climax during the Franco dictatorship when homosexuals were forced to live underground and in secrecy, which prompted them not to reveal their identity. In Lluís Fernández’s novel El anarquista desnudo (1978), a good portrait of 1970’s Spain, almost all the characters are known by a nickname (Maruja Coño de Hierro, Susi la Polvorera, Loli la Carajillo, la Butano, La Pequeña Lulú, Lita Bermellón, la Washingtona...). Jordi Petit (2004: 48), too, describing the life of homosexuals of that time, tells about the custom of shifting a male’s name like Pepe to its corresponding feminine La Pepi, or its diminutive la Pepita. And a well-known gay figure within the conservative Partido Popular, Carlos A. Biendicho, was known as Tita Carlota among his friends (personal communication).

The same phenomenon is recorded in English, starting with the gay subculture of the 18th and 19th centuries in Britain. Norton (2002) provides a good number of examples of “maiden names”, among them Dip-Candle Mary, Nurse Mitchell, Old Fish Hannah, Kitty Cambric. And with regard to American English, Rodgers (1972) records many camp names, most of them used at least since the 1950’s, designed to avoid the repressive atmosphere of the period. Thus Roberta was exchanged for Robert, Bertha for Burt, Josephine for Joe or Joseph, Christine for Christopher, Amanda for Andrew, and Felicia for Felix.

The association of homosexuals with women leads some gays today to humorously use the name of the female genitals, the vagina, in their various slang variants (Spanish coño, chocho, chichi, chumino) instead of ass, the same semantic process noticed in English with pussy and cunt. It is worth remembering that both serve to provide pleasure through penetration during a sexual encounter.

The fashion of speaking with a feminine style reached its zenith in recent decades, especially in the 1970’s and 1980’s, coinciding with the emergence of the “ambiente”, and after the 1990’s it started to decline, being the object of criticism and rejection on the part of many homosexuals, especially the most conventional ones, and the most supposedly machos. There is a literary genre known as “camp” which, to evoke the nostalgic past, echoes that style so as to characterize some fictional actors. Beside the above-mentioned El anarquista desnudo by Lluís Fernández, other representative examples are Eduardo Mendicutti’s Tiempos mejores and Terenci Moix’s Chulas y Famosas. (On this style, cf. Mira 2004: 525 ff.) But the custom of speaking with the feminine form continues today in some groups of young gays, especially those proud of belonging to a subculture, to such an extent that they feminize virtually any adjective or noun. Adjectives like homosexuala, intelectuala, or nouns like taxa, autobusa, marida in Spanish are easily spotted because of their grammatical or morphological mismatch, but the speaker’s intention may sometimes pass unnoticed and trigger problems of communication to people who are foreign to the group in cases of ambiguity, as when using for instance alcaldesa (‘female mayor’) instead of alcalde (‘male mayor’).
In English the phenomenon of speaking in the feminine is not as extensive as in Spanish, which is easy to understand if we consider that English noun morphology is practically unmarked for gender, and the adjective is not marked at all. But it is so visible in the pronominal system and in onomastics (mainly in nicknames) that there has been a constant reference to that particular style, “camp”, as it is called in the specialized literature. Its examination has given rise to controversies on various points, beginning with its mere nature, or definition, and extending to the policy or purpose which underlies its use, and even the relation it bears with homosexuality. Susan Sontag, for example, has been criticized for separating the significant codes of “camp” from its queer meanings. (For a review of “camp” style, see Kulick 2000: 254–257.)

4. Final remarks

In almost all known cultures, effeminacy has been a style of conduct or appearance which is associated with women and is considered inadequate for men inasmuch as it is – “wrongly” – associated with “all” homosexuals. It was even deemed thus in such societies as that of Ancient Greece, in which homosexual practices – or pederasty to be more precise – were institutionalized (Guasch 1995: 52). In this chapter I have tried to show the extent to which this fact is reflected in the English and Spanish languages, given the number of terms which make a more or less direct feminine reference to the homosexual (and not only effeminate) man, and to that end I have reviewed the main associations made with femininity by way of metaphor or metonymy.

But this is, or in great part is becoming, part of the general lexicon. More novel and surprising for the general reader will be to discover the feminine language spoken by many male homosexuals, as explained in the third section of this study. This feminization of language is a reflection of the sort of feminization which some homosexuals feel in their “psyche”, especially those who swish. The same phenomenon has been recorded earlier in different languages. In Spanish it reached its climax in the 1970’s and 1980’s, thus coinciding with the new winds that started to blow in Spain with the democratic awakening. In that time the image of the mariquita “loca”, or maricona, traditionally associated with feminine speech, became visible, and the same occurred with the “queens” in England (Thorne 1997: 312). In any case, during the Spanish dictatorship, the maricona, who was attributed a passive role in sexual relations, enjoyed a certain permissiveness and tolerance as he escaped the social control derived from an atmosphere of homophobia because of “her” joking and caricatural behaviour, in sharp contrast with the stereotype of the maricón (English ‘queer’), imagined as active and dangerous (Guash 1995: 60). Nowadays, in spite of the fact that “her” image has been devalued in the face of the emergence and growing influence of new subcultures which worship hypermasculinity (“bears”, “leather”), it still survives and will continue to survive as there will always be people who are born with a swish, and will not want or be
able to repress it, or voluntarily and gladly adopt it with artistic purposes (such as the “drag queens”).

Some have argued that the use of feminine instead of masculine forms in the speech of homosexuals in the past responded to a cryptic function that is essential to slang and understandable in a context of social oppression like the one suffered by homosexuals in Britain and in the United States in the recent past, and still more in the atmosphere of the Franco dictatorship in Spain. (One could imagine for example someone speaking on the phone with that style, which would mislead potential listeners interested in the conversation.) But this is only one side of the truth, as in the majority of cases: although this is more noticeable in present times, this style of language (“camp”) takes place in relaxed atmospheres in which only gays participate, and its use fulfils two basic functions: one essentially slangy and argotic, showing a connivance which confers cohesion to a group; and the other “cathartic” and with a marked countercultural sign, seeking to undermine the foundations of the sexist and hetero-normative society with the help of parody, along a very “queer” line.

Finally, a look at the lexicon examined here in general shows a good number of correspondences in the linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomena described, which is an indication of the similar stigma the homosexual has undergone and continues to undergo in Spanish and English-speaking societies. But the English language provides a greater number of lexicalized terms, with a greater dysphemistic force, which is not surprising when one considers the much greater flow of terms into its slang. Both facts have to do with the greater variation and dimension of the English-speaking community, and the greater tradition in amassing slang and informal language, but probably also with the greater freedom of expression and a more scathing style of humour which have been exhibited by their speakers. To that one could add two other, apparently contradictory conditioning factors: the greater presence and visibility of gay subcultures in the English-speaking world, in the US and in the UK, which spearheaded a gay liberation movement and a gay culture in past decades (cf. Rodríguez 2008b); and at the same time, as a counterpoint, a greater obsession with sex and, in North American society in particular, a high index of homophobia (cf. McClive 2002: 40), which is more evident in present times when a good number of European societies, including the Spanish, are marked by new winds of sexual freedom and political correctness.

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PART III

Contrastive perspectives on SLA
Communicative tasks across languages

Movie narratives in English, in English as a foreign language and in German

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In cooperation between the California State University, Long Beach and the Justus Liebig University, Giessen narratives were elicited from different groups of speakers (native speakers of English and native speakers of German who contributed either narratives in English or in their native language). The narratives were elicited with the help of a silent Charlie Chaplin movie in order to contrast how the different groups of speakers solve several narrative subtasks, i.e., the sequencing of narrative episodes with the appropriate choice of tense, the introduction of individual characters, and the reporting of characters' thoughts and utterances. The results indicate that there are a number of subtle differences in how such tasks are solved in English and in German and that German speakers tend to adopt pragmatic strategies from their native language in spite of their generally excellent command of English.

1. Introduction

I use the term “movie narrative” to denote retellings of the contents of a movie, and in particular the contents of a silent movie. Such retellings have been elicited for experimental purposes by anthropologists and psycholinguists in order to compare how different people (people with different cultural or linguistic backgrounds, for instance) solve a communicative task. The movie provides an identical input for all participants taking part in the experiment and the fact that it is a silent movie makes sure that there

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1. The research presented in this paper is part of a larger research project that is concerned with how people establish common ground in interactions. See, for instance, Smith and Jucker (1998); Jucker and Smith (2003, 2004) and Smith, Jucker and Müller (2001). I gratefully acknowledge the assistance from my colleagues Sara W. Smith, Barb Breustedt, Anja Janoschka and Simone Müller and from the following students: Steven Andrews, Daniela Bergner, Pat Hiromi Noda, Andrea Simon, Marissa Subia, Britta Watz and Marja Zibelius. The usual disclaimers apply.
is no linguistic material to influence the way in which the communicative task is solved by the participants. The most famous examples of such movie narratives are the pear stories collected by Chafe (1980) and his associates. Other researchers who have worked with movie narratives are, for instance, Redeker (1986, 1987) and von Stutterheim and Nüse (2003) and von Stutterheim, Carroll and Klein (2003). Bamberg and Marchman (1991) have used the same idea of a non-linguistic input to elicit controlled and comparable data with a picture story about the adventures of a small boy, his dog and a frog, their so-called frog-stories.

The methodology of collecting movie narratives is particularly useful for contrastive analyses. In the triangle of laboratory linguistics, armchair linguistics, and field linguistics (Clark and Bangerter 2004: 25), the method belongs to the laboratory, which has the advantage of allowing control over a range of different factors that influence language production. In armchair linguistics, the researcher relies entirely on his or her intuition about the grammaticality and acceptability of invented sentences. In the field method, only data is accepted that is gathered in real communicative situations, which are not influenced in any way by the researcher. In the case of movie narratives, the researcher tries to control the factors that influence language production. But s/he also relies on his or her intuition in order to decide on the elements that are to be investigated. The method can be described as field linguistics to the extent that the researcher manages to create real or at least realistic communicative situations. I will discuss these issues in some detail in section 2, below.

Movie narratives keep the communicative situation stable across the languages to be contrasted in the analysis. The speech produced in the different languages is the result of an identical task. Other contrastive analyses content themselves with language samples that are drawn from the same genre or the same register in different languages, and some analyses go even further in that they rely on translations from one language into the other. Movie narratives may be seen as a stage between these two possibilities. The experimental set-up creates the same genre for all participants taking part in the experiment, and it gives the participants a very precise communicative task, which is even more restricted than just genre identity. On the other hand, the task is solved independently in all the languages involved, while in the case of translation corpora one sample is always directly derived from the other sample.

The methodology of using silent movies to elicit narratives does not prejudge the issue of the *tertium comparationis* that is chosen for the analysis, whether it is a semantic prime, a speech act illocution, or a specific syntactic construction. For this chapter I concentrate on specific communicative tasks. When people tell a story, they must select the relevant events that are to be included, they must introduce the characters that play a role in the narrative, they often must reproduce the speech or thoughts of these characters and so on. It is such narrative tasks that form the basis for the comparison that I will present in section 3.

I am going to focus on three groups of speakers: native speakers of English, non-native speakers of English and native speakers of German. The notion of the native
speaker has been hotly debated in recent years (see in particular Piller 2001 and Mukherjee 2005 for a discussion of the issues that are involved). We recognize that it is often difficult to decide on native speaker status, but this does not mean that we have to give up the notion altogether.

For the present chapter, I focus on three groups that are fairly unproblematic. The first group consists of native speakers of American English. All of them are students at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB). They were born in the United States and in the demographic questionnaire they indicate English as their first language. The second group consists of native speakers of German who perform the required task not in their native language but in English. All members of this group are students at Justus Liebig University in Giessen, Germany, and they all study English either as their main or as one of their subsidiary subjects. Thus they have already reached a very high level of competence in English as a foreign language. The third group also consists of native speakers of German. In fact they are drawn from the same pool of students as the second group, but this group recorded their interactions in German. No student was a member of both the second and the third group, i.e. everybody performed the task only once, either in English or in German.

In previous research on this project, which I carried out together with Sara Smith and Simone Müller, we used larger samples including other categories of speakers. In particular we have a lot of data by students at CSULB who are not native speakers of English because they have other first languages. However, this category is very heterogeneous because there are considerable differences both in the time that they have already spent in an English-speaking environment and the level of competence that they have reached. In the earlier research, the linguistic performance of these ESL speakers was in many instances very much alike that of the native speakers, but in the interest of clean data, I have decided to omit these speakers from the present sample.

2. **Movie narratives: Previous research**

Narratives have a long history as data in linguistic research. They have been analyzed from a range of different perspectives. Labov (1972: ch. 9), for instance, investigated the structures of oral narratives produced by African-American adolescents. In this case the research aim was to investigate the overall structure of the narrative. The famous “danger of death” question in sociolinguistic research also produced personal narratives, but in this case the purpose was to distract the informants sufficiently in order to produce natural speech unimpeded by self-monitoring of the speaker.

Psycholinguists and linguistic pragmatists have long had rather different attitudes towards data. For psycholinguists it has always been paramount to have maximal control over the data. Thus they work with informants, to whom they give very narrowly defined communicative tasks. This allows the researcher to manipulate isolated variables and test their effects on the communicative performance of their informants.
However, the tight control of the communicative tasks often makes the situation very artificial for the informants and the pragmaticists shudder at the unnaturalness of the situation, which to their mind cannot be generalized in any way beyond the immediate task and therefore says very little about “normal communicative behaviour”. Their data is taken from situations which are as natural as possible. In fact, they would want to observe how people talk when they are not being observed. This is the well-known observer’s paradox (see Labov 1972). The only logical solution, to observe people surreptitiously when they communicate, is of course ruled out on ethical grounds. However, the psycholinguists are equally horrified by the unrestricted nature of the data because in natural conversations it is virtually impossible to isolate individual variables in order to test their influence.

Movie narratives, or film description experiments, have been recognized as a compromise between the psycholinguists’ need for control over their data and the pragmaticists’ insistence on a maximally natural communicative situation. Thus I use the term here to refer to narratives that are produced in retelling a film. Typically researchers recruit participants who watch a movie and afterwards retell the story to a research assistant or a partner. Chafe (1980: xii) formulates the requirement for the film as follows:

> We wanted something that would include a set of events, some in sequence and some simultaneous, some highly codable and some not, some trivial and some salient, with a set of people and objects that participated in the events in various ways, themselves varying in codability and salience. We wanted to allow for ambiguity of interpretation, but at the same time, we wanted the film to be easily interpretable in some way by people in a variety of different cultures. It was important not to have language in the film, but we did want a sound track that would provide an auditory as well as a visual experience.

As a result, Chafe and his team produced the pear film. The film lasts about six minutes and shows a sequence of scenes involving a man picking pears on a ladder in a tree and a boy on a bicycle, who steals a basket full of pears from under the tree, but when he cycles off and meets a girl who approaches on a bike from the other direction, he falls over and the basket falls to the ground. Three boys who happen to pass by help him to pick up the scattered pears and are rewarded with a pear each. They are seen eating their pears when they pass the tree where the pear picker has in the meantime realized that a basket was missing (for a fuller summary see Chafe 1980: xiii-xiv).

This film was shown to small groups of participants who were then interviewed separately by someone of the same sex and more or less the same age. The participants were asked to tell the story to the research assistant, who claimed not to have seen the movie. In some cases participants were asked to tell the film again after approximately six weeks and again after a year. The film was shown to speakers of different languages in many different cultures including speakers of English in California, speakers of Chinese in Taipei, of Japanese in Tokyo, of Malay in northern Malaysia, of Thai in Bangkok, of Persian in Tehran, of Greek in Athens, of German in Berlin, of Creole in Haiti,
and of Sacapultec in Guatemala. In addition to these oral narratives some written narratives were obtained from speakers of English, Greek and Japanese.

Redeker (1986, 1987) focuses on the difference between the communicative strategies that are used by friends and those used by strangers, and for this she needed a communicative task that would elicit discourse of almost identical content and function from both types of interactions. Movie narratives, or film descriptions as she calls them, were the obvious choice. It is a fairly natural task, and it allows the researcher to control important variables, such as the interactants’ previous knowledge, the content to be communicated and its sequence. She used two different silent movies that were extracted from films from the 1920ies. The first was a sequence of extracts from the movie *Joyless Street*, produced by G. W. Pabst in 1925, the second a scene from the movie *Mat* (‘Mother’) produced by V. I. Pudovkin (summaries of the films can be found in Redeker 1986: 10, 11).

Her subjects were 32 native speakers of American English who participated in pairs. Eight pairs were recruited as good friends and eight pairs as strangers. All participants who took part as “friends” were recruited from an undergraduate course at UC Berkeley. The eight pairs of strangers consisted of a speaker from the same class of undergraduates and a middle-aged, non-student Bay Area resident as listener.

In the experiment the participant who was assigned the role of speaker watched one of the silent movies and was then given a series of still pictures from the movie with the task to sort them into the correct order. The purpose of this task was to “reduce differences due to failures of attention or memory and to give the speaker an opportunity to conceptualize the story” (Redeker 1986: 12). For the actual communication task the partners were seated in separate booths and had no visual contact. In one situation, the monologue situation, the listener could hear the speaker and the speaker was aware of this, but the listener could not ask questions or participate in any other way. In the dialogue situation, the listener could ask clarification questions, but was discouraged from engaging in extended exchanges with the speaker. At the end of each recording, each listener was asked to “give an accurate and complete account of the movie” (1986: 13). In this way the communicators had a specific communicative task. The speaker knew that a clear and faithful account was essential if the listener was to be able to give an accurate account afterwards, and the listener knew that it was important for him or her to understand the story.

Redeker’s experimental design, thus, included three variables: the variable “social distance” with friends versus strangers, the variable “situation” with dialogue and monologue realizations of the movie description, and the variable “film” with two different films. Each of the sixteen possible combinations of variables is attested exactly twice in her data. Thus the variables were “completely balanced across speaker-listener pairs” (1986: 139).

Von Stutterheim and her team also used a silent film to elicit narratives from their informants of native speakers of English and native speakers of German (see von Stutterheim and Nüse 2003; Carroll and von Stutterheim 2003 and von Stutterheim, Carroll
and Klein 2003). Most of the participants in the experiments were university students in their mid-twenties. The movie called *Quest* lasts seven minutes and shows the adventures of a clay figure whose quest for water takes him through four different worlds, a desert world, a paper world, a stone world and a world dominated by robots and other industrial machines. The informants viewed the film twice, once without interruptions and a second time with interruptions at the end of each of the four sequences of the film. During these interruptions the informants had to tell what happened in the episode or “world” they had just seen. The aim of this research was to investigate the ways in which speakers of German and speakers of English organize and convey temporal information in a narrative in their respective native languages, elicited by the question: “What happened?”

In a variation on this experiment, von Stutterheim and her research associates used essentially the same study design, except that they asked their informants to retell the story “in the past”. In this way they wanted to force their informants to adopt a different time frame and hypothesized that their German subjects would find that easier than their English subjects (von Stutterheim, Carroll and Klein 2003: 114). While it is difficult to judge how the informants reacted to this task, it seems clear that this design was not unproblematic. The instruction to tell what happened appears to be fairly realistic in the sense that speakers can rely on every-day experience of similar situations. But outside of language-teaching classrooms it seems a fairly strange task to perform a linguistic operation on a narration. In fact, von Stutterheim, Carroll and Klein (2003: 115) report that these narratives show “a considerable number of tense switches, corrections and inconsistencies in topic time.”

Bamberg and Marchman (1991) are interested in the way that speakers of American English and German use linguistic markings to identify transitions in the structure of a text. In contrast to the other approaches summarized above, they did not use a silent movie as an input for the informants, but used a 24-page picture book which consisted only of pictures and contained no text. The book was entitled *Frog, Where Are You?* and told the story of a boy who loses his pet frog and goes out into the forest together with his dog and after several adventures finds the frog or another frog and brings him home. Bamberg and Marchman had twelve speakers of American English and twelve speakers of German who told the story to the researcher. The narrators were first asked to look through the entire book and afterwards they told the story to the researcher while going through the pictures again together with the researcher (see also Hoff-Ginsberg 1997).

While our own set-up naturally is based on these earlier studies, we believe it includes several advantages. Chafe’s (1980) informants watched the film in groups of up to five. They then had to report their narrations individually to the researcher, who claimed not to have seen the film. The instruction was as follows:

*We’re studying how people talk about things they’ve experienced. In this case we’re interested in how people who have seen a movie tell about it to people who*
havent't seen it. I actually haven't seen the “movie which you just saw”, and I'd be interested in having you tell me what happened in it. (Chafe 1980: xii)

This instruction both identifies the subject's interlocutor as a research assistant with a clearly expressed research interest and as an addressee who is interested in the narrative because s/he has not seen it. It is difficult to guess whether the participants believed that the research assistant had not seen the movie, but assuming that the same assistant interviewed all participants who together watched one showing of the movie in sequence, all participants apart from the first will have been aware that the assistant must at least have heard an account of the story before, even if s/he had not actually seen it himself or herself. Chafe (1980: xv) comments:

No one balked at this request, and although a few people expressed some uncertainty as to how much detail they should include, everyone produced a narrative which could be characterized as a spontaneous and reasonable description of what the film contained.

Redeker's (1986, 1987) informants talked to partners rather than to a researcher or research assistant, but they did not see their partners. This may still correspond to a realistic situation in the form of a telephone conversation. However, her informants were also discouraged from engaging in extended exchanges (Redeker 1986: 13), because Redeker wanted to get unprompted utterances from her informants. Only clarification questions were allowed. Von Stutterheim, Carroll and Klein (2003) do not provide enough information on the set-up of their experiment. It is not clear to whom the informants addressed their narratives.

Bamberg and Marchman's (1991) informants had to tell their stories to a researcher who was watching a picture book together with them. In this case, too, the situation is extremely artificial because it is patently obvious that the addressee can also see the picture book story. In fact, the addressees are presumably aware that the researcher knows the story much better anyway.

In our experiments, the narrators told their stories to partners. Moreover they knew that their addressees had only seen part of the movie, and they had to narrate the part of the movie that their partners had missed.

Chafe's informants came from a range of different cultures, and they all used their mother tongue to produce the narratives. Redeker's informants were native speakers of American English. Von Stutterheim and her research associates compared native speakers of German and native speakers of English using their respective native languages. We also worked with native speakers of American-English and with speakers of German, but in addition to recordings in the respective mother tongues of the informants we also investigated non-native English from our native speakers of German.

Redeker's informants knew that the recipient of the story (the narratee) would have to recount the story on his or her part. Thus the original narration was presumably more purpose-driven. Our informants knew that subsequently they would have
to discuss the film, but it was probably natural for them to assume that a very detailed understanding of the second half of the movie by the narratee would not be critical for this subsequent task. Von Stutterheim's informants reacted to the prompt: “What happened?” Thus the situation was also vague as to what the addressee was supposed to do with the narrative. Bamberg and Marchman’s informants were apparently merely asked to produce a narrative on the basis of the picture book.

Chafe (1980), Redeker (1986) and von Stutterheim and her research team used silent movies. Bamberg and Marchman (1991) used a picture book without text. The reason is obvious. The linguistic input should be minimized, because the experiments should reveal verbalization strategies. Any linguistic input might of course influence such strategies as the informants do not have to find their own verbalizations but can rely on the verbalizations offered by the film to the extent that they can remember them. In fact, in our own experiments we did not manage to exclude linguistic input entirely. Our silent Charlie Chaplin movie is interrupted several times by slides which explain the situation, such as “Broke and destitute”, or they represent utterances by the characters which are not easily guessable, such as “What happened?”, “He was ten cents short”, and “I am an artist.” It is clear that our subjects regularly relied on these verbalizations. The character who introduces himself in this way as an artist is regularly referred to as “artist” by the narrators. It is unlikely that the narrators would have recognized him as an artist without this self-declaration.

The pear stories experiment attempted to simulate the observation of real events (see Redeker 1986: 9), that is to say the film input was seen as a way of presenting “real” events to the participants in the experiment. Redeker herself, on the other hand, showed her participants two films as films. She chose two films of very different cinematic styles, which she calls “realist dramatic style” and “analytical montage technique” (1986: 9). Von Stutterheim’s film is an animation of a clay figure. Bamberg and Marchman’s (1991) picture book story is a story for children with a little boy and his dog as the two protagonists.

The films used in the different research projects last between five and seven minutes. Our film was considerably longer and lasts about 20 minutes. However, while Chafe used a purpose-made film and Redeker edited sequences of extracts, we showed an unedited film. Moreover, our film consists of two halves, the first of which the two participants watch together in order to give them a precisely describable common ground for the narration of the second half by one of the participants.

3. The Long Beach-Giessen project

For the current chapter I have analysed coherent subsets of all the available data collected at the California State University, Long Beach and the Justus Liebig University, Giessen. As pointed out above the data comprises narratives by native speakers of American English and two groups of native speakers of German, one using English as
Communicative tasks across languages

The experiment involved a foreign language and one using German for their narration. The native speakers of English had other native speakers of English as their addressees and the native speakers of German had other native speakers of German as their addressees, whether they were recorded in English or in German. Three recordings had to be excluded from the data because the narrators did not include the scene that I want to analyse in their account of the movie. Table 1 gives an overview of the demographics.

Table 1. Demographics of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English native speakers</th>
<th>German EFL speakers</th>
<th>German native speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrator</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narratee</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 65 recordings were used for this chapter. 32 participants were male and 98 participants female. The imbalance of male and female participants is a direct result of the context in which we recruited them. Both at the psychology department in Long Beach and at the English department in Giessen a majority of the students are female. It is also possible that female students were more willing to take part in the experiment.

The film that we showed to the participants in the experiment was a silent Charlie Chaplin movie. We chose *The Immigrant*, one of twelve movies that Charlie Chaplin produced for Mutual Studios in 1916 and 1917. The film combines slapstick comedy with social commentary on the tough conditions that immigrant peasants found both on the ocean liner that brought them to the promised land and after their arrival there. The first half of the film shows the immigrants herded like cattle onto the ship, how they sleep on deck, how they are fed a paltry bowl of soup, and how some of them pass the time playing cards or dice. Chaplin turns out to be a very skilful player who wins a lot of money from dubious looking characters. One of these characters has stolen money from an elderly lady while she was sleeping. Chaplin befriends a beautiful young lady, the daughter of the elderly lady, and when he learns of their plight he surreptitiously gives them much of the money that he has won from the pickpocket. At the end of the first half of the movie, the boat passes the Statue of Liberty to mark their arrival at Ellis Island in New York, and the immigrants prepare for disembarkation.

In the second half of the movie that we showed to only one of each pair of participants, Charlie Chaplin is wandering the streets of an American city, presumably New York. He is broke and destitute, but then he finds a shining coin on the ground, puts it into his pocket and immediately enters a restaurant without noticing that the coin has dropped through a hole in his pocket and landed back in the street. In the restaurant he orders food and bewilders both waiters and other customers with his antics. He then is reunited with the beautiful lady from the boat who happens to be in the same
restaurant. It turns out that her mother has died. He invites the young lady to join him and orders food for her, too. At this point another customer is shown who appears to be unable to pay for his bill. His waiter turns to the headwaiter for help and immediately a whole group of waiters turn up and after some threatening they beat up the customer and throw him out of the restaurant. When one of the waiters returns, Chaplin asks him “What’s the matter, waiter?” and he gets the reply “He was ten cents short.” As a result Charlie gets very nervous, and he uses his fingers to calculate the likely bill that he will get and searches for his coin, which has disappeared. When the waiter brings Charlie his bill, he desperately orders more food. In the meantime another customer at the next table pays with a coin which then drops through a hole in the waiter’s pockets. Charlie manages to get hold of this coin and tries to pay with it, but it turns out that the coin is not real, and the waiter gets increasingly angry with Charlie. At this point Charlie and the young lady are spotted by a well-dressed and well-built customer who comes over to their table and introduces himself with the words “I am an artist”. When the artist pays his own bill, he leaves a generous tip for the waiter, but Charlie manages to use this tip to pay for his own bill. At the end they all leave the restaurant, the artist promises to employ both Charlie and the young lady as from tomorrow, and Charlie drags the cheerful but somewhat reluctant young lady into a marriage licence office.

The scene that I have analysed for this chapter is the customer eviction scene in which the waiters beat up the customer who cannot pay his bill. This little scene is important in the overall narration because it makes Charlie realize that he might have a problem if the coin that he found in front of the restaurant is not sufficient to pay for his meal and the meal of his lady love. In fact it turns out that he has no money at all since he has already lost the coin with which he intended to pay. Thus the scene is rather important as background and as linking element, but the characters of the scene are made up of the stereotypical restaurant cast, a group of waiters and a diner who plays no other part in the narrative apart from this scene. The scene is also very memorable because of the skilfully orchestrated stage fight. It is, therefore, not surprising that almost all the participants in the experiment include it in their narration. Extracts (1) to (3) are different accounts of the scene.

(1) B: and then... erm at the front of the restaurant,
    there is this like big guy,
    this big Italian guy with like a moustache and everything,
    and he= erm--
    ... (1.8) OK.

2. For transcription symbols see appendix. They follow Du Bois 1991. References of extracts are to our corpus. Abbreviations: ENS: English native speakers, G-EFL: German speakers of English as a foreign language, GNS: German native speakers. German extracts are followed by an English translation that tries to strike a compromise between a fairly close but nevertheless idiomatic rendering.
and erm.. the manager and all the waiters come over, and start like picking it into his pockets, and he gets up and they all start like fist fighting. (H) and hitting each other, and hitting the manager and everything, so they all leave. the waiter comes over and Charlie asks asks him what's wrong & & and the waiter said he was ten cent short on his bill.
(pair 4, ENS, A: male, B: female)

(2) B: ...(3.4) and as they ate erm another & & man in the restaurant couldn't pay.. his bill. hadn't.. enough money and [...] & A: [mhm] B: & therefore the waiters in the restaurant hit him, A: @@. B: and...(1.8) it was.. very=.. terrible for him. ...(1.6) and then Mr Chaplin counted his money and & & realized that.. he had not enough money.
(pair 49, G-EFL, A: male, B: male)

(3) B: ...(1.7) ach nee so=, das war noch vorher, da war noch so 'ne szene wo ein gast... 10 cents & & zuwenig bezahlt hatte als er eigentlich sollte, A: mhm. B: und der wird dann verpruegelt. und [da= kriegt er] halt schiss & A: [oh @@] B: & weil er [[@]] <@ kein geld hat @>, A: [[@]] B: (H).. und aehm,
(pair 304, GNS, A: female, B: female)
...(1.7) well no=, before that, there was this scene in which a guest... paid 10 cents & & less than he should have, A: mhm. B: and he gets beaten up. and [so he gets] worried & A: [oh @@]
B: & because he [@] <@ doesn't have any money @>,
A:  [@]
B: (H).. and erm,

The narrations of this scene vary considerably in length. On average they are 83 words long. The shortest is a mere 18 words long, while the longest is 207 words long. There are no significant variations across the three different groups of speakers or between the genders.

4. Three communicative tasks

In the following I am going to analyze how the narrators solved three communicative tasks. The first task is the sequencing of the events into narrative episodes. How do speakers structure the continuous stream of character movements in the silent movie into a sequence of events, and how do they support the events with descriptions and evaluations? The second task is the introduction of characters. In this scene Charlie is a spectator. The main actions are carried out by minor characters: another diner and a group of waiters. This particular diner appears only in this scene, and he needs to be introduced. The narrator must put him on the narrative stage, and s/he must decide to what extent this diner needs to be individuated. How much descriptive detail is needed in order to create a sufficient mental image for the addressee? The third task to be analysed here is the representation of what the characters say and think. This may seem an unusual task for a silent movie, but this particular silent movie includes a small number of slides with very brief written explanations of the events and with a few key utterances. In the scene under analysis two such slides with Charlie’s question and the waiter’s answer appear. In addition narrators very often include an account of what characters say or think even if there are no such slides in the movie. In many cases it seems easy to guess what a character would say in a particular situation, and the characters are seen to be interacting in many scenes of the film.

The telling of a story is, of course, a very skilful activity which requires the narrators to solve a great number of communicative tasks. I am concentrating on the three chosen tasks because they seem to be particularly salient for the narration of the chosen extract and because they reveal interesting differences between the three groups of speakers.

4.1 Narrative episodes and tense

Labov (1972: ch. 9) has introduced very useful analytical categories for the analysis of narratives. He distinguishes six elements that typically make up a narrative: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result or resolution and coda. Narratives may comprise all six elements, but apart from the complicating action all other elements are optional. If they are included they tend to appear in the stated order except
that the evaluation may occur at any stage of the narrative and not just in its most
typical place after the complicating action. The abstract is the first element of the
narrative if it is included. It summarizes the events and gives a preliminary assessment.
The orientation part identifies the setting, the characters and other elements of the
story. The complicating action consists of a series of narrative clauses which relate the
events of the narrative. The evaluation indicates the point of the story. The result or
resolution resolves it and the coda signals the end of the narrative and the return from
the story time to the here and now of the interactants.

The narratives under analysis here are embedded into the larger narrative of the
entire movie, and therefore the abstract, the result or resolution and the coda do not
occur in them. The complicating action as the only obligatory element occurs in all of
them, while the orientation and the evaluation occur in many but not in all the narra-
tives. Most speakers explicitly introduce the diner and sometimes his location in the
restaurant, and most of them give an evaluation of the scene by indicating its signifi-
cance for the larger story. Extracts (4) to (6) are typical examples of orientation.

(4) B: and then... erm at the front of the restaurant,
    there is this like big guy,
    this big Italian guy with like a moustache and everything,
    (pair 4, ENS, A: male, B: female)

(5) B: (H) [before] that.. he saw.. erm another man,
    A:  [@@@]
    B: who was sitting at another table,
    (pair 203, G-EFL, A: female, B: female)

(6) B: (H) nd beobachten dann wahrenddessen &
    & noch 'ne szene am nebentisch,
    da ist halt ein aelterer herr,
    oder.. ich weiss nicht wie alt er war,
    (pair 321, GNS, A: female, B: female)

    B: (H) and in the meantime they observe &
    & a scene at another table,
    there is an elderly gentleman,
    or.. I don't know how old he was,

As can be seen from these three examples, speakers differ in the amount of individua-
tion they deem necessary or sufficiently interesting to introduce the diner. The speaker
in (4) describes him as “big guy” and as “big Italian guy with like a moustache and
everything”. The speaker in (5) merely describes him in relation to his location in the
restaurant, “another man who was sitting at another table”. And the speaker in (6) de-
scribes him as “ein älterer Herr” ‘an elderly gentleman’ but then qualifies her statement
by “ich weiß nicht, wie alt er war” ‘I don’t know how old he was’. In all three extracts
the speakers also give an indication of the location of the diner, either at another table or at the front of the restaurant.

Extracts (7) to (9) are examples of evaluations. They usually occur at the end of the narrative sequence of the customer eviction scene, but in some cases they intervene between the narrative clauses of the complicating action. In the evaluation the speaker indicates the significance of the scene in that Charlie gets nervous and worries about what is going to happen to him.

(7) B: so I guess Charlie Chaplin saw that, he got scared, (H) you know he didn't want that to happen to him. (pair 125, ENS, A: female, B: female)

(8) B: Charlie Chaplin is short because erm he ordered & & this food for the woman, and he starts to count, because he doesn't know if he can pay the bill or not, (H) so he starts looking for his money, the money he found outside, ...(1.9) and it's GONE. (pair 48, G-EFL, A: female, B: female)

(9) B: ...(1.3) und dann kriegt er natuerlich panik, (pair 317, GNS, A: female, B: female)

B: ...(1.3) and then he starts to panic of course,

These three evaluations differ in their degree of explicitness. The speakers in (7) and (8) both indicate that Charlie got nervous, but they also spell out explicitly why he got nervous, i.e. because “he didn't want that to happen to him” and “because he doesn't know if he can pay the bill or not”. The evaluation given by the speaker in (9) is much shorter and taken to be self-evident, “und dann kriegt er natürlich Panik” ‘and then he starts to panic, of course’.

Table 2 gives an indication of the frequency with which the three groups of speakers included the different narrative elements. The element “complicating action” is an obligatory element and therefore occurs in all the narratives, i.e. 100 per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Narrative elements</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complicating action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 shows that between 75 and 87 per cent of the narrations include an orientation and between 63 and 80 percent include an evaluation. It is perhaps interesting to note that it is the German EFL speakers who use the highest percentage in both cases, while there is virtually no difference between the two groups of native speakers. Perhaps a native speaker of either English or German feels s/he can convey enough of the orientation and evaluation indirectly in the description of the “complicating action”, and thus does not see the need for a separate identifiable section to do that. Non-native speakers, on the other hand, aware of their limitations, would be more comfortable taking care of those functions in an explicit way. However, the more interesting differences were only revealed in a second step of the analysis.

In this step I analysed the speakers’ choice of tense for the individual narrative elements. Both English and German allow narratives either in the past tense or in the historic present. And indeed in all three speaker groups some narrators used the past tense throughout the narration, some used the historic present and some switched between the two tenses. Table 3 indicates the number of narrations that were produced in the past tense, in the historic present or in a mixture of the two tenses.

Table 3. Tense distribution in the narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ENS</th>
<th>G-EFL</th>
<th>GNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td>5 (31%)</td>
<td>15 (50%)</td>
<td>9 (47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic present</td>
<td>5 (31%)</td>
<td>8 (27%)</td>
<td>6 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>6 (38%)</td>
<td>7 (23%)</td>
<td>4 (21%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About half the German speakers, both as native speakers and as EFL speakers, use the past tense throughout the narration, and less than a quarter mix tenses. The English native speakers mix tenses more often. But the total figures and the differences in this table are too small for statistical testing. The differences must be assumed not to be significant.

However, many of the narrators who mix tenses do so in a very specific way. They tend to switch from one tense to the other when they start a new narrative element, but they do not switch within a single narrative element. Examples (10) and (11) illustrate how native speakers skillfully switch tenses between narrative elements.

(10) B: and then.. erm,
...(1.2) they see a GUY up ahead,
like in another table.
...he er--
...he didn’t have enough money to pay.
...and er= a waiter came,
and they beat him up,
cause he was like ten cents short,
A: o=h,

B: and Charlie Chaplin's like getting SCARY.
he goes.. I better make sure I have the money.
(pair 5, ENS, A: female, B: male)

(11) B: it was another guy sittin' in the restaurant,
@@@ <@ it is the part where I was like bustin’ up @>. 
(H) the guy was erm ten cents short on his bill.

(H) and the waiter gets pissed.
so he goes and tells like the maitre d’ guy.
and the maitre d’ guy calls calls out all &
& the other e=rm... waiters.
and so like they hit--
the waiter who was this waiter guy &
& who is the same waiter for Charlie Chaplin,
(H) like he... turns the guy face round and he HITS him.
then like they pick the guy up,
and he tries to hit him again,
but that--
with the second time he hits the maitre d’.
and then.. all you see is all the waiters like..
beat the guy up on the floor.
everyone’s like DA DA da da [<SV da SV>] ((imitates punching))
A: [<SV mhm SV>]
B: they were like <@ jacking him up @>.
(H) and then like.. e=rm Charlie Chaplin &
& goes <Q oh what happened Q>?
and the waiter goes er he was ten shen- cents shor’ on his bill.

(H) and he was like--
thinking like <Q oh my god Q> [that’s] gonna happen to me.
(pair 8, ENS, A: male, B: female)

In extract (10), the orientation and the evaluation are presented in the present tense, while the complicating action, the actual description of the eviction of the customer, is given in the past tense (the boundaries between the narrative elements are indicated by horizontal bars). Speaker B in extract (11), on the other hand, presents the evaluation in the past tense and then switches to the historic present for a very vivid account of the eviction scene. All the important events of this scene are told in the present tense: the waiter is annoyed and tells the head waiter, they pick up the customer, hit him and beat
him, and finally Charlie asks what happened. The vividness of the narration is underlined by the speaker’s imitation of the punching by sounds, “DA DA da da”, and appropriate gestures. There are only two lapses into past tense in this section of the narration, and both of them seem well motivated. When the speaker refers to the waiter, he again gives some orientation and presumably for this reason switches back to past tense; “the waiter who was this waiter guy” but then corrects himself and elaborates in the historic present of the entire section, “who is the same waiter for Charlie Chaplin”. Towards the end of the section, he briefly sums up what has happened with the words “they were like <@ jacking him up @>”, but otherwise stays with the present tense of the complicating action section. In the evaluation section, he switches back to past tense, “and he was like-- thinking like <Q oh my god Q> that’s gonna happen to me”.

4.2 Introduction of characters

The second communicative task that I want to look at is the introduction of characters. I am particularly interested in how speakers introduce characters into their narratives; how they create mental images of characters, and other entities, for their interlocutors; how they maintain these images; and how they keep track of the different characters and entities that play a role in the narrative.

The speaker must somehow lead the hearer to an appropriate mental representation of events and ideas while maintaining the pace of the conversation. Two of the challenges faced by the speaker are to guide the hearer in identifying the common ground needed to interpret referring expressions and to guide him in establishing an appropriate level of accessibility of the referent.

We have argued elsewhere that understanding a referring expression is always based on relating it to some previously established context or common ground (Smith and Jucker 1998). It is easiest to notice this when the common ground is textually based, as in anaphoric reference expressions. However, the common ground may also be based on shared experience (such as the section of the video watched together) or on presumed background knowledge (such as the restaurant frame or the making of movies). The speaker must find ways to evoke the appropriate common ground and also to monitor whether it has been accessed. Thus we view the partners as negotiating their common ground.

Not all narrators include the customer eviction scene in their narration. It is not part of the main story line, but as pointed out above, it is important as a background to Charlie’s awareness that he might have a problem if he cannot pay for his meal. The diner was beaten up because he was ten cents short while Charlie now discovers that he has no money at all. So he starts practising a fight by putting on what he hopes to be a fierce look and by boxing into the air in order to hit an imaginary opponent. In the narrative the narrators have the task of introducing the diner. They have to create a mental image for the listener which is sufficiently individuated.
Extracts (12) to (19) give typical examples.

(12) B: (0) let her eating and all of that, and then.. erm,
...(1.2) they see a GUY up ahead, like in another table.
...he er—
...he didn't have enough money to pay.
(pair 5, ENS, A: female, B: male)

(13) B: and then... erm at the front of the restaurant, there is this like big guy, this big Italian guy with like a moustache and everything,
(pair 4, ENS, A: male, B: female)

(14) B: and... there was this... guy who was er sitting at a table in front of them? not directly in the front but... in the front.
(H)... and he didn't have any money to pay his bill. (pair 10, ENS, A: male, B: female)

(15) B: and.. some other guy in the restaurant... erm.. & & was short some cents,
(pair 1, ENS, A: female, B: female)

(16) B: ... (H). and.. he'd just seen... someone who hadn't paid & & enough money get beaten up by all the <@ waiters @> [and stuff].
(pair 57, ENS, A: female, B: female)

(17) B: then.. there was something happening, there was a man, ..who had.. zr has eaten. and I think he was also drunk.
..and he couldn't pay his.. his bill.
(pair 41, G-EFL, A: female, B: female)

(18) B: ... dann war zwischendurch so 'ne szene, da... ham se einen.. typen verpruegelte, (pair 317, GNS, A: female, B: female)
... then in the meantime there was this scene, in which... they beat up a... guy,

(19) B: ...(1.8) (H) und dann= (Hx). hat er mitgekriegt, wie= 'en anderer zusammengeschlagen wurde, weil er.. zuwenig bezahl-.. bezahlen wollte,
(pair 318, GNS, A: female, B: female)
The native speakers of English typically use the formats a guy, this guy or some guy to introduce a new character (see also Jucker and Smith 2003). This is also true for the diner who is ten cents short and therefore gets evicted from the restaurant. The native speakers of German clearly prefer the pattern a guy, both as EFL speakers and in their native language.

Table 4. Type of noun phrase used to introduce the diner into the narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ENS</th>
<th>G-EFL</th>
<th>GNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite article “a guy”</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative article “this guy”</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative article “some guy”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite pronoun “someone”</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite article “the guy”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the most striking features in the comparison between speakers of English and speakers of German is the use of indefinite this. In its prototypical use the demonstrative determiner this is used anaphorically to refer back to a previously mentioned entity (this idea) or exophorically to refer to an entity in the immediate context of the speech situation (this table here). However, by native speakers of English it is regularly used to introduce a new entity into a narrative (see examples (13) and (14) above).

Previous research has variably pointed out its stylistic value or its meaning potential. Most researchers seem to agree that this is used to give the entity which it introduces some extra saliency. It flags it as a temporary foreground entity. Gernsbacher and Shroyer (1989), for instance, compare the accessibility of concepts that were introduced with the unstressed, indefinite article this, as opposed to the indefinite article a/an. They hypothesize that concepts introduced with indefinite this are more accessible, and they test their hypothesis with experiments in which they ask subjects to continue the beginning of a story that either ends with an indefinite this NP or with an indefinite a/an NP. They measure accessibility in terms of frequency of reference within the next ten clauses, immediacy of reference and referential explicitness. They found their hypothesis corroborated. When the concepts were introduced with a/an, the subjects referred to them less frequently and typically via full noun phrases. Thus concepts introduced with the indefinite this were more accessible; therefore, the indefinite this appears to operate cataphorically to improve referential access. Wright and Givón (1987) recorded 8- and 10-year-olds telling one another informal stories and jokes.
When children introduced concepts with the indefinite *this*, they referred to those concepts an average of 5.32 times in the subsequent 10 clauses that they produced; in contrast, when the children introduced concepts with the indefinite *a/an*, they referred to those concepts an average of only 0.68 times in their next 10 clauses. Diane Hintz (pc September 25, 2005) argues that the use of indefinite *this* is age-related and that only teenagers and people in their twenties use it. She hypothesizes that *this man* to introduce a referent is used only under certain circumstances: 1) when the man does something that the speaker thinks to be ridiculous, rude, stupid, funny in an embarrassing way, or contra the norms of the culture of the speaker. 2) There is another context in which I myself and probably many other people would use it, that is, when whatever the man did was exceptionally good.”

However, on the basis of our earlier analyses (Jucker and Smith 2003; Smith, Jucker and Müller 2001) as well as the data presented here, we believe that the format has to do with the individuation of the referent. The speaker gives a certain amount of individuation without having to come up with something more specific. The entity is presented as being of temporary importance in the narrative. Jucker and Smith (2003: 409) have shown that entities introduced by an indefinite *this* construction are considerably more likely to recur within three tone units of their introduction than entities introduced by a noun phrase with an indefinite article.

In the customer eviction scene the figures are too small so that this claim cannot be checked for the evicted diner alone. It is interesting, though, that the German speakers do not use the construction *dieser Mann* ‘this man’ or *dieser Typ* ‘this guy’ to introduce new entities in our narratives, and they do not use the corresponding English constructions when they speak English. According to native speaker intuition, this use of the demonstrative article is just as natural in German as it is in English. There is no obvious reason why speakers of German avoid this construction in our movie narratives. Perhaps they feel that it is too colloquial for the formality of the situation in the experiment. When they speak English, they may simply be unaware that the construction exists, and obviously the influence from their native language is not strong enough to let them produce the construction anyway.

4.3 Reported speech and thought

Communication between characters in silent movies is usually depicted by gestures and facial expressions, as, for instance, when Charlie Chaplin invites the young lady to join him at his table in the restaurant or when he asks the increasingly impatient waiter for his bill. In such cases the gestures, the context and the reaction of the other actors clarify the content of what might have been said by the characters. In some cases, however, the content of what is being said is less predictable and, therefore, slides with the appropriate utterances briefly interrupt the action. In the customer eviction scene the interaction between Charlie Chaplin and one of the waiters is reproduced by two
Charlie Chaplin asks: “What’s the matter, waiter?” And the waiter answers: “He was ten cents short.” Charlie does not reply anything to the waiter, but it is obvious that he is worried about this answer. Many narrators relate this conversation in one form or another: as direct speech, as indirect speech or in a freer form of a narrative report. There are other events in the customer eviction scene which might be rendered as direct or indirect speech, for instance, when the waiter asks the diner to pay for his bill. But the only salient examples of speech and thought reporting were Charlie’s question, the waiter’s reply and Charlie’s reaction to this reply. The first two are explicit utterances, while the last is a thought that has to be inferred from Charlie’s behaviour.

The term “reported speech” is here used as a cover term of direct speech, indirect speech, and for the narrative reporting of speech acts. This classification is based on the model of Speech and Thought Presentation developed by Leech and Short (1981: ch 10). Short et al. (1996: 116ff) give a useful summary (see also Semino et al. 1997; Short et al. 1999 and Jucker 2006). Direct speech or thought is characterised by a reporting clause, such as he said, and – in print – by inverted commas. Indirect speech is also characterised by a reporting clause but in addition also by tense concord and deictic adjustments. And in many cases the indirect speech is introduced by an explicit subordinator. In German, in addition to these features, indirect speech is also characterised by a verb in the subjunctive and by subordinate word order, where direct speech uses the indicative verb form and main clause word order. Free direct and free indirect speech or thought are – as the name suggests – freer forms of direct and indirect speech. They usually lack the reporting clause and – again only in print – the inverted commas. The narrative representation of a speech act is a narrative account of an utterance that only alludes to the content of the speech or the thought.

The following extracts give relevant examples.

(20) B: so.. Charlie Chaplin was—
    asked (Hx). one of the waiters,
    ..when he left,
    b- but passed him,
    (H) what was the problem.
    and he told him that he..
    didn't have any money to pay the bill.
(pair 10, ENS, A: male, B: female)

In (20) Charlie’s question is given as direct speech, while the waiter’s answer is given as indirect speech. The speaker in (21) uses the quotative go to introduce both utterances, while the speaker in (22) uses like (see Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang 1988; Romaine and Lang 1991; Miller and Weinert 1995; and Jucker and Smith 1998).

(21) B: [and then...(1.1) erm] Charlie goes
    is there any trouble waiter,
A: [@@@@@@@@]
B: and he goes yeah he was ten cents short.
(pair 63, ENS, A: male, B: male)

(22) B: [an’]. and Charlie Chaplin asks his waiter he's like—
(H) he's like <Q why= what happened Q>?
A: mhm.
B: and the waiter's like oh he didn't have ten cents [with him].
A: [mhm].
B: (H) an’ Charlie Chaplin's like <Q oh my god Q>,
cause all he had was the quarter he found.
(pair 142, ENS, A: female, B: female)

In extract (23) the speaker relates Chaplin's reaction in the form of a direct thought.

(23) B: .. erm and suddenly erm
Charlie Chaplin was looking for HIS money,
and he's <X all X X>--
erm,
oh my god,
(pair 205, G-EFL, A: female, B: female)

In the German extracts in (24) and (25) the speakers use both direct and indirect speech. German uses a different verb form for indirect speech, the subjunctive, and a different word order. Thus Charlie’s question in (24) is clearly marked as indirect by the verb form sei (3rd person, subjunctive of “to be”) instead of ist (3rd person, indicative of “to be”). The waiter’s reaction is given in direct speech.

(24) B: Charlie erkundigt sich beim kellner,
was denn gewesen sei mit dem herrn,
u=nd der kellner meint dann ja.. der hat,
ich glaub' zehn cent oder was weiss ich,
irgendwie zuwenig geld gehabt.
(pair 321, GNS, A: female, B: female)
Charlie asks the waiter
what had been the matter with the man and the waiter replied, yes he had
I believe ten cents or whatever
too little money somehow.

In extract (25) there is an unusual example of free direct speech. The waiter’s reply is given in direct speech but it is not introduced by a quotative and in the spoken language there are of course no typographical signs to mark it as direct speech.

(25) B: der Charlie Chaplin fragt den kellner der dann,
nach dieser ganzen affaere an dem tisch vorbeilaeuft,
ja was war denn los?
ah ja er hatte zehn cent zu wenig,
(pair 316, GNS, A: female, B: female)
Charlie Chaplin asks the waiter who then after this entire affair walks past the table
what was the matter?
ah yes, he was ten cents short

In extract (26), finally, the speaker does not specify Charlie’s thought directly. He only alludes to it in a very general fashion. Such instances have been classified as narrative reportings of thought acts.

(26) B: erm, 
...but then he realizes that... this one waiter is a really... huge... guy, 
and he’s much too strong, 
...so erm—
...(3.2) wha- what he does is he tries to think of another strategy,
(pair 75, G-EFL, A: male, B: male)

In German, direct and indirect speech can be distinguished more easily than in English because the two forms differ in the verb forms and in word order. In English there are cases that are potentially ambiguous between the two forms. It is, therefore, interesting to see how speakers of German and speakers of English differ in the way they carry out the task of reporting speech and thought acts. Table 5 summarizes the data for speech presentation. It accounts for all narrations of the customer eviction scene and tabulates the frequency with which narrators produced versions of Charlie’s question and the waiter’s reply.

Table 5. Speech presentation (percentages in brackets) (Charlie’s question and the reply by the waiter)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ENS</th>
<th>G-EFL</th>
<th>GNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct speech</td>
<td>17 (53.1%)</td>
<td>8 (13.3%)</td>
<td>6 (15.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2 (6.3%)</td>
<td>9 (15.0%)</td>
<td>8 (21.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not realized</td>
<td>13 (40.6%)</td>
<td>43 (71.7%)</td>
<td>24 (63.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 (100%)       | 60 (100%)    | 38 (100%)    |

As can be seen from table 5, native English speakers (ENS) were more likely to include one or both of the utterances than the speakers of German, and they mostly did so in the form of direct speech. The speakers of German, on the other hand, reproduced these utterances in only about a third of all possible cases, but in the cases that they did
produce them they were equally likely to use direct speech or some other form, which in fact was mostly indirect speech.

Table 6 tabulates the figures for Charlie’s non-verbal reaction to the waiter’s answer. Here a rather different picture obtains. The speakers of German were more likely than the native speakers of English to include Charlie’s reaction in their narrative. For all three groups of speakers, the form of a direct thought was chosen in roughly a quarter of all cases.

Table 6. Thought presentation (percentages in brackets) (Charlie’s reaction to the waiter’s reply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ENS</th>
<th>G-EFL</th>
<th>GNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct thought</td>
<td>4 (25.0%)</td>
<td>7 (23.3%)</td>
<td>6 (31.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6 (37.5%)</td>
<td>18 (60.0%)</td>
<td>11 (57.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not realized</td>
<td>6 (37.5%)</td>
<td>5 (16.7%)</td>
<td>2 (10.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 (100%)</td>
<td>30 (100%)</td>
<td>19 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is, of course, a marked difference between the situations depicted in table 5 and table 6. The direct speech in table 5 was prompted by explicit renderings of the relevant utterances on slides within the film. It is possible that the native speakers had an advantage in reading these slides, absorbing the information and retaining it. The non-native speakers, even if they are very advanced learners of English, might find it more difficult to digest the information and to memorize it. In the case of Charlie’s reaction the prompt is entirely non-linguistic and the native speakers did not have an advantage. It might also be speculated that speakers of German are more used to taking advantage of the clear difference between direct and indirect speech, and therefore they are more likely to use indirect speech even when they speak English.

Short et al. (1999: 48) provide empirical evidence that direct speech is more frequent in tabloid newspapers and popular biographies than in broadsheet newspapers and serious biographies, while indirect speech acts and the narrative representation of speech acts are more frequent in broadsheet newspapers and in serious biographies. Thus, direct speech appears to be less formal and perhaps a means of a livelier account of the interaction. The more distanced indirect speech, on the other hand, appears to be more formal and more sober. It is interesting to note that the frequency distribution of the different types of speech and thought reporting are roughly the same for the native speakers of German whether they narrate in their own native language or in English as a foreign language.
5. Conclusion

For this chapter I have looked at three communicative tasks for three groups of speakers. The communicative tasks were the sequencing of narrative elements together with the appropriate choice of tenses, the introduction of characters into the narrative and the reporting of speech and thought acts. Movie narratives turned out to be particularly suitable for such an investigation because they provide an ideal combination of laboratory conditions and a field situation. The speakers of the three different language groups were faced with the same communicative tasks, and therefore their performance can be directly compared, but in spite of the laboratory conditions the tasks were realistic and produced natural talk. The narrators told a story to partner who did not know the story and who was allowed to ask questions for clarifications, just as in an everyday interaction in which somebody talks about a movie that his or her addressee has not seen.

It might have been expected that there would be clear differences between the two English-speaking groups on the one hand and the German-speaking group on the other as a result of the different structures of the two languages. The German EFL speakers are advanced learners that make relatively few grammatical mistakes. There are obviously some clear-cut differences in the structure of English and German. The formation of indirect speech, for instance, requires a subjunctive and a different word order in German. But more significant differences were found between the two groups of native speakers of German on the one hand and the one group of native speakers of English.

However, the differences between the three groups of speakers were not found on the level of grammatical constructions. They were found in the frequencies of various constructions. These constructions are equally possible and grammatical in both languages, but both groups of speakers of German showed similar frequencies and frequencies that differed markedly from those by the native speakers of English. Thus the German EFL speakers – in spite of their relative advanced competence in English – solve these communicative tasks more like the native speakers of German than like the native speakers of English.

While the native speakers of English mostly stick to one tense for each narrative element and assign a specific tense to each element, the native speakers of German are more likely to switch tenses within such elements or to stick to the same tense throughout the entire narrative. A majority of native speakers of English introduce a new entity, in this case the diner who was ten cents short, with an indefinite this-construction, i.e. this guy. The native speakers of German, on the other hand, prefer a standard indefinite noun phrase, such as a customer or ein Mann ‘a man’. And, finally, the native speakers of English are less likely to represent the utterances by Charlie and the waiter, but if they do, they prefer the format of direct speech. The native speakers of German are more likely to represent these utterances but they use indirect speech just as often as direct speech. For the representation of the thought act, i.e. Charlie’s reaction to the waiter’s reply, there is less difference between the three groups of speakers.
It appears, then, that there are subtle differences between English and German on the level of how communicative tasks are solved that are difficult to master for non-native speakers. It would be interesting to see whether these findings can be corroborated with additional communicative tasks, and it would be even more interesting to investigate an equally proficient group of native speakers of English speaking German as a foreign language, but unfortunately it would probably be very difficult to recruit such a group.

References


Appendix


UNITS
- Intonation unit {carriage return}
- Truncated intonation unit –
- Truncated word -

SPEAKERS
- Speech overlap [ ]

TRANSITIONAL CONTINUITY
- Final .
- Continuing ,
- Appeal ?

LENGTHENING
- Lengthening =

PAUSE
- Long ...(N)
- Medium ...
- Short ..
- Latching (0)

VOCAL NOISES
- Vocal noises ( )
- Inhalation (H)
- Exhalation (Hx)
- Glottal stop %
- Laughter @

QUALITY
- Laugh quality <@@>
- Quotation quality <Q Q>
- Sotto voce <SV SV>
- Loud <L L>
- Multiple quality features <Y<Z Z>Y>

TRANSCRIBER’S PERSPECTIVE
- Researcher’s comment (( ))
- Uncertain hearing <X X>
- Indecipherable syllable X
1. Introduction

The linguistic tools provided by the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1998, 1999) are especially suited to account for the grammatical phenomena which characterize English/Spanish bilingual data from either simultaneous or sequential bilingualism. More precisely, and within the generative view of language in general and language acquisition in particular, our point of departure is the notion of Universal Grammar (UG) as

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the genetic endowment that enables all human beings to acquire a particular language, depending on the type of linguistic input they are exposed to. Therefore, and when dealing with the acquisition of two languages, we assume that UG provides the computational component which carries out the selection of features specified in the lexicon of each language.

Since it is assumed that parametric variation among languages is located in the lexicon, and specifically in the features that constitute the building blocks of functional categories, an analysis of the activation of the various features in the bilingual acquisition process can provide us with relevant information on the way in which two languages are acquired.

Using data from both simultaneous and sequential bilingualism, in this paper we approach the acquisition of a series of formal features which characterize four different types of structures. Simultaneous bilingualism (Spanish and English as two L1s) is defined as the acquisition of two first languages (L1) from birth in a natural context (Butler and Hakuta 2004, among others). Sequential bilingualism (Spanish and English as L1 and L2) implies the acquisition of an L1 from birth and the latter acquisition of a second language (L2) which starts being acquired in an institutional context in the majority of the cases (Wei 2000, among others).

The simultaneous bilingual data we discuss in this paper are grouped following two different criteria, age and type; we compare child and adult data as well as spontaneous production and experimental interpretation data. The four types of structures we analyze are shown in examples (1) through (5). Examples (1) and (2) correspond to cases of code-mixing within the Determiner Phrase (DP) and the particular feature we are interested in is [Gender] in mixed DP structures, a feature which emerges when the Determiner category is provided by Spanish.

(1) a. un tree
   [Spanish indef. masc. sing. \textit{det} un + English sing. N tree]
   [Leo 2;07]

b. la rock
   [Spanish def. fem. sing. \textit{det} la + English sing. N rock]
   [Simon 3;05]

(2) a. el weekend
   [Spanish def. masc. sing. \textit{det} el + English sing. N weekend]
   (Jake \textit{et al.} 2002)

b. el research
   [Spanish def. masc. sing. \textit{det} el + English sing. N research]
   (Jake \textit{et al.} 2002)
Examples in (3) show structures containing the Spanish definite article *la* and 3rd person singular accusative clitic *la*.

(3) a. ¿has visto *la* mesa? Def. fem. sing. det *la* [have you seen the table?]
b. *la* hemos pintado Fem. sing. CL *la* [we have painted it]

The specific syntactic characteristics of definite articles and clitics that we are concerned with are: their position with respect to the nominal or to the verbal head; their null versus overt phonological realization.

Spanish deverbal compounds, as shown in (4), are the result of merging a verbal form in the 3rd person singular indicative (*mata, come*) and a nominal form in the plural (*rataS, libroS*).

(4) a. matarratas
   Verb *kill*-3rd ps + Noun pl. *rats* [rat-killer]
b. comelibros
   Verb *eat*-3rd ps + Noun pl. *books* [book-eater]

The last type of structure that we analyze is illustrated in (5) and corresponds to null and overt sentential subjects. In this case, the relevant feature we will concentrate in is the Determiner feature ([D]) in Tense (T).

(5) a. puedes mover a esta
   [(you) can-3rd-ps move to this one]
   (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005)
b. (I) don’t know (the) story
   [(I) don’t know (the) story]
   (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005)

This paper is structured as follows: Section 2 deals with simultaneous bilingualism, using both spontaneous and experimental data from children and adult bilinguals, and involves mixed DP structures, like those in (1) and (2), and null and explicit subjects, as in (5). In Section 3 sequential bilingual (non-native) systems are analyzed, also taking into account child and adult experimental data, and involving mixed DP structures, the definite article / accusative clitic dichotomy, as in (3) and deverbal compounds like those in (4). In Section 4 we present the conclusions.

2. **Simultaneous bilingualism: L1 English + L1 Spanish**

The two sets of bilingual data we have analyzed correspond to (a) the spontaneous production of a set of English/Spanish bilingual twins and to (b) the results of an
experiment on mixed DP structures carried out on a group of English/Spanish bilingual children from an elementary school in Dallas, USA.

2.1 The spontaneous data from our longitudinal study

The elicitation of spontaneous data for our longitudinal study\(^1\) began in 2000 (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005). At the time, the twins, Simon and Leo were 1;01 years old. They were born – and live – in Salamanca (Spain) but spend two to three months per year in the United States.

The linguistic input the twins have been exposed to since birth corresponds to the communication strategy *one parent – one language* (Ronjat 1913): the mother, a native speaker of American English, has always addressed the twins in English, and the father, a native speaker of Castilian Spanish, has done so in Spanish.

The data collected up to this point cover the age range from 1;1 to 6;3 and have been elicited following the methodological guidelines employed in research on monolingual and bilingual acquisition (Slobin 1985, De Houwer 1990, López-Ornat 1994, among others). A total of 168 sessions have been recorded on videotape and DVD, of which 113 are in an English context (i.e., with an English interlocutor) and 55 in a Spanish context. The Spanish recordings were made at intervals of 2–3 weeks until age 3;00 (with some interruptions) and then they were made once a month. The English recordings were sometimes made more frequently, but the sessions are usually much shorter. Thus the total amount of data recorded in each language is fairly equivalent.

2.2 The experimental data

Our experimental data were elicited from a group of 23 English/Spanish bilingual school children in Dallas. They were classified into the following four groups:\(^2\)

- Kindergarten (4 years old): 8 children [G1]
- Grade 2 (7 years old): 3 children [G2]
- Grade 3 (8 years old): 8 children [G3]
- Grade 4 (9 years old): 4 children [G4]

The experimental task consisted of grammaticality judgements of a series of structures containing mixed DPs. The sentences presented to the children were as follows: 64 experimental sentences (like those in 6–8); 18 distractors containing other types of mixings; and 18 fillers with deverbal compounds.

---

1. What we mean by “longitudinal” is that the data were gathered over a period of time of 5 years, specifically from 1 year and 1 month old (represented as 1;1) to 6 years and 3 months (indicated as 6;3).
2. We would like to thank the Director of the School, the children’s parents and the subjects for participating in the study.
Linguistic theory and bilingual systems 279

(6) a. me resulta difícil dormir en el plane
   [it is difficult for me to sleep on the plane]
   b. Adriana se pasa las vacaciones en la beach
   [Adriana spends her holidays at the beach]

(7) a. voy a comprar flores para el church
   [I am going to buy flowers for the church]
   b. los pájaros están haciendo un nido en la tree
   [the birds are building a nest in the tree]

(8) Peter's mother wants him to sweep the suelo [floor]

Among the 64 experimental sentences with mixed DPs, 32 of them had a Spanish Determiner and an English Noun (as in 6 and 7), and 32 had an English Determiner plus a Spanish Noun (as in 8). In the case of sentences where the mixed DP contained a Spanish Determiner, we included translation equivalents, like those in (6), where the gender of the Spanish Determiner agreed with the gender of the Spanish translation of the English Noun (el plane because plane/avión is masculine in Spanish; and la beach, because beach/playa is feminine in Spanish); and we also included non-translation equivalents, like those in (7), where no such agreement occurred.

Children from grade 2 to 4 (7–9 years old) were given the elicitation task containing the structures described above, which they had to judge using five different options involving numbers (1 if it sounds bad, 5 if it sounds good). The kindergarten children (4 years old) were given a modified version of this task where the items were presented orally rather than in written form, and, instead of giving them five different options involving numbers, we gave them four options involving colors, each color representing a different degree of acceptance. Both the teacher who administered the task and the director of the school suggested the use of this procedure because the school uses it with this age group to test lexical knowledge, and consequently the children were familiar with it.

2.3 Code-mixing within the DP: spontaneous and experimental data from children and adults

The analysis we have conducted of the spontaneous data from the bilingual twins Simon and Leo (Liceras and Fernández Fuertes 2005, Fernández Fuertes et al. 2005a) shows how, in the case of mixed DPs, there is a clear preference for structures like those in (9) and (10) in which Spanish contributes the functional category, the Determiner, and English provides the lexical category, the Noun, as opposed to cases like those in (11) where an English Determiner appears with a Spanish Noun.

(9) el piggy
   [Spanish def. masc. sing. det el + English sing. N piggy]
   [Leo 2;07]

   (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005)
This preference is reflected not only in the spontaneous data from Simon and Leo but has also been attested to in other studies involving English/Spanish bilingual children, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Spanish and English DET in simultaneous bilingual children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish DET</th>
<th>English DET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manuela</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 children</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to account for this preference for the Spanish Determiner, we have proposed the Grammatical Features Spell-Out Hypothesis (GFSH) (Liceras et al. 2005). We have argued that the GFSH accounts for the functional-lexical mixing patterns that prevail in the case of DPs produced by bilingual (English/Spanish) children. Following Chomsky’s (1998, 1999) differentiation between interpretable and uninterpretable features, this hypothesis states that in the process of activating the features of the two grammars, the child, who will rely on the two lexicons, will make code-switching choices which will favor the functional categories containing the largest array of uninterpretable features. This implies that, in the case of English/Spanish child acquisition data, mixed utterances such as (9) and (10) (Spanish Determiner + English Noun) will prevail over mixed utterances such as (11) (English Determiner + Spanish Noun). Thus, we propose that in the process of acquisition, children pay special attention to the visible morpho-phonological triggers which lead to the activation of abstract formal features (Spradlin et al. 2003).

This preference is also evidenced in the spontaneous data from adult bilinguals, as in the studies by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001) and Jake et al. (2002) where they analyze Milian’s (1996) and Pfaff’s (1979) corpora. Some of the examples are shown in (12) and (13) and the specific countings in Table 2.

(12) el doorway
    [Spanish def. masc. sing. DET el + English sing. N doorway]
    (Jake et al. 2002)
(13) una broom
   [Spanish indef. fem. sing. det una + English sing. N broom]
   (Jake et al. 2002)

Table 2. Spanish and English DET in simultaneous bilingual adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spanish DET</th>
<th>English DET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milian’s corpus (1996)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pfaff’s corpus (1979)</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jake et al. (2002)</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can therefore conclude that the overall preference for the Spanish Determiner in mixed DPs continues up to adulthood, where this category is preferred because it contains the features [Gender] and [Number] while the English Determiner lacks the feature [Gender].

This clear preference for the Spanish Determiner in production data does not show in the experimental data elicited from the group of children from Dallas (Liceras et al. 2005) since they do not show a preference for any of the two Determiners, as Figure 1 shows.

![Figure 1. Spanish and English DET in experimental child bilingual data](image)

We would like to propose that this difference can be explained in terms of the production/interpretation dichotomy, as we will see later. In fact, we would like to argue that the processor plays a different role in each of these two scenarios, since the processing
mechanisms that are at work when judging an already built structure (a mixed DP in this case) are different from the checking mechanisms operating when a mixed DP is to be built ex novo selecting items from the lexicon.

2.4 Null and explicit subjects

We have conducted a study on the nature of sentential subjects in the spontaneous production (English and Spanish) of Simon and Leo (Liceras et al. 2007). Specifically, we have taken into consideration sentences with explicit subjects – (14a) and (14b) for Spanish and (15a) for English –, as well as sentences with null subjects, like those in (14c) for Spanish and (15b) for English.

(14) a. yo quiero mover un caballo [Simon 3;09]
     [I want to move a horse]
     (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005)

b. estos son malos [Simon 3;00]
   [these ones are bad]
   (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005)

c. _ escucho la oveja [Leo 3;00]
   [ _ listen-1stps to the sheep]
   (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005)

(15) a. the bunny is carrying the case [Leo 2;05]
     (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005)

b. _ [I ] miss the top [Leo 2;05]
   (Fernández Fuertes et al. 2002–2005)

To carry out this study we have analyzed data from both languages at three different developmental stages (Table 3).

Table 3. Developmental stages in the subject production of Simon and Leo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Age range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STAGE #1</td>
<td>May-June 2001</td>
<td>2;04 – 2;06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAGE #2</td>
<td>January-October 2002</td>
<td>3;01 – 3;09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAGE #3</td>
<td>April-November 2003</td>
<td>4;04 – 4;11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since our bilingual subjects were exposed to data compatible with the two options of the null subject parameter, the [-null subject] English option and the [+null subject] Spanish option, we were able to investigate the development of these two options in the same ‘population’.

What is relevant to our analysis is the fact that English pronominal subjects are not only obligatory but also have a different grammatical status from their Spanish counterparts. Namely, the presence versus absence of Spanish pronominal subjects is regulated
at the pragmatic interface level. This implies that English personal pronouns are to be compared with Spanish verbal morphology (person agreement markers such as the –o in *quierO* and *escuchO* in 14a and 14c) rather than with Spanish personal pronouns.

In this respect, we have considered two related issues: (a) an analysis of the null subject parameter that allows us to compare English and Spanish pronominal elements in the way described above; and (b) a notion of markedness according to which English represents the marked option of the parameter.

According to Speas (1994), Chomsky (1995) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), the presence of a non-lexical (uninterpretable) [D(eterminer)] feature in the Tense category in English is responsible for the projection of a spec(ifier) in T(ense) (which is the obligatory position for the subject). This specifier is where the EPP feature (the checking of a categorial [D] in T) is checked as the tree diagram in (16) shows.

(16)  

```
TP
  Spec
  T

…T

[D]
uninterpretable
```

The corresponding operation in Spanish does not involve a specifier but checking the [D] feature of Tense via a head-to-head operation between the interpretable person agreement marker of the verb (for instance –o) and Tense (Speas 1994, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Ordoñez 1997, Kato 1999 and Rosselló 2000, among others). This implies that Spanish person agreement markers are pronominal elements (weak pronouns) listed in the lexicon independently from the verb stem.

Our data are consistent with the view that English is the marked option and Spanish the unmarked option of the null subject parameter because, as shown in Tables 4 and 5, the obligatory presence of English subject pronouns is more problematic than the production of Spanish person agreement markers.

| Table 4. Percentage of null subjects versus personal pronouns (Simon and Leo) |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                                 | Stage #1        | Stage #2        | Stage #3        |
| English                        | Null Pronoun %  | Null Pronoun %  | Null Pronoun %  |
| English                        | 34 13 (72.34)   | 12 237 (4.82)   | 39 771 (4.81)   |
| Spanish                        | 173 15 (92.02)  | 701 84 (89.29)  | 698 135 (83.79) |
Table 5. Omission of Spanish verbal agreement markers (Simon and Leo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stage #1</th>
<th>Stage #2</th>
<th>Stage #3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ris</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-Personal] (participle)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bare form</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mistmatches</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission/Total verb forms</td>
<td>9/210 (4.28%)</td>
<td>16/1062 (1.51%)</td>
<td>37/1036 (3.57%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What these data show is that the synchronic and developmental patterns of omission and production of English weak pronouns and Spanish agreement morphemes are very different: instances of omission of null subjects in the English data are significantly higher and occur until a later age than instances of omission of verbal agreement affixes in the Spanish data.

These results can also be interpreted as evidence for the special role of bound versus free morphology that characterizes first language acquisition as suggested in previous work (Zobl and Liceras 1994, Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1998). In other words, agreement markers (bound morphology) play a privileged role in first language acquisition.

Figure 2 and Figure 3 show a trade-off between null subjects and pronouns in English but not in Spanish. This we interpret as clear-cut evidence for a competence account of child null-subject data (Hyams and Wexler 1993) versus a performance-limitation account (Valian and Eisenberg 1996).

![Figure 2. Null subject versus personal pronouns in English](image-url)
Our data show an overall increase in the production of overt subjects in English but not in Spanish (compare Figures 4 and 5). This difference with respect to the increase of subject pronouns in the two languages, which happens to be highly significant, provides evidence for a competence account of the data, since the Spanish data do not mirror the L1 Portuguese data discussed in Valian and Eisenberg (1996) but the Italian data discussed in Valian (1991) and Hyams and Wexler (1993).
These findings also suggest that there are two separated systems in the bilingual mind since, even though our subjects are confronted with two different languages, there appears to be no transfer from either one with respect to the implementation of the two options of the null subject parameter.

3. Sequential bilingualism: bilingual non-native systems

In the case of sequential bilingualism (L1+L2), we elicited data from two different groups of speakers: native speakers of Spanish studying English as an L2 at the University of Valladolid (Spain); and non-native speakers of Spanish from the University of Ottawa (Canada) whose L1 was either English or French.

Both the native and the non-native Spanish speakers performed a grammaticality judgement task which contained: (a) English/Spanish mixed DPs as the ones displayed in (1) and (2); (b) Spanish definite articles and accusative clitics (examples in 3 above); and (c) Spanish deverbal compounds (examples in 4).

3.1 Code-mixing within the DP: experimental data

Using the same experimental design with which we elicited data from simultaneous bilingual children (see section 1.3.), we also elicited experimental data from sequential bilinguals (Liceras and Fernández Fuertes 2005, Fernández Fuertes et al. 2005a). The experimental task (as described in 1.2.) involved judging of 64 structures containing mixed DPs, 32 with a Spanish Determiner and an English Noun (examples 6 and 7), and 32 with an English Determiner plus a Spanish Noun (as in 8). As we indicated
above, in the case of Spanish Determiners, we wanted to investigate whether our subjects’ sensitivity to the [Gender] feature was reflected in a preference for the translation equivalent items (example 6) versus the non-translation equivalent ones (example 7).

We tested two groups of subjects: 72 native speakers and 135 non-native ones (of whom 61 were L1 English and 74 L1 French). The non-native subjects were classified in four different levels in terms of their proficiency in their L2 (Spanish) by means of the CANTEST and the SGEL tests. The results appear in Figures 6 and 7.

![Figure 6](image-url)

**Figure 6.** Spanish and English DET in experimental adult non-native data

![Figure 7](image-url)

**Figure 7.** Spanish equivalent versus non-equivalent DET in experimental adult non-native data
As Figure 6 reveals, there is no preference for the Spanish Determiner, neither in the native nor in the non-native group. Figure 7 suggests that native speakers prefer translation equivalent mixed DPs where Spanish provides the Determiner and its gender coincides with the translation of the equivalent Noun (as in example 6 above). As for non-native speakers, there is a preference for the masculine as default. In the case of non-native L1 French speakers, the formal features of the French Determiner do not seem to be transferred into the Spanish Determiner, since French speakers behave as English speakers in showing a preference for the English Determiner, in spite of the fact that in all cases Spanish Nouns and their French translations had the same inherent [Gender] feature.

These experimental sequential bilingual data contrast with the spontaneous simultaneous bilingual data in 1.3 where a clear preference for the Spanish Determiner occurs. Once more, we attribute this difference to the checking relations that operate when judging an already formed mixed DP (as in our experimental data) versus the ones that operate when ‘creating’ a mixed DP (as in spontaneous data). In the former case, checking relations take place a posteriori and features are made to converge or match somehow (thus the preference for translation equivalent DPs by native speakers shown in Figure 7). On the contrary, in the latter, the functional category which exhibits a richer array of features – that is, the Spanish Determiner – constitutes the preferred option and is therefore selected from the lexicon. Thus, the processing mechanisms responsible for the interpretation and the production data are different and, as such, activate different checking relations within a given syntactic domain, in this case the DP domain.

3.2 Spanish definite articles and accusative clitics

Spanish definite articles, as in (16a) and (17a), and 3rd person singular clitics, as in (16b) and (17b), share a common origin in Latin demonstratives (Menéndez Pidal 1958, Lapesa 1980, Lathrop and Gutierrez-Cuadrado 1984, Penny 1993). Both categories also share some phonological and morphological features, although they differ in terms of their semantic and syntactic properties (Uriagereka 1995 and Sportiche 1995).

(16) a. leen el libro  
    [they read the book]
   b. lo leen  
    [they read it]

(17) a. comen la manzana  
    [they eat the apple]
   b. la comen  
    [they eat it]
Clitics have traditionally been considered important elements both for linguistic theory and for acquisition theory because they are at the interface of morphology and syntax. These elements have also received special attention in the acquisition literature because they follow a very specific calendar in L1 acquisition (Clark 1985, Pierce 1992, Hamann et al. 1996) and, in the case of L2 acquisition, they tend to be candidates for fossilization (Liceras 1985, Liceras et al. 1998).

As Table 6 shows, Spanish definite articles and 3rd person singular accusative clitics have the same form (except for masculine singular).

Table 6: Definite articles and accusative 3rd p. clitics in Spanish, French and English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Def. article</th>
<th>Acc. clitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>lo el la los las</td>
<td>los las</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>le la les les</td>
<td>le le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>him her them them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is the case with Spanish, French definite articles and accusative clitics also share the same form. However, this parallelism does not hold in English. As far as word order is concerned, articles occur in pre-nominal position in all three languages, while this is not the case for accusative clitics and pronouns. In Spanish, clitics are placed before an inflected verb, as in (18), after a non-inflected verb, as in (19), or they may undergo clitic climbing, as in (20).

(18) hablando de ese perfume, no sé dónde LO he comprado 
    [speaking about this perfume, I don’t know where I bought IT]

(19) no sé dónde vamos a comprar LO 
    [I don’t know where we are going to buy IT]

(20) no sé dónde LO vamos a comprar 
    [I don’t know where IT we are going to buy]

French clitics are placed between the inflected verb and the infinitive, as shown in (21a). Finally, English pronouns behave as nouns in that both occur in post-verbal position, as in (21b).

(21) a. Juan veut l’acheter 
    [John wants to it buy] 
    [John wants to buy it]

b. John is going to buy it / the perfume …
In Senn et al. (2005) we investigated the differences and similarities between the acquisition of definite articles and accusative clitics by L1 English and French learners of Spanish. We tested two groups of subjects: 12 native speakers and 60 non-native speakers of Spanish (of whom 24 were L1 English, 22 L1 French and 14 English/French bilingual). Non-native subjects were classified in three different levels according to their proficiency in their respective L2.

The experiment consisted of a grammaticality judgement task, presented in a PowerPoint format. There were 82 grammatical and 82 ungrammatical utterances. The ungrammatical utterances contained null articles or clitics (as in 22) or misplaced articles or clitics (as in 23).

(22) a. veo Ø libro [I see Ø book] 19 items
   b. no Ø gusta el agua [I don’t like water] 21 items

(23) a. veo _ libro el [I see book the] 20 items
   b. no _ gusta le el agua [he doesn’t like water] 22 items

The results are displayed in Tables 7 to 10. What Tables 7 and 8 show is that non-native speakers have more problems with clitics than with articles. The difference between the native and non-native speakers is more significant in the case of the ungrammatical items.

Table 7. Spanish definite articles in native and non-native data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grammatical</th>
<th>Ungrammatical</th>
<th>Correct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French (22)</td>
<td>282/330</td>
<td>85.45%</td>
<td>297/352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (24)</td>
<td>301/360</td>
<td>83.61%</td>
<td>299/384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual (14)</td>
<td>170/210</td>
<td>80.95%</td>
<td>171/224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total non-native (60)</td>
<td>753/900</td>
<td>83.67%</td>
<td>767/960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total native (12)</td>
<td>180/180</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>183/192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Spanish 3rd p. clitics in native and non-native data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grammatical</th>
<th>Ungrammatical</th>
<th>Correct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French (22)</td>
<td>226/330</td>
<td>68.48%</td>
<td>362/484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (24)</td>
<td>278/360</td>
<td>77.22%</td>
<td>348/528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual (14)</td>
<td>167/210</td>
<td>79.52%</td>
<td>211/308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total non-native (60)</td>
<td>671/900</td>
<td>74.56%</td>
<td>921/1322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total native (12)</td>
<td>177/180</td>
<td>98.33%</td>
<td>257/264</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is important to note that while non-native speakers substantially differ from native speakers when judging ungrammatical null articles, they perform like native speakers in the case of ungrammaticality due to the position of these categories (Table 9).

**Table 9.** Spanish definite articles in native and non-native data: null / position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Null</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Total ungram.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French (22)</td>
<td>144/198</td>
<td>72.73%</td>
<td>153/154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (24)</td>
<td>137/216</td>
<td>63.43%</td>
<td>162/168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual (14)</td>
<td>77/126</td>
<td>61.11%</td>
<td>94/98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total non-native (60)</td>
<td>358/540</td>
<td>66.30%</td>
<td>409/420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total native (12)</td>
<td>102/108</td>
<td>94.44%</td>
<td>81/84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for clitics, Table 10 shows that native and non-native speakers differ when it comes to detecting null and misplaced instances of this category.

**Table 10.** Spanish 3rd p. clitics in native and non-native data: null / position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Null</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Total ungram.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French (22)</td>
<td>161/220</td>
<td>73.18%</td>
<td>201/264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (24)</td>
<td>147/240</td>
<td>61.25%</td>
<td>201/288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual (14)</td>
<td>96/140</td>
<td>68.57%</td>
<td>115/168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total non-native (60)</td>
<td>404/600</td>
<td>67.33%</td>
<td>517/720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total native (12)</td>
<td>117/120</td>
<td>97.50%</td>
<td>140/144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore, we can conclude that the formal features which determine the morpho-syntactic behaviour of accusative clitics are more difficult to acquire than those responsible for the behaviour of definite articles.

### 3.3 Deverbal compounds

The Spanish deverbal compounds shown in the examples in (4) have the following morpho-syntactic properties: (a) they are left-headed (Verb+Noun); (b) the verbal form appears in the 3rd person singular of the present indicative; and (c) the nominal form displays a generic –s marker. The head-initial pattern of Spanish deverbals is also found in French (e.g., *ouvre-boîtes* [open-cans], *gratte-ciel* [scrap-sky]). However, English deverbals are head-final (e.g., *can-opener*, *sky-scraper*) and also differ from Spanish...
and French deverbals in that the verbal form takes an agentive –er suffix and no –s marker appears in the nominal form.

Different studies on the acquisition of Spanish deverbal compounds have shown that adult L2 learners from different L1 backgrounds have problems with both the morphology and the directionality of these constructions (Salomaa-Robertson 2000, Pomerleau 2001, Liceras et al. 2004). This happens even when positive transfer from the L1 could lead to native-like performance in Spanish, as in the case of French speakers.

In order to further investigate whether the problems posed by the acquisition of these Spanish compounds were also detected when subjects had to perform an online task, we conducted a study to investigate how L1 and L2 speakers process Spanish deverbal compounds with and without morpho-syntactic violations taking into account these two dependent variables: response latency (RT, reaction time) and correct/incorrect answer (ER, error rate) (Desrochers et al. 2003, Fernández Fuertes et al. 2005b).³

We tested a group of 20 non-native speakers from the University of Ottawa (9 with L1 English, 9 with L1 French and 2 English/French bilinguals) and 63 native speakers from the University of Valladolid (27 with a background in Linguistics, referred to as ‘L-sophisticated’, and 36 without a background in Linguistics or ‘L-unsophisticated’).

The experimental task was presented on a PC with the software Micro Experimental Laboratory (MEL) (Schneider et al. 1995). The subjects were shown individual letter strings that either conformed to the pattern of a deverbal compound or violated a composition rule. The experimental list consisted of 99 pairs (99 grammatical units and 99 ungrammatical units). The possible violations refer to the three defining features of Spanish deverbal compounds: infinitive marker instead of inflected Verb (24a); reversed head directionality (24b); and null –s marker in the Noun (24c).

(24) a. *cazar-moscas vs caza-moscas  
[to catch-flies]  [catches-flies]  [fly-catcher]

b. *moscas-caza vs caza-moscas  
[flies-catches]  [catches-flies]  [fly-catcher]

c. *caza-mosca vs caza-moscas  
[catches-fly]  [catches-flies]  [fly-catcher]

In each case, subjects were asked to decide if the stimulus was or was not a possible Spanish word. We measured both the accuracy of their responses (ER) and their reaction times (RTs) (as in Table 11).

³ This research was supported by a research grant from the National Research Council in Engineering and Natural Sciences to A. Desrochers and seed funds provided by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ottawa to the Groupe de Recherche sur l’Ingénierie de la Langue (GRIL).
Table 11. Means proportions of errors (ER) and mean reaction times (RT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of stimuli</th>
<th>L1 Speakers</th>
<th>L2 Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L-sophisticated</td>
<td>L-unsophisticated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ER</td>
<td>RT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real compound</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>1271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø –s marker in N</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head directionality</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>1472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>1406</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 shows the mean proportions of errors (ER) and the mean correct latencies (RT). The results for native speakers indicate that, despite significant differences in frequency of use, the real deverbal compounds were detected relatively easily. Regarding the different violations of the three defining features of compounds, the results show that the infinitival form was perceived as having a clause structure with a headless 3rd person NP subject or a null 3rd person pro subject (Contreras 1985 and Lardiere and Schwartz 1997) serving as a primary cue in decision making. The head directionality violation was expected to be the easiest to detect. Although the error rate was indeed very low, the response latencies indicate that arriving at a decision involved a significant cost in processing time. The hardest type of violation was the null –s marker in the Noun, since the response accuracy was near chance level and the mean response latency was the longest of all.

As for the L2 speakers, their responses were generally less accurate and considerably longer than those of L1 speakers. Yet they provided a fairly close approximation of the patterns observed with the native speakers. L2 performance with null –s marker items also was near chance level. Decisions with head directionality items were also fairly accurate but required particularly long processing time. The similar pattern of results between L1 and L2 speakers strongly suggest that the processing cost with these items is related not to vocabulary size or grammatical knowledge, but to analyzing word order information in lexical processing. Once more, of all three types of violations the infinitive items were the easiest to process. The most relevant difference between L1 and L2 performance is the relative difficulty of non-native speakers to recognize real deverbal compounds. This pattern is likely attributable to L2 speakers’ limited exposure to the language and their relatively restricted vocabulary.

Regarding the two groups of native speakers, no significant effect of formal training in linguistic analysis on response accuracy or speed was detected, even though a trend suggesting faster responses from L-sophisticated speakers was apparent. This observation is consistent with the proposition that the structure of deverbal compounds is learned implicitly and, therefore, the detection of structural cues occurs
without intentional analysis. This process appears largely immune from formal training in linguistic analysis, and it seems to be independent of the actual elicitation technique, since our results parallel the ones obtained by Salomaa-Robertson (2000), Pomerleau (2001) and Liceras et al. (2004), as regards the performance of the native controls in these studies.

4. Conclusions

In the present study we have shown how linguistic theory can be put to use in the analysis of production and interpretation data from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals. Specifically, we have shown how linguistic constructs such as parameters and formal features allow us to formulate learnability hypotheses intended to investigate differences and similarities between ‘native’ (simultaneous) and ‘non-native’ (sequential) bilingual systems.

We have provided an account of how different features are activated in English/Spanish simultaneous (‘native’) and sequential (‘non-native’) bilingual acquisition, comparing on the one hand child and adult data and, on the other, spontaneous and experimental data. To this aim, we have analyzed the features involved in the projection and interpretation of: (i) mixed DPs ([gender] feature in the Spanish Determiner); (ii) null/overt subjects ([Determiner] feature in Tense); (iii) article/clitic elements (syntactic properties related to word order and omissions); and (iv) Spanish deverbal compounds (features affecting word order, Noun morphology and Verb morphology).

The spontaneous and experimental data pertaining to these four types of structures reveal clear-cut differences between native and non-native production/interpretation. We attribute this to the fact that, in the case of native speakers, production is determined by feature specification. For instance, we have shown that functional categories which contain a certain array of formal features play a definite role in the production of mixed DPs, a fact that follows from the Grammatical Features Spell-Out Hypothesis (GFSH). We have also shown that checking the EPP feature on a head-to-head relationship (providing accurate person agreement markers in Spanish) is easier than checking the EPP feature on a Spec-Head relationship (the projection of Spec-TP to host English nominative pronominal subjects).

We would like to suggest that the differences between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals when it comes to production and interpretation of mixed Spanish DPs have to do with the way in which both groups access the input. Namely, in L1 acquisition, input data are analyzed following a bottom-up strategy, that is, native speakers deal with the morpho-phonological material that enables them to activate the abstract features. In L2 acquisition, non-native speakers employ a top-down strategy which leads them to process larger units such words or even phrases rather than morpho-phonological material. This implies that these learners make morphological adjustments (agreement, word order, etc.) in a local way, construction by construction, rather than
taking abstract features as the basis for agreement relationships or word order requirements (Liceras 2003, Spradlin et al. 2003). This same strategy is also responsible for the differences between the native control group and the L2 Spanish speakers (sequential bilinguals L1 English/French) when it comes to the interpretation of Spanish deverbal compounds and Spanish definite determiners and accusative clitics.

References


Liceras, Juana M., Fernández Fuertes, Raquel and Pérez-Tattam, Rocío. 2007. “Null and overt subjects in the developing grammars (L1 English/L1 Spanish) of two bilingual twins”. In A Portrait of the Young in the New Multilingual Spain. Multilingual Matters.


Awareness of orthographic form and morphophonemic learning in EFL

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There is a growing body of evidence that form-focused instruction (FFI) promotes second language learning, specifically when it raises learners’ awareness of linguistic form (Ellis 2001). However, very few studies of phonological acquisition have been performed to date within a FFI framework. This paper seeks to determine whether three different FFI-techniques raise students’ awareness of the pronunciation ‘rule’ governing the syllable structure of –ed verb forms in English and whether this greater awareness is related to learning in comparison with subjects instructed in a less form-focused manner. The results of a pretest-treatment-posttest design lend support to the view that more explicit instruction results in greater learning when measuring phonological performance by means of discrete-item tests.

1. Introduction

There is a growing body of evidence that instructional techniques involving form-focused instruction (FFI) promote second language learning and may even facilitate acquisition in Krashen’s strict sense of the term – acquisition as the subconscious process of processing input through exposure (for a review see Ellis 2001; Norris and Ortega 2000). Moreover, it appears that one of the ways in which FFI works is by raising learners’ awareness of linguistic forms (Ellis 2001). In the almost thirty years of its lifetime, the concept of language awareness has been used with a number of senses in a variety of settings and in relation with different goals. The definition of ‘awareness’ that appears on the website of the Association for Language Awareness (http://www.lexically.net/ala/) is the following:

Language awareness can be defined as explicit knowledge about language and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use.
This definition touches on the three most important dimensions of language awareness: conscious perception of linguistic features, explicit knowledge about language (often called metalinguistic awareness) and an attitude of sensitivity to language. In this chapter, as in most works dealing with the mechanisms of second language acquisition (SLA), consciousness and explicit knowledge will be the key senses.

Awareness has played a prominent role in many major debates in SLA. The question of the possibility of learning without awareness has often been viewed in terms of implicit and explicit learning.\(^1\) In the field of SLA this debate developed in response to Krashen’s (1985) Monitor Theory. As is well known, the first major claim of this theory is the acquisition-learning hypothesis, which states that language acquisition and language learning are two distinct processes. Language acquisition, be it first or second, proceeds by subconscious, implicit processing of input. Language learning, on the other hand, involves consciously attending to and obtaining explicit knowledge about language, and usually takes place in formal instructional settings. As one sense of awareness is synonymous with consciousness, it can be seen that Krashen downplays the importance of awareness in SLA since the acquired system is considered to be far more important. In other words, he holds that the two systems are independent: explicit, learned knowledge has no influence on the acquired system. This is the so-called non-interface position (with interface being understood as the dividing line between conscious and unconscious processes and knowledge), defended not only by Krashen but by other theorists (Paradis 1994; Schwartz 1993; Young-Scholten 1999) who hold that true linguistic competence remains unaffected by instruction. The only kind of information that is available, or at least usable, for both first and second language acquisition is positive data (i.e. the linguistic input).

There seems to be a growing consensus that Krashen was right about there being a qualitative difference between implicit and explicit cognitive processes (Zobl 1995), which is the criterion Krashen uses for distinguishing between acquisition and learning. Moreover, awareness (in the sense of consciousness) seems to be the dividing line between conscious cognitive processes that are associated with explicit knowledge and unconscious cognitive processes that are related to implicit knowledge (Schmidt 1990). In addition to Krashen’s non-interface position, there are two other important viewpoints, which are known as the strong-interface and the weak-interface positions. (see Ellis 1993: 96). Advocates of the strong interface position (DeKeyser 1998; McLaughlin 1990) hold that sustained practice allows learners to convert declarative knowledge into automatized, implicit knowledge available for spontaneous use.

The most widely accepted stance at the present time seems to be the weak interface position (Gass 1991; Schmidt and Frota 1986; Sharwood Smith 1981). This position grants great importance to implicit learning and denies the possibility of converting explicit knowledge into implicit knowledge by dint of practice (i.e. a strong interface) but maintains that explicit knowledge can have an influence on implicit learning.

---

1. For an excellent review of implicit and explicit learning see DeKeyser (2003).
processes. According to proponents of a weak interface, *instruction which focuses on form* may help learners direct their attention to the relevant features in the input and thus enhance acquisition. In other words, there may be ways in which explicit knowledge of language could facilitate the process of acquiring implicit knowledge (i.e. acquisition). Some of the most important ways mentioned in the literature are the following:

a. Explicit, learned knowledge about language could increase the comprehensibility of the input, thus improving acquisition (Terrell 1991; VanPatten 1993).

b. Explicit knowledge could enhance the salience of certain formal features of the input (i.e. help learners to notice these features) thus optimizing the establishment of meaning to form mappings (Fotos 1993; Gass 1991; Lightbown, 1985).

c. Explicit knowledge may facilitate the noticing of linguistic features in the input or the gaps between a learner’s current interlanguage and the target language (Schmidt and Frota 1986).

d. Learners’ output may constitute a kind of input for themselves (Schmidt and Frota 1986; Sharwood Smith 1981; Terrell 1991) which has been referred to in the literature as auto-input, virtual input or back door learning. If this assumption is valid, then learners could use metalinguistic knowledge in monitoring to improve the quality of their output and auto-input, thus enhancing acquisition.

Since the early 90’s many studies have attempted to examine the effectiveness of form-focused instructional techniques. A survey analyzing a number of studies of this type carried out by Spada (1997) concludes that FFI is beneficial to SLA and that the best results are obtained when it is “operationalized as a combination of metalinguistic teaching and corrective feedback provided within an overall context of communicative practice” (Spada 1997: 77). An ambitious meta-analysis of 49 studies published between 1980 and 1998 was performed by Norris and Ortega (2000). The studies included in their analysis were characterized according to the type of instruction and normalized effect sizes were compared. An overall conclusion is that instruction which focuses on L2 forms obtains significantly better results than simple exposure or meaning-focused approaches. In addition, Norris and Ortega (2001) conclude that the effectiveness of L2 instruction appears to be durable, although they also admit that the types of measures used in individual studies probably have an influence on the magnitude of instructional techniques that is reported.

The claim that FFI promotes the learning of explicit knowledge of language is, then, supported by a great deal of research and can be considered uncontroversial (Norris and Ortega 2000, 2001; Truscott 1998). But what everybody wants to know is the answer to another question: Does FFI promote acquisition of implicit knowledge? Two recent articles by Ellis (2002) and White and Ranta (2002) have addressed this issue. In order to approach it, it is necessary to employ measures based on fluent communicative language use because tasks that do not allow time for conscious monitoring are more likely to access implicit knowledge. Accordingly, Ellis (2002) only included studies that used measures of this type. Six of the forty-nine studies considered by Nor-
ris and Ortega (2000) were reviewed plus five other recently published investigations. The analysis of these eleven studies provides support for the position that instruction can aid the acquisition of implicit knowledge, at least sometimes, and that when it does the effects are durable. The key variables affecting the success of instruction seem to be the complexity of the target structure, the extent of the instruction and the availability of the target structure in non-instructional input. In his conclusions Ellis (2002: 234) suggests that FFI may facilitate the acquisition of implicit knowledge in indirect ways.

A second study that tackles the question of whether FFI has a direct or indirect effect on language acquisition is White and Ranta’s analysis (2002) of the acquisition of possessive determiners by French-speaking children. This study compares a group of students who received FFI plus communicative teaching with another group that received only communicative teaching. Their knowledge and use of the possessive pronouns his and her were assessed with free oral production tasks and metalinguistic tasks. The researchers found that FFI had a significant effect on both metalinguistic knowledge and free oral production, clearly indicating once again that FFI can promote acquisition of implicit knowledge. With respect to the question of what mechanisms are involved, the authors conclude that the relationship between the results on metalinguistic knowledge and uncued production are most consistent with the existence of a weak interface, which implies that FFI has an indirect impact on the acquisition of implicit knowledge. While these results are encouraging, it is clear that a continued research effort will be required to substantiate the effect of FFI on implicit acquisition and to clarify the mechanisms involved.

Two common pedagogical procedures that have been used within implicit Focus-on-Form (FonF) approaches are input enhancement and recasts. Research on the former technique at different linguistic levels (morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic) has produced mixed results. Thus, some studies (Izumi 2002; Jourdenais 1998; Leow 2001; Leow et al. 2003; Overstreet 1998 and White 1998 among others) did not find significant effects supporting the use of this pedagogical tool, whereas others show positive effects (Jourdenais et al. 1995; Leeman et al. 1995) and still a third group of studies report limited effects (Alanen 1995; Robinson 1997; White 1998). Recasts, defined by Nicholas et al. (2001: 73) as “utterances that repeat a learner’s incorrect utterance, making only the changes necessary to produce a correct utterance, without changing the meaning”, have received a great deal of attention in recent research and they have been associated with L2 learning in several studies (e.g. Ayoun 2001; Braidi 2002; Iwashita 2003; Leeman 2003; Mackey and Philp 1998; Storch 2002).

A number of recent studies has directly measured learners’ awareness and related it to learning. Thus, Alanen (1995) showed that learners who were able to verbalize rules performed significantly better than those who could not verbalize them. This study supports Robinson’s (1997) argument that awareness at the level of understanding (operationalized as ‘verbalization of a rule’ in Alanen’s research) is the strongest predictor of success in language learning. Rosa and O’Neill (1999) investigated the acquisition of Spanish past hypothetical conditional structures. They found support
for Schmidt's Noticing Hypothesis (1990), which states that noticing is the necessary and sufficient requirement for the conversion of input into intake and that understanding is not necessary for that process to take place. Rosa and O'Neill's findings suggest that “high levels of awareness seem to be associated with (a) a more sophisticated type of input processing that allows for hypothesis formation and testing, (b) low levels of overgeneralization, and (c) superior learning or, in our case, more intake” (Rosa and O’Neill, 1999: 547). Radwan (2005) explores the facilitative effects of various types of attention-drawing instructional conditions on the acquisition of the English dative alternation and shows that students who received explicit instruction outperformed those exposed to implicit instruction and that a higher level of awareness correlates positively with language development.

Within the realm of the acquisition of language phonology, very few studies have been performed within the FFI or FonF paradigm. Dickerson (1987, 1990) is probably the researcher that has paid the most attention to explicit teaching of phonological rules. In his numerous articles he developed a number of pedagogical rules for the pronunciation of English (including one covering the pronunciation of –ed verb forms) and used them extensively in pronunciation courses for English as a second language (ESL) students at the University of Illinois. The effectiveness of his method for the pronunciation of –ed verb forms was corroborated in experimental work by Brutten et al. (1986). Lyster and Ranta (1997) found that recasts were the most common type of feedback given by teachers in French immersion classrooms in Canada but led to the lowest frequency of learner repair. Since what is being corrected is implicit, recasts do not succeed in focusing learners’ attention on the form of their utterances. This is precisely what Pavón Vázquez (2001) found in his experimental study for learning English word patterns. The results showed that corrective feedback with explicit metalinguistic information was more effective than implicit feedback, operationalized as recasts.

With this backdrop, the main goal of this study is twofold:

a. To determine whether three different FFI-techniques (namely, deductive, inductive and recasts) raise students’ awareness of the pronunciation ‘rule’ governing the syllable structure of –ed verb forms in English,

b. To determine whether this greater awareness is related to greater learning in comparison with subjects instructed in a less form-focused manner.

The following research questions have been entertained:

a. Does FFI promote learning of the morphophonological rule governing the pronunciation of the English –ed ending of regular verbs?

b. Which type of FFI technique is most effective?

c. Is there any relationship between awareness and learning of this pronunciation point?
Three specific hypotheses were investigated:

Hypothesis 1: participants in a deductive instruction group will show the greatest gains in awareness of the rule. Participants in an inductive rule-search group are expected to improve somewhat in rule awareness while those in a recast group will show little, if any, increase in rule awareness (deductive group > inductive group > recast group).

Hypothesis 2: Participants who demonstrate awareness of the rule will perform significantly better than those who do not in the posttest.

Hypothesis 3: Hypothesis 2 means that performance on the posttest should reflect the degree of rule awareness. Therefore, taking Hypothesis 1 into account, we expect scores on the posttest to be ordered in the following way: deductive condition > inductive condition > recast condition.

2. The present study

2.1 Participants

The participants in this study were 31 Spanish students enrolled in the School of Nautical Studies of the University of Cantabria, Spain (mean age: 21.84, range: 18–34. Although 34 students initially participated in the study, 3 had to be ruled out because they had demonstrated a high level of rule-awareness on the pretest (3 or 4 on a 5-point scale) and 1 student because of speech problems in both Spanish and English. On average, the participants had studied English from six to ten years in school settings. They were at an intermediate to upper intermediate level in written skills but their oral skills were at a significantly lower level. Few had spent time abroad in English-speaking countries and none were bilingual.

Since the experimental design involves comparing posttest results of the three treatment groups, it is essential that the pretest scores of these three groups be homogeneous in order to allow us to make any valid comparisons between the posttest scores. Table 1, which shows the means and standard deviations for the three groups, and the Tukey box and whisker diagrams shown in Figure 1 both illustrate the high degree of homogeneity in the pretest results of the three experimental groups. The lack of significant differences in the pretest scores of the experimental groups was confirmed by means of an ANOVA with a post-hoc Tukey analysis of Highly Significant Differences (HSD). The three groups were found to be very homogeneous and therefore apt for use with this kind of experimental design.
Table 1. Pretest scores by treatment group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deductive</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23.06</td>
<td>5.53</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22.55</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recast</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.00</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Box and whisker diagrams of pretest scores by group (1 = Deductive; 2 = Inductive; 3= Recast)

2.2 Target form and learning difficulties

The particular problem chosen for study is the learning of the pronunciation of English verb forms ending in –ed. In English, the –ed morpheme is found in the past tense inflection of regular verbs, in past participles and in -ed adjectives. The endings are spelled with –ed but there are actually three different pronunciations, the distribution of which is phonologically conditioned. The stem-final sound determines the distribution of the allomorphs in the following manner: /id/ occurs after alveolar plosives, that is /t, d/; /d/ after voiced sounds other than /d/, and /t/ after voiceless sounds other than /t/. Spanish EFL learners have trouble with this pronunciation point, as corroborated by research studies such as Brutten et al. (1986). In their study of the pronunciation of
the final \{D\} and \{Z\} morphemes\(^2\) by a multilingual group of students at Southern Illinois University, the Spanish speakers had the lowest initial scores of all the linguistic groups present in the intensive English language courses. In particular, Spanish students often make errors related to the number of syllables: they sometimes insert an extra syllable (i.e. epenthesis) when the \{D\} morpheme should be added directly to the stem (e.g. ‘looked’ is pronounced /lukid/ instead of /lukt/), and on other occasions they do not add an extra syllable when they should (e.g. ‘waited’ is rendered as /weit/ instead of /weitid/).

There are a number of reasons why the target form in this study may be difficult to learn implicitly:

a. The cognitive complexity due to the fact that there are several different phonological realizations of the morpheme as illustrated in the following figure (from Dickerson 1990)

![Figure 2](image)

---

2. The symbols D and Z are used to denote the morphemes corresponding to the final \(-ed\) and final \(-s\) endings, which may be presented by different allomorphs: /d/, /t/ or /id/ in the case of D and /z/, /s/ or /iz/ in the case of Z.
preceded by a t or a d (about 30% of the cases). As has been pointed out by García Lecumberri and Gallardo (2003), such reading pronunciations appear not only when students are reading aloud but also in conditions involving freer production. This suggests that the forms students have committed to memory (i.e. their lexical representations) can be influenced by orthographic form. The effect of orthographic representations on phonological development has also been reported by other authors (Giannini and Costamagna 1997; Young-Scholten 1997; Young-Scholten, Akita and Cross 1998).

c. Students may have problems in perceiving and processing the relevant phonological features of the input because the phonological realization of the –ed morpheme is often not very salient, as in the following examples:

(1) We watched the film.

(2) We planned to go.

When the {D} morpheme is added directly to the stem, it is often hard for students to hear the difference between the –ed form and the base form of the verb, particularly when the {D} morpheme forms part of a consonant cluster, as in examples (1) and (2) above. It should be easier for Spanish students to hear the –ed ending when the final syllable is pronounced, though the syllable is always unstressed and therefore not highly salient. In addition, although the global frequency of –ed verb forms is quite high, the frequency of the forms ending in -ted or -ded is lower, perhaps obscuring the conditions for the pronunciation of an extra syllable.

d. The limited quantity and often deficient quality of the aural input received by students in an EFL learning situation.

e. The so-called ‘social identity constraint’ (Leather and James 1996: 271): the limitation on the accuracy of learners’ L2 pronunciation due to their desire to identify with their classmates rather than with native speakers of the L2.

2.3 Experimental design

In this study, we used a pretest-treatment-posttest experimental design with the effects of three different FFI treatments being compared through the posttest which was administered one week after instruction. The duration of the treatment was a one-hour class.

3. The rank frequency list of the British National Corpus (BNC), which shows all word forms in the written part of the BNC with a frequency greater than or equal to 20 per million, indicates that 29.4% of relevant word forms end in – ted or –ded and therefore require the pronunciation of an extra syllable, while 70.6% do not.
2.3.1 Treatment conditions


The treatment procedures were devised to be as similar as possible in order to minimize differences other than the design variables. All three groups began with a meaning-centred activity involving silent reading of the text (adapted from Skillful Reading (Sonka 1981), a past tense narrative describing the development of telecommunications) – see Appendix I. Another common element consisted of the subjects listening to the teacher reading the text aloud, which might be considered as a flood of the targeted –ed verb forms, since the text was specifically chosen, and edited, to include an abnormally high frequency of these forms. Other common elements involved individual students reading aloud both the text itself and the answers to the comprehension questions. Students in all three groups were corrected by the teacher, but only in the ‘deductive’ group were any of these corrections explained in relation to a pronunciation rule.

In addition to the elements which were common to all three groups:

a. The deductive group received FFI which involved presenting a pedagogic rule for the pronunciation of –ed verb forms and then applying it in meaning-centred activities. Traditionally (Lado and Fries 1954; Morley 1979) the morphophonemic choice rules have been presented in a form that closely reflects the linguistic description shown in Figure 2. However, Dickerson (1987, 1990) presented several objections to the traditional rule set. He argued that the rules are too complex for learners to understand and apply. This complexity of the rule was partly due to its two-tiered logical structure and partly to the technical metalinguistic language in which the rule was framed. The two-tiered logical structure refers to the fact that to apply the rule students must first decide whether or not to pronounce an extra syllable: if an extra syllable is not to be pronounced they must then decide whether the ending is to be pronounced as /t/ or /d/. The metalinguistic language that requires some degree of sophistication typically includes concepts like stem, voiced and voiceless.

Consequently, Dickerson developed a much simpler and easier to apply rule, which we have adapted as follows for the deductive group:

If the verb ends in –ted or –ded you have to pronounce the e and, consequently, an extra-syllable. For all other cases, the e is not pronounced and the final consonant is added to the preceding syllable.
Notice that Dickerson has simplified the rule by referring to orthography instead of the vague concept of stem to determine the number of syllables and by conflating the voiced /d/ and unvoiced /t/ alveolar plosives when an extra syllable is not added, apparently assuming that natural phonological processes will constrain the voicing of the final consonant.4

Students in the deductive group were told that the final consonant was sometimes pronounced as a d and sometimes as a t, depending on the preceding sound, though no rules regarding the exact phonological conditioning were taught. Students practised the rule by classifying all the –ed verbs in the text into two groups according to whether or not an extra syllable should be pronounced. In the case of verbs not ending in –ted or –ded they were told to cross out the ‘e’ with an oblique stroke to remind them that the vowel should not be pronounced. After classifying the verbs, students pronounced them in isolation to practice the application of the rule.

b. The inductive group received FFI operationalized as searching for a pronunciation rule while they listened to the teacher’s pronunciation and, at the same time, followed a visually enhanced version of the text Appendix II. The enhancement technique, which was inspired by Morley (1979), consisted of crossing out the ‘e’ in the non-ted verb forms with an oblique stroke; the -ted and -ded endings, on the other hand, were highlighted in bold type and the ‘t’ or ‘d’ preceding the -ed was underlined. In addition, the teacher who read the text orally was careful to pronounce these verb endings clearly and emphatically. It was thought that this double enhancement (visual and oral) ought to help clarify the pronunciation pattern and lead the learners to an adequate understanding, allowing them to express a ‘rule’. Although inductive or discovery techniques seem attractive from a pedagogical point of view, relatively little research has been done on their effectiveness (DeKeyser 2003; Erlam 2003).

c. The only FFI technique used with the third group was implicit feedback which involved recasting incorrect pronunciations with no further explanation, although this group, like the others, was exposed to an input flood of target forms.

Figure 3 summarizes the experimental design:

4. As far as syllable structure is concerned, the rule is really very reliable. It is true that there are some exceptions, which are mainly participial adjectives whose stem ends in /k/ or /g/ such as rugged, wicked, long-legged, etc. However, these exceptional forms are relatively infrequent. In the written part of the British National Corpus with a frequency of 20 or more tokens per million words there are barely any exceptions; in fact naked is the only one among the 378 -ed verb forms. The picture is rather different in the case of adverbs and nouns derived from participles such as allegedly or markedness where the syllable is almost always pronounced. However, the rule for –ed verb forms does not pretend to deal with these derived forms.
3 treatment conditions

Posttest 1 week after Treatment

Deductive

Pretest

Inductive
(enforced input+rule search)

Recast

Posttest

Figure 3. Experimental design

2.3.2 Test instrument, administration and scoring

The pronunciation test, which was used as both the pretest and posttest, consisted of 42 –ed verb forms together with distractor items. Some forms were presented as isolated forms (in lists) and others in the context of sentences, as illustrated in (3) – see Appendix III for the complete test.

(3) a. List format (2 lists x 12 items = 24 items)
   Infinitive  3rd pers.sing.  -ing form  -ed form
   believe  believes  believing  believed

b. Contextualized forms (2 texts x 9 items = 18 items)
   When Internet was created in 1971, only four computers were involved.
   In 30 years the Internet has developed faster than anyone imagined.

At no time were participants told what the focus of the test was. Moreover, other verb forms, in addition to the –ed form, appeared in the lists, so it was by no means obvious what was being tested. The participants were given no indication during the pretest that they would be tested again. A variety of verbs with a range of pronunciation difficulty (number of syllables + phonological environment preceding the –ed ending) were selected. As for syllable structure, 18 of the 42 –ed forms (42.9%) belong to the class of verbs ending in –ted or –ded (henceforth, the –TED class) and 24 (57.1%) to all the rest (henceforth, the NON-TED verbs).

The pronunciation tests were administered using Tandberg Educational (System 600) language laboratory equipment. Student performances were recorded for later transcription and scoring. The time required for administration of the test was about 15 minutes. Before beginning the test, one of the researchers read the instructions, which also appeared in writing on the test form. When the participants had finished the pronunciation test, they were asked to answer the following question designed to probe their
awareness of any relevant pronunciation rule: “Do you know any pronunciation rule that has helped you to pronounce these words correctly? If so, write down the rule or rules.”

As for scoring, 1 point was given when the syllable structure was correct and a final alveolar plosive was present, ½ point was given when the syllable structure was correct but the final consonant was absent (/regjuleiti/ for regulated). Answers in which the learner replaced the desired form with a similar or invented form were considered wrong (/direkt/ for directed). The following five-point scale was used in rating students’ replies to the question about whether they knew any ‘rule’ that had been of help in the pronunciation test:

(4) Awareness scale
0 - No comment or comments that are irrelevant to –ed forms
1 - Low level of awareness: some relevant feature(s) are mentioned but the learner shows little awareness of how these features affect pronunciation. Very little or no improvement in performance can be expected if this rule is applied.
2 - Partial awareness: the ‘rule’ suggested is limited in scope or only partially correct. Performance can be expected to improve somewhat if this rule is applied.
3 - Considerable awareness: what is stated is correct, but the ‘rule’ is incomplete or not totally explicit. Performance can be expected to improve noticeably if this rule is applied.
4 - High-level of awareness: ‘rule’ is stated explicitly and completely. Performance can be expected to improve significantly if this rule is applied.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 Hypothesis 1

As can be seen in Table 2 below, Hypothesis 1, which predicted the highest gains in awareness for the participants in a deductive group and the lowest for those in a recast group, seems to be largely confirmed by the results for both the average change in awareness and the number of participants with a gain of two or more points on the awareness scale.

This finding may appear to be almost a self-fulfilling prophesy, since awareness was measured as the ability to verbalize a rule. Remember that the participants in the deductive instruction group heard a statement of a pedagogic rule and those in the inductive group were asked to state a rule after being exposed to visually enhanced input designed to help them induce the relationship between spelling and pronunciation. Those in the recast group, on the other hand, were neither taught a rule nor asked to search for one.
Table 2. Awareness change by treatment group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>No. of Subjects</th>
<th>Average change in awareness</th>
<th>No. of subjects with awareness change ≥ 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deductive</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recast</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 states that those participants who demonstrate awareness of the ‘rule’ should perform better on the posttest. To test this hypothesis, we have analyzed the correlation of participants’ improvement (i.e. their posttest score – pretest score) with their level of awareness on the posttest. The results are shown below in Table 3:

Table 3. Correlation between posttest awareness and improvement (posttest score – pretest score)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>Posttest rule-awareness</th>
<th>Improvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Posttest</td>
<td>Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rule-awareness</td>
<td>Sig.(bilateral)</td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement</td>
<td>Correlation</td>
<td>.393*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig.(bilateral)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that there is indeed a significant correlation of .029 between improvement (i.e. posttest score – pretest score) and posttest rule awareness. However, as Table 4 below shows, nearly half of the participants reported no rule awareness.

3.3 Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 predicts that the posttest scores will reflect the order found in rule awareness, that is to say: deductive group > inductive group > recast group. Consider the descriptive statistics of the posttest scores for the three treatment groups shown in Figure 4 and Table 5 below. There appear to be clear differences between the three groups, and the scores are ordered as predicted by the hypothesis:
Figure 4. Mean pretest and posttest scores by treatment group (in percent)

Table 4. Number of subjects and mean posttest scores by level of awareness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness on Posttest</th>
<th>Number of subjects</th>
<th>Mean posttest score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Pretest and posttest scores as well as improvement by treatment group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pretest (Mean)</th>
<th>Posttest (Mean)</th>
<th>Improvement (Posttest – Pretest)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deductive</td>
<td>Numerical score 23.06/42</td>
<td>27.61/42</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per cent         54.9%</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>Numerical score 22.55/42</td>
<td>25.45/42</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per cent         53.7%</td>
<td>60.6%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recast</td>
<td>Numerical score 23.00/42</td>
<td>23.92/42</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per cent         54.8%</td>
<td>57.0%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But are these differences statistically significant? To answer this question we performed an ANOVA with a post hoc test using Tukey’s HSD analysis and the results are shown in Table 6 below. It can be seen that none of the differences between treatment groups approaches significance.
Table 6. Tukey HSD post-hoc analysis for treatment groups. (Treatment 1=Deductive; Treatment 2=Inductive; Treatment 3=Recast)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment (i)</th>
<th>Treatment (j)</th>
<th>Difference between means (i-j)</th>
<th>Std. error</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>95% confidence interval Lower limit</th>
<th>95% confidence interval Upper limit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.161</td>
<td>2.8956</td>
<td>.738</td>
<td>– 5.004</td>
<td>9.326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.694</td>
<td>2.7789</td>
<td>.391</td>
<td>– 3.182</td>
<td>10.570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>– 2.161</td>
<td>2.8956</td>
<td>.738</td>
<td>– 9.326</td>
<td>5.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.533</td>
<td>2.6984</td>
<td>.838</td>
<td>– 5.143</td>
<td>8.210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>– 3.694</td>
<td>2.7789</td>
<td>.391</td>
<td>– 10.570</td>
<td>3.182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>– 1.533</td>
<td>2.6984</td>
<td>.838</td>
<td>– 8.210</td>
<td>5.143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, we have seen that there are considerable differences among the posttest scores of the different treatment groups but surprisingly these differences do not prove to be significant when a one-way ANOVA is used.

However, there is another way of analyzing the results. Instead of asking whether there are significant differences between the posttest scores of the three treatment groups, we can ask whether any of the treatment groups made a significant gain between the pretest and the posttest. As can be seen in Table 5, the mean improvements for the deductive, inductive and recast groups are 10.8%, 6.9% and 2.2% respectively. Clearly, the first two groups improved considerably, but are these improvements significant from a statistical point of view? An appropriate statistical test is the paired samples t-test. The results, which may seem rather surprising, are shown in Table 7 below:

Table 7. Paired samples t-test for Pretest and Posttest scores for all –ed verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment condition</th>
<th>Mean Gain</th>
<th>Std Dvt.</th>
<th>Std Error Mean</th>
<th>95% Confidence Interval of the Difference Lower</th>
<th>95% Confidence Interval of the Difference Upper</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig. 2-tailed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deductive</td>
<td>4.556</td>
<td>6.798</td>
<td>2.266</td>
<td>– 0.670</td>
<td>9.781</td>
<td>2.010</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>2.900</td>
<td>2.737</td>
<td>0.865</td>
<td>0.942</td>
<td>4.858</td>
<td>3.351</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recast</td>
<td>0.917</td>
<td>4.842</td>
<td>1.398</td>
<td>– 2.160</td>
<td>3.993</td>
<td>0.656</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that although the inductive group’s mean improvement is smaller than that of the deductive group, the gain of the inductive group is highly significant (Sig. =.009). The deductive group, on the other hand, achieves a larger mean gain but the
significance of .079 offers us far less guarantee that this result is not due to random variations. The performance of the recast group is far worse than that of the other two groups. The mean improvement is small and far from significant, which means that we cannot rule out the *null hypothesis*, that is to say that the improvement of 0.92 recorded by this group is completely due to random variations. The deductive group’s gain is less significant than that of the inductive group because of the greater variability in the performance of the subjects in this group, which is reflected by the larger standard deviation and standard error of the deductive group.

These relationships are illustrated very clearly by the following box and whisker diagram (Figure 5) showing the improvement for the three treatment groups. Several things are evident from this diagram. In the first place, as we have already seen, the deductive and inductive groups show greater improvement than the recast group. Secondly, the deductive group shows the greatest dispersion in the amount of improvement, with the inductive group showing much less dispersion and the recast group showing very little dispersion except for two outliers, one who improved significantly and one whose score actually decreased considerably.

Thus, regarding the first research question posed in this study, that is “Does FFI promote learning of the morphophonological rule governing the pronunciation of the –ed ending of regular verbs?” the answer is clearly affirmative. In fact two of our three FFI treatment groups showed convincing gains one week after instruction even though the duration of the treatment was only one class-hour. As we have seen, the inductive group, which was exposed to enhanced input and searched for rules, was the only one that recorded an improvement that was statistically significant on the paired sample t-test. The average gain of the deductive group was actually greater than that of the inductive group but, due to the greater variability of scores, the statistical significance did not quite reach the .05 level. This finding is in line with other studies which have indicated that there is more variability among learners who receive more metalinguistic information (Erlam 2003; VanPatten 1988; Zobl 1995). It has been suggested by VanPatten (1988) that this is due to the fact that implicitly processed language accesses the acquired system whereas explicit knowledge is learned in Krashen’s (1985) restricted sense of the word. It would be interesting to test whether the variability of the deductive participants’ performance would be reduced by increasing the treatment period, thus providing more opportunity for practice and automatization of the pedagogical rule being taught. However, it could also be argued that the gains shown by the inductive group may be more ‘solid’ since there seems to be less variation among individuals and if treatment and practice periods were lengthened, the improvements for this group would presumably also be consolidated.
In fact, a possible pitfall of deductive teaching, which may explain the greater variability of the results, is that students show a surprising propensity to forget rules and/or fail to apply them correctly. Indeed, of the nine participants who received deductive teaching of the pedagogical rule only three obtained a score indicating a high level of rule awareness (3 or 4) on the posttest just one week later. Other studies have noted anomalies in the rules that students learn as a result of instruction (Seliger, 1979; Sorace, 1985). Two subjects actually obtained a post-test score of 0 in awareness (cf. Robinson (1995: 337) who points out that a significant number of instructed participants “did not attempt to verbalize the rules they had been taught, either due to poor memory for them, or to fatigue”).

As for the second research question “Which type of FFI is most effective?” a cursory inspection of the results suggests that the deductive treatment is the best. However, the statistical analysis does not support this conclusion since the gains obtained with the inductive rule-search treatment proved to be more significant. Interestingly, Rosa and O’Neill (1999), who also expected to find an advantage for deductive instruction over the rule-search condition, failed to do so. Robinson (1995), on the other hand, found very weak effects for the rule-search condition in his experiment. The generalization that more explicit types of FFI are better for simple rules than more implicit techniques (Doughty and Williams 1998; Robinson 1995) may be broadly correct but it
is clear that it should not be pushed too far. As Erlam (2003) points out, the literature does not support any sweeping generalization about the relative effectiveness of deductive and inductive teaching. Furthermore, it seems clear that the effectiveness of a given instructional technique must depend on a number of other factors besides the degree of explicitness and the rule complexity, e.g. the operationalization of deductive and inductive, individual differences in aptitude and learning style, age, the nature of the item to be learned, etc. (DeKeyser 2003). In this sense, Erlam (2003) found an advantage for deductive instruction on learning syntactic aspects of direct object pronouns in French. However, she pointed out that the inductive group did almost as well at learning morphological features of these pronouns, which led her to suggest that inductive instruction is "more likely to facilitate the learning of morphological rather than syntactic aspects of language." (Erlam 2003: 256). The good performance of the participants in the inductive condition at learning the pronunciation of a morphological feature offers some support for this conclusion. Also, one might speculate on the use of a compound technique, namely input enhancement and rule search, as the source of the successful performance of the learners in the inductive condition.

Two kinds of evidence have been presented for the existence of a relationship between awareness and learning of the pronunciation point discussed in this chapter, the focus of our third research question ("Does awareness promote learning of this pronunciation point?"): In the first place, we have provided direct evidence for this relationship by showing that there is a significant correlation between rule-awareness and improvement in performance on the posttest. However, as we have pointed out, these findings must be taken with caution because they are based on a small number of cases.

In the second place, we have provided indirect evidence by showing that the inductive and deductive groups obtained gains that were significant and nearly significant respectively whereas the recast group showed a small gain that was far from significant. The rule-presentation and the rule-search procedures employed in the deductive and inductive groups, respectively are normally assumed to be more explicit than recasting. Therefore, we can conclude that the more explicit techniques, which presumably involve higher levels of awareness, promoted learning more effectively.

There are methodological issues that need to be addressed in further research on this topic, though. For example, the measurement technique should be improved in order to detect intermediate levels of awareness. Learners are often able to state a rule quite accurately but are unable to apply it adequately. Also, few learners in the inductive group were able to state a rule adequately but their performance on the posttest showed a significant improvement. Thus, it is obvious that there may be lower levels of awareness (which were not detected by our measurement technique) that are responsible for the gain.

A second possible methodological limitation is the use of reading aloud as a measure of pronunciation accuracy. Some authors such as Tarone (1982, 1983) have suggested that the vernacular style is the least permeable to L1 influences and therefore the best indicator. However, Wenk (1979) found that L2 learners have the least number
of target-like variants in their unpremeditated speech, progressively more in general reading, and still more when reading word lists or minimal pairs. What seems evident is that reading aloud is probably more affected by learning strategies. Hence, if we wish to draw conclusions about implicit knowledge and acquisition, we would have to make use of other measurement techniques which are applied to freer production.

As is often the case, it would be desirable to confirm these findings with more subjects, a longer duration of the treatment and a greater delay between training and the posttest. No doubt this would require us to use intact classes instead of the quasi-experimental research design employed for this study. These changes in experimental design would allow us to approach a number of interesting questions. With respect to the deductive group, it would be interesting to see whether a longer duration of training would result in a progressive decrease in the variability of the results. If frequent, narrowly focused recasting was used for a longer period in conjunction with communicative activities, as Doughty and Varela (1998) did, would the results for the recast group improve? These methodological changes will also be necessary if we wish to approach the crucial research question: Does FFI promote acquisition of this phonological point?

4. Conclusion

This small-scale study set out to examine whether three different FFI techniques (deductive, inductive and recasts) raise learners’ awareness of the pronunciation ‘rule’ governing the syllable structure of –ed verb forms in English and whether this greater awareness could be related to a greater degree of learning in comparison with learners instructed in a less form-focused manner. While we wait for future studies to provide further insight into the issues raised above, the findings of this study have lent support to the view that more explicit instructional techniques and cognitive processing involving higher level of awareness do result in greater learning. Our research showed this to be true when measuring phonological performance by means of discrete-item tests with a short delay between treatment and posttest. It obviously remains to be seen whether such gains are also recorded when freer production is measured and maintained over longer periods.

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Appendix I

Text used for all treatment groups

The Development of Telecommunications

Telecommunications are very important in modern life. Many scientists worked to make long-distance communication possible. In 1832 Samuel Morse invented the electric telegraph. Forty-three years later, in 1875, Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone. Because both the telegraph and the telephone needed wires, ship captains could not use them. They needed a method of wireless communication, the radio. The first important discovery was made by Maxwell, who introduced the theory of electromagnetic energy. In 1864 Maxwell published a paper which suggested that electromagnetic energy could travel through space as a wave, but Maxwell did not experiment with electromagnetic waves or suggest using them for communication. In 1888 the German scientist, Heinrich Hertz, tested Maxwell’s theory and proved that it was correct. He transmitted electromagnetic waves across a short distance and received the wave signal on a simple receiver. Guglielmo Marconi believed that these ‘Hertzian waves’ could be used for long-distance communication, and he worked to develop a system for doing so. In 1896 he successfully transmitted a signal across the Atlantic Ocean, from Newfoundland to Cornwall, demonstrating the feasibility of wireless communication.

The first radio broadcast was transmitted by Marconi in 1901. The broadcast consisted of a Morse code signal: “CQD”, which stands for “Come Quick Denmark”. This signal was received by the Marconi Station in St. John’s, Newfoundland, where the transmission was made. Since then, radio has become an essential part of modern life, providing news, music, and entertainment to millions of people around the world.

In the 1920s and 1930s, radio became more popular as a means of entertainment. The first commercial radio station in the United States was KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It began broadcasting in 1920 and quickly became very popular. Other stations followed, and by the 1930s, radio was a major force in popular culture.

In the 1930s, television arrived on the scene. The first televised broadcast was made in 1939 by the General Electric Company. It consisted of a transmission of a baseball game, and it was only viewed by a small audience. However, the popularity of television grew rapidly in the 1940s and 1950s, and by the 1960s, it had become the dominant medium for entertainment and news.

With the advent of the internet in the late 1990s, a new form of communication arose. The internet allows people to connect with one another from anywhere in the world, and it has become a major force in modern life. Social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, have revolutionized the way people communicate, and they have allowed people to connect with one another in new and exciting ways.

Today, telecommunications continue to evolve, and new technologies are constantly being developed. The internet of things (IoT) is one such technology, which allows devices to communicate with each other and with humans. The possibilities for this technology are endless, and it is likely that it will play a major role in shaping the future of telecommunications. 
waves’ could be used for communication. In 1896 Marconi created the first ‘wireless telegraph’ and transmitted telegraph messages over a short distance. Soon Marconi discovered how to transmit the waves farther by using an antenna, and in 1899 Marconi transmitted a telegraph message to a ship that was almost 100 kilometers from the coast. Only two years later Marconi showed that radio waves could be transmitted from one side of the Atlantic Ocean to the other. Eventually scientists learned how electromagnetic waves could be used to transmit all kinds of data including sound and images, leading to the development of radio, TV and other telecommunication systems.

1. scientists = científicos
2. wires = alambres o cables
3. wireless = inalámbrico
4. wave = onda
5. proved = probó, demostró
6. messages = mensajes
7. farther = más lejos
8. Eventually = después de bastante tiempo
9. leading to = conduciendo a, permitiendo

Answer the following questions about the text:
1. What did Samuel Morse do?
2. When?
3. When was the telephone invented?
4. Why couldn’t ship captains use the telephone or the telegraph?
5. What theory did Maxwell introduce?
6. Who proved that Maxwell’s theory was correct?
7. When was the wireless telegraph created and by whom?
8. How did Marconi transmit messages over longer distances?
9. In what year did Marconi transmit radio waves across the Atlantic Ocean?
10. What kinds of information can be transmitted by means of electromagnetic waves?

Appendix II

Visually enhanced version of the text used in the inducive treatment condition

Telecommunications are very important in modern life. Many scientists worked to make long-distance communication possible. In 1832 Samuel Morse invented the electric telegraph. Forty-three years later, in 1875, Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone. Because both the telegraph and the telephone needed wires, ship captains could not use them. They needed a method of wireless communication, the radio. The
first important discovery was made by Maxwell, who introduced the theory of electromagnetic energy. In 1864 Maxwell published a paper which suggested that electromagnetic energy could travel through space as a wave, but Maxwell did not experiment with electromagnetic waves or suggest using them for communication. In 1888 the German scientist, Heinrich Hertz, tested Maxwell's theory and proved that it was correct. He transmitted electromagnetic waves across a short distance and received the wave signal on a simple receiver. Guglielmo Marconi believed that these 'Hertzian waves' could be used for communication. In 1896 Marconi created the first 'wireless telegraph' and transmitted telegraph messages over a short distance. Soon Marconi discovered how to transmit the waves farther by using an antenna, and in 1899 Marconi transmitted a telegraph message to a ship that was almost 100 kilometers from the coast. Only two years later Marconi showed that radio waves could be transmitted from one side of the Atlantic Ocean to the other. Eventually scientists learned how electromagnetic waves could be used to transmit all kinds of data including sound and images, leading to the development of radio, TV and other telecommunication systems.

Appendix III

Pronunciation test used for both pretest and posttest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd pers-sing</th>
<th>-ing form</th>
<th>-ed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. believe</td>
<td>believes</td>
<td>believing</td>
<td>believed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. start</td>
<td>starts</td>
<td>starting</td>
<td>started</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mix</td>
<td>mixes</td>
<td>mixing</td>
<td>mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. end</td>
<td>ends</td>
<td>ending</td>
<td>ended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. transmit</td>
<td>transmits</td>
<td>transmitting</td>
<td>transmitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. return</td>
<td>returns</td>
<td>returning</td>
<td>returned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. rob</td>
<td>robs</td>
<td>robbing</td>
<td>robbed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. need</td>
<td>needs</td>
<td>needing</td>
<td>needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. publish</td>
<td>publishes</td>
<td>publishing</td>
<td>published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. include</td>
<td>includes</td>
<td>including</td>
<td>included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. flow</td>
<td>flows</td>
<td>flowing</td>
<td>flowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. support</td>
<td>supports</td>
<td>supporting</td>
<td>supported</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Australian actors and actresses have received a number of nominations for Oscars.
2. Nicole Kidman impressed audiences with her singing in 'Moulin Rouge'.
3. ‘The Others’, directed by Alejandro Amenabar, also starred Nicole Kidman.
4. The Australian model-turned-actress Elle MacPherson seduces the public with her good looks.
5. A number of popular films have been written or produced by Australians.
6. Australians receive a traditional British education but their pop culture is dominated by American television.

7. When Nicole Kidman arrived in Hollywood she attempted to speak with an American accent.

8. Now she just relaxes and lets herself be totally Australian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>3rd pers-sing</th>
<th>-ing form</th>
<th>-ed form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1. want</td>
<td>wants</td>
<td>wanting</td>
<td>wanted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. work</td>
<td>works</td>
<td>working</td>
<td>worked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. match</td>
<td>matches</td>
<td>matching</td>
<td>matched</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. fade</td>
<td>fades</td>
<td>fading</td>
<td>faded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. dance</td>
<td>dances</td>
<td>dancing</td>
<td>danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>6. fail</td>
<td>fails</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>7. commit</td>
<td>commits</td>
<td>committing</td>
<td>committed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. call</td>
<td>calls</td>
<td>calling</td>
<td>called</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. program</td>
<td>programs</td>
<td>programming</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. expect</td>
<td>expects</td>
<td>expecting</td>
<td>expected</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. recommend</td>
<td>recommends</td>
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<td>recommended</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. express</td>
<td>expresses</td>
<td>expressing</td>
<td>expressed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Technology advances at a very fast speed.
2. When Internet was created in 1971, only four computers were involved.
3. In 30 years the Internet has developed faster than anyone imagined.
4. Nowadays almost everybody uses internet and millions of homes are connected.
5. It has revolutionized many aspects of modern life.
6. The Internet changes constantly as more commercial services are offered.
7. The typical intellectual wishes it was dedicated exclusively to academic uses.
8. Government officials want internet to be better regulated.

Do you know of any 'pronunciation rule' that has helped you pronounce these words correctly? If so, write down the rule or rules.
Appendix IV

Detailed results of all participants included in the three treatment conditions (N=31)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject number</th>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Pretest aware.</th>
<th>Posttest aware.</th>
<th>Pretest score</th>
<th>Pretest percent</th>
<th>Posttest score</th>
<th>Posttest percent</th>
<th>Change in score</th>
<th>Change in percent</th>
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<td>58%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>–6.5</td>
<td>–15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Appendix IV features the detailed results of all participants in the three treatment conditions.
Contrastive intonation and error analysis

Tonality and tonicity in the interlanguage of a group of Spanish learners of English*

Francisco Gutiérrez Díez
Universidad de Murcia

This is an empirical study of intonation errors made by a group of Spanish learners of English in secondary education. Errors relate to the division of the speech chain into tone units and to onset and nucleus placement within the tone unit, and are classed into interference errors (i.e. those mediated by the learners’ native language) and developmental errors (the rest). I explain interference errors by reference to contrastive aspects of Spanish and English tonality (the division of speech into tone units), tonicity (intonation signalling of information focus) and onset placement. I refer to a strong relationship between rhythmic-stress errors and intonation errors. The paper also refers to some institutional reasons behind the students’ low performance, and I suggest some pedagogical remedies to deal with the errors detected.

1. Introduction

This is an empirical cross-sectional study of intonation errors (i.e. it focuses on a single moment of the learners’ interlanguage) made by a group of Spanish learners of English in their 4th year of ESO education (i.e. fourth formers in the Spanish secondary school system¹). More specifically, I investigate functional errors related to the division of the speech chain into tone units and to onset and nucleus placement within the tone unit, using as theoretical backdrop the tonetic approach to English intonation. I conduct the study against a contrastive background involving the two languages in order to shed light on the nature of some of the errors found. I am interested in the use of intonation

* This research was financed by Séneca Foundation, Autonomous Region of Murcia (Project PI36/00797/FS/01). I would like to thank Dalilah Hebibovic for her assistance in the computation of errors.

¹ The overall Spanish secondary education system consists of two stages: a four-year stage called ESO followed by a two-year stage called Bachillerato.
to divide the chain of speech into information units (tonality) and to signal information focalization within such units (tonicity), and the assignment of the first accented syllable of the tone unit. A tone unit is a stretch of utterance which has at least one prominent syllable (the *nucleus*) with major pitch movement (Crystal 1969).

The prosodic prominence given to certain words in the speech chain aims at focalizing the information content of such words and it is formally assigned by means of lexical stress, rhythmic stress and pitch accent. Traditionally, lexical stress has been considered a lexical phonological feature. It serves as input to rhythmic stress, whose rules may determine the redistribution of lexical stress within certain words (like *princess*, *canteen*, *seventeen*, etc.) and its suppression in others, as, for example, in function words, which typically occur in the unstressed part of rhythmic units. The output of rhythmic rules becomes an input to pitch-accentuation (i.e. intonation) rules. The latter yield the final configuration of prominence within and between intonation units.

In my opinion, only within that hierarchy of prominence assignment is it possible to offer a coherent explanation of prosodic prominence, independently of the theoretical model chosen to account for the prosodic systems mentioned above. In the next section I shall refer to the theoretical framework of this study.

2. Theoretical framework

I shall be using the ‘tonetic approach’ to intonation, a variant of the ‘prosodic approach’, which is the British version of the ‘configurations approach’. For further details about different approaches and models, see Gutiérrez (1999) and Ramírez (2003). I think that, in comparison with more recent intonation transcription models, pitch-configuration approaches, without losing plausibility as theoretical descriptions, lend themselves to a more transparent application in the analysis of interlanguage intonation.

Within the tonetic approach, I assume the total pitch-contour unit, which has been variously referred to as ‘tone group’ (Palmer 1922; Jassem 1952; Schubiger 1958; O’Connor and Arnold 1973; Halliday 1967 and 1970), ‘intonation group’ (Kingdon 1958; Cruttenden 1997), ‘tone unit’ (Crystal 1969) and ‘intonation unit’ (Tench 1996).

In the tonetic approach, the tone unit is a structure of ranked constituent parts, which are the bearers of graded phonological meanings (what some analysts call primary and secondary meanings of intonation). I shall assume the most widely accepted structure of the tone unit: **prehead**, **head** and **nuclear tone**. The prehead is made up of unstressed syllables at the beginning of the tone unit. The head begins with the first pitch-accented syllable of the tone unit, the **onset**, and extends up to, but not including, the nuclear tone. The nuclear tone is the most conspicuous pitch movement over one or several words at the end of the tone unit and is made up of the **nucleus** plus **tail**. The nucleus is the pitch-accented syllable of the nuclear tone, and is the most prominent syllable in the tone unit. Compound nuclear tones will have a double nucleus. The tail
Contrastive intonation and error analysis

is composed of the non-accented syllables following the nucleus up to the end of the tone unit.

Three intonation subsystems, *tonality*, *tonicity* and *tone* underlie, in varying degrees of development and explicitness, several models within the tonetic approach to intonation, and were explicitly labelled as such by Halliday (1967). In the next two sections I shall consider some contrastive aspects regarding tonality (section 3) and onset and nucleus placement (section 4).

### 3. Tonality in English and Spanish

Tonality accounts for functional contrasts stemming from either the division of one and the same utterance into a different number of tone units or from its division into the same number of tone units, while placing tone-unit boundaries at different junctions within the utterance. In example (1), the same utterance is realised with two tone units in (1a), signalling 'John' as post-positive, and one tone unit in (1b), signalling the same word as a vocative (see also examples 4a and 4c, and 5a-b). The first consequence of tonality is that the utterance will contain as many units or pieces of information as tone units. There are three main variables involved in the pitch-segmentation of the speech chain into linguistic/textual units: tone unit delimitation, pitch cohesion and the tendency to constant tone-unit length (as measured in average number of words, syllables or segments per tone unit). Only the first two can operate functionally at various linguistic/textual levels. The third variable, the tendency to constant tone-unit length, was hypothesised by Gutiérrez (1983) to account for the non-functional presence/absence of tone-unit boundaries. Variation in tone unit length is linked to register, being longer in reading aloud than in spontaneous speech in both English and Spanish.

Pitch cohesion is as important as pitch delimitation, i.e. the integrative aspect is as important as the delimitative one: for instance, other things (i.e. lexis and word order) being equal, pitch delimitation signals a postpositive (*John*) in (1a), whereas pitch cohesion signals a vocative (*John*) in (1b).

(1) a. // that's the manager we need // John // (‘manager’ and ‘John’ are different persons)
   b. // that's the manager we need John // (‘manager’ and ‘John’ are the same person)

Halliday (1967: 18) claimed that there is a “tendency for the tone group to correspond in extent with the clause”. He called that *neutral tonality*. This does not mean that the majority of tone units are coextensive with the unit clause, but that, of all syntactic units, the clause is the unit most frequently found to be coextensive with a tone unit; Cruttenden (1997: 69) says that, for one corpus count, 40% of all tone units were coextensive with a clause. Cases where intonation units are not coextensive with whole clauses would be instances of *marked tonality*. 
Crystal (1975) elaborates on Halliday’s dichotomy by equating neutral tonality with the coextension of one tone unit with one simple clause that has the structure $S+V+O+C+1$ optional Adverb, in which each of the clause elements is simple (i.e. $S$, $O$, $C$ consists of a simple nominal group, and the Adverb slot is filled with a simple adverb or a simple nominal group). Additional tone-unit boundaries will be added every time there is a departure from the simple clause scheme, i.e. if there is more than one clause, if there are more clause elements than the minimal set specified above, or if nominal groups are complex. Crystal claims that 99% of his corpus was covered by such provisions. He states that deviations from these patterns are due to attitudinal colouring, socio-linguistic, stylistic and idiosyncratic variation, or performance errors like lack of concentration and false starts.

Tench (1996) contends that different speakers would agree on the division of the same text into tone units in about 80% of cases, while they would disagree in the remaining 20%. This 20% discrepancy would stem from phono-stylistic variations determined by the margin each speaker has to differently assess the informative status of discourse elements.

As it is well known, there has always been a controversy over the phonological vs. phonetic character of intonation. I adhere to Crystal’s (1969) view that intonation is not a matter of sharp phonemic contrasts or distinctiveness, but of ‘phonological gradation’.

Since Bolinger (1958: 37) claimed that encounters between intonation and grammar are “casual, not causal”, objections have been intermittently raised against the grammatical function of intonation. The low functional load of intonational disambiguation in English, i.e. the infrequent occurrence of cases like (1a-b) above, is one of the arguments exhibited by Cruttenden (1970) against the grammatical role of intonation. In another work (Cruttenden 1997: 72), he says that “there are probabilistic correlations of tone groups with syntactic units, but they are only probabilistic”. He then concludes (1997: 73) that “because there is a large amount of speaker’s choice involved, we may never be able to predict intonational phrasing”. Couper-Kuhlen (1986: 154) states that “intonation is instrumental in disambiguation processes...But... there is no obligation for the speaker to mark syntactic boundaries with intonation”.

Restricting the controversy to tonality, I would like to make the following observations:

a. Some segmental phonemic contrasts do also have an extremely low functional load, with a frequency even lower than the frequency with which tonality contributes to the functional disambiguation of syntactic categories. Such is the case with the voiced/voiceless contrasts produced by the English palato-alveolar sibilants, and, nevertheless, they are unanimously considered part of the consonantal phonemic inventory of that language. It seems somehow contradictory to use low frequency as evidence in the functional disambiguation case while rejecting highly ‘probabilistic correlations’ as evidence of functional correlations in the numerous cases where they do exist.
b. The fact that lexis, word order and context contribute to the production and perception of syntactic categories does not prove that pitch cohesion and pitch delimitation do not have a share in signalling such categories.

c. It seems odd that high probability of co-occurrence of pitch cohesion/delimitation with specific syntactic junctions (very often as high as 100% of instances in corpora-based analyses) should be interpreted as casual or ‘unpredictable’.

d. My view is partially coincidental with Couper-Kuhlen’s (1986) stand, except for a couple of details. If intonation is ‘instrumental’ in disambiguating, it is because it is functional. Cases of 100% co-occurrence of pitch-boundaries with syntactic junctions or junctures can only mean that either pitch cohesion or pitch boundaries are obligatory in such cases. Perhaps we should start using more precise terms such as ‘co-functionality’, ‘co-signalling’ of syntactic categories by intonation, or such similar expressions to express the fact that syntactic functions may be concurrently signalled by more than a single factor or linguistic component. It is in that sense that I will go on using the terms ‘function’, ‘signal’ and the like, since they are widely established in the literature and they do not necessarily imply any bi-uniqueness principle in the alignment of tonal features with meanings or functions.

Using Crystal’s neutral vs. marked tonality framework mentioned above, Gutiérrez (1983) made a contrastive study (involving English, Spanish and Catalan) of pitch-segmentation and coextensiveness between tone units and syntactic units, using a compound oral corpus of one and a half hours (half an hour for each language) of televised and radio interviews sampling spontaneous speech. The results showed a striking similarity between tonality in English and Spanish at clause, clause-element and group or phrase-element levels. It was found that cases of non-functional tonality could be explained by recourse to a non-functional variable: the tendency to a constant tone-unit length, defined in terms of number of words per tone unit. The specification of that variable for Spanish and English was 3.94 and 4.34 respectively, i.e. about four words per tone unit. When the texts of the original English corpus were read aloud by an English native speaker in connection with a later study of English relative clauses in conversation and in reading (Gutiérrez 1984), an average tone unit length of 5.13 words per tone unit was found for the read corpus; that result is not far from the one we obtained from the English informant’s reading of the corpus used in the present study (5.9 words per tone unit). Another finding was that there is a smaller number of tone units and a correlative larger tone-unit length in reading than in spontaneous speech.

In Gutiérrez’s (1983) study, tonality was found to be contrastive in English and Spanish in a small number of cases:

a. Restrictive relative clauses: there is pitch cohesion at the beginning of a clause introduced by a zero relative pronoun, as in (2), a category which is lacking in Span-

2. Quirk et al. (1964: 683) found a length of 5.3 words for a corpus of televised debates, and Crystal (1969: 256) 5 words for informal discussions and conversations. Cruttenden (1997: 72) puts the average at ‘about 5 words’. 
ish; with any other relative pronoun, there is indeterminacy in both languages as to the presence/absence of a boundary.

(2) // It’s not a story you’re gonna publish that night //

b. Final vocative: pitch cohesion in English (i.e. absence of a boundary immediately before the vocative), as in (3a), but pitch delimitation in Spanish, as in (3b).

(3) a. // Come here John //
   b. // Ven aquí // Juan //

c. Transferred vs. non-transferred negation: for transferred negation (4a-b), compulsory pitch cohesion in English vs. indeterminacy as to pitch boundary in Spanish, in which the subjunctive is used instead as a marker; for non-transferred negation (4c-d), a compulsory pitch boundary between main and subordinate clause in both languages, plus indicative in Spanish.

(4) a. // John didn’t leave the place because he was in danger // (Danger was not the reason for John to leave)
   b. // Juan no abandonó el lugar // porque estuviera en peligro //
   c. // John didn’t leave the place // because he was in danger //
   d. // Juan no abandonó el lugar // porque estaba en peligro //

d. Nominal clauses introduced by zero conjunction (zero that) in English: they require pitch cohesion at the junction between the main and the subordinate clauses. Zero conjunction is lacking in Spanish. Spanish speakers will have to distinguish between this type of nominal clause, illustrated in (5a), and a comment clause (5b), where boundary insertion is compulsory.

(5) a. // you know that’s the problem //
   b. // you know // that’s the problem //

The overall results show that tonality has a slightly higher functional load in English than in Spanish. There are quite a few cases where English uses tonality to disambiguate where Spanish will prefer the subjunctive vs. indicative moods or changes in word order.

If the learner misses pitch cohesion or pitch delimitation where they are required in examples (1–5), he will commit as many phonological transgressions. If we compare example (6a), extracted from our learners’ corpus, with example (6b), from the native informant’s corpus, we may again illustrate the difference between phonological and phonetic errors.

(6) a. // Because he succeeded // as an actor // it gave him // the confidence *// he needed // to begin // working hard //
   b. // Because he succeeded as an actor // it gave him the confidence he needed // to begin working hard //
In (6a) the boundary marked with an asterisk violates the reading-intonation constraint that precludes its presence between the zero-relative pronoun and its antecedent, because, in reading aloud, restrictive relative clauses having a zero relative pronoun must be intonationally signalled by pitch cohesion. We can label that error as phonological.

In the same example, besides the asterisked boundary, there is an excessive number of non-asterisked boundaries (specifically those following succeeded, him and begin) as compared to the native informant’s utterance in (6b). Such boundaries violate the norms relating to neutral vs. marked tonality, but they can be safely labelled phonetic errors because they are both result and symptom of distorted fluency – a feature of foreignness – without necessarily impeding the perception of the syntactic categories involved. Nevertheless, the excessive accumulation of such boundaries in a relatively short utterance, as is often the case in interlanguage tonality, may seriously jeopardise the perception of such categories by native listeners.

The mapping of phonological/phonetic error distinctions onto the native speakers’ perception of interlanguage intonation is far from fully described. Regarding production, though, I think that, in interlanguage tonality, it is fairly easy to separate what is mere phonetic distortion from what constitutes phonological transgression.

I would like to hypothesise that most tonality errors that show a lack of compliance with the requirements of the neutral vs. marked tonality distinction posited by Halliday (1967) are phonetic errors. However, errors caused by overlooking the functional presence/absence of a pitch-boundary at a number of specific syntactic junctions are phonological. In the present study, regarding tonality, I shall focus on phonological errors.

4. Onset placement, information focus and tonicity in English and Spanish

Pitch accentuation is a form of giving prominence to the tonic syllables of those words whose information content the speaker wants to highlight. Functional gradation is at work here again: major functional contrasts are realised at the nuclear tone segment and minor ones, at the pre-nuclear segment. Two types of function are realised at the nuclear-tone (or tonic) segment: the signalling of main information focus by nucleus placement (tonicity) and the signalling of meaningful contrasts by different nuclear-tone melodic types (tone). Within the pre-nuclear segment, the onset syllable is an essential structural point in the shaping of heads (O’Connor and Arnold 1973) or pre-tonic segments (Halliday 1967), and of an intonation subsystem called key, which refers to contrasts based on the different frequencies (FO) of the overall contours of adjacent tone units within a tone-unit sequence (Brazil et al. 1980; Couper-Kuhlen 1986).
4.1 Onset placement

There exists a strong parallelism between Spanish and English regarding onset assignment within the tone unit. The onset is realised by giving pitch prominence to the first rhythmically-stressed syllable of the tone unit. Thus, there should not be any major problem for our Spanish learners of English to apply a pattern which is common in both languages during their assignment of tone unit onsets. Problems, though, begin when the students have to sort out which categories of English words are pitch-accentable precisely because they are also rhythmically stressable, a condition that ensues from the already mentioned fact that rhythmic stress is the input to intonational accentuation. It is in connection with the kinds of words which are rhythmically stressable – and hence intonationally accentable – that the two languages are in contrast with one another, thus posing potential trouble spots for Spanish learners.

In general, function words, i.e. words required by the grammatical structure of the language, such as articles, possessive determiners, prepositions and conjunctions, do not receive a tone unit onset in either language. The treatment of auxiliary verbs and personal pronouns is different in English and Spanish. In Spanish they are realised with rhythmic stress and a full vowel (i.e. peripheral and stressed). They are also susceptible of receiving an onset when they are the first rhythmically-stressed words in the tone unit. In English, on the contrary, these two types of words are weak (i.e. they are realised with a weak vowel), do not have rhythmic stress and, therefore, are not susceptible of bearing an onset.

4.2 Information focus and tonicity

Contrasts due to the alternative assignment of the nucleus to different words in the tone unit were grouped by Halliday (1967) under the intonational subsystem he called *tonicity*. This subsystem accounts for contrasts due to the placement of the nucleus at alternative places of the lexical string within the tone unit, as in example (7). The author makes a distinction between neutral and marked tonicity. In the former, the nucleus is placed on the last lexical word of the tone unit, as in example (7a). In the latter, the nucleus is placed on a word other than the last lexical one (example 7b).

(7) a. // he works in a house in London //
   b. // he *works* in a house in London // (meaning: 'he does not live there')

In cases of neutral tonicity the whole information content of the tone unit is highlighted, and we have 'broad focus' (Cruttenden 1997), as in example (7a). Marked tonicity serves the purpose of de-accenting final lexical words that express given information in the tone unit while simultaneously assigning the nucleus to the tonic syllables of any other word with new or contrasting information ('narrow focus'), as in (7b).

As regards tonicity, its functional load is much higher in English than in Spanish. In the latter, rather than the use of intonation to establish marked information focus,
several syntactic devices are preferred for the same purpose, such as word order, changes in the theme-rheme structure and the use of cleft or pseudo-cleft sentences (on the issue of cleft sentences, see Gómez González & Gonzálvez García 2005, and Gundel’s paper in the present volume). While the rule for neutral tonicity in English is to place the intonational nucleus on the last lexical word in the tone unit, in Spanish the rule is to place it on the very last word, regardless of the nature of that word.

Although few authors refer to the label ‘nucleus’ in Spanish intonology (Cantero 2002; Cid-UrIBE 1989; Gutiérrez 1995; Canellada and Madsen 1987; García Lecumberri 1995; Ortiz Lira 1994), most authors implicitly refer to it when placing the corresponding pitch accent at the end of the intonation unit (Navarro Tomás 1948; Gili Gaya 1950; Gil Fernández 1988; Fant 1984). For Kullova (1982) the ‘centre of information’ (the author’s alternative label for nucleus) does not necessarily fall on the last stress of the sentence.

García Lecumberri (1995) studies the production and perception of intonationally marked focus in Spanish in various clause positions: The subject, complement and predicate positions are significantly more likely to become marked focus bearers than verbs. Other results are that native informants’ use of marked focus at the perception level is significantly lower than its use at the production level. The frequency of use of intonationally-marked focus in Spanish is lower than in English.

A crucial issue for the comparison of the two languages is whether marked focus can be equated with marked tonicity, i.e. whether narrow focus and nucleus must coincide. In English most authors agree on the alignment of marked or narrow focus with marked nucleus (marked tonicity), and on compulsory de-accenting of post-focal/post-nuclear material.

In her study, García Lecumberri (1995), in pursuit of a common ‘tertium comparationis’ for the comparison of marked-focus treatment in the two languages, extrapolates from English into Spanish the above-mentioned alignment between marked focus and marked nucleus in utterances where a marked focus-bearing falling accent is followed by another falling accent in post-focal material; in such cases, she assigns both accents to one and the same tone unit, and interprets the second accent as an instance of ‘partial de-accenting’ on the grounds that it has a narrower pitch range than the first accent. Using our example (8a) to illustrate her interpretation, the word trabaja, on account of its wider pitch range, would bear the nucleus (marked tonicity) and the marked information focus, whereas Murcia, with a narrower pitch range, would be the partially de-accented word in post-nuclear and post-focal material.

(8) a. // El trabaja en la ciudad de Murcia // (as an answer to ‘Él vive en Murcia, ¿verdad?’)
   b. // El trabaja // en la ciudad de Murcia //

I would like to object to such interpretation: I think that, once the nucleus is defined with the widely-accepted systemic/positional criterion – the last accent in the tone unit – such a criterion cannot be replaced by two other joint criteria, i.e. the semantic
‘centre of information’ criterion plus the phonetic criterion of ‘greatest pitch- prominence’ (i.e. the accent with the widest pitch glide) with the purpose in mind of aligning that type of more prominent accent (or would-be nucleus) with marked focus. Therefore (8b), with two tone units, is a better representation than (8a) because the former adheres to the above mentioned criterion – the last accent in the tone unit –, whereas the word trabaja in (8a), the supposed nucleus by García Lecumberri’s stand, would not meet that criterion. Under our interpretation, the number of Spanish utterances in García Lecumberri’s (1995) corpus, in which marked focus is aligned with a marked/displaced nucleus, would be reduced by half. Sosa (1999: 171–172) states that nucleus displacement is not possible in Spanish. He argues that in languages like French, Portuguese or Spanish, in which there is no displacement of nucleus or ‘intonation centre’, one way to intonationally signal focus is by dividing the utterance into more tone units, so that the intended focus is placed immediately before a tone-unit boundary (as is the case in (8b) above), i.e. at the normal place for focus/nucleus-bearing words in Spanish (see Gutiérrez 2005 for a more detailed discussion).

For Ortiz Lira (1994), the last accent of the tone unit constitutes the nucleus. He found displaced nuclei followed by de-accented material in only 8 to 10% of all the intonation units in his corpus of data.

In his discussion of FTA (i.e., “focus-to-accent” alignment), Ladd (1996) warns against the universalist-reductionist stand of the radical FTA view (Gussenhoven 1983), according to which the relationship between focus and accent is bi-directional, i.e. whatever is focused is accented and whatever is accented is focused. He provides numerous examples of languages that accent old information as against languages that de-accent it. He concludes (1996: 187) that “it would be unfortunate if models of human information processing [in different languages] turned out to be models of how to speak English”.

A clearly contrastive feature is that de-accenting of old information is compulsory in English, whereas in Spanish it is neither compulsory nor very frequent. Cruttenden (1993) finds that some languages, amongst them English, insist on de-accenting repeated material, while others, like Spanish, strongly resist it.

There are sharp tonicity contrasts between English and Spanish regarding the alignment of nucleus with function words. Such an alignment occurs systematically in Spanish when the function word occurs in tone-unit final position. However, in English, function words in final position may be nucleus bearers only in cases of marked contrastive focus (marked tonicity). This means that not only marked tonicity but neutral tonicity, as well, is contrastively patterned in the two languages. Such contrasts, as we shall see below, constitute a stumbling block for our learners.

As for the differential treatment of function words in the two languages, the details are as follows. In Spanish, the only function words that do not receive a nucleus in tone-unit final position are the enclitic pronouns -le, -las, -nos, -os, etc., probably because they are not phonologically independent words. Any full pronoun in that position would receive a nucleus whether it contained old or new/contrastive information.
In contrast to this twofold norm for Spanish pronouns, no English personal pronoun receives a nucleus in tone-unit final position except for contrastive or emphatic reasons, i.e. under marked tonicity conditions. English auxiliary verbs in tone-unit final position receive a nucleus only if they contain new or contrastive information (marked tonicity). When they contain old information they are de-accented (neutral tonicity). Prepositions in both clause and tone-unit final position are subject to neutral tonicity, and receive the nucleus only when containing new or contrastive information (marked tonicity). In Spanish, they may not occur in final position.

5. On tonality and tonicity errors

There has been very little research on tonality and tonicity (the two subsystems of intonation) errors by Spanish learners of English. Monroy (2005) studies the perception by 30 Spanish informants of the ten non-emphatic patterns in O’Connor & Arnold’s (1973) system as used with wh- and yes/no questions. The informants were university students with post-intermediate level of English. He asked them to rank the perceived similarity of English tone patterns to those of Spanish intonation. He also asked them to perceptually locate the focus/nucleus of each tone-group. He found that 50% of the students correctly recognised the focus in the majority of expressions, the exceptions being cases of marked tonicity, i.e. cases where the focus fell on a function word or a non-final content word.

García Lecumberri (2000) reports on the perception of English marked focus in both subject and verb position by intermediate Spanish learners of English in their second year at university. She compares the learners’ performance with that of a group of English native speakers. The results show that the learners’ perception of marked focus is significantly poorer than the native speakers’ perception, and that perception of marked focus in verb position is significantly poorer than in subject position for both groups of informants.

Ramírez (2003) reports on a longitudinal study on the learning of English intonation by Spanish students of upper-intermediate level covering their first 3 years at university. She used a large corpus of running speech made up of read-aloud materials that included short texts and conversations. She analysed intonational errors at the production level by reference to speech roles, intonation subsystems (tonality, tonicity and tone) and learner strategies (avoidance, overuse and underuse). Marked tonicity is underused in most cases. Some frequencies of use in connection with speech roles in which marked tonicity is compulsory in English are as follows: 62.2% in statements, 57.2% in wh-questions, 0% in echo questions (this one seems a case of avoidance error), 51.4% in reassurance, and 45% in apologies. The author reports that non-native and
native English speakers use different intonation patterns regarding tonality, tonicity and tone. What seems disturbing is one of the author’s (2003: 662) concluding remarks:

The longitudinal study demonstrates that there has not been any progress in the production of English intonation by Spanish learners…The results prove that the acquisition of intonation does not take place automatically, even though learners have been exposed to English for about three years. (2003: 662).

We should notice that, previous to that three-year period of Ramirez’s longitudinal study, the students had had 6 more years of English instruction at high school.

Gutiérrez (2005) reports the results of a study on onset and nucleus misplacement in the reading aloud of an English text by Spanish students in their second year of Bachillerato (i.e. sixth formers in the Spanish secondary school system), who are pre-intermediate learners of English. Some of the findings are strikingly similar to the ones reported in the present study for students in their 4th year of ESO. Very often the students place the onset and nucleus on function words and fail to displace the nucleus in cases of marked tonicity. This means that the results obtained by students in their final year of secondary education (i.e. in their second year of Bachillerato) are no better, both qualitatively and quantitatively, than those reported here for ESO fourth-year formers, who are two years behind the former in the official English curriculum. If we consider the two studies in perspective, the results reported for Bachillerato students point to error fossilization, an impression which is reinforced when looking at the results reported by Ramírez for university students, who had had an additional three year period of English instruction. Below I shall refer to some pedagogical and institutional reasons that might account for such a state of affairs.

The above-mentioned results, together with the ones presented here, seem to defy García Lecumberri’s (1995 and 2000) suggestion that Spanish learners of English apply positive transfer when trying to model marked tonicity in English on account of the use of such a linguistic strategy in both languages. In the light of my previous discussion, tonicity contrasts between the two languages are much greater than similarities. What is really to be expected – and indeed occurs – is negative rather than positive transfer together with error fossilization. I rather think, in keeping with findings of adherents of the weak version of CAH (Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis), that ‘similarity’ in the present case may be a source of negative rather than positive transfer, especially when such similarity is established between the systematic use of marked tonicity to signal marked information focus in English and its occasional use in Spanish.

Before stressing similarities, further research is needed on the contrasting behaviour of grammatical and lexical words in relation to both marked and neutral tonicity and the use of both types to convey marked and unmarked information focus in both languages in both production and perception by using spontaneous running speech.

As far as I know, no study has been made so far of intonation errors in the English of Spanish ESO students. In the present chapter, I shall report on an examination of the performance of a group of students in their fourth year of ESO regarding tone unit
delimitation, and onset and nucleus placement in English. It is my aim to describe the errors found in connection with those three aspects of intonation as features of the learners’ interlanguage.

The present work is undertaken against a background of a well-attested neglect of English pronunciation in secondary education. This situation, which is described in Martínez (2004) and de Jódar (2005), can be summarised as follows. The Ministry of Education issues teaching syllabi which include pronunciation; some schools issue their own complementary programmes in which aspects of pronunciation are included to varying qualitative degrees, but most teachers simply do not put them into practice. Most textbooks devote scarce attention or none at all to many segmental aspects of the phonological component, and no attention whatsoever to prosodic subcomponents. The university entrance examination at the end of secondary education, following the Ministry’s directions, does not include the evaluation of either oral skills or the phonological component, which, paradoxically enough, the Ministry itself has set up as teaching targets in the above-mentioned syllabi for secondary education. With such a bizarre target in mind, both teachers and pupils are unofficially invited to neglect pronunciation on account of its ‘official’ exclusion from the university entrance examination.

The research reported here is only a small part of a wider research project dealing with the learning/teaching of English pronunciation in secondary education. Such a project encompasses not only the segmental level but also lexical stress, rhythm and intonation. It must be pointed out that the wide scope of the overall research project does not permit an exhaustive description of each of the pronunciation aspects. Accordingly, I regard the partial corpus used for the present study as adequate for a first, though non-exhaustive, empirical approach to detecting and typifying errors relating to tonality, tonicity and onset assignment.

Future studies should deal with the learning of a fourth intonation subsystem called key (Brazil et al., 1980), for which onset location is a basic matter. Such studies will have to include the typology of onsets (pitch level) intervening in the establishment of key contrasts within and between tone units, for which purpose a much greater corpus than ours would have to be used.

Besides describing and explaining basic errors relating to tonality, tonicity and nucleus placement, I shall refer to them as either phonological or phonetic and as either interference or developmental errors (Major 1987): interference errors are induced by features present in the learner’s mother tongue when such features are (negatively) transferred to the target language contents being learned; developmental errors cannot be accounted for by interference since they are produced regardless of the learner’s L1 and are of the same nature as those found in first language acquisition. Interference errors (also named transfer errors) are not the result of developmental processes, while developmental errors stem from developmental processes which are part of universal grammar.
6. Objectives

The main objective relates to the identification and typification of some kinds of intonation errors found in the interlanguage of a group of English learners in their fourth year of ESO. More specifically:

a. The errors studied relate to the division of utterances into tone units (tonality), onset placement, and nucleus placement (tonicity).

b. The focus will be on functional errors and their typification as either interference or developmental errors.

c. Some guidelines will be provided for improving the learners' performance in the aspects of English intonation analysed.

7. The study

7.1 Participants

One native speaker of Standard British English was used to model the intonation of an English read-aloud text. She was an English assistant teacher at the University of Murcia. A sample of 15 Spaniards who were learners of English in their fourth year of ESO (secondary education) was also used; they belonged to the same class when the study began. They were randomly selected for the present study from a wider sample that was used in connection with a different piece of research on the teaching of pronunciation by Martínez (2004). The students' age was 15–16 years, and their canonical proficiency level at the time of the recordings was elementary. They were recorded a few days after they were given a test on all 4 active and passive skills using the Cambridge KET (see Martínez 2004). Their mean test score appears in table 1.

7.2 Instrument

A short narrative text, with some descriptive elements, extracted from the students' official textbook, was used in the study. The text appears in Appendix 1.

7.3 Procedure

A first corpus was obtained by recording the reading aloud of an English text by the one Anglophone informant. A second corpus was obtained by recording the reading aloud of the same text by the non-native informants. Previous to their reading aloud, the informants were allowed to have a silent reading so that they could check any doubts regarding the text content. The readings were carried out at normal speed in a silent room, and the recordings were digitalised for processing.
8. Discussion of results

The two corpora were subjected to partial tonetic transcription in order to establish tone unit boundaries and both nucleus and onset placement within each of the tone units. The data are displayed in tables 1–4. Table 1 shows the values for the following variables regarding non-native informants: test scores, reading rate, number of tone units, tone-unit length, tonality errors, onset errors and tonicity errors; absolute values for the native informant’s reading rate, number of tone units and reading rate are also shown in that table.

Table 1. Values for the variables test score, reading rate, number of tone units, tone-unit length, onset errors and tonicity errors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Readers</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Test score</th>
<th>Reading rate</th>
<th>Number of tone units</th>
<th>Tone-unit length</th>
<th>Tonality errors</th>
<th>Onset errors</th>
<th>Tonicity errors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 Non-native</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>64.67</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>69.86</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>4.13</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>13.54</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Native</td>
<td>Absolute value</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of non-native speakers, by applying Pearson’s correlation, we obtain a significant positive correlation (r = 0.577, p<0.05) between the number of tone units and the number of tonicity errors (the larger the number of tone units, the larger the number of tonicity errors). There is also a significant negative correlation between the number of tone units and tone-unit length (r = -0.965, p < 0.05). This means that the larger the number of tone units, the smaller the tone unit length, i.e. the smaller the number of words per tone unit. Finally, there is a significant negative correlation (r = 0.622, p < 0.05) between tone-unit length and the number of tonicity errors.

Regarding the variables reading rate (i.e. number of words per second), number of tone units and tone-unit length, which are shared by both native and non-native speakers, a comparison is made of the corresponding values obtaining for the two types of speakers. More specifically, we compare the non-native speakers’ mean values with the native speaker’s absolute values; the corresponding data are shown in table 2 below.

By means of a t-test for one sample (t =12.39), the mean number of non-natives’ tone units (69.86) is significantly larger than the number of the native informant’s tone units (40) (p<.05). The same happens with reading rate (as measured in number of words per second); with a t-value = 13.49, the mean reading rate for non-native informants (2 words/sec) is significantly smaller than the native informant’s absolute value for that variable (3.30 words/sec).
Comparison of the reading rates of both native and non-native readers can serve as an indicator of the degree of fluency (or lack of it) in the learners’ interlanguage. Farther below I shall refer to some effects of reading rate on the chunking of the speech chain.

8.1 Results relating to tonality

There is a significant negative correlation between the number of tone units and tone-unit length, i.e. the larger the number of tone units, the smaller the number of words per tone unit. The first thing to note is the excessive number of tone units obtained by the learners in comparison with the native informant (1,048 or a mean 69.87 as against 40 respectively) (see tables 2 and 4). The same can be said of the shorter tone-unit length obtained by the former (3.41) in comparison with the latter (5.9). Both results are determined by the learners’ poor overall fluency. The excessive number of tone units, besides constituting a clear deviation from native competence, determines the establishment of as many information units, and thus it is indirectly responsible for a higher number of tonicity errors, since the students will have to decide on the assignment of many more information foci, with a subsequent increase in the risk of failure.

I would like to recall the two types of error that correspond to two tonality roles pointed out in section 3 above, i.e. (a) the phonological (the signalling of syntactic categories), and (b) the purely phonetic (i.e. non-functional). As I will comment further below, phonetic errors are not the ones we should seriously worry about. Phonological errors are the ones we should be concerned with. Some types of phonological errors are listed in table 3 and illustrated in examples (9–17), where they are indicated by an asterisk.

I offer below a set of examples illustrating the types of error labelled in table 3. In the examples, tone-unit nuclei are underlined. The symbol (*) signals that the boundary next to it is incorrect. The examples, numbered (9 to 17) correspond, in serial order, to error types listed as (a-i) in Table 3.
Table 3. Tonality errors consisting of the wrong insertion of tone-unit boundaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boundary (//) insertion</th>
<th>Number of errors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. between simple premodifier and noun</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. between intensifier and adjective</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. between auxiliary and full verb</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. between conjunction and rest of the clause</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. between verb and object pronoun</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. between verb and manner adverb in S+V+Adv clause</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. between determiner and noun</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. before clause-final preposition</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. immediately before zero relative pronoun</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of errors</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9) // He went to many different*// schools //...
(10) // Tom Cruise // has been // one of the most*// popular actors in the world//
(11) // He has*// become a wealthy man //…
(12) // He was always //in trouble // and felt // that*// no one understood him //
(13) // He was always in trouble // and felt // that no one understood*// him //
(14) // I´ve worked*// hard for what I have //
(15) // He has become a*// wealthy man // but more important for Tom // he has learnt to read //
(16) …// for a long // long time // that I ¯felt excited*// about // he ¯has often said //
(17) // If there's a word*// he doesn't understand*//...

The learners’ most frequent error is the incorrect insertion of tone-unit boundaries, thus failing to intonationally co-signal syntactic categories through pitch cohesion. Phonological asterisked errors in examples (16) and (17) are interference errors. The interference stems from the partial similarity between the two languages as to the treatment of prepositions and restrictive relative clauses: in both languages, prepositions occur before their prepositional heads, but only in English can they sometimes be alternatively be postponed, as in example (16); and also in both languages, restrictive relative clauses are co-signalled by pitch cohesion between the relative pronoun and its antecedent, but the zero relative pronoun, illustrated in example (17), is lacking in Spanish.

Phonological errors (the asterisked ones) in examples (9–15) are also developmental, since they are produced at syntactic junctions where tonality in the two languages is canonically identical.

As for phonetic errors, they are massively produced by the learners and consist of undue insertion of tone-unit boundaries at places where pitch-cohesion would meet
the requirements of neutral vs. marked tonality. For instance, we can note the undue presence of tone unit boundaries in examples (10, 12, 13, and 16): after either Cruise or been in (10); after always in (12); after felt in (13) and after long in (16). These errors are phonetic, and besides most of them are neutral tonality errors, since they consist in the excessive atomisation of simple clauses by indiscriminate insertion of pitch boundaries within them. Since neutral and marked tonality do not substantially differ in Spanish and English, these errors can be safely considered as developmental.

As for pedagogical remedies to deal with tonality errors, I think that different types of error need to be approached differently. Teachers should be seriously concerned only with phonological interference errors since they pose a serious threat to effective communication. The best way to overcome them and preclude their fossilization is not only to correct them but to do so against the background of an explicit teaching of the corresponding tonality rules, thus also contributing to error avoidance.

Phonological developmental errors should be brought to the students’ attention, but the risk of their fossilizing is not likely, and they will decrease as overall fluency increases. Phonetic errors do not require any special treatment. Again, as the students increase their overall fluency, these errors will be spontaneously overcome and increasingly avoided.

8.2 Results relating to onset

Regarding the native informant’s results, the onset is always the first rhythmically-stressed syllable in the tone unit. The total number of onsets is 38 (table 4). That means that, out of a total of 40 tone units, two of them lack an onset, which, as it is well known, is not a compulsory element in tone-unit structure.

As for the non-native speakers’ data, they are also shown in table 4. The 15 informants have produced 1,048 tone units, that is, an average of 70 units in comparison to the native informant’s 40 units.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Tone units</th>
<th>Tone units without onset</th>
<th>Onsets on tonic syllable</th>
<th>Onsets on non-tonic syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-native</td>
<td>1,048</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, the explanation of the atomisation of the text into an excessive number of tone units must be sought in the learners’ limited overall fluency. A direct consequence of the excessive number of the learners’ tone units in comparison to the
native informant’s is that the number of words per tone unit is considerably smaller and, therefore, the number of units without an onset also increases: we get exactly 338 units without an onset in contrast to the 2 native informant’s units without an onset (the expected frequency of non-native informants’ tone units without an onset would be 30 units). All the frequencies established for the non-native informants differ significantly from those obtained for the native informant.

Below I offer some instances of onset misplacement by non-native informants. In our corpora the symbol (¯) is used to represent the onset; an asterisk before such symbol indicates a wrong onset. Tone-unit nuclei are underlined:

(18) .../that¯someone as good looking // and ¯as wealthy // *¯as Tom Cruise // has¯always had an easy life //…
(19) .../as¯Tom Cruise // *¯has always // had an easy life // but ¯that isn’t true//
(20) …/was more intelligent // than he was // and *¯that he could never succeed //
(21) …/and that he *¯could never succeed //
(22) // Then // in *¯his last year // of ¯secondary school //…
(23) …/for a long // long time // that I *¯felt excited // about // he *¯has often said //
(24) // Be¯cause he succeeded / *¯as an actor //…
(25) …/it *gave him the confidence // he needed // *¯to begin // *¯working hard //
(26) …/with him everywhere // *¯since he was // ¯nineteen years old //
(27) … // since he was nine*¯teen years old //
(28) // *°Tom says // *°don’t expect people // to hand *°you things //
(29) // I’ve worked // hard *°for what I need //

As we can see, errors consist of placing the onset on the following word types:

a. Prepositions, as in examples (18) and (29).
b. Auxiliary and modal verbs, as in examples (19), (21) and (23), which are normally unstressed and unaccented, and in this case are next to an adjacent stress (which falls on the tonic syllables of the words always, never and often, respectively). This entails a violation of the alternating rhythmic rule, which precludes stress clash (Bolinger, 1981; Monroy and Gutiérrez, 1994).
c. Conjunctions, as in example (20).
d. Possessive determiners, as in example (22).
e. Personal pronouns, which are not stressed unless for emphatic reasons, as in example (28), in which there is also a stress clash that violates the alternating rhythmic rule. That rule is also skipped in example (27) by the wrong placement of stress on the second syllable of nineteen, thus producing again a (stress) clash with the stress on year.
A tenth of the total number of tone units with an onset contain an onset placement error (74 out of 710 tone units). This type of error has to do with the accentual treatment of function words as against content words. A first consequence of the wrong assignment of onset to function words is the use of the strong forms of such words, which means distorting their phonological makeup, since stress on such words, especially on monosyllabic ones, correlates with the use of their strong forms, i.e. with vowels other than [ə] or [ι]; that is against the norm according to which the unstressed weak forms of such words must be used, except for emphatic reasons. The result of these errors is that the distribution and organization of information suffers from a faulty intonational focalisation so that listeners are misled into a wrong assessment of the information status of the function word.

An important strategy that can help us explain these errors is to look into the relationship existing between onset misplacement and incorrect rhythmic stressing. In all wrong onset-bearing syllables in the corpus (74) there is also a wrong rhythmic stress. In 10 of the 74 syllables, their wrong rhythmic stressing is due to a previous wrong lexical stressing, thus leading to the ultimate wrong accenting (onset placement) of such syllables. The remaining onset errors (64) are coincidental with as many ontogenetically previous wrong rhythmic stresses. Examples (18–29) illustrate this type of errors. If we agree that rhythmic stressing of utterances constitutes the input for pitch accentuation, we can assume that wrongly accented function words must have been previously, and also wrongly, assigned a rhythmic stress. Thus, from an ontogenetic perspective, rhythmic stress is previous to pitch accent, and onset errors coincide with previous rhythmic-stress errors.

As we said above in section 4, neither in English nor in Spanish may prepositions, conjunctions and possessive determiners receive a rhythmic stress, and, therefore, they cannot receive an onset, except for reasons of emphasis, in which case they would receive both rhythmic stress and onset. But emphasis is lacking in the English text used in our study, since it is a narrative text with some descriptive ingredients in which no emphasis-triggering context exists. Therefore we can categorise onset errors involving those function words as developmental errors.

As we also said in section 4, the treatment of auxiliary verbs and personal pronouns is different in English and Spanish regarding both rhythmic stressing and pitch accentuation. Consequently, I will categorise as interference errors those produced by our learners when they place the onset on such words. Onset placement errors can also be termed phonological, since, on the one hand, they go hand in hand with rhythmic errors, and, on the other, correct onset placement constitutes one pillar for the configuration of head, which is partly based on pitch-level contrasts at onset position.

As for pedagogical remedies, I would like to suggest a couple: teaching English rhythm will greatly facilitate correct onset placement. That includes getting the students not to stress function words. These techniques will naturally lead them to avoid accenting function words by way of turning them into onsets.
8.3 Results relating to tonicity

Since tonicity is fully functional in English, i.e. it signals information newness versus givenness, and contrastive versus non-contrastive information, all tonicity errors are phonological.

Neutral tonicity errors consist of assigning the tone unit nucleus to a word other than the last lexical word of the tone unit, whenever the conditions for the application of marked tonicity (i.e. focus on new or contrastive element, emphasis on the focalised word, etc.) are not present (Halliday 1967; Crystal 1969).

The positive correlation that exists between the number of tone units and the number of tonicity errors (the larger the number of tone units, the larger the number of tonicity errors) is an indirect indication of the strong relationship between tonality and tonicity. The excessive number of tone units triggered by the learners’ lack of fluency – on average they almost double the number of tone units obtained by the native speaker – forces them to assign the nucleus in a much higher number of tone units, thus proportionally increasing the chances of failure, and effectively producing a higher number of errors.

A similar comment can be made about the significant negative correlation that exists between tone-unit length and the number of tonicity errors. The learners’ shorter tone unit length – an average of 2 words per tone unit as against the native speaker’s 3.30 words – is, together with the excessive number of tone units, a co-determining factor in the high number of tonicity errors.

Table 5. Tonicity errors produced by the learners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal pronoun</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Auxiliary verb</th>
<th>Contrastive information</th>
<th>Old information</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral tonicity</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked tonicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tonicity errors are specified in Table 5. In the 1,048 tone units of the non-native informants’ corpus, which are grouped into 240 tone unit sequences (an average of 16 sequences per informant), 41 neutral tonicity errors were detected. Most of them consisted of placing the intonation nucleus on a pronoun occurring in tone-unit final position (21 errors). In 1 case, the nucleus was placed on an indefinite article; in 7 cases, on a conjunction; in 7 cases, on a preposition; and in 5 cases, on an auxiliary verb. These are all errors of neutral tonicity. In one case (example 34 below), 10 informants placed the nucleus on a given-information bearing noun (thing) in tone-unit final position, thus producing as many errors of marked tonicity. Something similar
occurs in example (35) in which all 15 informants placed the nucleus on a given-information element (*was*), instead of placing it on a contrasting one (*he*).

Some examples illustrating tonicity errors are offered below. The first four examples include neutral tonicity errors; the last two include as many marked tonicity errors. Wrong nuclei are symbolised by an asterisk immediately before the nucleus.

(30) // He was always // in trouble // and felt // that no one // understood *him //
(31) // it was the first thing// … // that I felt excited *about //
(32) // He has become *a // wealthy man // but more important for Tom // he has learnt to read//
(33) // everywhere *since // he was // nineteen years old //
(34) // It was the first *thing // in my life // for a long long time //…
(35) // Everyone was more intelligent than he *was //…

Although, at first sight, phonological tonicity errors are not many (66 errors in 1,048 tone units), their relative importance increases if we take into account two facts. Firstly, the text used is rather short and, from the small number of function words that can appear in tone-unit final position, few neutral tonicity errors ought to be expected; nonetheless we obtain 41 such errors. Secondly, there are only 2 cases in the text (examples 34 and 35) in which marked tonicity is a must. Nevertheless, all the learners fail to correctly produce marked tonicity in example (35), in which marked tonicity should signal a contrastive element (*he*) by placing the nucleus on that word rather than on the old-information bearer *was*, which is what they did; and only 2 learners correctly assigned the nucleus in example (34) to signal the new information borne by the element *first*. These marked tonicity errors clearly point to the strongly contrastive nature of tonicity in English and Spanish.

With regard to the qualitative aspect of tonicity errors, several observations can be made. Regarding articles, prepositions and conjunctions, there is parallelism between the two languages in so far as these words are not candidates either for rhythmic stress or nucleus assignment; consequently, tonicity errors consisting of nucleus assignment to such word types are developmental errors.

Nucleus placement on English personal pronouns (*him*, *them*, *it*, *us*, etc.) by the learners constitutes a type of error that can be classed as interference error. Learners will have to learn not to place the nucleus on English personal pronouns whether they have subjective or objective form. The fact that, in Spanish, the norm is different and twofold (in tone-unit final position, non-enclitic pronouns are stressed, but enclitic ones are unstressed) would explain cases of interference when tackling English pronouns.

The wrong assignment of the nucleus to an article or a conjunction, as in examples (32) and (33), constitutes not only a tonicity error but a tonality error as well, since, in each case, the tone-unit boundary has been unduly placed immediately after the article and the conjunction, respectively. The rules of intonation-to-text alignment in English
and Spanish preclude the insertion of a tone-unit boundary at the syntactic junction between an article/conjunction and the following word; but that is not what happens in the above-mentioned examples, in which the last word – an article in (32) and a conjunction in (33) – should have been assigned to the next tone unit.

From the preceding we can conclude that there is a tight relationship between tonicity and tonality: tonality errors may trigger tonicity errors involving one and the same word. The curious thing is that, while the two tonality errors in examples (32) and (33) are developmental (since tonality rules would be the same for both examples and for their Spanish versions), the two tonicity errors also present in both examples are interference errors. The reason is that, once the article and the conjunction have been wrongly assigned to the last position in the respective previous tone unit, they have wrongly received the nucleus; but this is against the English neutral tonicity rule of de-accenting function words in tone-unit final position, in contrast with the Spanish norm of accenting the very last word, whether it is a function or a lexical word.

Tonicity errors consisting of assigning the nucleus to a lexical word with old information are interference errors, given the low functional load of marked tonicity in Spanish, a language in which it is neither compulsory nor frequent to de-accent words containing old information. The tendency in that language is rather to place the nucleus on the last word regardless of its informational status. In example (34), the word *thing* anaphorically refers to information already given and, therefore, the nucleus should fall on *first*. In example (35) the nucleus should go on the contrastive element *he*, rather than on the item *was*, for two reasons: because *he* contains contrastive information (it contrasts with *everyone*), and because the element *was* contains given information. In this case, we also have an interference error.

Spanish learners of English must learn (a) to de-accent not only final function words but also content words with old information, whether final in the tone unit or not; (b) to simultaneously displace the nucleus to the word that occurs immediately before the de-accented item; and (c) to place the nucleus on a word containing contrasting information, whether it is a content or a function word and whether or not it occurs in final position.

I will end this section by hypothesising on the relationship between rhythmic stress and intonational accentuation in English, together with some pedagogical remarks. Let us recall the relationship between rhythmic stress and onset assignment referred to above (section 8.2). The same relationship exists between rhythmic stress and nucleus placement. I will put both observations together in the following generalization, which covers any pitch-accented syllable in the tone unit, onset and nucleus included: every pitch-accented syllable is also rhythmically stressed (though not the other way round).

This means that errors of onset placement, and of nucleus placement in cases of marked tonicity with nucleus on a content word, automatically imply as many errors of rhythmic stressing. If rhythmic and tonicity signalling of information is distorted, communication may be hindered. It is my contention that the early teaching/learning of
how to produce rhythmic stress would very much facilitate an effective learning of onset and nucleus placement. As a consequence, the learning of the tone subsystem would be made easier, since choice of tone-type rests upon previous nucleus placement.

Tonicity is highly contrastive in the two languages and, as a result, an important source of stubborn and persistent phonological errors for Spanish learners; therefore, tonicity rules must be explicitly taught. Of the three intonation subsystems, tonicity is the most difficult for Spanish learners to acquire. A small advantage is that its explicit teaching can dwell on the fact that it is the most simple, systemic and predictable of the three subsystems.

9. Conclusions

Regarding tonality, lack of oral fluency is, no doubt, the reason why non-native informants produce a significantly higher number of tone units than the native informant. As a natural consequence of the excessive atomisation of the speech chain, both the number of words per tone unit is significantly smaller, and the number of tone units without an onset is significantly larger for the learners than for the native informant. The errors thus produced are phonetic and developmental. Besides, most of them show a neglect of pitch cohesion. Among the phonological errors detected, we have identified interference errors relating to compulsory pitch cohesion in connection with clause-final prepositions and the use of the zero pronoun in restrictive relative clauses. We have detected developmental phonological errors that violate the norm of compulsory pitch cohesion in connection with the following syntactic junctions: between determiner and noun, simple premodifier and noun, intensifier and adjective, auxiliary and full verb, conjunction and rest of the clause, verb and object pronoun, and verb and manner adverb. It has been shown that some developmental tonality errors can directly lead to the production of as many interference tonicity errors. This is but a small illustration of the tight relationship holding between tonality and tonicity at both theoretical and applied levels.

As for onset placement, students in their fourth year of ESO produce massive errors of onset placement. Errors relating to the wrong placement of onset on prepositions, conjunctions and possessive determiners are developmental errors. Errors relating to the wrong assignment of onset to pronouns and auxiliary verbs are interference errors. Errors relating to wrong onset placement imply as many errors of rhythmic stressing of the onset syllable.

Regarding tonicity, the wrong assignment of nucleus to articles, personal pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions produces interference errors. There are many errors of marked tonicity in spite of the fact that the text used only has two instances of contexts begging for marked tonicity. Most tonicity errors are related to previous errors consisting of the wrong assignment of rhythmic stress to function words under conditions that do not allow for such stress to occur.
Major’s (1987) *Ontogeny model hypothesis* seems to find support in our data: according to it, phonological interference errors are massive at the elementary stage of learning. Since our learners are false beginners, the hypothesis is applicable, at least to the learning of onset placement and tonicity.

We have hinted at some institutional reasons for the learners’ poor performance in English intonation, such as the lack of prosodic instruction in the English classroom in secondary education. The solution seems obvious: to tackle English pronunciation from two perspectives. Firstly, rhythm and intonation not only have to be included in the English syllabus, but its programming should go beyond the vague recommendations of the Ministry of Education. Secondly, schools and teachers should be willing to effectively teach English prosody, rather than overlooking it because they know that pronunciation and oral skills will not be part of the university entrance examination (known as *selectividad*) at the end of secondary education.

As for pedagogical suggestions, if we want our learners to learn tonality, we should make them aware of the syntactic junctions where pitch cohesion, rather than pitch boundary, is the preferred choice in English. If students are made to concentrate on the few syntactic functions of tonality which are contrastively shaped in the two languages, they will be able avoid related phonological errors, especially interference errors; most developmental phonological errors and phonetic errors will take care of themselves as the learners’ overall linguistic fluency improves.

In order to get students to correctly place the onset, they should be previously taught where to place rhythmic stresses. This is also valid for cases of neutral tonicity: the assignment of nucleus will be greatly facilitated if the students previously learn not to place rhythmic stress on grammatical words.

Marked tonicity, the greatest source of intonational interference, must be explicitly taught if we want the learners ever to be able to appropriately focus the main information element by means of intonation and avoid the fossilization of tonicity-related phonological errors.

Regarding the limitations of the present study, which is a first and rough approximation to the analysis of intonation errors by ESO students, it will be convenient in future research to use texts with a greater variety of contexts capable of eliciting a wider spectrum of functional tonality and marked tonicity. Dialogues, in particular, are suitable for eliciting new or contrastive vs. given information. In this way we could get a wider picture of the learners’ interlanguage regarding both their handling of tonality as an exponent of grammatical categorization, and of tonicity as a means of signalling information focus.

Longitudinal studies in the ESO and/or Bachillerato would also shed light on the rate of learning and the distribution of developmental and interference errors as well as phonological and phonetic errors throughout different learning stages.
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Appendix

“Tom Cruise”
(Taken from Day, S. et al. (1996). The Burlington Course for 4º E.S.O. Student’s Book. Limassol: Burlington Books)

Everybody thinks that someone as good-looking and as wealthy as Tom Cruise has always had an easy life, but that isn’t true. Tom has described his school years as very unhappy. He has a learning disability called dyslexia. This made it very difficult for him
to learn to read. He went to many different schools, but always felt that everyone was more intelligent than he was and that he could never succeed. He was always in trouble and felt that no one understood him.

Then, in his last year of secondary school he got a part in a school play. “It was the first thing in my life for a long, long time that I felt excited about” he has often said. Because he succeeded as an actor, it gave him the confidence he needed to begin working hard. Tom Cruise has been one of the most popular actors in the world for many years. He has become a wealthy man, but more important for Tom, he has learnt to read. He has carried a dictionary with him everywhere since he was 19 years old. If there’s a word he doesn’t understand, he immediately looks it up in the dictionary. Tom says, “Don’t expect people to hand you things. I’ve worked hard for what I have. You need a little luck, but I believe you make your own luck.”
Author index

A
Aijmer 127, 135, 139, 171, 272
Alanen 302, 307, 318
Alas 230, 242
Alexiadou 283, 295
Allen 88, 233, 241
Alm-Arvius 135, 171
Álvarez de la Fuente 275, 295
Amezúa 235, 241
Anagnostopoulou 283, 295
Anstey 64, 65
Ariel 71, 87, 296-297
Arnalte 225, 241
Arnold 328, 333, 337, 353
Álvarez 71, 87
Ayoun 302, 318
Ayto 237, 241
B
Bagby 194, 212
Bakker 37, 61, 65
Bamberg 248, 252–254, 272
Bangerter 248, 272
Barrett 234, 235, 242
Baxter 213, 214
Beck 76, 261
Berrendonner 96, 119
Berry 194, 211
Bettelheim 193, 194, 211
Biber 196, 211
Birner 5, 29, 68
Blyth 267, 272
Bok-Bennema 41, 66
Bolinger 63, 65, 330, 345, 352
Bolkestein 35, 65–68
Borg 175, 191
Boswell 222, 242
Braidi 302, 318
Brazil 333, 339, 352
Brend 234, 242
Brown 6, 8, 29
Brutten 303, 305, 307, 318
Bublitz 9, 29
Bühler 173, 174, 191
Butler 33, 61, 65, 87, 276, 295, 352, 353
C
Canellada 335, 352
Cantarero 39, 66
Cantero 335, 352
Cappelen 175, 191
Cardin 227, 242
Carroll 248, 251–253, 272, 273
Carston 174, 175, 180, 181, 186, 191
Casado Velarde 57, 65
Chafe 71, 87, 248, 250, 252–254, 272
Charolles 91, 119
Chomsky 275, 280, 283, 295
Christaller 187, 191
Cicero 222, 242
Cid-Urbe 335, 352
Clark, Eve 288, 295
Clark, Herbert H. 289, 272
Connolly 35, 37, 38, 41, 61, 65, 66
Contreras 66, 293, 295
Cooper 193, 211
Corominas 230, 242
Costamagna 306, 319
Coulthard 66, 352
Couper-Kuhlen 331, 333, 352
Cromwell 5, 29
Cruttenden 328, 329, 330, 334, 336, 352
Crystal 328, 330, 331, 347, 352
D
Damourette 102, 119
Danon-Boileau 93, 120
De Houwer 278, 295
De la Pava 227, 230, 232, 237, 242
De Mulder 182, 191
De Schutter 3–9, 12, 14, 17, 27, 29
Fillmore 6, 10, 12, 30
Finegan 196, 211
Firbas 60, 66
Fotos 301, 319
Frauenfelder 296
Fretheim 70, 87, 173
Fries, Charles 308, 319
Fries, Peter H., 5, 30, 50, 66
Frijda 194, 211
Frota 300, 301, 320
G
Gaarder 73, 87, 88
Gallardo 306, 319
García Lecumberri 306, 319, 335–338, 352
García Mayo 299, 319
Gass 300, 301, 319
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neaman</td>
<td>225, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>212, 272, 302, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilsen</td>
<td>229, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noh</td>
<td>176, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noigaard</td>
<td>90, 91, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nolke</td>
<td>90, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norris</td>
<td>299, 301, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norton</td>
<td>212, 224, 239, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nüse</td>
<td>248, 251, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oatley</td>
<td>194, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ochs</td>
<td>196, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>137, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ortega</td>
<td>335, 336, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ortiz Lira</td>
<td>335, 336, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osam</td>
<td>187, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overstreet</td>
<td>302, 307, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxenbury</td>
<td>213, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padilla</td>
<td>280, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer</td>
<td>328, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradis</td>
<td>300, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavón Vázquez</td>
<td>303, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perales Haya</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pereda</td>
<td>235, 238, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pérez-Tattam</td>
<td>296, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit</td>
<td>239, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philp</td>
<td>302, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pichon</td>
<td>102, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierce</td>
<td>289, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piller</td>
<td>249, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planalp</td>
<td>193, 194, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podesva</td>
<td>234, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomerantz</td>
<td>8, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince</td>
<td>5, 30, 31, 71, 73, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quirk</td>
<td>10, 30, 48, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radwan</td>
<td>303, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramírez</td>
<td>328, 337, 338, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramoncin</td>
<td>226, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranta</td>
<td>301–303, 320, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravelli</td>
<td>5, 6, 30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawson</td>
<td>77, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recanati</td>
<td>175, 180, 181, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recktenwald</td>
<td>267, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redeker</td>
<td>248, 251, 253, 254, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renn</td>
<td>235, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson</td>
<td>302, 307, 316, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodgers</td>
<td>238, 239, 243, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romaine</td>
<td>267, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosselló</td>
<td>289, 296, 301, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosselló</td>
<td>328, 330, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosselli</td>
<td>283, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossi</td>
<td>92, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowling</td>
<td>72, 74, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvadori</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schepping</td>
<td>128, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schieffelin</td>
<td>196, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schmidt</td>
<td>300–302, 318–320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schubiger</td>
<td>328, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwartz</td>
<td>293, 296, 300, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seliger</td>
<td>315, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semino</td>
<td>267, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharwood Smith</td>
<td>300, 301, 319, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>267, 270, 271, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shroyer</td>
<td>265, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siewierska</td>
<td>209, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sontag</td>
<td>232, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sosa</td>
<td>336, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speas</td>
<td>283, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sperber</td>
<td>174–176, 180, 186, 191, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sportiche</td>
<td>288, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spradlin</td>
<td>280, 295, 296, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley</td>
<td>229, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storch</td>
<td>302, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stutterheim</td>
<td>248, 251–254, 272, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suñer</td>
<td>39, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talmy</td>
<td>30, 66, 131, 171, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarone</td>
<td>317, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>193, 198, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taverniers</td>
<td>30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>194, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tench</td>
<td>328, 330, 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrill</td>
<td>301, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>10, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorne</td>
<td>231, 240, 242, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomlin</td>
<td>44, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touratier</td>
<td>91, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsend</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truscott</td>
<td>301, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucker</td>
<td>193, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>193–195, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnsteinsdottir</td>
<td>302, 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vainikka</td>
<td>284, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vainer</td>
<td>284, 285, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Valin</td>
<td>70, 88, 91, 98, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varela</td>
<td>295, 297, 317, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verhagen</td>
<td>91, 99, 100, 120, 144, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verheugd</td>
<td>98, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verstraete</td>
<td>91, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viberg</td>
<td>123, 125–127, 144, 146, 156, 158, 163, 170, 171, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlugaer</td>
<td>98, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>von Franz</td>
<td>194, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall</td>
<td>195, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang</td>
<td>267, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>5, 29, 31, 48, 50, 68, 87, 88, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weinert</td>
<td>267, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenk</td>
<td>317, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wexler</td>
<td>284, 285, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Edmund</td>
<td>231, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Peter R.R.</td>
<td>193, 196, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wierzbicka</td>
<td>193, 196, 197, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>316, 318, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>174–176, 180, 186, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wirth</td>
<td>66, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>265, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>284, 297, 300, 306, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacharski</td>
<td>70, 71, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou</td>
<td>10, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zobl</td>
<td>284, 295, 297, 300, 315, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zubizarreta</td>
<td>46, 68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Index of languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>173–177, 179, 186–191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catalan</td>
<td>297, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>187, 229, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>222, 227, 228, 250, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Haitian Creole</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>132, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>70, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>174, 185, 227, 228, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>5, 30, 69, 70–88, 173, 177–187, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Old Norse</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>231, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>33, 34, 68, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>47, 67, 285, 296, 297, 320, 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>70, 87, 119, 163, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Sacapultec</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serbocroatian</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>88, 123–161, 164–172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>125, 126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Index of terms

### A
- accent(s) 83, 99–100, 116, 145, 324, 328, 335–336, 346, 349
- focal 83
- sentence 99, 100, 116
- accessible 35, 36, 117, 181–182, 265
- accessibility 71, 87, 263, 265
- activation 71, 276, 280, 296
- activity 102, 109, 110, 114, 116, 124–126, 130–132, 141, 146–147, 149, 162, 258, 307
- activities 20, 124, 125, 158, 170, 208, 211, 231, 308, 317
- adjunct(s) 40, 41, 48–54, 173
- adverbial(s) 24, 54, 89–120, 173, 176, 181
- situating 102, 104, 107–110, 113–117
- affect 96, 100, 109, 118, 193–197, 211, 310, 318
- agreement 7, 279, 283, 284, 294–296
- ambiguity 111–112, 174, 178, 239, 250
-ambiguous 110, 112, 206, 269
- anaphora 87, 182, 191
- anglicism 231–232, 237
- appraisal 11, 193–199, 203–205, 209, 212
- argumentation 9, 13, 24, 26, 42
- awareness, see also consciousness 195, 199, 229, 263, 299–304, 310–321

### B
- bilingual(s) 232, 275–282, 286, 290, 292, 294, 296, 297, 304
- sequential 275–277, 286, 288, 294–295
- simultaneous 276–281, 286, 288
- bilingualism 275–277, 286, 295–297, 320
- sequential 275, 276, 286 simultaneous 277
- bodily sensation(s) 128, 161–166, 195
- causation 123, 145, 170
- indirect 145
- clause-final position 33, 37, 39, 48–50, 56, 64, 65
- clause-initial position 41
- cleft(s) 69, 70, 72–88, 335
- truncated 79, 77
- clitic(s) 40–42, 47, 48, 93, 105, 275, 277, 286–291, 294–297
- code-mixing 276, 296, 297
- cognition, see also knowledge 20, 123, 127, 137, 170, 171, 191, 212, 272, 273, 296, 297
- cognitive perception 137
- coherence 8–10, 15, 17
- discourse 5, 9, 10, 11
- cohesion 8, 29, 335, 241, 329, 343, 350
- pitch 329, 331–333, 343, 350, 351
- comment 5, 7, 10, 17, 24, 66, 71, 73, 75, 80, 85, 87, 109–114, 196, 197, 274, 310, 332, 342, 347
- common ground 4, 6, 9, 17–20, 29, 254, 263, 273
- communication 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 63, 99, 100, 119, 123, 149, 150, 151, 157, 191, 194, 239, 251, 266, 278, 322–324, 344, 349
- configuration(s) 4, 5, 7–14, 21, 33, 39, 328, 346
- congruity 6–11, 16, 17
- congruent 9, 10, 14, 20, 23
- incongruence 6, 9
- incongruity 9, 11, 26
- connotation 225, 228, 232, 237
- consciousness, see also awareness 87, 100, 319, 320
- conscious 235, 299–301, 320
- constituent ordering, see also word order 39, 47, 49, 52, 63, 64
- contextualization 6–7, 10, 14, 27, 30
- linguistic 18, 25
- contrastive linguistics 67, 123
- corpora 105, 136, 139, 151, 194, 197, 200–214, 214, 273, 280, 331, 341, 345, 352
- translation 123, 127, 248
- parallel 127, 133, 171–172
- translation 171
- culture 27, 184, 189, 211, 225, 229, 241, 266, 324
| **D** | declarative sentence(s) 89, 90, 92, 94, 106, 118 |
| **deductive teaching** 307, 315 |
| **deixis** 174, 179, 182, 188, 190, 191 |
| **deictic** 173–177, 179–191, 267, 273 |
| **spatial deictic** 173 |
| **deverbal compound(s)** 275–278, 286, 291–296 |
| **dialogue** 4–12, 17–20, 29, 190, 251, 272–273 |
| **discourse analysis** 14, 193 |
| **E** | **emotion** 163, 193–218 |
| **emotional competence** 194 |
| **emotional literacy** 194, 208 |
| **representation of** 193, 196, 198, 207, 211 |
| **error(s)** 292–293, 305, 314, 327, 333–337, 349, 351 |
| **developmental** 327, 339–340, 344, 346, 348, 350 |
| **interference** 327, 339, 343–351 |
| **intonation** 327, 338, 340, 351 |
| **neutral tonicity** 347–348 |
| **phonetic** 332–333, 342–343, 351 |
| **phonological** 333, 342, 350, 351 |
| **transfer** 339 |
| **face-threatening act** 5 |
| **fairy tale(s)** 193–199, 202–203, 208–213 |
| **familiarity** 71, 320 |
| **familiar** 71–74, 175, 185, 279 |
| **Fdg** 33–37, 54, 59, 61, 64–65 |
| **feedback** 139, 301, 303, 307, 309, 318–320 |
| **Film(s)** 250–255, 258, 270, 307, 324 |
| **antagonistic** 96, 97 |
| **broad** 334 |
| **focal accent** 83 |
| **focal subject(s)** 83–84 |
| **foci** 342 |
| **focusability** 89 |
| **form-focused instruction** 299, 301, 318 |
| **narrow** 334, 335 |
| **potential** 91, 96–100, 117, 118 |
| **preverbal** 70, 83, 84 |
| **function word(s)** 328, 334, 336–338, 346–350 |
| **Functional Discourse Grammar** 33–35, 38, 63, 65, 67 |
| **Gfsh** 280, 294 |
| **givenness** 70–72, 347 |
| **givenness hierarchy** 71–72 |
| **given information** 54, 334, 349, 351 |
| **referential** 71–74, 83–86 |
| **relational** 71, 73, 83 |
| **Grammatical Features Spell-out Hypothesis** 280, 294 |
| **H** | **Head(s)** 23, 25, 52–53, 166, 212, 262, 277, 283, 291–294, 328, 333, 343, 346 |
| **homosexual(s)** 222–230, 232–243 |
| **homosexuality** 221–228, 230, 232–235, 240, 243 |
| **I** | **identifiability** 71 |
| **identifiable** 52, 54, 71–74, 83, 210, 261 |
| **indexical(s)** 3, 19–23, 27, 176–179, 181–186, 189 |
| **deductive teaching** 316 |
| **information packaging** 37, 59 |
| **information structure** 5, 7, 30, 35, 59, 64, 73, 81, 84, 85, 87–88, 91, 99, 119, 352 |
| **input enhancement** 302, 316, 319, 321 |
| **interface(s)** 30, 61, 87, 119, 171, 283, 289, 297, 300, 321 |
| **strong** 300 |
| **weak** 300, 302 |
| **interlanguage** 301–321, 327–342, 353 |
| **K** | **knowledge, see also cognition** 30, 50, 86, 91, 134, 176–179, 188, 251, 263, 279, 293, 297–302, 315, 317–318, 321 |
| **L** | **learning, see also acquisition** 208–211, 235, 297–305, 307, 314–321, 337, 339, 349–353 |
| **explicit** 300, 318, 320 |
| **implicit** 300 |
| **morphophonemic** 299 |
| **lexis, see also vocabulary** 121, 172, 329, 331 |
| **lexical field** 170, 174 |
| **lexical variation** 237, 242 |
| **lexicalization hierarchy** 126 |
| **linearization** 38, 47, 54, 59, 61–65 |
tertium comparationis 248, 335
theme(s) 3–30, 42, 66, 71, 87, 119, 191, 198, 335
interpersonal 3, 4, 8–11, 14–17, 19, 24–26
multiple 3
textual 4, 8–11, 14–18, 23–26
topical 3, 8, 9, 11, 14–26
zone(s) 3, 4, 9, 29
tonality 235, 327–333, 337–351
marked 329, 331, 333, 344
neutral 329–330, 344
tone 154, 266, 327–350, 352
nuclear 328, 333
unit(s) 266, 327–350
tonicity 327–329, 333–351
marked tonicity 334–338, 347–351
neutral tonicity 334, 335–338, 347–349, 351
neutral tonicity 347, 348
translation(s) 5, 69, 70, 73–84, 88, 123, 127–1, 136–155, 157–159, 163–166, 171, 179–190, 197, 248, 279, 287–288
corpora 123, 127, 248
corpus 171
turn(s) 6, 12, 14, 23–27, 29–30, 35–38, 44, 47, 49, 61, 138, 158, 179, 207, 223, 228, 233, 235, 255–256, 262
typological profile 123, 170, 172
U
universal grammar 275, 339
universal semantic metalanguage 196
V
verb argument(s) 93, 95, 105, 108
vocabulary, see also lexis 207, 208, 210, 243, 293
W
weight 49–51, 53
word order, see also constituent ordering 5, 29, 33, 35, 38, 47, 60, 64, 66–70, 81, 86, 94, 120, 139, 267–271, 289, 293–295, 329–335
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages and Cultures in Contrast and Comparison</td>
<td>Gómez González, Maria de los Ángeles, J. Lachlan Mackenzie and Elsa M. González Álvarez (eds.)</td>
<td>2008. xii, 364 pp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play Frames and Social Identities</td>
<td>Vally Lytra</td>
<td>2007. xii, 300 pp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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