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A Note from the Editors

The observant reader will already have noticed the major change that has taken place in *SKY JoL* in the year 2006: the advisory editorial board has been considerably expanded. We have recruited some of our most active external reviewers of the past few years as regular board members. As a result, the advisory board now has an international element. Bearing in mind that the majority of our submissions nowadays also come from abroad, a change to this effect seemed more than welcome. At the same time, some earlier members of the board have decided to resign.

We editors would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the members of the earlier advisory editorial board now resigning. We would also like to welcome the new members, who will certainly play a major part in the further development of the journal.

The present issue again features a list of (most of) our external reviewers of the past two years (see overleaf). This list will from now on appear annually. The editors gratefully acknowledge the contribution of these scholars.

This issue also contains a follow-up by Fred Karlsson to the exchange between Fred Karlsson and Esa Itkonen in issue 18. Esa Itkonen did not deem it necessary to continue the discussion.

It may be routine for us to thank our contributors and referees, but this does not in any way diminish our thankfulness to them.

Pentti Haddington Leena Kolehmainen Mari Lehtinen Jouni Rostila

External Reviewers of *SKY JoL* 18 (2005) and 19 (2006)

In addition to members of the current advisory editorial board, the following scholars, among a few others wishing to remain anonymous, have acted as external reviewers for *SKY Journal of Linguistics* in the years 2005 and 2006:

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Josep Alba-Salas

Subject Control into Nominals in Romance

Abstract

This article examines subject control into nominals, i.e. cases where a verb's subject controls the highest argument of an event noun in complement position. Building upon Jackendoff and Culicover's (2005) *Simpler Syntax* framework and their analysis of control, I argue that cases of obligatory control into nominals in Spanish, Catalan and Italian, unlike cases of apparent non-obligatory control, involve a formal control relationship on a par with control into infinitivals and gerunds. Unlike non-obligatory control verbs, verbs that show obligatory subject control into nominals license an event complement linked to the noun predicate, binding its highest argument in Conceptual Structure. The analysis provides a descriptive typology and a formal analysis of each verb class, explaining some puzzling properties of *verb + event noun* structures. Moreover, the analysis supports Jackendoff and Culicover's claim that predicates selecting voluntary action complements show obligatory control, but that there are other sources of obligatory control.¹

1. Introduction and overview

This paper focuses on control into nominals in Spanish, Catalan and Italian. The analysis pays special attention to the lexical properties of the control verb, as well as the parallels and differences with control into infinitivals and gerunds.

¹ Thanks are due to Igor Mel'čuk, Jouni Rostila and, above all, an anonymous reviewer for many important comments and suggestions on this paper or earlier versions thereof. Of course, all remaining errors and omissions are my sole responsibility.

1.1 The problem of control: A brief look at the literature

Accounts of control fall in two major groups. On the one hand, we have those studies that view control primarily as a syntactic phenomenon, with semantics playing only a secondary or minor role (e.g. Rosenbaum 1967; Chomsky 1981; Bresnan 1982; Larson 1991; Martin 1996; O’Neil 1997; Hornstein 1999; Manzini & Roussou 2000; Gomes Pires 2001; Polinsky & Potsdam 2002; Boeckx & Hornstein 2003). On the other hand, we have those accounts that emphasize the importance of lexical semantics (e.g. Jackendoff 1972; Williams 1985; Sag & Pollard 1991; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Culicover & Jackendoff 2001; Jackendoff & Culicover 2003; 2005).

Within this second approach, Jackendoff and Culicover (2003; 2005) have recently claimed that argument structure or conceptual structure determines not only the contrast between obligatory and non-obligatory control, but also controller choice, at least in English.² Jackendoff and Culicover argue that predicates (verbs, nouns and adjectives) that select infinitival and gerundive complements designating voluntary actions show obligatory control. Moreover, Jackendoff and Culicover claim that in cases of obligatory control the controller is determined by the thematic roles that the control predicate assigns to its arguments. Specifically, the controller is always the argument to which the control predicate assigns the role of actor for the event designated by its action complement. These claims constitute the basis of their Unique Control of Actional Complements Hypothesis (Jackendoff & Culicover 2005: 427):

- (1) Unique Control of Actional Complements (UCAC) Hypothesis
 Infinitival and gerundive complements that are selected by their head to be of the semantic type Voluntary Action have unique [i.e. obligatory] control. The unique controller is the character to which the head assigns the role of actor for that action—whatever its syntactic position.

² Jackendoff and Culicover use the term *unique control* to refer to what has been traditionally called obligatory control, subdividing cases of non-obligatory control into two types: free and nearly free. Since their two-way distinction of non-obligatory control is not crucial here, in what follows I use the traditional terms *obligatory* and *non-obligatory* control.

The example in (2), taken from Jackendoff and Culicover (2003: 525), illustrates the UCAC Hypothesis. As (a) shows, the verb *urge* is only compatible with voluntary actions such as *dance with Jeff*, but not with states and non-voluntary events like *be six years old* and *grow taller*.³ *Urge*, then, selects only actional complements. As predicted by the UCAC Hypothesis, this verb shows obligatory control (b). Thus, in (2) the dancer can only be Norbert (following Jackendoff & Culicover 2003; 2005, I note coreference options with subscript coindexing and indicate the possibility of a generic antecedent, i.e. arbitrary control, with the subscript *GEN*). The choice of *Norbert* as the controller follows from the meaning of *urge*, which can be informally characterized as involving an event where ‘*x* (Miriam, in our example) encourages *y* (Norbert) so that *y* performs action *z* (the dancing)’). The corresponding Conceptual Structure is shown in (3), using a simplified version of Jackendoff and Culicover’s formal notation. Technicalities aside, what matters here is that *urge*-type verbs license two arguments: *x* (mapped onto the subject) and *y* (linked to the direct object). Moreover, *urge*-type verbs also select an actional complement (*x ACT*). The highest argument of this complement is a variable (α) bound by *y*, as indicated by the superscript. Simply put, *urge* shows object control because it assigns the role of actor for its action complement to its direct object.⁴

- (2) a. Miriam urged Norbert to **dance with Jeff/*be six years old/*grow taller**.
 b. Miriam_i urged Norbert_j [to *j*/**i*+*j*/*GENdance with Jeff].

³ Voluntary actions can be distinguished from other events because they can appear in the imperative (ia), and they accept adverbials like *voluntarily* and *on purpose* (ib) (examples based on Jackendoff & Culicover 2005: 428).

- | | | |
|----------|---|---|
| (i) | a. <i>Dance with Jeff!</i> | Voluntary actions |
| | b. <i>Roberta danced with Jeff voluntarily.</i> | |
| cf. (ii) | a. <i>*Grow taller!</i> | Non-voluntary actions and states |
| | b. <i>*Roberta grew taller voluntarily.</i> | |

⁴ According to Jackendoff and Culicover, there are at least five classes of predicates showing obligatory control: verbs of intention (e.g. *intend*, *decide* and *persuade*), verbs of obligation (e.g. *order*, *instruct*, *vow*, *guarantee* and *promise*), predicates indicating an ability (e.g. *can* and the adjective *able*), verbs indicating normativity (e.g. *remember to* and *forget to*), certain verbs of communication (e.g. *request*), adjectives such as *rude*, and force-dynamic predicates (e.g. *force*, *help*, *assist*, *hinder*, *pressure*, *discourage*, *permit* and *allow*). The verb *urge* belongs to this last group.

(3) $X \text{ CS } Y^{\alpha} [\alpha \text{ ACT}]$

Unlike *urge*-type predicates, verbs like *talk* select situational complements, so they are compatible with both actions and states (4a). As (4b) illustrates, *talk*-type verbs show non-obligatory control. Hence, the dancer(s) here can be Miriam alone, Norbert alone, Miriam and Norbert together, or some generic antecedent (example from Jackendoff & Culicover 2003: 525).

- (4) a. Miriam talked to Norbert about **dancing with Jeff/being six years old/growing taller**.
 b. Miriam_i talked to Norbert_j [about _{i/j/i+j/GEN}dancing with Jeff].

As Jackendoff and Culicover note, the UCAC Hypothesis does not entail that all cases of obligatory control must necessarily involve verbs that select actional complements. In fact, their proposal is consistent with the existence of certain experiencer verbs that take situational complements but also show obligatory control, including *hope*, *wish*, *remind* and *strike*, among others (5) (example from Jackendoff & Culicover 2005: 464).

- (5) a. Judy_j thinks that Henry_i hopes/wishes to _{i/*j/*GEN}redeem himself/*herself/*oneself/*myself.
 b. Judy_j reminds Henry_i of _{i/*j}being much younger.
 c. Judy_j strikes Henry_i as _{j/*i}being much younger.

The conclusion, then, is that whereas all verbs selecting actional complements show obligatory control (by the UCAC Hypothesis), certain verbs selecting situational complements (the *hope*-type) also show obligatory control.⁵

⁵ According to Jackendoff and Culicover, the only partial exception to the generalization that verbs selecting actional complements show obligatory control involves verbs that take infinitival indirect questions as complements, such as *ask* and *tell*. As (i) illustrates, the complements of these verbs express voluntary actions and require their controller to be the recipient of the answer (*Fred*), as predicted by the UCAC Hypothesis. However, as (i) shows, *ask* and *tell* also allow generic control. This additional option has no explanation in Jackendoff and Culicover's proposal, as they themselves acknowledge.

- (i) a. Sally_j told Fred_i how to _{i/GEN/*j}defend himself/oneself/*herself.
 b. Fred_i asked Sally_j how to _{i/GEN/*j}defend himself/oneself/*herself.
 (Examples based on Jackendoff & Culicover 2005: 464)

In Jackendoff and Culicover's proposal, control is a relationship stated over Conceptual Structure (CS), where syntactically implicit arguments are explicit and thematic roles are structurally represented. This proposal allows us to account for cases like (6), where there is no overt syntactic dependent that can serve as a controller (example from Jackendoff & Culicover 2005: 418).

- (6) How about [taking a swim together]? [controller = speaker + hearer]

As Jackendoff and Culicover note, examples like (6) argue against a purely syntactic account of control. This argument is further strengthened by two facts. First, the same syntactic configuration can be associated with different controller choice, as in (7). Second, the same controller can appear in different syntactic configurations, as in (8) (examples from Jackendoff & Culicover 2003: 520).

- (7) a. John_i persuaded Sarah_j [to _j*_idance].
 b. John_i promised Sarah_j [to _i*_jdance].
- (8) a. Bill ordered **Fred**_i [to _ileave immediately].
 b. **Fred**_i's order from Bill [to _ileave immediately]

Although Jackendoff and Culicover provide compelling evidence for the role of argument structure, control phenomena are not entirely reducible to lexical semantics. In fact, as some have argued, lexical semantics cannot account for control in adjunct clauses like (9), which show obligatory control even though (by definition) they are not selected by the matrix predicate (e.g. Hornstein 1999; Boeckx & Hornstein 2003; cf. Brody 1999; Manzini & Roussou 2000; Landau 2003). The obvious conclusion, then, is that a comprehensive account of control must incorporate both semantic and syntactic factors (as well as discourse and pragmatic considerations).

- (9) John_i saw Mary_j [before _i*_j/_i+_j*_{GEN}leaving the party].

Most studies on control focus on cases where the controlled predicate is an infinitive or a gerund, treating cases involving nouns only in passing, if at all (Rosenbaum 1967; Postal 1969; Chomsky 1970; Williams 1980;

Bresnan 1982; Sag & Pollard 1991; Clements 1992; Rooryck 1992; Chomsky & Lasnik 1993; Hornstein 1999; Manzini & Roussou 2000; Narcross 2000; Culicover & Jackendoff 2001; Gomes Pires 2001; Martin 2001; Boeckx & Hornstein 2003; Jackendoff & Culicover 2003; 2005; and Landau 2003, among others). The few studies that have actually examined control with nominals have focused almost exclusively on control within an NP into either subcategorized-for infinitivals (10) or adjunct purpose clauses (11) (e.g. Safir 1987; Grimshaw 1990; Alexiadou 2001; Ogawa 2001). The standard view appears to be that cases like (10) and (11) involve a formal control relationship, but there is no agreement as to whether the controller is a CS element or the actual event denoted by the noun predicate (see Postal 1974; Williams 1980; 1985; Lasnik 1988; Jackendoff 1985; Grimshaw 1990; Van Hout & Roeper 1998; Alexiadou 2001; Ogawa 2001; Boeckx & Hornstein 2003; Jackendoff & Culicover 2003; 2005, among others).

- (10) a. John_i's attempt [to _{i/*j/*GEN}leave on time]
 b. the attempt [to _{i/GEN}leave on time]
- (11) a. the Roman_i's destruction of the city [(in order) to _{i/GEN}prove a point]
 b. the _itranslation of the book [(in order) to _{i/GEN}make it available to a wider readership]

Unlike control within an NP, control into nominals has received virtually no attention. As (12) illustrates, control into nominals involves cases where a verb apparently controls the highest argument of its noun complement.

- (12) Kathy_i promised Ted [a _ihug]. (Jackendoff & Culicover 2003: 553)

Even in the context of the recent controversy between syntactocentric and semantic-based approaches to control, where cases like (12) have been mentioned in support of either approach, they have only been treated in passing (e.g. Culicover & Jackendoff 2001; Boeckx & Hornstein 2003; Jackendoff & Culicover 2003; 2005). A case in point is Jackendoff and Culicover (2003; 2005). Acknowledging their lack of a comprehensive account of control into nominals, Jackendoff and Culicover limit their very brief discussion to noting two differences with respect to control into in-

finitivals. First, controlled nouns allow all their arguments, not just their agents, to be satisfied nonlocally, contrary to what we find with infinitivals (13). Second, controlled infinitives and morphologically related nouns sometimes show quite different coreference options (14). Presumably, the implication is that control into nominals may not involve the same mechanisms as control into infinitivals or gerunds, so they should be treated differently.

(13) Kathy_i promised Ted_j [to _ihug *(him_j)].

(14) a. Bill_i expected [to _iattempt [to _ishoot himself_i]].
 b. Bill_i expected [an _j≠_iattempt [to _jshoot him_i]].

Outside the control literature, the view that control into nominals can be treated on a par with control into VP complements has been proposed by some Japanese linguists working on light verb constructions with *suru* ‘do’ (Terada 1990; Matsumoto 1992; 1996; Miyamoto 1999). These linguists have claimed that some light *suru* constructions involve a formal binding relationship between the subject of *suru* and the subject of its noun complement. This possibility is illustrated in (15), where the subject of *suru* (*Taroo*) is obligatorily coreferential with the subject of the nominal *ryokoo* ‘travel’ (example from Miyamoto 1999: 68). Although the details vary across authors, the basic proposal is that light *suru* is an obligatory subject control verb that selects an agentive subject and an event complement. This event is linked to an open complement position filled by the noun predicate, whose subject is bound by the agent of *suru*.

(15) Taroo_i ga Tokyo ni [_iryokoo] o suru.
 Taro NOM Tokyo to travel ACC do
 ‘Taro travels to Tokyo.’

More recently, Alba-Salas (2002; 2004) has claimed that light verb constructions with ‘do/make’ in Romance, like their Japanese counterparts, also involve a formal control relationship between the subject of the light verb and the agent of its noun complement, as illustrated in the Catalan example in (16).

- (16) La Mònica_i (li) farà [una _{i/*j/*GEN}trucada] a l'Eva.⁶
 the Mònica to-her will-make a phone-call to the-Eva
 'Mònica will give Eva a call.'

1.2 The present study

Building upon previous research, the present study focuses on control into nominals in Catalan, Italian and Spanish, using evidence from both heavy and light verb constructions. The paper examines apparent cases of obligatory and non-obligatory control in an attempt to elucidate the distinction between verbs allowing each option. The claim is that verbs that show obligatory subject control into nominals—just like 'traditional' control verbs—select an event complement linked to the noun predicate in complement position, binding the highest argument of the nominal. By contrast, verbs that show what appears to be non-obligatory control are 'ordinary' heavy verbs that assign a theme role and do not bind the highest argument of their noun complement. As we will see below, the data examined here are consistent with the UCAC Hypothesis, suggesting a fundamental continuity between control into nominals and control into infinitivals and gerunds.

The proposals developed below address three puzzling properties of structures with event nouns in complement position. First, why is the agent of the noun predicate obligatorily coreferential with the surface subject of certain verbs, as in (16) above and (17) below, but not of other verbs, as in (18) and (19)? (For the sake of consistency, throughout this paper I use Catalan examples to illustrate Romance patterns.)

- (17) El comitè_i procedí a una _{i/*j/*GEN}votació sobre el pressupost.
 the committee proceeded to a vote on the budget
 'The committee proceeded to a vote on the budget.'
- (18) La Mònica_i recorda la _{i/j/GEN}trucada (del Pere_j) a l'Eva.
 the Mònica remembers the phone-call of-the Pere to the-Eva
 'Mònica remembers the/Pere's phone call to Eva.'

⁶ Doubling of the dative clitic *li* 'to him/her' in Catalan is preferred in non-standard (oral) varieties.

- (19) El comitè_i va prometre una _{i/j/GEN}investigació sobre l'escàndol.
 the committee PST promise an investigation about the-scandal
 'The committee promised an investigation into the scandal.'

Second, why do verbs like Catalan *prometre* 'promise' show obligatory subject coreference with infinitives, as in (20), but not with nouns, as in (19) above?

- (20) El comitè_i va prometre _{i/*j/*GEN}investigar l'escàndol.
 the committee PST promise investigate the-scandal
 'The committee promised to investigate the scandal.'

Third, why can the prepositional complement in structures like (16) be analyzed either as being inside the NP headed by the event noun or as a direct syntactic dependent of the verb, whereas in cases like (17) only the first option is possible? As the examples below show, this contrast is evident in the fact that in cases like (16) we can cliticize *a l'Eva* 'to Eva' alone or the entire *event noun + prepositional complement* sequence (21), whereas in (18) only the last option is available (22).

- (21) a. El Pau **li** farà la trucada. [li = a l'Eva]
 the Pau to-her will-make the phone-call
 'Pau will give her a call.'
 b. El Pau **la** farà. [la = la trucada a l'Eva]
 the Pau it will-make
 'Pau will make it.'
- (22) a. *El Pau **li** recorda la trucada.
 the Pau to-her remembers the phone-call
 '*Pau remembers the call to her.' [impossible with intended meaning]
 [OK with irrelevant meaning of 'Pau reminds her of the call'.]
 b. El Pau **la** recorda.
 the Pau it remembers
 'Pau remembers it.'

As we will see below, the first puzzle is solved if we assume that obligatory coreference cases like (16) and (17), unlike (18) and (19), involve a formal control relationship on a par with control into infinitives and gerunds, and that this contrast follows from the different lexical properties of the verbs

involved. To solve the second puzzle I will propose that verbs like Catalan *prometre* come in two variants: as control verbs that subcategorize for infinitival complements, and as ‘ordinary’ heavy verbs licensing theme objects. Finally, I will argue that we can solve our third puzzle—the double analysis of the prepositional complement in (16)—if we assume that this complement can be licensed either by the event noun (in which case the complement appears inside its NP projection) or by the control verb itself (in which case it is a direct syntactic dependent of the verb).

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 offers a descriptive typology of verbs that show obligatory subject coreference with event nouns vis-à-vis those that do not. Section 3 provides an account of this contrast. Section 4 focuses on the double analysis found in cases like (16). Finally, section 5 summarizes the conclusions.

2. A descriptive typology of *verb* + *event noun* structures in Romance

There are two basic types of verbs that can occur with event nouns in complement position in Catalan, Spanish and Italian: those that show obligatory coreference between their subject and the highest argument of the noun predicate, and those that do not. I turn to each class in the next two subsections.

2.1 Verbs showing obligatory coreference

Romance verbs that show obligatory coreference between their subject and the highest argument of the event noun include two subtypes: verbs like Catalan *començar* ‘begin’, which also show obligatory subject control into infinitivals or gerunds, and light verbs such as Catalan *fer* ‘do/make’. These two subtypes are what we can descriptively call *COMENÇAR*- and light *FER*-type verbs (note the use of capitals to refer to Pan-Romance forms, which are arbitrarily based on their Catalan realization).

2.1.1 *COMENÇAR* (‘begin’)-type verbs

COMENÇAR-type verbs include those listed in (23) and (24). These verbs combine with both nouns and infinitives (or gerunds, in the case of Catalan

and Spanish *continuar* ‘continue’). The verbs in (24) introduce the embedded predicate with a preposition regardless of its categorial identity. By contrast, with the verbs in (23) the embedded predicate is realized as a direct object if it is a nominal, but it is typically introduced by a preposition if it is an infinitive or gerund (examples to follow below).⁷

- (23) a. *Cat.* **acabar (de)** ‘finish’, **començar (a)** ‘begin’, **continuar** ‘continue’, **intentar** ‘attempt’, **provar (de)** ‘try’
 b. *Spa.* **acabar (de)** ‘finish’, **comenzar (a)** ‘begin’, **continuar** ‘continue’, **empezar (a)** ‘begin’, **intentar** ‘attempt’, **terminar (de)** ‘finish’
 c. *Ita.* **cercare (di)** ‘try’, **cominciare (a)** ‘begin’, **continuare (a)** ‘continue’, **finire (di)** ‘finish’, **incominciare (a)** ‘begin’, **provare (a)** ‘try’, **tentare (di)** ‘attempt’
- (24) a. ‘**devote oneself (to)**’: *Cat.* dedicar-se (a), *Spa.* dedicarse (a), *Ita.* dedicarsi (a)
 b. ‘**proceed (to)**’: *Cat.* procedir (a), *Spa.* proceder (a), *Ita.* procedere (a)

As the Catalan examples in (25) and (26) illustrate, these verbs show obligatory subject coreference with both nominals and infinitivals (or gerunds). In fact, as (27) shows, the noun complement of these verbs cannot have its own agent distinct from the verb’s subject.

- (25) Espanya_i començà a _{i/*j/*GEN}evacuar la zona / _{i/*j/*GEN}l’evacuació
 Spain began to evacuate the area the-evacuation
 de la zona.
 of the area
 ‘Spain began to evacuate the area/the evacuation of the area.’

- (26) L’Eva_i es dedica a _{i/*j/*GEN}falsificar / la _{i/*j/*GEN}falsificació de
 the-Eva REF devotes to forge / the forgery of
 passaports.
 passports
 ‘Eva forges passports (for a living).’

⁷ Most verbs in (23) show clitic climbing and other restructuring effects, whereas those in (24) do not (see Aissen & Perlmutter 1976; Napoli 1981; Rizzi 1982; Burzio 1986; Rosen 1987; Picallo 1990; Kayne 1991; Terzi 1996, among others). *COMENÇAR* and *CONTINUAR* are also raising verbs (Rizzi 1982; Burzio 1986).

- (27) a. Espanya_i començà _{i/*j}l'evacuació de la zona
Spain began the-evacuation of the area

(*per part d'Israel_j).

by part of-Israel

'Spain began the evacuation of the area (*by Israel).'

- b. El comitè_i procedí a dues _{i/*j}votacions consecutives
the committee proceeded to two votes consecutive

sobre el pressupost (*per part del president_j).

on the budget by part of-the president

'The committee proceeded to two consecutive votes on the budget (*by the president).'

As (28) illustrates, the verbs *ACABAR (DE)* 'finish', *DEDICAR-SE (A)* 'devote oneself (to)' and *PROCEDIR (A)* 'proceed (to)' are incompatible with states and non-voluntary actions, regardless of the categorial identity of their complements. The observation that these three Romance verbs select only voluntary actions and show obligatory control is consistent with the UCAC Hypothesis.

- (28) a. *L'Eva es dedica a tenir vint anys/semblar intel·ligent/
the-Eva REF devotes to have twenty years/seem intelligent

perdre la por/tenir sort.

lose the fear/have luck

lit. 'Eva is 20 years old/seems intelligent/looses her fear (for a living).'

- b. *L'Eva es dedica a l'alegria/amor/la pèrdua de la por.⁸
the-Eva REF devotes to the-happiness/love/the loss of the fear
lit. 'Eva devotes herself to happiness/love/the loss of fear (for a living).'

On the other hand, *INTENTAR* 'try', *PROVAR* 'try/attempt', *CONTINUAR* 'continue' and *COMENÇAR* 'begin' itself are compatible with infinitives designating non-voluntary actions and states (29) (cf. note 20), although

⁸ Unlike *perdre* 'lose', verbs such as *tenir* 'have' and *semblar* 'seem' in the (a) examples lack the corresponding nominalizations **tinguda* and **semblada*. Hence, in the (b) examples I use nouns like 'happiness' and 'love' to illustrate the incompatibility of the control verb with state nominals.

they still reject state nouns (30). As we can see, structures with nouns fall within the scope of the UCAC Hypothesis, but structures with infinitival or gerundive complements do not, echoing the situation of *hope*-type verbs in English (cf. (5) in section 1.1). As in the case of *hope*-type verbs, it is important to emphasize that the behavior of *INTENTAR*, *PROVAR*, *CONTINUAR* and *COMENÇAR* does not contradict Jackendoff and Culicover's proposal, which does not preclude verbs selecting situational complements from showing obligatory control.

- (29) a. L'Eva intentava **perdre la por/tenir sort/semblar intel.ligent/**
 the-Eva tried lose the fear/have luck/seem intelligent

***tenir vint anys.**

have twenty years

lit. 'Eva tried to lose her fear/be lucky/seem intelligent/be twenty.'

- b. L'Eva començà a perdre la por/tenir sort/?semblar intel.ligent/
 the-Eva began to lose the fear/have luck/seem intelligent

***tenir vint anys.⁹**

have twenty years

lit. 'Eva started losing her fear/being lucky/seeming intelligent/being twenty years old.'

- (30) a. *L'Eva intentava l'**alegria/amor/la pèrdua** de la por.
 the-Eva tried the-happiness/love/the loss of the fear
 lit. 'Eva tried/attempted happiness/love/the loss of her fear.'

- b. *L'Eva començà l'**alegria/amor/la pèrdua** de la por.
 the-Eva began the-happiness/love/the loss of the fear
 lit. 'Eva began happiness/love/the loss of her fear.'

2.1.2 Light *FER* ('do/make')-type verbs

Traditionally, light verbs have been characterized as semantically defective predicates with impoverished or even empty argument structures. The assumption is that these verbs must combine with a noun predicate to license the arguments of the clause (e.g. Jespersen 1954; Gross 1981;

⁹ I thank an anonymous reviewer for this example.

Cattell 1984; Mirto 1986; Grimshaw & Mester 1988; Dubinsky 1990; La Fauci 1997; Alonso Ramos 2004). For clarity, here I distinguish light verbs from other verbs using two criteria based on Alonso Ramos (1998; 2004) and Alba-Salas (2002; 2004), among others. First, light verbs combine with noun predicates designating actions or states such as *examination*, *call* and *fear*, as opposed to common nouns or non-event nouns like *car* or *rabbit*.¹⁰ Second, light verbs appear in constructions (hereafter Light Verb Constructions or LVCs) whose semantic argument structure is determined by the noun predicate, but whose syntactic structure is determined by the verb.

One of the most common light verbs in Romance is *FER* ‘do/make’ (Catalan *fer*, Italian *fare*, Spanish *hacer*). This verb is homophonous with both heavy (31) and causative *FER* ‘make’ (32).

(31) L’Eva (li) **farà** un pastís d’aniversari a l’Ali.
 the-Eva to-him will-make a cake of-birthday to the-Ali
 ‘Eva will make Ali a birthday cake.’

(32) L’Eva (li) **farà** estudiar francès a l’Ali.
 the-Eva to-him will-make study French to the-Ali
 ‘Eva will make Ali study French.’

As (33) illustrates, light *FER* combines with action nouns such as Catalan *trucada* ‘phone call’, *promesa* ‘promise’ and *viatge* ‘travel’. These are what we can descriptively call *FER UNA TRUCADA* ‘make a call’-type LVCs (Alba-Salas 2002).

(33) La Mònica farà un viatge / una promesa / una trucada a l’Eva.
 the Mònica will-make a travel a promise a call to the-Eva
 ‘Mònica will take a trip / make a promise / give Eva a call.’

¹⁰ In some definitions in the literature (e.g. Alba-Salas 2002; 2004), light verbs can also combine with predicates other than nouns, such as adjectives or infinitivals. For simplicity, here I adopt a narrower definition specifying that the predicate complement of the light verb is a noun, but this categorial restriction is not critical to my proposal. What is important is that light verbs combine with nouns designating actions or states, as opposed to common nouns like *car* or *rabbit*.

In *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs the event noun is always the direct object of light *FER*. As (34) shows, this property is corroborated by the fact that this nominal can appear in participial absolute (a) and participial adjective constructions with *FER* (b), and (in the case of Catalan and Italian), that it can also be pronominalized with the partitive clitic *en/ne* ‘of it’ (c) (La Fauci 1980; 1996; 1997; La Fauci & Mirto 1985; Mirto 1986; Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990; Cicalese 1995; Štichauer 2000; Alonso Ramos 1998; 2004; Alba-Salas 2002; 2004; cf. Giry-Schneider 1984; 1987; Gross 1989 and Danlos 1992, among others, for French).

- (34) a. **Feta la trucada**, va marxar tothom.
 made the call PST leave everyone
 ‘The phone call having been made, everyone left.’
- b. **les (dues) trucades fetes** ahir des d’aquest número
 the two calls made yesterday from of-this number
 ‘the (two) calls made yesterday from this number’
- c. De trucades, la Mònica **n’** ha fetes tres.
 of calls the Mònica PRT has made three
 ‘Calls, Mònica has made three (of them).’

FER UNA TRUCADA-type LVCs must not be confused with structures like (35), which we can descriptively call *FER POR* ‘make fear’-type constructions (Alba-Salas 2002; 2004). First, unlike *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs, *FER POR*-type constructions involve nouns designating physical or emotional states, rather than action nominals. As (36) shows, these state nominals—unlike their action counterparts in *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs—are mass nouns, so they are typically incompatible with determiners or quantifiers and cannot be pluralized (cf. (34)).¹¹

- (35) El Mark li fa por/fàstic a l’Ali.
 the Mark to-him makes fear/disgust to Ali
 ‘Mark frightens/disgusts Ali.’
- (36) *El Mark li fa **dues** pors/fàstics a l’Ali.
 the Mark to-him makes two fears/disgusts to Ali

¹¹ In Modern Spanish *FER POR*-type structures are expressed with *dar* ‘give’ (e.g. *dar miedo/asco* ‘frighten/disgust’), although there is at least one case with *hacer* ‘make’: *hacer ilusión* ‘cause excitement’.

Second, unlike the verb found in *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs, the verb in *FER POR*-type structures has a causative meaning that can be paraphrased with ‘cause’ or ‘provoke’. Thus, for example, (35) can be paraphrased as ‘Mark **causes** Ali to have fear/disgust’ (Alba-Salas 2002; 2004; Alonso Ramos 2004; cf. Gross 1981 and Giry-Schneider 1984; 1987, for French). As Alba-Salas (2002; 2004) argues, this last contrast indicates that *FER UNA TRUCADA*- and *FER POR*-type structures involve two different, yet homophonous, variants of *FER*. On the one hand, *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs involve a non-causative variant that combines with action nouns (*light FER*, hereafter). On the other hand, *FER POR* constructions involve a causative variant that combines with state nouns. This *causative FER* is the same verb found in causatives with infinitives, such as (32) above.

Our focus here is on light *FER*, not on its causative counterpart. As many have pointed out, the subject of light *FER* is obligatorily coreferential with the highest argument of the event nominal in complement position (e.g. Gross 1976; Giry-Schneider 1978b; 1987; La Fauci 1980; Mirto 1986). This property is illustrated in (37).

- (37) La Mònica_i (li) farà una _{i/*j/*GEN}trucada (*del Pere_j) a l’Eva.¹²
 the Mònica to-her will-make a call of-the Pere to the-Eva
 ‘Mònica will give Eva a call (*by/from Pere).’

As Alba-Salas (2002; 2004) notes, *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs require an animate subject. This requirement is illustrated in the Italian LVC in (38). As (39) shows, this animacy requirement is exclusive to the LVC, since the morphologically related verb *cadere* ‘fall’ and the noun *caduta* itself are compatible with inanimate subjects.¹³

¹² The PP *del Pere* is only possible with the interpretation of ‘Mònica will make the call to Eva **that Pere should have made/that Pere usually makes**’. See note 23 for an account of this alternative interpretation.

¹³ An anonymous reviewer notes that Catalan structures with *fer* plus event nouns like *caiguda* ‘fall’, *baixada* ‘descent’ and *puja/pujada* ‘rise’ allow certain inanimate subjects, as in (i). However, as (ii) shows, the event nouns in these structures—unlike their counterparts in *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs—must be obligatorily modified with an adjective or a prepositional phrase, and they resist quantification, at least for some native speakers. These restrictions suggest that cases like (i) are not *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs, so their compatibility with inanimate subjects is irrelevant. It is

- (38) **Gianni/#il muro di Berlino** ha fatto una caduta ieri.
 Gianni/the wall of Berlin has made a fall yesterday
 ‘Gianni/the Berlin Wall fell down yesterday.’
- (39) a. **Gianni/il muro di Berlino** è caduto ieri.
 Gianni/the wall of Berlin is fallen yesterday
 ‘Gianni/the Berlin Wall fell down yesterday.’
 b. la caduta **di Gianni/del muro di Berlino**
 the fall of Gianni/of-the wall of Berlin
 ‘Gianni’s fall/the fall of the Berlin Wall’

Although LVCs like *fare una caduta* ‘fall’ are typically understood as involving involuntary events, they can also be interpreted as deliberate actions. As (40) shows, this is evidenced by the possibility of forming an imperative and adding adverbials such as ‘voluntarily’ or ‘on purpose’ (see note 3).

- (40) a. Gianni ha fatto una caduta **di proposito** per fare ridere i
 Gianni has done a fall on purpose to make laugh the
 bambini.
 children
 ‘Gianni fell down on purpose to make the children laugh.’

important to note, though, that the existence of an animacy requirement in *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs is not crucial here. For a discussion of other apparent counterexamples to the animacy restriction found in *FER UNA TRUCADA*-type LVCs, see Alba-Salas (2004).

- (i) Els preus han fet una caiguda/pujada/baixada espectacular/en picat.
 the prices have made a fall/rise/descent spectacular/in diving
 ‘Prices have experienced a spectacular/tremendous fall/increase/decrease.’
- (ii) a. ??Els preus han fet una caiguda/pujada/
 the prices have made a fall/rise/
 baixada. [with non-exclamative intonation]
 descent
 ‘Prices have experienced a fall/increase/decrease.’
 b. ??Els preus han fet **dues caigudes/pujades/baixades**.
 the prices have made two falls/rises/descents
 ‘Prices have experienced several/two falls/increases/decreases.’
- cf. Ita. c. Eva ha fatto **due cadute**.
 Eva has made two falls
 ‘Eva fell down twice.’

- b. Dai, Gianni, **fa'** un'altra caduta!
 come-on Gianni do an-other fall
 'Come on, Gianni, fall down again!'

Examples like (39) and (40) show that the event nouns selected by light *FER* designate potentially voluntary actions. This situation is consistent with the claim that LVCs with *FER* involve obligatory control, as predicted by the UCAC Hypothesis.

Besides *FER*, there are other light verbs in Romance that select nouns designating voluntary actions and show obligatory subject control. A partial list is given below for Spanish (41), Italian (42), and Catalan (43), together with a few examples of their use in typical LVCs.

- (41) **asestar** 'give' (*asestar un golpe* 'hit'), **cometer** 'commit' (*cometer un asesinato* 'commit murder'), **dar** 'give' (*dar una bofetada* 'slap')¹⁴, **echar** 'throw' (*echar una mirada* 'take a look'), **lanzar** 'launch' (*lanzar un ataque* 'launch an attack'), **llevar a cabo** 'carry out' (*llevar a cabo una privatización* 'privatize'), **meter** 'put' (*meter un golpe* 'hit'), **pegar** 'give' (*pegar una patada* 'kick'), **realizar** 'carry out' (*realizar unas declaraciones* 'make some remarks'), **soltar** 'let out' (*soltar una bofetada* 'slap')
- (42) **affibiare** 'give' (*affibiare un morso* 'bite'), **commettere** 'commit' (*commettere un'aggressione* 'commit an assault'), **dare** 'give' (*dare un calcio* 'kick'), **effettuare** 'carry out' (*effettuare una riforma* 'reform'), **lanciare** 'launch' (*lanciare un attacco* 'launch an attack'), **operare** 'make' (*operare un cambiamento* 'make a change')
- (43) **efectuar** 'do' (*efectuar un ingrés* 'make a deposit'), **donar** 'give' (*donar una bufetada* 'slap'), **dur a terme** 'conduct' (*dur a terme un reforma* 'reform'),

¹⁴ Spanish *dar* 'give' can appear with state nouns (i). The same is true of its Catalan and Italian counterparts (*donar* and *dare*, respectively), though to a lesser extent. However, this *DONAR* is not the same variant found with action nouns (Alonso Ramos 1998; 2004; Alba-Salas 2002; 2004). In fact, unlike the *DONAR* found in Romance LVCs such as 'give a kiss' or 'give a slap', the *DONAR* in (i) is a causative variant that can be paraphrased with 'cause' or 'provoke'. Thus, for example, (i) can be paraphrased as 'Spiders cause Monica to have fear/be afraid' (cf. Spa. *Mónica le da un beso a Eva* 'Mónica gives Eva a kiss' → '*Mónica causes Eva to have a kiss').

- (i) A Mónica le dan miedo las arañas.
 to Monica to-her give fear the spiders
 'Spiders frighten Monica.'

exercir ‘exert’ (*exercir influència* ‘exert influence’), **fotre** ‘give’ (*fotre un mastegot* ‘smack’), **plantar** ‘give’ (*plantar un petó* ‘kiss’), **realitzar** ‘carry out’ (*realitzar un canvi* ‘make a change’)

2.2 Verbs that do not show obligatory subject coreference

Verbs that do not show obligatory coreference between their subject and the highest argument of an event noun in complement position include two subtypes: ‘ordinary’ (i.e. non-control) verbs like *DESCRIURE* ‘describe’; and certain verbs that otherwise show obligatory subject control with infinitivals, such as *VOLER* ‘want’ and *PROMETRE* ‘promise’.

2.2.1 Non-control verbs (*DESCRIURE*-type verbs)

Verbs that do not show control with infinitives or gerunds can and often do take event nouns as their complements, either as direct objects—e.g. Catalan *descriure* ‘describe’, *criticar* ‘criticize’ and *esmentar* ‘mention’—or as prepositional obliques, e.g. Catalan *burlar-se (de)* ‘mock’ and *queixar-se (de)* ‘complain (about)’. As (44) and (45) illustrate, *DESCRIURE*-type verbs do not show obligatory control into nominals. In fact, the event noun that combines with them can license its own agent distinct from the subject of the verb (44), contrary to what we saw with the *COMENÇAR* and light *FER* class (cf. (27) and (37)). When the event noun does not license an agent, we have the broad coreference options found in cases of non-obligatory control with infinitivals, cf. (4). For example, in (45) the caller could be Pau, another person mentioned elsewhere in the discourse, or a generic antecedent.

- (44) El Pau_i esmentà una _{ij}/GENinversió de 300 euros (de/per part de
the Pau mentioned an investment of 300 euros of/by part of
l’Ali_j).
the-Ali
‘Pau mentioned a 300-euro investment (by Ali).’

- (45) El Pau_i descrivia/es queixava d’una _{ij}/GENtrucada a l’Eva.
the Pau described/REF complained of-a call to the-Eva
‘Pau was describing/complaining about a call to Eva.’

DESCRIURE-type verbs are compatible with both action nouns, as in (44) and (45), and state nominals, as in (46).

- (46) L'Eva descrivia/es burlava de l'**alegria**_j/les **esperances**_j; del Pau.
 the-Eva described/REF mocked of the-happiness/the hopes of-the Pau
 'Eva was describing/mocking Pau's happiness/hopes.'

2.2.2 *PROMETRE* ('promise')-type verbs

PROMETRE-type verbs take obligatorily controlled infinitival complements, e.g.

- (47) a. L'Eva_i (ens)_j va prometre _{i/*j/*GEN}investigar l'escàndol/crear
 the-Eva to-us PST promise investigate the-scandal/create

una comissió.

a commission

'Eva promised (us) to investigate the scandal/create a commission.'

- b. L'Eva_i vol/desitja _{i/*j/*GEN}investigar l'escàndol/crear una
 the-Eva wants/wishes investigate the-scandal create a

comissió.

commission

'Eva wants/wishes to investigate the scandal/create a commission.'

PROMETRE-type verbs include those listed in (48) and (49). As (50) illustrates, *RECORDAR* 'remember', *OBLIDAR-SE* 'forget', *PENSAR* 'think' and *PROMETRE* itself in (48) select actional complements. By contrast, *VOLER* 'want', *DESITJAR* 'wish' and *ESPERAR* 'hope' in (49) take situational infinitivals (51). Again, this behavior is consistent with Jackendoff and Culicover's claims.

- (48) a. '**promise**': *Cat.* prometre, *Ita.* promettere, *Spa.* prometer
 b. '**remember**': *Cat.* recordar-se (de), *Ita.* ricordarsi (di), *Spa.* recordar & acordarse (de)
 c. '**forget**': *Cat.* oblidar-se (de), *Ita.* dimenticare (di), *Spa.* olvidar & olvidarse (de)
 d. '**think (about)**': *Cat.* pensar (en/a), *Ita.* pensare (di/su), *Spa.* pensar (en/sobre)

- (49) a. **'want'**: *Cat.* voler, *Ita.* volere, *Spa.* querer
 b. **'wish'**: *Cat.* desitjar, *Ita.* desiderare, *Spa.* desear
 c. **'hope'**: *Cat.* esperar, *Ita.* sperare (di), *Spa.* esperar

- (50) L'Eva es va oblidar de/ens va prometre **córrer la maratón** /
 the-Eva REF PST forget of to-us PST promise run the marathon

ballar amb tu / *tenir vint anys / ??semblar intel·ligent.

dance with you have twenty years seem intelligent

lit. 'Eva forgot about/promised us to run the marathon/dance with you/be twenty years old/seem intelligent.'

- (51) L'Eva vol **córrer / ballar / tenir vint anys / semblar intel·ligent.**
 the-Eva wants run dance have twenty years seem intelligent
 'Eva wants to run/dance/be twenty years old/seem intelligent.'

PROMETRE-type verbs can also combine with noun predicates. Interestingly enough, the contrast in selectional requirements found with infinitivals is neutralized with nominals. Thus, all the verbs in (48) and (49) are compatible with both voluntary action nominals (52) and state nouns (53).

- (52) a. L'Eva_i ens_j va prometre una *i/k/j*/GEN investigació de l'escàndol /
 the-Eva to-us PST promised an investigation of the-scandal

la creació d'una comissió.
 the creation of-a commission

'Eva promised us an investigation of the scandal/the creation of a commission.'

- b. L'Eva_i vol/desitja una *j*/GEN/?i investigació de l'escàndol / la
 the-Eva wants/wishes an investigation of the-scandal the

j/GEN/?i creació d'una comissió.
 creation of-a commission

'Eva wants/is hoping for an investigation of the scandal/the creation of a commission.'

- (53) a. El president ens va prometre **alegria, pau i esperança.**
 the-president to-us PST promise happiness peace and hope
 'The president promised us happiness, peace and hope.'

- b. L'Eva només vol **alegria** i **esperança** / l'**amor**
 the-Eva only wants happiness and hope the-love
 d'en Joan.
 of-the Joan
 'Eva only wants hope and happiness/Joan's love.'

As (52) above also illustrates, *PROMETRE*-type verbs do not show obligatory coreference between their subject and the highest argument of the event noun. In fact, similar to what we saw with *DESCRIURE*-type verbs, here the noun predicate can license its own agent (typically a *by*-phrase) distinct from the verb's subject (54).

- (54) a. L'Eva ens va prometre una ¡investigació de l'escàndol /
 the-Eva to-us PST promise an investigation of the-scandal
 la ¡creació d'una comissió **per part del govern**.
 the creation of-a commission by part of-the government
 'Eva promised us an investigation of the scandal/the creation of a commission by the government.'
- b. L'Eva vol/desitja una ¡investigació de l'escàndol / la ¡creació
 the-Eva wants/wishes an investigation of the-scandal the creation
 d'una comissió **per part del govern**.
 of-a commission by part of-the government
 'Eva wants/is hoping for an investigation of the scandal/the creation of a commission by the government.'

3. Towards an account of subject control into nominals

In what follows I develop an explanatory account of the facts above. I start with a brief introduction to my theoretical framework.

3.1 Framework

My analysis is couched in Jackendoff and Culicover's (2005) Simpler Syntax framework. As Jackendoff and Culicover explain, Simpler Syntax concurs in many respects with HPSG, LFG, Relational Grammar,

Construction Grammar and other generative frameworks, departing from some basic tenets of GB and Minimalism.

The formal technology of *Simpler Syntax* is based on constraints, rather than derivations. There are no ‘hidden levels’ of syntax related to overt syntax by movement, insertion and deletion. Whereas GB/Minimalism assumes that the syntax-semantics interface is both maximally simple (so that meaning maps transparently into syntactic structure) and maximally uniform (so that the same meaning always maps onto the same syntactic structure), *Simpler Syntax* proposes a more flexible syntax-semantic interface. Abandoning interface uniformity leads to a radical simplification of syntax, which is (re)conceived as the minimal structure necessary to mediate between semantics and phonology. *Simpler Syntax* also rejects the GB/Minimalist view that syntax is the source of all combinatorial complexity. Instead, it proposes that phonology, syntax and semantics are independent generative components, each creating its own type of combinatorial complexity. Besides these three parallel components, the grammar also involves a crosscutting division into phrasal and morphological departments, plus interface principles between the various components. The lexicon is not separate from grammar. Instead, it cuts across phonology, syntax and semantics.

In Jackendoff and Culicover’s framework, meaning is formally represented at the level of Conceptual Structure or CS. Like syntax, CS involves a hierarchical combinatorial structure composed of discreet elements. It encodes such distinctions as the type-token distinction, the categories in terms of which the world is understood, and the relations among various individuals and categories. However, CS is not just a kind of (narrow) syntax. Instead, it has multiple tiers, so there is no direct one-to-one relationship between the syntactic and conceptual hierarchies. CS constituents belong to one of the major ontological types, such as Archi-Object, Situation, Property, Location or Time, among others (cf. Pustejovsky 1995). There are potentially five parts to the internal structure of each constituent: (i) a set of aspectual features which, in the case of Situations, distinguish between states, processes, and complete events, and which, in the case of Archi-Objects, distinguish between count (Object), mass (Substance), and aggregate (including Plural); (ii) a set of referential features such as the type/token distinction and (in)definiteness; (iii) a function of zero arguments (e.g. in the case of typical common

nouns) to (probably) three arguments (e.g. in the case of *give*); (iv) the arguments of the function, which are themselves typed constituents; and (v) modifiers of the constituents such as those expressed by adjectives and by place, time, and manner adverbials (modifiers also being typed constituents).

The formal representation of CS is illustrated in (55), taken from Jackendoff and Culicover (2005: 154). Capitals in (b) stand for the meaning of a word, which can be further decomposed into primitives along the lines proposed in Jackendoff (1990; 2002).

- (55) a. [FUNCTION (ARG₁, ... ARG_i); MOD₁, ... MOD_m; FEATURE₁, ... FEATURE_n]
 b. Pat might eat some green apples on Thursday.
 [Situation MIGHT ([Situation EAT ([Object PAT], [Object APPLE; [Property GREEN]; INDEF PLUR]; [Time THURSDAY]]

Similar to LFG, Relational Grammar and other frameworks, Simpler Syntax claims that Grammatical Functions (GFs) such as subject, direct object, indirect object and obliques constitute an independent dimension or tier intervening between semantic structure and phrase structure representation. The GF-tier permits the grammar to manipulate the status of syntactic arguments irrespective of their semantic status and syntactic position. GFs are mapped onto thematic roles through a thematic hierarchy (actor/agent > patient/ undergoer/beneficiary > non-patient theme > other)¹⁵ and a parallel hierarchy of direct GFs (subject > direct object > indirect object)¹⁶. The mapping mechanism takes the highest-ranked theta role and matches it to the highest-ranked GF (i.e. the subject), working its way down the two hierarchies in parallel until it runs out of arguments.¹⁷

¹⁵ As Jackendoff and Culicover note, their particular thematic hierarchy does not cover everything, but it eliminates many problems faced by other thematic hierarchies proposed in the literature.

¹⁶ Jackendoff and Culicover limit the GF hierarchy to direct NP arguments, i.e. the subject, the direct object and the indirect object. The mapping of obliques onto the corresponding theta roles is lexically determined.

¹⁷ The thematic hierarchy does not apply to all combinations of theta-roles. For example, the GF mapping of stimulus-experiencer pairs with verbs such as *fear* vs. *frighten* is stipulated by the corresponding lexical entries, since it is not predictable (i).

(i) a. John fears sincerity. [experiencer subject and stimulus object]

Like other theories, and unlike GB/Minimalism, Simpler Syntax allows for the possibility that syntactic licensing may not be concomitant with semantic role assignment. In the canonical case a grammatical function is doubly linked to both a semantic argument and a syntactic dependent. However, a grammatical function can also be licensed by a semantic argument alone (as in the case of the controlled subject in *to err is human*, which is only present at CS, but not in the syntax), or by a syntactic argument alone (as in the case of the dummy subject of *it's raining*). Moreover, a phrase can be a semantic argument of one clause but have a grammatical function in another, as is the case of raised NPs in examples like *John seems to play well*.

In Simpler Syntax lexical items are long-term memory associations of a piece of phonology, a piece of syntax, and a piece of semantics. In addition to a lexical item's overt content, lexical entries may include contextual features in any of the three domains, including selectional restrictions (in the CS domain), subcategorization features (in syntax), and phonological environment (in phonology). 'Lexical insertion' involves simultaneously inserting the three parts of a lexical item, along with the indices or association lines that establish the connections among them.

Since the syntactic category of an argument is not entirely predictable from semantics, individual predicates can specify the categories of their arguments. Arguments may be optional in two senses: they may be semantically optional, as is the case with the object of *swallow*, or they may be semantically obligatory but syntactically omissible, as is the case with the object of *eat* (the contrast is evident in the fact that although the object is omissible in both cases, as in *he swallowed/ate (the food)*, the sentence *he swallowed, but he didn't swallow anything* is possible, whereas **he ate, but he didn't eat anything* is not).

Consistent with Jackendoff and Culicover's previous work (cf. section 1.1), in Simpler Syntax control is a relation stated over the level of Conceptual Structure, not over syntactic structure. In cases of obligatory control into infinitival (or gerundive) VPs such as *Pat tried to sneeze* the semantic argument that would normally be destined for subject position in the embedded clause is a bound variable, rather than an invisible NP in the syntax (i.e. PRO). The realization of controlled complements follows from

b. Sincerity frightens John.

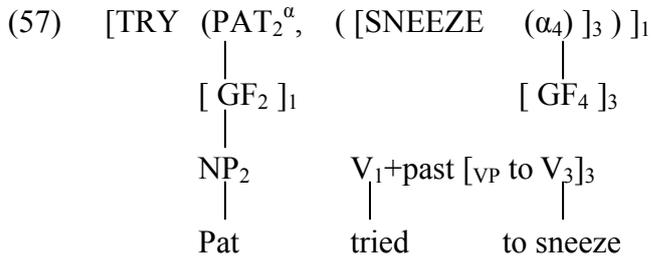
[stimulus subject and experiencer object]

a principle that applies to clauses whose Conceptual Structure includes a bound variable α corresponding to the highest-ranked grammatical function, allowing such clauses to be realized as an infinitival (or gerundive) VP. This principle is formalized in (56), adapted from Jackendoff and Culicover (2005: 194).¹⁸ The effect of (56) is that all the other grammatical functions get expressed within the VP in the normal way, but the S node, the tense, and the subject are absent.

$$(56) [F \dots \alpha_i, \dots]_k \Leftrightarrow [GF_i (> \dots)]_k \Leftrightarrow [{}_{VP} \textit{to/ing} V \dots]_k$$

The formal representation of a simple control structure like *Pat tried to sneeze* is illustrated in (57), taken from Jackendoff and Culicover (2005: 195). The representation involves three tiers: a semantic tier (i.e. CS, which corresponds to the top row), a GF-tier (second row), and a syntactic tier (third row). The control relation is captured at the level of CS by having the argument of the control verb (*Pat*) bind the sole argument of the controlled infinitival (the variable α), as indicated by superscripting. The representation involves two clauses, each of which is assigned to a different GF-tier. The matrix clause is assigned to the GF-tier noted with subscript 1, whereas the embedded clause is assigned to the GF-tier marked with subscript 3. Because the semantic argument of *sneeze* is a bound variable, the principle in (56) licenses the embedded clause as a subjectless infinitival. Note that each NP argument in CS is linked to a grammatical function in the GF-tier, as indicated by coindexing and the association lines. The grammatical function corresponding to *Pat* (GF₂) is linked to the syntactic tier. Since this GF is the only (and thus also the highest) GF in the matrix clause, *Pat* is realized as the subject of *try*. By contrast, the grammatical function corresponding to the bound variable (GF₄) is not linked to the syntactic tier, so it is not realized syntactically.

¹⁸ The formulation given by Jackendoff and Culicover includes additional material relevant to non-obligatory control. For simplicity, this material is excluded from (56).



In what follows I extend this analysis to cases of obligatory control into nominals in Romance. As we will see, my proposal assumes that event nouns, like verbs and other predicates, license GFs. I also assume that all the arguments of noun predicates are semantically obligatory but optionally expressed in the syntax. Like the direct object of *eat* and similar verbs, the arguments of event nouns always appear in CS, but they do not need to be linked to the syntactic tier.¹⁹

3.2 Analysis

As we have just seen, event nouns can appear as complements of light verbs like *FER*, verbs that show obligatory control into infinitivals or gerunds, and ordinary (i.e. non-control) verbs such as *DESCRIURE*. Light *FER*-type verbs and a subset of verbs that show obligatory control into infinitivals or gerunds (the *COMENÇAR* class) show obligatory coreference between their subject and the highest argument of the event noun. By contrast, *DESCRIURE*-type verbs and another subset of verbs that show obligatory control into infinitivals (the *PROMETRE* class) do not require their subject to be obligatorily coreferential with the highest argument of

¹⁹ Although this is not critical to my argumentation, I further assume that event nouns license the same types of GFs licensed by verbs, including subjects, direct objects, indirect objects and obliques—an assumption based on unpublished work by Carol Rosen. Under this assumption, the fact that the arguments of event nouns in Romance are uniformly realized as prepositional phrases, rather than the ‘direct’ NPs found with verbs, follows from morphological realization rules. Specifically, the different realizations follow from case assignment contrasts that are sensitive to the categorial identity of the licensing predicate and which apply in syntax, rather than in the GF-tier. The claim that event nouns can license (GF)-subjects provides an advantage in our analysis of control into nominals: preserving the generalization that, as Boecks and Hornstein (2003) note, controllees are always ‘downstairs’ subjects with no apparent thematic restrictions.

their noun complement. According to my analysis, this contrast indicates that *COMENÇAR*- and light *FER*-type verbs—unlike *DESCRIURE*- and *PROMETRE*-type verbs—show obligatory subject control into nominals on a par with control into infinitivals and gerunds.

To accommodate for the possibility of control into nominals in Romance we only need a slight revision of the principle in (56) above: allowing controlled complements to be either VPs headed by an infinitival or gerund (the canonical case) or NPs headed by an event noun. This minor revision is formalized in (58) using Jackendoff and Culicover's notation.

$$(58) [F \dots \alpha_i, \dots]_k \Leftrightarrow [GF_i (> \dots)]_k \Leftrightarrow [{}_{VP} V_{inf/ger} \dots]_k / [{}_{NP} N \dots]_k$$

Another minor adjustment needed to handle obligatory control into nominals is revising the formulation of the UCAC Hypothesis so as to include complements headed by noun predicates, rather than just infinitives and gerunds (59), cf. (1).

- (59) Unique Control of Actional Complements (UCAC) Hypothesis [Revised]
 Infinitival, gerundive **and nominal complements** that are selected by their head to be of the semantic type Voluntary Action have obligatory control. The unique controller is the character to which the head assigns the role of actor for that action—whatever its syntactic position.

As we saw earlier, the correlation between selectional requirements and control options predicted by the UCAC Hypothesis is borne out in structures with event nouns. In fact, the class of verbs that shows obligatory control into nominals (the *COMENÇAR*- and light *FER*-types) is only compatible with nouns designating voluntary actions (or potentially voluntary actions, as in the case of Italian *fare una caduta* 'fall'). By contrast, those verbs that do not show obligatory control into nominals (the *DESCRIURE* and *PROMETRE* class) do not select actional nouns.

Unlike cases of control into nominals, the cases of control into infinitivals and gerunds examined here do not always fall within the scope of the UCAC Hypothesis. On the one hand, certain *COMENÇAR*-type verbs (*ACABAR (DE)* 'finish', *DEDICAR-SE (A)* 'devote oneself (to)' and *PROCEDIR (A)* 'proceed (to)'), as well as some *PROMETRE*-type verbs (*PROMETRE* 'promise', *RECORDAR* 'remember', *OBLIDAR-SE (DE)*

‘forget’ and *PENSAR* ‘think’) do select actional VP complements and show obligatory control. On the other hand, the remaining *COMENÇAR*-type verbs (*COMENÇAR* ‘begin’, *INTENTAR* ‘try’, *PROVAR (DE)* ‘attempt’ and *CONTINUAR* ‘continue’) and *PROMETRE*-type verbs (*VOLER* ‘want’, *DESITJAR* ‘wish’ and *ESPERAR* ‘hope’) take situational VP complements but show obligatory control into infinitivals or gerunds.²⁰

As we have repeatedly noted, the different control patterns found with both VP and NP complements do not invalidate Jackendoff and Culicover’s proposals, which do not exclude other sources of obligatory control besides

²⁰ Within this second group, the case of *INTENTAR* and *PROVAR (DE)* is probably more complex. Indeed, the fact that these verbs are compatible with both actions and states probably follows from coercion, not from the claim that they actually select situational complements. Coercion involves the conventionalized omission of semantic material in syntactic expression. As Jackendoff and Culicover (2003; 2005) explain, one type of coercion relevant to control structures is the ‘bring about’-type. This type is found with control verbs that are compatible with non-voluntary situations, e.g. *Hilary plan/intends that Ben come along to the party*. According to Jackendoff and Culicover, verbs like *plan* and *intend* semantically select voluntary action complements but syntactically subcategorize for a broader range of complements. This mismatch creates a conflict in composing the meaning, so the principle of coercion steps in, reinterpreting the complement as the action of bringing about a situation, i.e. *Hilary intends to bring it about that Ben comes along the party* (implicit material in boldface). It is possible that Romance *INTENTAR* and *PROVAR (DE)*—like *plan* and *intend*—also select actional complements but can appear with non-voluntary actions and states through the ‘bring about’ coercion, so that cases like *l’Eva intentava semblar intel.ligent* ‘Eva tried to seem intelligent’, for example, are reinterpreted as *l’Eva intentava actuar amb la intenció de semblar intel.ligent* ‘Eva tried to act with the intention of seeming intelligent’. Unlike *INTENTAR* and *PROVAR (DE)*, the other Romance verbs included in the second group (*VOLER*, *DESITJAR*, *ESPERAR* and *CONTINUAR*) do license situational, rather than actional, complements. Hence, coercion is not relevant to structures with these verbs. This claim is corroborated by the observation that the infinitival or gerundive complements of *VOLER*, *DESITJAR*, *ESPERAR* and *CONTINUAR* may designate situations that cannot be brought about by voluntary actions, as in *l’Eva volia/desitjava/esperava tenir vint anys/que l’any vinent fos 1492* ‘Eva wanted/wished/hoped to be twenty years old/for next year to be 1492’. By contrast, the complements of *INTENTAR* and *PROVAR (DE)* seem to be restricted to situations that can be voluntarily brought about—a prerequisite for the ‘bring about’ coercion to apply, cf. *#l’Eva intentava tenir vint anys/que l’any vinent fos 1492* ‘#Eva tried to be twenty years old/for next year to be 1492’. Despite this qualification, for simplicity throughout the paper I include *INTENTAR* and *PROVAR (DE)* among the verbs that select situational complements.

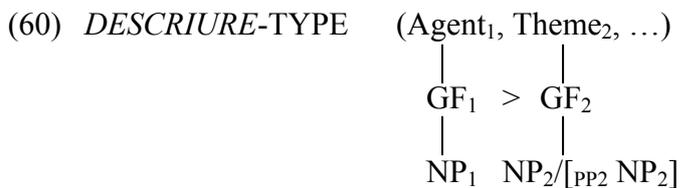
being a selected actional complement. In fact, the data examined here are consistent with the generalization that whereas all verbs selecting actional complements show obligatory control, some verbs selecting situational (infinitival or gerundive) complements also show obligatory control. Capitalizing on this asymmetrical implicational relationship, we can minimize redundancy in the lexicon by positing a general lexical rule specifying that, by default, heads selecting actional complements automatically bind the highest argument of the embedded action (with the controller being the argument to which these predicates assign the role of actor for that action). Obligatory control verbs that deviate from this default pattern would be marked as such in the lexicon. Thus, for example, the Conceptual Structure of verbs like *VOLER*, *DESITJAR* and *ESPERAR* would specify that these verbs select situational complements but still bind the highest argument of their infinitival complement.

In the next two subsections I elaborate on my analysis of each verb class.

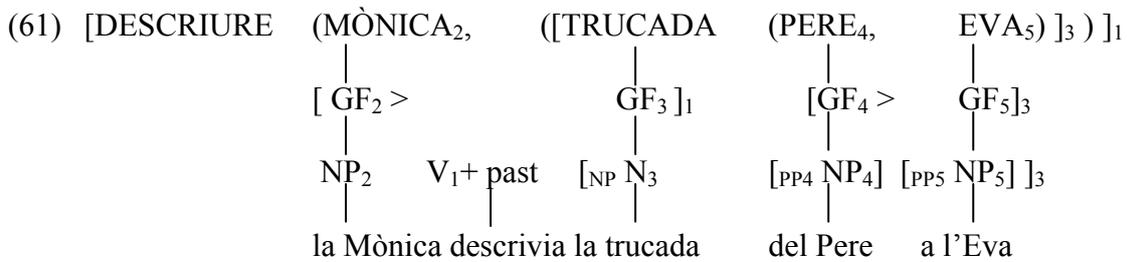
3.2.1 Verbs that do not show obligatory control into nominals (*DESCRIURE*- and *PROMETRE*-types)

Verbs that do not show obligatory control into nominals license a theme and do not bind the highest argument of the nominal in complement position. As we already know, these predicates include *DESCRIURE*- and *PROMISE*-type verbs. Let us consider each one in turn.

The prototypical entry for *DESCRIURE*-type verbs is illustrated in (60). As we can see, this verb licenses an agent and a theme, each linked to a Grammatical Function. The agent is realized as the subject, and the theme is a direct object or (in the case of verbs like Catalan *parlar* ‘talk’) a prepositional oblique.

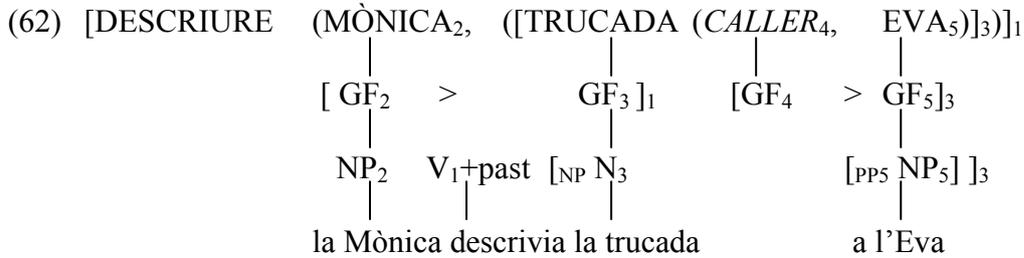


When *DESCRIURE*-type verbs occur with event nouns in direct object position, as in Catalan *la Mònica descrivia la trucada del Pere a l'Eva* ‘Mònica was describing Pere’s call to Eva’, this nominal heads the NP theme, just as in cases where the object is a non-event noun, e.g. Catalan *la Mònica descrivia la seva casa* ‘Mònica was describing her house’. The corresponding representation is illustrated in (61). Technicalities aside, what matters here is that *DESCRIURE* licenses an agent subject (*Mònica*) and a theme object (the NP headed by the event noun). Inside the NP headed by the event noun (NP₃) we find the two arguments licensed by the nominal: *Pere* (the agent) and *Eva* (the goal), both realized as prepositional phrases. Since *Mònica* does not bind *Pere*, (61) does not involve a formal control relationship.



As we saw in (45), heavy verb constructions where the event noun does not license an overt subject allow different coreference options, echoing cases of non-obligatory control with infinitivals and gerunds. For example, in Catalan *la Mònica descrivia una trucada a l'Eva* ‘Mònica was describing a call to Eva’, the caller could be Mònica herself, a generic antecedent or someone else mentioned previously in the discourse. Such cases have the same representation as (61). The only difference is that here the agent is not syntactically expressed. The corresponding representation is given in (62), where *CALLER* stands for the contextually-determined agent of the event of calling (Mònica or someone else). The claim is that the caller licensed by *trucada* in CS is a specific person that is not expressed overtly because the GF associated with this argument (GF₄) is not linked to syntax. In other words, the caller is an implicit argument recoverable only from the context

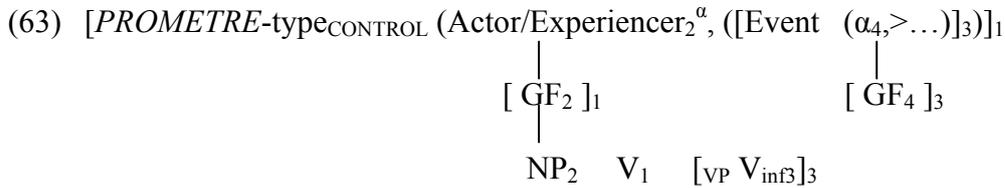
provided by discourse and/or pragmatics, not through a formal control relationship.²¹



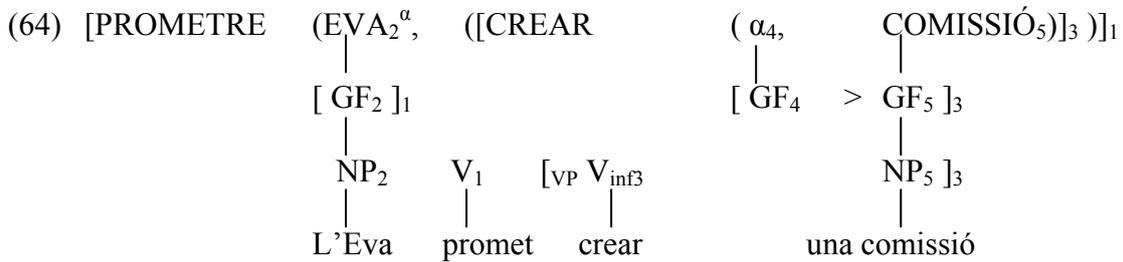
Let us now turn to *PROMETRE*-type verbs. As we saw in section 2, these verbs show obligatory control with infinitivals (47), but not with nominals (52). The contrast follows from the assumption that *PROMETRE*-type verbs have a double subcategorization frame: as subject control verbs selecting infinitival complements, and as ordinary *DESCRIURE*-type verbs that combine with nominals, including common nouns (as in *l'Eva ens va prometre un llibre* 'Eva promised us a **book**' or *l'Eva vol un llibre* 'Eva wants a **book**') and also event nominals (as in *l'Eva ens va prometre la creació d'una comissió* 'Eva promised us the **creation** of a commission').

The control variant has the entry in (63). This variant licenses two arguments. The first one is an actor (e.g. in the case of *PROMETRE* itself) or an experiencer (e.g. in the case of *RECORDAR* 'remember', *OBLIDAR-SE* 'forget', *PENSAR* 'think', *VOLER* 'want', *DESITJAR* 'wish' and *ESPERAR* 'hope'). The second argument is an event of the actional type (in the case of *PROMETRE*, *RECORDAR*, *OBLIDAR-SE* and *PENSAR*) or of the situational type (in the case of *VOLER*, *DESITJAR* and *ESPERAR*). The agent or experiencer is realized as the subject of the control verb, and it binds the highest argument of the event (α) in Conceptual Structure. As we saw in the English example in (57), the Grammatical Function associated with the bound variable (GF₄) is not linked to the syntax tier, so it is not syntactically expressed.

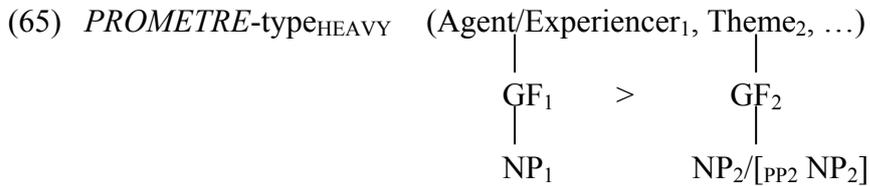
²¹ Postulating a definite implicit argument here is not an ad-hoc solution, since—as Jackendoff and Culicover (2005) note—this type of arguments is also needed for cases such as *he knows* and *he forgot* (i.e. *he knows/forgot it*). In GB/Minimalist terms, this implicit argument would correspond to *pro* (cf. Hornstein's (1999) analysis of non-obligatory control with infinitivals).



Given the entry in (63), a simple example of control with infinitivals like *l'Eva promet crear una comissió* 'Eva promises to create a commission' would have the representation in (64), which is just like the *try* example in (57).



The non-control variant of *PROMETRE*-type verbs licenses a theme (or another traditional theta role), rather than an event complement, and there is no binding relationship in CS:



Hence, cases with event nouns like *l'Eva promet la creació d'una comissió* 'Eva promises the creation of a commission' are ordinary heavy verb constructions with the same basic representation as the *DESCRIURE* structure in (62). Hence, the event nominal and all its arguments (including its implicit agent) appear inside the NP headed by the noun predicate. As in (62), coreference options between the subject of *PROMETRE* and the agent of the event nominal are determined by the pragmatic or discourse context, not by a formal control relationship. The absence of control explains why the event nominal can license an overt agent, as in *l'Eva promet la creació*

d'una comissió per part del professorat ‘Eva promises the creation of a commission by the faculty’.

3.2.2 Verbs that show obligatory control into nominals (*COMENÇAR-* and light *FER*-types)

Unlike the verbs above, verbs that show obligatory control into nominals—the *COMENÇAR-* and light *FER*-types—license an event complement linked to the noun predicate, binding its highest argument in Conceptual Structure. Moreover, *COMENÇAR-* and light *FER*-type verbs optionally license an ‘extra’ Grammatical Function that is linked to an NP in the syntactic tier, but not to any argument in Conceptual Structure (cf. 3.1). As we will see below, the role of this semantically unlinked GF is to license the NP (or the PP) where the event nominal and its arguments are realized syntactically. It is important to note that positing semantically unlinked GFs for these verbs is not an ad-hoc solution, since such GFs are independently needed to handle subject raising (e.g. *John seems to study hard*), structures with dummy subjects (e.g. *it rains*) and raising to object or ECM constructions (e.g. *Sue believes Fred to like Sam*), among others (see Jackendoff and Culicover 2005 for details). Licensing a semantically unlinked GF is thus an important, though not exclusive property of verbs that show obligatory subject control into nominals. In fact, what uniquely characterizes these verbs is that they select (i) an event complement realized as a noun and (ii) an actor that binds the highest argument of the event noun.

Let us start by considering the lexical entry of *COMENÇAR*-type verbs. Like the control variant of *PROMETRE* (as opposed to heavy *PROMETRE*), *COMENÇAR*-type verbs also select an event complement and bind the highest argument of this complement. The difference is that *COMENÇAR*-type verbs subcategorize for both infinitivals (or gerunds, in the case of Catalan and Spanish *CONTINUAR* ‘continue’) **and** nominals. If the event complement is a noun, it belongs to the voluntary action type. If it is an infinitive (or a gerund), the complement belongs to either the actional type (in the case of *ACABAR*, *PROCEDIR (A)* and *DEDICAR-SE (A)*) or the situational type (in the case of *COMENÇAR*, *CONTINUAR*, *PROVAR* and *INTENTAR*, cf. note 20). The corresponding entry is illustrated in (66). This is just like the entry of control *PROMETRE* in (63), but with two

differences. First, the event complement is realized as either an NP or a VP. Second, if the controlled event is realized as a noun, it is linked to the ‘extra’ semantically unlinked Grammatical Function licensed by the control verb (GF₃).

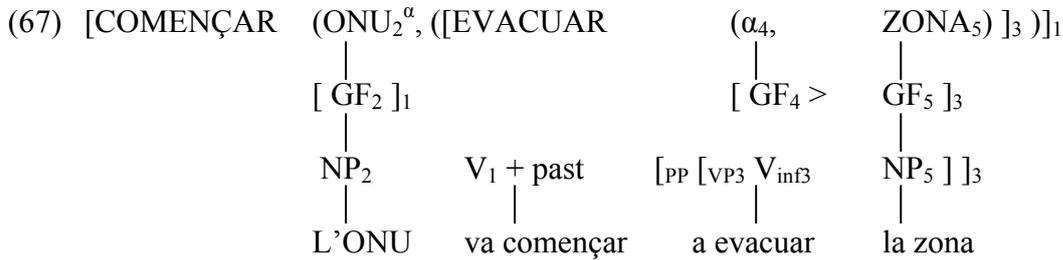
$$(66) \text{ [COMENÇAR (Agent}_2^a, ([\text{Event} \quad (\alpha_4, \dots)]_3)]_1}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \begin{array}{c} | \\ \text{[GF}_2 \\ | \\ \text{NP}_2 \end{array} & > & \begin{array}{c} \text{GF}_3]_1 \\ | \\ \text{[NP}_3 \text{ N}_3\text{]}/[\text{PP}_3 \text{ [VP}_3 \text{ V}_{\text{inf}3}] \end{array} & \begin{array}{c} | \\ \text{[GF}_4]_3 \end{array} \end{array}$$

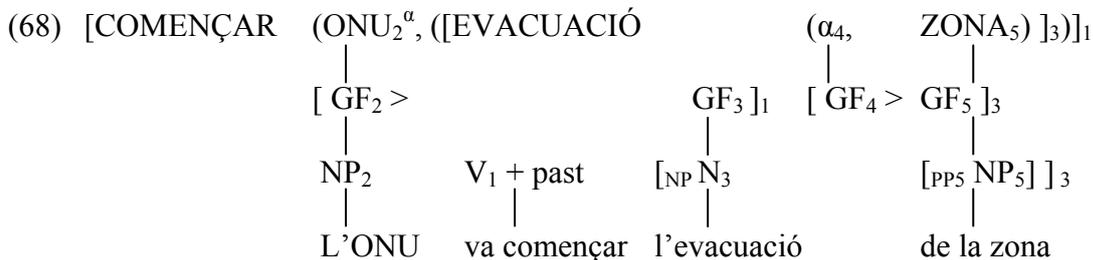
The entry in (66) will differ slightly depending on each specific *COMENÇAR*-type verb. There are two basic parameters of variation. The first one is whether the VP complement is of the actional type (the default option) or the situational type. The second difference involves the exact realization of the event complement. Thus, the lexical entries of *PROCEDIR (A)* and *DEDICAR-SE (A)* specify that their event complement is uniformly realized as an oblique introduced by Romance *A* ‘to’, regardless of its categorial identity (cf. *l’ONU va procedir a evacuar la zona/a l’evacuació de la zona* ‘the UN proceeded to evacuate the area/to an evacuation of the area’). On the other hand, the entries of other *COMENÇAR*-type verbs specify that their event complement is realized either as an oblique (in the case of infinitivals or gerunds, as in *l’ONU va començar a evacuar la zona* ‘the UN began to evacuate the area’) or as a direct object (in the case of nominals, as in *l’ONU va començar l’evacuació de la zona* ‘the UN began the evacuation of the area’). Since the preposition introducing the controlled infinitive or gerund varies with each *COMENÇAR*-type verb (e.g. *a* ‘to’ in the case of Catalan *començar*, and *de* ‘of’ for *acabar*), the entry will also need to specify the exact choice of preposition.

The representation of cases involving controlled infinitivals or gerunds is illustrated in (67), which corresponds to *l’ONU va començar a evacuar la zona* ‘the UN began to evacuate the area’. This representation is just like the control *PROMETRE* structure in (64) above, only that the controlled infinitive is realized as a PP introduced by *a* ‘to’.²²

²² As is well known, infinitival and gerundive constructions with Romance *COMENÇAR* and other control verbs show so-called restructuring, whereby the



The representation of cases with nominals is illustrated in (68), which corresponds to *l'ONU va començar l'evacuació de la zona* 'the UN began the evacuation of the area'. This example is just like (67), with three minor differences. First, the controlled event is linked to an NP headed by the nominal *evacuació* 'evacuation'. Second, this NP is associated with the semantically unlinked Grammatical Function licensed by *COMENÇAR*-type verbs (GF₃). Third, the theme of the event noun (*zona* 'area') is realized as a prepositional complement, rather than as a direct object, since the arguments of Romance nominals—unlike those of verbs—must always be introduced by a preposition (cf. note 19).



Now we can turn to *FER* and the other light verbs discussed in section 2.1.2. Like *COMENÇAR*-type predicates, these light verbs select event complements and bind the highest argument of this complement. There are only four minor differences with respect to the *COMENÇAR* class. First, verbs like light *FER* select only voluntary action complements, rather than

arguments of the embedded infinitive or gerund can also be analyzed as direct syntactic dependents of the control verb (see note 7). In the framework adopted here restructuring would follow from the assumption that the verbs involved optionally license semantically unlinked GFs, so that the arguments of the infinitive or gerund can be realized as their direct syntactic dependents. Since an account of restructuring is not critical to my analysis of subject control into nominals, I do not elaborate this proposal any further.

situations. Second, these actional complements are always realized as nouns, not as infinitivals or gerunds. Third, the event noun of these verbs is uniformly realized as a direct object, rather than as an oblique. Fourth, light verbs have relatively impoverished Conceptual Structures with respect to other predicates, since they are semantically bleached.

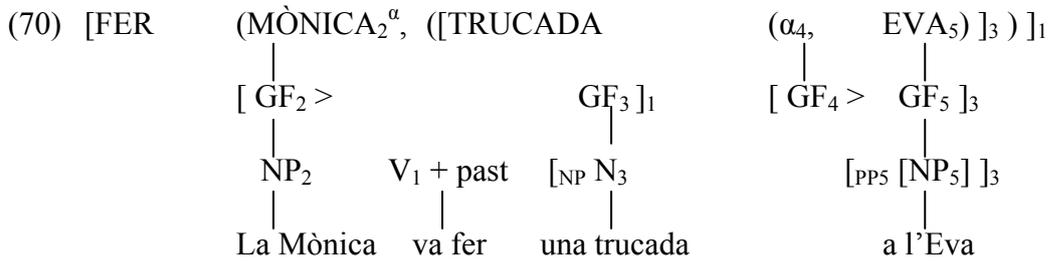
Abstracting away from the different degrees of semantic bleaching found across the verbs studied here, light verbs of the *FER*-type have the general entry shown in (69). These verbs license a ‘bleached-out’ actor, i.e. an animate entity that can (potentially) bring about an event (cf. (38)). What is important is that this actor binds the highest argument of the event complement, just like ‘traditional’ subject control verbs.

$$(69) \text{ [LIGHT VERB (Actor}_2^a, ([\text{Event } (\alpha_4, \dots)]_3)]_1}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} | & & & & | \\ [\text{GF}_2 > & & & & \text{GF}_3]_1 & [\text{GF}_4]_3 \\ | & & & & | \\ \text{NP}_2 & & \text{V}_1 & & [\text{NP N}_3]_3 \end{array}$$

Given the entry in (69), a simple light verb construction like *la Mònica va fer una trucada a l'Eva* ‘Monica gave Eva a call’ would have the representation in (70) (cf. section 4). This representation involves the same control configuration as the *COMENÇAR* structure in (68). The analysis is consistent with recent accounts of certain light verb constructions in Japanese and Romance, where the subject of the light verb binds the highest argument of the event noun in complement position (e.g. Matsumoto 1996; Miyamoto 1999; Alba-Salas 2002; see section 1.1).²³

²³ As we saw in note 12, examples like *La Mònica farà una trucada del Pere a l'Eva* are only possible with the reading of ‘Mònica will make the call to Eva **that Pere should have made/that Pere usually makes**’. Under my analysis, this interpretation corresponds to a control structure where *Mònica* still binds the agent of the noun predicate, just as in (70). The difference is that here the event noun also licenses a possessor adjunct (*Pere*) inside its NP. In (70), this adjunct would be linked to a PP inside NP₃.



The account above differs substantially from Di Sciullo and Rosen's (1990) analysis of *FER* light verb constructions in Romance. Building upon Grimshaw (1990), Di Sciullo and Rosen argue that obligatory subject coreference in *FER* light verb constructions results from the assumption that in these structures the surface subject is actually licensed by the light verb, since the external argument of the noun predicate is lexically suppressed. To account for cases where the nominal licenses its own agent distinct from the matrix subject (e.g. *la Mònica descrivia la trucada de l'Ali a l'Eva* 'Mònica described Ali's call to Eva), we would presumably have to claim that the highest argument of event nominals is lexically suppressed only with certain verbs (the light *FER* and *COMENÇAR* types), but not with others (non-control verbs and *PROMETRE*-type verbs). Such an analysis misses a key generalization captured by my proposal: verbs in the *COMENÇAR* and light *FER* class, unlike *DESCRIURE*- and *PROMETRE*-type verbs, must 'share' the highest argument of the event noun because they involve obligatory subject control into nominals. In my proposal, then, there is no need for construction-specific mechanisms to either guarantee argument-sharing or lexically suppress the highest argument of the noun predicate.

The analysis above also differs from Jackendoff and Culicover's (2005) account of light verb constructions. Building upon Jun (2003; cited in 2005: 223), Jackendoff and Culicover claim that in light verb constructions like English *take a walk* the Conceptual Structure of the event nominal, instead of serving as a semantic argument of the light verb, is unified with the CS of the verb as a whole. The composite CS has an argument structure that reflects the common arguments of the verb and the nominal, allowing for the possibility that the nominal may also license extra material not present in the light verb. According to Jackendoff and Culicover, light verbs license no meaning of their own—they license only syntax and phonology. Their sole role in the semantics is to "provide a

frame that can be aligned with the meaning of the nominal, so that the syntactic argument structures of the nominal and the light verb can be pooled to form a common semantic structure” (2005: 224–225). As Jackendoff and Culicover note, this unification analysis must assume that light verbs are semantically vacuous because if the light verb contributed any semantic content to the light verb construction, the unified CS would have segments mapped simultaneously to two lexical items. This situation would violate a lexicalization constraint requiring that, given a CS to be expressed, every segment of it must be licensed by exactly one lexical item.

The unification analysis proposed by Jackendoff and Culicover seems appropriate for light verbs that are in fact semantically vacuous, as is the case, for example, of Romance *TENIR* ‘have’ in cases like *l’Eva té por* ‘Eva has fear/is afraid’ (cf. Mirto 1990; Alba-Salas 2002). However, the assumption that light verbs necessarily license no meaning of their own contradicts the observation that light verbs fall in a continuum of semantic defectiveness, with some verbs being capable of imposing certain semantic restrictions (Kearns 1989; Di Sciullo & Rosen 1990; Pelletier 1990; Kim 1994; Butt 1995; Matsumoto 1996; Miyamoto 1999; Alonso Ramos 1998; Alba-Salas 2002). For example, as Alonso Ramos (1998; 2004) shows, light verbs like Spanish *gozar (de)* ‘enjoy’ can only combine with nominals designating positive states, as in *gozar de buena salud/mucha popularidad* ‘enjoy good health/a lot of popularity’, cf. **gozar de mala salud/odio* lit. ‘enjoy bad health/hatred’. Conversely, the light verb *cometer* ‘commit’, which has a clearly negative denotation, only accepts nouns designating errors (e.g. *equivocación* ‘mistake’), crimes (e.g. *robo* ‘theft’), bad deeds (e.g. *pecado* ‘sin’) or certain infelicitous actions (e.g. *desliz* ‘faux-pas’), but not nouns designating positive events, such as **cometer un acierto/milagro/matrimonio* lit. ‘commit a good decision/miracle/marriage’ (examples from Alonso Ramos 1998: 177–179). A similar situation is found with the light verbs considered here. For example, whereas Italian *effettuare* ‘do’, Spanish *realizar* ‘carry out’ and Catalan *plantar* ‘give’ require truly agentive subjects, the subject of light *FER* is potentially agentive, though not always interpreted as bringing about a voluntary action (cf. Italian *fare/*effettuare una caduta* ‘fall’, see section 2.1.2). Unlike Jackendoff and Culicover’s proposal, my analysis recognizes different degrees of semantic defectiveness in light verbs, but it does not critically hinge on the assumption that such verbs must be devoid of any lexical meaning.

4. The double analysis of prepositional complements

As we saw in section 1.2, one of the puzzles posed by Romance structures with event nouns involves the syntactic status of certain prepositional complements. The phenomenon was first noted by linguists working on French light verb constructions (Gross 1976; Giry-Schneider 1978a; 1978b; 1987), and it is known in the literature as the *double analyse* or double analysis.

The *double analyse* is typically found in light verb constructions like (71).

- (71) a. La Mònica i l'Ester (li) van fer una trucada a l'Eva.
 the Mònica and the-Ester to-her PST make a call to the-Eva
 'Mònica and Ester gave Eva a call.'
 b. L'Eva va fer un parell de viatges a Austràlia.
 the-Eva PST make a couple of trips to/in Australia
 'Eva took a couple of trips to/in Australia.'
 c. L'Eva va fer/realitzar una investigació sobre/de l'incident.
 the-Eva PST make/conduct an investigation about/of the-incident
 'Eva did/conducted an investigation about/of the incident.'

As (72) illustrates, in these light verb constructions we can cliticize the entire *event noun + prepositional complement* sequence (a), the event noun without the prepositional complement (b), or the prepositional complement alone (c). These options indicate that the prepositional complement can be analyzed either as being inside the NP headed by the event noun (73) or as a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb (74).²⁴

- (72) a. [Aquella trucada a l'Eva] la van fer la Mònica i l'Ester.
 that call to the-Eva it PST make the Mònica and the-Ester
 lit. 'That call to Eva Mònica and Ester made it.'

²⁴ Besides pronominalization, another test for the *double analyse* that has been traditionally used in the literature is movement or clefting (e.g. *És [a l'Eva] que la Mònica va fer una trucada* 'it is [Eva] who Mònica gave a call'). However, as Alba-Salas (2002) shows, clefting is not a reliable diagnostic. The same is true of cliticization with *en/ne* 'of it' in Catalan and Italian. In fact, only pronominalization with direct and indirect object clitics and (in the case of Catalan and Italian) adverbial *hi/ci* 'there' are reliable tests.

- b. [Aquella trucada] la van fer [a l'Eva], no al Pere.
 that call it PST made to the-Eva not to-thePere
 'That call they made to Eva, not to Pere.'
- c. [A l'Eva] li van fer [aquella trucada] sense avisar-la
 to the-Eva to-her PST make that call without warn-her
- abans.
 before
 'They gave Eva that call without warning her beforehand.'

(73) La Mònica i l'Ester van fer [NP aquella trucada [a l'Eva]].

(74) La Mònica i l'Ester van fer [NP aquella trucada] a l'Eva.

Unlike these light verb constructions, heavy verb structures such as (75) lack a *double analyse*. In fact, here we can only pronominalize the event noun and the prepositional complement as a single constituent. The prepositional complement, then, is not a direct syntactic dependent of the verb.²⁵

²⁵ As Bach and Horn (1976) first noted, a few heavy verb constructions do show a double analysis. This possibility is illustrated in (i), based on Bach and Horn (1976: 283). As (ii) shows, here we can pronominalize *his first five books* alone (a) or together with *about Nixon* (b). Thus, (i) can have two analyses: one where *about Nixon* is a direct syntactic dependent of *write*; and another one where the prepositional complement is inside the NP headed by *books*. As Bach and Horn also note, the two structures are associated with different interpretations, due to a quantifier scope ambiguity. In (iia), where *about Nixon* is not under the scope of the quantifier, we are talking about the first five books that John ever wrote, which happened to be all about Nixon. By contrast, in (iib), where the quantifier has scope over the entire NP *books about Nixon*, we are talking about the first five books about Nixon that John wrote, even if they were his sixteenth through twentieth books. As (iii) illustrates, this syntactic and semantic ambiguity is not found with most other heavy verbs (example from Bach & Horn 1976: 282).

- (i) John wrote his first five books about Nixon.
 (ii) a. John wrote **them** [about Nixon].
 b. John wrote **them**.
 (iii) a. John destroyed his first five books about Nixon.
 b. *John destroyed **them** [about Nixon].
 c. John destroyed **them**.

The semantic ambiguity that Bach and Horn noted in the case of *write* is also found in light verb constructions with a *double analyse*. In (iv), for example, we could be talking

- (75) a. [Aquella trucada a l'Eva] la Mònica no **la** recordava.
 that call to the-Eva the Mònica not it remembered
 'That call to Eva Mònica didn't remember.'
- b. *[Aquella trucada] la Mònica no **la** recordava [a l'Eva].
 that call the Mònica not it remembered to the-Eva
 lit. 'That call, Mònica didn't remember it to Eva.'
- c. *[A l'Eva] la Mònica no **li** recordava [aquella trucada].
 to the-Eva the Mònica not to-her remembered that call
 lit. 'To Eva Mònica didn't remember that call.' [impossible with intended meaning)

Structures where *COMENÇAR*- and *PROMETRE*-type verbs combine with event nouns also lack a *double analyse* (76), even though, as we have repeatedly noted, many of these control verbs show restructuring with infinitivals or gerunds (cf. notes 7 and 22).

- (76) a. [Aquella trucada a l'Eva] **la** va començar a les vuit.
 that call to the-Eva it PST began at the eight
 'That call to Eva she began at eight o'clock.'
- b. *[Aquella trucada] **la** va començar [a l'Eva].
 that call it PST begin to the-Eva
 lit. 'That call, she began it to Eva.'
- c. *[A l'Eva] **li** va començar [aquella trucada].
 to the-Eva to-her PST begin that call
 lit. 'To Eva she began that call to her.'

In Catalan and Italian the lack of a *double analyse* with *COMENÇAR*- and *PROMETRE*-type verbs is also corroborated by adverbial cliticization. Consider the example in (77). Here the complement *a Angola* 'in/to Angola' is ambiguous: it can be a locative licensed by *començar* (\approx 'the army began an evacuation of the wounded, and they began it in Angola') or

about the first five trips that Mònica ever took, which happened to be all to Australia (ivb) or the first five trips to Australia that Mònica took, even if there might have been other previous trips elsewhere (ivc). My claim is that the ambiguity found with heavy verbs like *write* stems from the same factors that account for the *double analyse* in light verb constructions (see below for an account).

- (iv) a. La Mònica va fer els seus cinc primer viatges a Austràlia.
 'Mònica took her first five trips to/in Australia.'
- b. La Mònica va fer [els seus cinc primer viatges] [a Austràlia].
- c. La Mònica va fer [els seus cinc primer viatges a Austràlia].

a directional licensed by *evacuació* ‘evacuation’ (\approx ‘the army began an evacuation of the wounded, who were evacuated to Angola’).²⁶ As (78) shows, when we pronominalize *a Angola* with the adverbial clitic *hi* ‘there’, we only have the locative reading. The structure lacks a directional reading because *hi* can only target the direct syntactic dependent of a verb, and the directional complement licensed by *evacuació* is inside the NP headed by the event noun. This situation contrasts with what we find in constructions like (79), where the control verb takes an infinitival, rather than a nominal, complement. As we can see, (79)—unlike (78)—is still ambiguous between a directional and a locational reading. The ambiguity confirms that in the infinitival construction, contrary to what we saw in (78), *a Angola* can be analyzed as a direct syntactic dependent of either the infinitive or the control verb—a defining property of restructuring.

(77) L’ONU començà l’evacuació dels ferits a Angola.
 the-UN began the-evacuation of-the wounded to/in Angola
 ‘The UN began the evacuation of the wounded **to/in** Angola.’

(78) L’ONU **hi** començà l’evacuació dels ferits.
 the-UN there began the-evacuation of-the wounded
 ‘The UN began the evacuation of the wounded there [= **in**/***to** Angola].’

(79) L’ONU **hi** començà a evacuar els ferits.
 the-UN there began to evacuate the wounded
 ‘The UN began to evacuate the wounded there [= **in/to** Angola].’

Although light verb constructions typically show a *double analyse*, not all of them do. In fact, certain prepositional complements in these structures cannot be analyzed as direct syntactic dependents of the light verb. For example, in (80) the complement specifying the amount of the payment (*de 300 euros* ‘of 300 euros’) can only be analyzed as being inside the maximal projection of the event noun. By contrast, the other prepositional

²⁶ The ambiguity is due to the polysemy of the preposition *a* in Catalan, which is both directional (‘to’) and locative (‘in/at’). The example in (77) also has a third interpretation where *a Angola* is a locative licensed by the event noun, roughly paraphraseable as ‘the army began an evacuation of the wounded—an evacuation that took place in Angola’. I am ignoring this third option for simplicity.

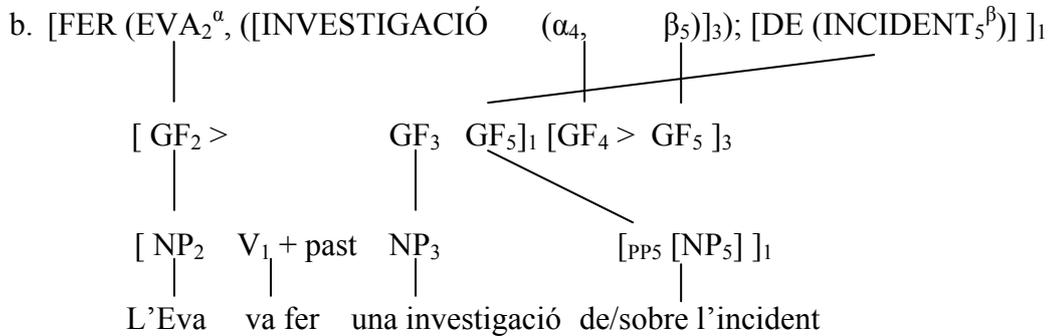
complement (the dative *a l'Enric* 'to Enric') shows a double analysis. This contrast is evidenced by the pronominalization facts in (81).²⁷

- (80) L'Eva va fer un pagament de 300 euros a l'Enric.
 the-Eva PST make a payment of 300 euros to the-Enric
 'Eva made a payment of 300 euros to Enric.'
- (81) a. [Aquell pagament de 300 euros a l'Enric] **el** va fer l'Eva.
 that payment of 300 euros to the-Enric it PST make the-Eva
 'That payment of 300 euros to Enric Eva made.'
- b. [Aquell pagament de 300 euros] **l'hi** va fer [a l'Enric].
 that payment of 300 euros it-to-him PST make to the-Enric
 lit. 'That payment of 300 euros she made to Enric.'
- c. *[Aquell pagament a l'Enric] **el** va fer [de 300 euros].
 that payment to the-Enric it PST make of 300 euros
 lit. 'That payment to Enric she made of 300 euros.'
- d. *[Aquell pagament] **el** va fer [de 300 euros] [a l'Enric].
 that payment it PST make of 300 euros to the-Enric
 lit. 'That payment she made of 300 euros to Enric.'

We can account for the *double analyse* if we assume that the prepositional complement(s) showing this structural ambiguity can be licensed either by the event noun (in which case the complement appears inside its NP projection) or by the verb itself (in which case it is a direct syntactic dependent of this verb). Unlike restructuring, then, the *double analyse* is an illusion. In fact, the semantic arguments of the event noun always appear inside its maximal projection, as represented in (70) above. The representation where the prepositional complement is a direct dependent of the verb is shown in (82).

²⁷ I thank an anonymous reviewer for providing example (80) and suggesting the gist of the analysis developed below. The formal implementation of the analysis and all comparisons with other proposals reflect my own contributions.

- (82) a. L'Eva va fer [una investigació] [de/sobre l'incident]. [cf. (71c)]
 'Eva did an investigation of/about the incident.'



In (82) *de/sobre l'incident* 'of/about the incident' is an adjunct licensed by the light verb at CS. This 'about' complement is a semantic modifier of the event designated by the light verb, i.e. 'the event of *x* (Eva) bringing about action *y* (an investigation)'. The 'about' complement is interpreted as being coreferential with the unspecified theme argument of the event noun (the object of the investigation) through variable binding. The claim is that at CS the event noun *investigació* 'investigation' licenses an unspecified theme as a variable (β_5) bound by the 'about' complement of light *FER*. Again, this claim capitalizes on the assumption that all the arguments of nominals, unlike those of verbs, are semantically obligatory but syntactically optional, so the unspecified theme of *investigació* is present at the level of CS but is not linked to the syntactic tier (see 3.1).

The same analysis applies to other types of prepositional complements found in light verb constructions, including directional or locative complements like *l'Eva va fer un viatge a Austràlia* 'Eva took a trip **to/in Austràlia**' and goals or benefactives such as *la Mònica va fer una trucada a l'Eva* 'Mònica gave **Eva** a call', among others. As in the case of 'about' adjuncts, such complements can be licensed by the light verb because they are semantically compatible with the general event designated by this verb.

This proposal explains why in examples like *l'Eva va fer un pagament de 300 euros a l'Enric* 'Eva made a payment of 300 euros to Enric' in (80) only the dative complement *a l'Enric* 'to Enric', but not *de 300 euros* 'of 300 euros', is subject to a *double analyse*, cf. (81). The contrast stems from the fact that whereas the dative can be licensed by either the event noun or the light verb, the amount associated with the financial transaction designated by *pagament* 'payment' can only be a

semantic argument of this nominal. In fact, *de 300 euros* cannot be licensed by light *FER* because the very general event designated by the light verb is semantically incompatible with such a modifier (whereas we can *bring about an action somewhere, about something* or *for someone's benefit*, we cannot *#bring about an action of a certain amount of money*).²⁸

My proposal differs from other accounts of the *double analyse*, where the prepositional complement is a semantic argument of the event noun even when it behaves as a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb (Mirto 1986; Alba-Salas 2002; 2004; cf. Abeillé 1988). In Mirto's (1986)

²⁸ For simplicity, the discussion above assumes that when the prepositional complement is a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb, it is formally licensed by this verb directly. However, my proposal is also compatible with other options. For example, the dative complement in *la Mònica va fer una trucada a l'Eva* 'Mònica gave Eva a call' could be licensed by a special Construction in the technical sense proposed by Goldberg (1995) (for clarity, I use a capital *C* to refer to this specialized use of the term *construction*). Specifically, this complement could be licensed by the same purpose Construction that Jackendoff (1990), Goldberg (1995), and Jackendoff and Culicover (2005) posit for cases such as *John baked a cake/fixed a drink for Bill*. As these linguists note, verbs such as *bake* and *fix* differ from true ditransitives like *give* and *send* in that they do not select three arguments (for example, whereas one cannot give something without giving it to someone, one can bake something without the inherent intent of doing it for someone else's benefit). According to Goldberg, Jackendoff and Culicover, *bake* and *fix* are inherently two-argument verbs, so their indirect objects are not their semantic arguments. Instead, their datives are semantic constituents of a conventionalized purpose modifier that could be informally stated as 'with the purpose of *x* (e.g. the cake) benefiting NP' (in the case of *for*-datives) or 'with the purpose of NP receiving *x* (e.g. the ball)' (in the case of *to*-datives). These constituents are installed in indirect object position by a special VP Construction that is sensitive to the semantics of the verb. Building upon this analysis, we could claim that the indirect object of *FER* and other light verbs that are not inherently ditransitive (e.g. Catalan *realitzar* 'do' and Spanish *efectuar* 'carry out') are licensed by a purpose (*to*-dative) Construction. Under this proposal, the *double analyse* of examples like *la Mònica va fer una trucada a l'Eva* would stem from the fact that the dative complement can be licensed by the event noun (in which case it appears inside the NP headed by the noun) or by the purpose Construction (in which case it is a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb). Nothing in my analysis critically hinges on the precise mechanism(s) licensing these dative complements and other *double analyse* complements as direct syntactic dependents of the light verb. What matters here is that, regardless of whether they are licensed by a special Construction or by the light verb directly, when these complements can be analyzed as direct syntactic dependents of the verb, they are not semantic arguments of the event noun.

Relational Grammar (RG) account, the two structures associated with the *double analyse* derive from a single underlying representation where the event nominal and its prepositional complement appear inside an embedded clause. If no special syntactic process applies, the sentence shows the same surface constituent structure. The representations where the event noun and its complement are each direct dependents of the light verb are derived via one of two alternative mechanisms that split the *noun + complement* sequence into two separate constituents. One option is for the event noun alone to be raised into the matrix clause, leaving the complement inside the complex NP. The other option involves Clause Union, which collapses the originally biclausal structure into a single clause, so that both the event noun and its complement become direct syntactic dependents of the light verb. This proposal does not explain what motivates Raising and Clause Union in the first place, so it must rely on ad-hoc stipulations to explain why some structures, but not others, show a *double analyse* (Alba-Salas 2002). More importantly, the proposal does not explain why in cases like *l'Eva va fer un pagament de 300 euros a l'Enric* 'Eva made a payment of 300 euros to Enric' in (80) only one of the prepositional complements can be analyzed as a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb.

Similar limitations are found in Alba-Salas (2002; 2004)—an analysis that is also articulated within RG. According to Alba-Salas (2002; 2004), the *double analyse* arises from lexical properties of the light verb. Specifically, it arises because *FER* and similar light verbs have two variants: as subject control verbs, and as serializers. Both variants license the same array of arguments: a semantically bleached agent and an event linked to its nominal complement. The control variant maps the event onto an embedded clause headed by the event nominal and requires its subject to bind the subject of the noun predicate. By contrast, the serial variant maps the event onto a 'bare' predicate (the event nominal), and it inherits all the arguments of this inner predicate, including its subject. Because of the two subcategorization options, structures with light *FER* can be either biclausal or monoclausal. The biclausal structure involves subject control. Here the prepositional complement appears inside the embedded clause headed by the event noun. By contrast, the monoclausal structure involves serialization in Rosen's (1997) sense, so the verb and the event noun 'stack up' one after another under a single clause node. Here the prepositional complement is a direct syntactic dependent of the light verb. According to

Alba-Salas (2002; 2004), light verb constructions that lack a *double analyse* only have a subject control representation. The absence of a monoclausal structure follows from the assumption that the event nouns found in these light verb constructions select only control *FER*, but not its serial variant. The claim is that action nouns in Romance select both control and serial *FER* by default (hence the *double analyse*), but that certain nouns select only the control variant, so their prepositional complement must remain inside their maximal projection. This proposal has two limitations. The first one stems from the assumption that different event nouns select different variants of light *FER*. It is true that in light verb constructions the event noun seems to lexically select the light verb that combines with it (La Fauci 1980; Abeillé 1988; Danlos 1992; Gross 1996; Alonso Ramos 1998; 2004; Štichauer 2000; Alba-Salas 2002).²⁹ The problem is that the two putative variants of light *FER* differ in their subcategorization frame, but not in their semantic properties. Since there is no semantic contrast, we have no independent evidence to verify the claim that different nouns select one variant or the other. In fact, the distinction between both variants must be predicated on the basis of the presence or absence of a *double analyse*—the very empirical contrast that such a distinction is meant to explain. Hence, the account is circular. The second, more important limitation is that this account, like Mirto's, does not explain why in light verb constructions such as (80) only the dative complement, but not the other prepositional phrase, shows a *double analyse*. Again, the problem is that the proposal predicts that **all** the prepositional complements found in light verb constructions must either appear inside the maximal projection of the event noun or be direct dependents of the light verb.

5. Conclusions

This paper has focused on Romance structures involving a verb and an event noun in complement position. The analysis has addressed three

²⁹ This claim is corroborated by the fact that (i) the choice of verb may vary across languages, (ii) *light verb* + *event noun* combinations can vary diachronically within the same language, and (iii) at any synchronic stage of the language state nouns that are close in meaning and aspectual properties may combine with different verbs (see Alonso Ramos 1998; 2004; Alba-Salas 2002, among others).

puzzles posed by such structures. The first puzzle is why the agent of the event noun is obligatorily coreferential with the subject of verbs like *COMENÇAR* ‘begin’ and light *FER* ‘do/make’, but not of verbs like *PROMETRE* ‘promise’ and *DESCRIURE* ‘describe’. The answer is that verbs like *COMENÇAR* and light *FER*, but not verbs like *DESCRIURE* and *PROMETRE*, show obligatory subject control into nominals, on a par with control into infinitivals and gerunds. The second puzzle is why verbs like *PROMETRE* show obligatory subject coreference with infinitives or gerunds, but not with event nominals. The solution is that *PROMETRE*-type verbs come in two variants: as control verbs that subcategorize for infinitival or gerundive complements, and as ordinary (i.e. non-control) verbs that combine with nominals. Finally, the third puzzle is why the prepositional complement in some of these *verb + event noun* structures can be analyzed as either appearing inside the NP headed by the event noun or as a direct syntactic dependent of the verb. The answer is that this double analysis arises because the complement can be licensed either by the event noun (in which case it appears inside the NP headed by the nominal) or by the verb itself (in which case the complement is a direct syntactic dependent of this verb).

According to my analysis, Romance verbs that show obligatory subject control into nominals—just like ‘traditional’ control verbs—select an event complement linked to the noun predicate in complement position, binding the highest argument of the nominal at the level of Conceptual Structure. By contrast, verbs that do not show obligatory control (including the non-control variant of *PROMETRE*-type predicates) are ordinary heavy verbs that assign a theme role to their noun complement and do not bind the highest argument of this nominal. The coreference options found with these verbs follow from pragmatic or discourse factors (i.e. the availability of antecedents in the surrounding context), not from a formal control relationship.

Following Jackendoff and Culicover (2003; 2005), my proposal has emphasized the role of lexical semantics in control patterns. The cases discussed here—including structures with both nominals and infinitivals or gerunds—are consistent with Jackendoff and Culicover’s claim that predicates selecting voluntary action complements show obligatory control, but that certain verbs selecting situational complements can also show obligatory control. Capitalizing on this claim, I have proposed positing a

general lexical principle that automatically identifies verbs selecting voluntary action complements as involving obligatory control, leaving lexical marking only for verbs that deviate from this default pattern.

All in all, the analysis developed here suggests that verbs showing obligatory subject control differ in two important respects. Semantically, they differ as to whether they license a controlled event of the actional or the situational type. Syntactically, the difference is whether the control verb selects for an infinitive or gerund (in the case of the *PROMETRE* class), a nominal (in the case of light verbs), or both (in the case of *COMENÇAR*-type verbs). Aside from this categorial contrast, subject control into nominals is not essentially different from control into infinitivals or gerunds.

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**Gender-specific Features in Lithuanian Parliamentary
Discourse: An Interdisciplinary Sociolinguistic and Corpus-
based Study**

Abstract

The article tackles the questions of whether the general public agrees to the existence of gender-specific linguistic differences in political discourse, what language use is considered by the general public as gender-specific, and whether the methods of corpus linguistics support the indicated differences. Two theoretical and methodological frameworks are used in the study: the framework of a sociolinguistic inquiry and the framework of corpus linguistics. For the sociolinguistic inquiry a questionnaire was prepared and distributed among university students, the current respondents. In the context of corpus linguistics, answers by the respondents were checked quantitatively in two separate corpora of parliamentary debates. The sociolinguistic inquiry has revealed that the majority of the respondents believe that there are differences in the way male and female politicians speak. Nevertheless, when asked to indicate the gender of the politicians from the extracts of their discourse, the respondents have been unsuccessful in more cases than they have succeeded in completing the task. The corpus-based analysis supported some of the respondents' expectations as to the gender-specific language use in political communications and refuted the others. It has shown that the gender-related language variation in political communication does not follow a dichotomous pattern.

1. Introduction

It has been commonly observed in the literature on language and gender that the general public has certain preconceptions of how men and women typically speak or should typically speak. This possibly subconscious stereotypical differentiation is most deeply rooted in the social spheres where traditionally one gender used to prevail or might still prevail over the other. For instance, politics, legal practice, science and academia can be named as traditional male domains, while household work and childcare are traditionally regarded as a woman's realm. Consequently, since the inception of contemporary scholarship in language and gender in the 1970s,

analysts have been intensively engaged in the research on the interconnection between gender and the use of language in the private and in the public domains.

At the end of the 20th century one important social change, namely women's successful integration into the labor market and their growing numbers in authoritative positions, took place, blurring the gender-based patriarchal division of social spheres (see Martín-Rojo 1997; Cameron 1998b). In spite of that, as revealed by Wodak (2005), male dominance of the public persists in more subtle forms. For instance, the general increase of women's participation in the European political institutions does not entail their better representation at the top level: while women constitute nearly half of the employees at the European Commission, in the year 2000 only 5.9% of them assumed the highest positions (Wodak 2005: 98). Moreover, the stereotypes alluding to the different compatibility of men and women with public careers are still widely spread (Cameron 2003; Holmes 2005; Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Lakoff 2000; Lakoff 2003; Shaw 2000; Talbot 2003; Thimm et al. 2003; Walsh 2001; Wodak 2003, 2005). For instance, Walsh (2001) observes that a significant increase of female Labour MPs after the 1997 general election in Britain was accompanied by the media's stereotypic description – 'Blair's babes'. Cameron goes further to suggest that stereotypes not only remain forceful and in most cases empirically unsupported, but can also "become self-fulfilling prophecies" (2003: 463) subconsciously steering people towards a stereotypic behavior. In professional communication, as Thimm et al. remark, gender-related social attitudes and possible stereotyping can have a negative influence on the professionals' "beliefs of self-efficacy" and, as a result, on their professional development and success (2003: 529).

We view reasoning along stereotypic lines as one of the major hindrances to *tolerance* in professional communication, which is among the top virtues in the era of expanding globalization. From a sociolinguistic perspective, increasing social tolerance and mutual understanding can be achieved by dealing with language-related ignorance and prejudice (Janicki 1990; 1999; cf. Bayley 2004; Van Dijk 2002). An attempt at increasing social tolerance and at dealing with the possible language-related stereotyping of gender in political communication is the general aim of the present study. The more specific aims include the investigation of how the general public views the relation between politicians' gender and their

linguistic practices and the investigation if these views of the general public are supported by the corpus linguistic analysis of parliamentary discourse. In order to achieve the indicated aims, the present study is built on two theoretical and methodological frameworks including the framework of a sociolinguistic inquiry and the framework of corpus linguistics. With respect to the sociolinguistic inquiry, the data are obtained with the use of questionnaires distributed among university students, the respondents of the present study. With respect to the corpus linguistics analysis, the data are obtained from the official transcripts of the proceedings of the Lithuanian Parliament.

2. Theoretical considerations on gender and discourse analysis

2.1 From a twofold to a multifaceted understanding of gender

The early interest in gender-specific language use evolved from the feminist discontent with women's discrimination in professional and political careers in the 1970s. Under the influence of the feminist fight against gender-related societal inadequacy, the category of gender was largely geared into the simplified *us* vs. *them* and *private* vs. *public* dichotomies, with *us* i.e. women, being put in the position of the *silent* and the *silenced* in "society's most valued linguistic registers" of politics, law and science (Cameron 1998a: 3) and *them*, i.e. men, holding the position of the dominant gender. In the discipline of gender and discourse analysis, this dichotomous reasoning was firstly, and perhaps unintentionally, promoted in Lakoff's seminal study *Language and Woman's place* (1975). It is by drawing this simplified and over-generalized link between women's linguistic inadequacy and their social inferiority that Lakoff embarked upon her study claiming women to be "systematically denied access to power, on the grounds that they are not capable of holding it as demonstrated by their linguistic behavior" (1975: 7). In her study, Lakoff proposed a theory of a separate women's language with distinctive features at various levels of the language system including vocabulary (e.g., the allegedly female adjectives like *beige* or *lavender*), syntax (e.g., a high proportion of tag questions) and prosodic arrangement (e.g., the use of interrogative intonation in a statement). According to Lakoff, the linguistic features typical of women's

language show women to be overly polite, hesitant and lacking self-confidence. Moreover, as Lakoff also maintained, these features reflect the different expectations of the general public about feminine and masculine interactional styles, starting with the acceptance of “showing temper” by “little boys” and with the anticipation of “docility and resignation” from “little girls” (Lakoff 1975: 11).

Based on exclusively introspective methodology, Lakoff’s study triggered some sharp criticism for promoting speculative findings and for placing women’s language in the inferior position (see Talbot 2003). At the same time, however, her speculative data served well to inflict a strong eagerness among the scholars in the discipline to test her findings empirically. This eagerness was realized in the successive approaches of *dominance* and *difference*. The former approach argued that the gender-differentiated discourse resulted from men’s social domination as it is evidenced by the findings of men’s more frequent use of interruptions and overlapping in the cross-gender dyadic interaction (see Zimmerman and West 1975). The latter approach aimed to show that gender-specific linguistic differences should be treated as a cultural rather than a power-based variation into which boys and girls are directed through their different upbringing (see Tannen 1990, 1994). Despite some scholarly input, the *dominance* and *difference* approaches continued with the understanding of gender as a static twofold attribute and in doing so reiterated the flaws of over-generalization and dichotomizing initiated by Lakoff. As a remedy, the currently in progress *performance* approach has introduced important transformations in conceptualizing gender identity. Instead of being treated as a fixed attribute, gender is now regarded as a diverse interactional property, as a feature liable to change, as a category of “ongoing social processes” (Johnson 1997: 22) and in general as “doing” rather than “being” (Coates 1998: 295; cf. McIlvenny 2002; Thorne 2002). Simultaneously, the *performance* approach is a move from a twofold framework of femininity vs. masculinity to the plurality of various femininities and masculinities with a broad inner diversity as highlighted in the following observation by Coates:

“the ‘me’ that changes a baby’s nappy or mashes a banana for a toddler is a different ‘me’ from the one who participates in a committee meeting or who poses as life model at the local art school” (1998: 295).

As long as the various femininities and masculinities are, among other ways, achievable and expressible through linguistic means, in order to study the difference that gender makes in the use of language, one has to “think practically and look locally” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998: 486; cf. McElhinny 2003). That is to say, the men and women whose discourse is under scrutiny need to be associated by some common properties of their social life like a similar occupation, education or social background, but, most importantly, they need to be integrated through shared activities. Such shared activities, or “mutual engagement in some common endeavor” make people belong to the same *community of practice*, as, for instance, “people working together in a factory, regulars in a bar, a neighborhood play group, a nuclear family, police partners and their ethnographer, the Supreme Court”, etc. (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998: 490, cf. 2003). In accordance with these guidelines, the present study analyzes the discourse of Lithuanian male and female MPs where the Parliament operates as a *community of practice* with a parliamentary session as an arena for mutual engagement and shared activities.

2.2 From stereotypes to the actual language use in professional communication

The increasing gender competition in public domains has promoted a fast-growing investigation of gender in professional communication (Holmes 2005; Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Martín-Rojo and Gómez Esteban 2005; Thimm et al. 2003; Wodak 2003, 2005). The aims of this investigation have been strongly influenced by two closely interrelated hypotheses. The first one called by Thimm et al. (2003: 531) as the “sex-dialect hypothesis” assumes that the gender-specific language use actually exists and that these existing differences determine the judgments about how men and women speak. In the second one, which is called “the sex-stereotype hypothesis” (ibid), the existence of the actual gender-specific language use is thought as not at all necessary to decide that men and women speak differently. In that second case, thus, the assumptions of gender-specific language use could be seen as linguistic prejudice and stereotypic expectations.

In testing the two hypotheses, i.e. the extent to which the expectations of the general public are based on linguistic evidence, the scholars start with pointing out what characteristics of female or male interactional styles

these expectations traditionally entail. In doing so, the scholars primarily refer to the dichotomous features of gender-specific interactional styles from the *dominance* and the *difference* approaches. For instance, Holmes and Stubbe propose the following classification of what they call *the widely cited features* of male and female interactional styles:

Feminine	Masculine
indirect	direct
conciliatory	confrontational
facilitative	competitive
collaborative	autonomous
minor contribution (in public)	dominates (public) talking time
supportive feedback	aggressive interruptions
person/process oriented	task/outcome-oriented
affectively oriented	referentially oriented

(Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 574)

For Holmes and Stubbe, these features might not be empirically true but are still important inasmuch as they reflect what “people typically have in mind” when speaking about gender-specific interactional styles (2003: 575). With respect to professional communication, Holmes and Stubbe also add small talk, digression from agenda and a rare use of humor as purportedly more feminine although not supported by their own research. In Tannen (1994), one finds a general tendency of overdoing apologies and thanks as a marker of a female style with teasing and mocking more related to men’s use. Finally, Mills highlights politeness as a traditionally assumed “gendered, classed and raced” linguistic phenomenon, which has even been turned into “a signature of middle class white femininity” (Mills 2002: 73; cf. Mills 2003; Tannen 1990, 1994).

Largely following the two hypotheses above, Thimm et al. (2003) carry out a study of the verbal strategies of *competence*, *cooperation* and *conflict* among male and female professionals including kindergarten teachers, journalists, computer consultants and other occupations. In the first half of their sociolinguistic investigation, Thimm et al. examine the expectations that their participants see as associated with gender in professional communication. In their analysis, the strategies of *competence*

and *cooperation* are seen as used with much of similarity in the discourse of male and female professionals, whereas the strategy of *conflict* management is marked by a more significant gender-related variation. Among female professionals the strategies of being ‘cooperative’ (25%) and especially ‘avoiding confrontation’ (35%) are regarded as the preferred ways of *conflict* management (Thimm et al. 2003: 535). Meanwhile, ‘problem solving’ (32%) and ‘aggression’ (32%) are indicated as the primary choice among men in professional communication (2003: 536). Nevertheless, the quantitative differences among these *conflict* strategies are not very large so that ‘problem solving’ also scores high in female use (22%) as well as being ‘cooperative’ and ‘avoiding confrontation’ (12%) in male use. Similar results are reached after examining how the participants actually use some of the traditionally gender-specific linguistic categories such as ‘hedges’, ‘intensifiers’, ‘softeners’, etc. (Thimm et al. 2003: 537). Among the findings there are such results as a higher frequency of indirect requests in the female discourse and the more frequent use of various softeners and forms of politeness among their male participants. Given that these interactional features are traditionally associated with a female use, the former finding could be seen as somewhat ‘expected’ with the latter accurately described by Thimm et al. as “a clear, but unexpected, result” (2003: 540). Consequently, the attitudes of the participants as well as the empirical analysis of their actual language use concur to some extent with the traditional beliefs about male and female interactional styles but, importantly, do not cluster into a dichotomous pattern.

Along the lines set by Thimm et al. (2003), in the present study we, firstly, examine the attitudes of the respondents, as representatives of the general public, about how men and women use language in political communication. We further proceed with the investigation of the actual language use by Lithuanian male and female parliamentarians to explore if the expectations of the respondents receive any linguistic support.

With these observations in mind, the present study is focused on the following research questions:

1. How do respondents view the existence of gender-specific linguistic variation in political discourse?

2. To what extent can respondents determine from a given sample of parliamentary discourse whether it was produced by a male or a female politician?
3. What linguistic criteria do the respondents indicate as markers of male/female styles in the samples of parliamentary discourse? To what extent do the answers of the respondents reflect a set of features of gendered linguistic styles (Holmes and Stubbe 2003)?
4. Do the answers to questions 1, 2 and 3 depend on the gender of the respondents?
5. How do the results of corpus linguistics correspond to the tendencies in gender-specific language use as indicated by the respondents?

3. Methodology

To yield the most plausible answers to the earlier indicated research questions, two theoretical and methodological frameworks have been applied. Firstly, a sociolinguistic inquiry is carried out using a questionnaire as a conventional method for obtaining the “language-attitude information” (Johnstone 2000: 113). Thus a questionnaire has been chosen as a method to elicit the opinion of the general public on the gender-specific language use in political communication, more specifically parliamentary discourse. Secondly, the framework of corpus linguistics is applied to quantitatively test the results obtained from the sociolinguistic inquiry.

This combination of methodologies is projected to avoid some failings, which have occasionally occurred in the studies of language and gender in different times. One of the earlier problems in a quantitative sociolinguistic framework was related to the choice of data with groups of men and women impossible to be directly compared, as, for instance, “street gangs” of men and “small, intimate groups of women” (Cameron 1992: 53). In a discourse analytic approach, problems have emerged from too much reliance on qualitative methodology, when analysis of separate speech events evolved into far-reaching generalizations about gender-specific language use (cf. Tannen 1990, 1994). In consequence of both inadequacies, gender-specific features of interactional styles have been often stereotyped rather than empirically studied (cf. Talbot 2003).

Therefore, for any tentative generalization in gender and discourse analysis it is necessary to combine qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.1 The sociolinguistic approach to inquiry

A two-part questionnaire (see Appendix) was prepared in the Lithuanian language for a sociolinguistic inquiry among Lithuanian respondents. In the first part of the questionnaire, the respondents are asked to give their opinion on the existence of gender-specific language use in political communication:

- I. 1. *Kaip Jūs manote, ar politikoje vyrai ir moterys vartoja kalbą vienodai?*
In your opinion, do female and male politicians use language in the same way?

Further, comments on the answer to the first question are requested:

2. *Kokius žodžius arba pasakymus Jūs galėtumėte paminėti kaip būdingus moterims politikėms/ vyrams politikams?*
What words or phrases would you indicate as typical of female politicians/ male politicians?

The second part of the questionnaire contains 11 short extracts from the discourse of Lithuanian parliamentarians produced at various parliamentary sessions of the Lithuanian Parliament. The respondents are requested to determine the gender of politicians who produced the given extracts by underlying a 'man' or a 'woman' alternative:

- II. 1. *Kokia, Jūsų nuomone, šių ištraukų autorių lytis?*
What is the gender of the authors of the given extracts?

The respondents are also asked to underline the words or phrases that have influenced their choice of the authors' gender and further to supply with a comment on their choice:

2. *Kokie žodžiai ar pasakymai, Jūsų manymu, atspindi šių ištraukų autorių lytį (pabraukite juos ir pakomentuokite kodėl)?*
What words or phrases, in your opinion, reflect the gender of the authors of the given extracts (underline these words or phrases and explain why)?

The questionnaires were distributed among the students of Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, Lithuania. In total, 89 questionnaires (52 from female respondents and 37 from male respondents) have been received and used for the present analysis.

3.2 The corpus linguistics approach to inquiry

3.2.1 Features of spoken language corpora

Findings of the sociolinguistic inquiry are further tested using a corpus-based analysis. The source data for the spoken language corpus consists of stenographs of the Lithuanian Parliament, which are routinely produced by professional stenographers and published for public investigation.

Spoken language corpora differ from written language corpora in several important ways. It is commonly accepted that the underlying principle for the construction of large general corpora is that “the unit of study must be whole texts” (Stubbs 1993: 11). However, spoken language corpora differ from written language corpora in the way that the unit of study is an utterance rather than a text. Therefore, in spoken language corpora a researcher may analyze a group or groups of selected utterances according to some specified criteria (e.g. speakers’ age, gender, social class, etc.), which can be extracted from one or more texts. In the present study the analyzed corpora have been constructed by grouping up utterances according to speakers’ gender.

Additionally, many spoken language corpora try to preserve specific features of the spoken language (e.g. pauses, stress, phonetic peculiarities, etc.) employing various transcription standards and markup. The choice and complexity of transcription standards usually depend on the research questions to be answered. Due to a complicated and time consuming process of recording and transcription of spoken language data, the spoken language corpora are usually much smaller in size than written language corpora. As a result, spoken language corpora are representative only of more frequent language phenomena (as for example, the use of pronouns).

It must be noted, however, that the analyzed corpus does not contain all features of spoken language corpora because no phonetic information is typically preserved in stenographs. Moreover, stenographs are usually post-

edited, so that the information which is not necessary for public purposes, such as repetitions, grammatical/pronunciation mistakes, colloquialisms and others, is removed.

3.2.2 Description of the analyzed data

200 stenographs of the Lithuanian Parliament debates have been randomly selected from the available data, wherefrom two corpora have been compiled: one for male and one for female politicians. The stenographs are in plain text format, i.e. they do not contain any annotation except a speaker's name. As Lithuanian inflections of surnames allow for distinguishing the gender of a person, a semi-automatic procedure has been applied to separate utterances of male and female politicians.

The frequency analysis of the initial corpus (2.38m running words in size) has shown that the number of speakers roughly reflects the proportion of female and male parliamentarians [96 (16%) female politicians vs. 487 (84%) male politicians], which were elected to the Lithuanian Parliament throughout the years of 1990–2004 [94 (13%) female politicians vs. 611 (87%) male politicians]. However, the data has also shown that an average male parliamentarian speaks more frequently (44 vs. 29 utterances) and produces more words than an average female parliamentarian (4321 vs. 2909 words). This interactional pattern of Lithuanian politicians supports one of Holmes and Stubbe's (2003) widely cited features of male and female interactional styles, namely the minor female contribution and the male predominance in the public talking time (see section 2.2).

As the male politicians dominate the parliament (84% of all speakers), the compiled corpora have turned out to be very unequal in size (0.28m words vs. 2.10m words). Therefore, it has been decided to produce two separate corpora of equal size, so that the corpus of female politicians includes speeches of all 96 women that spoke in the debates, while the corpus of male politicians only includes speeches of 96 randomly selected men. The size of each corpus is approximately 279000 words. The general characteristics of the two subcorpora are given in Table 1 below.

	Female corpus	Male corpus	Total
Number of speakers	96	96	192
Number of words	279,246	278,360	557,606
Average number of utterances per speaker	28,5	26,5	27,5

Table 1. General characteristics of the female and male subcorpora

Various possibly stereotypical phrases and words that have been reported by the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry as gender-specific have been counted in the two subcorpora. The counting of the phrases has been performed by the program called “WordSmith Tools” (Scott 1996). The program allows users to generate KWIC (Key Word In Context) concordances based on the rather complex search syntax:

- a search word/phrase may include wildcards (*, ?, /, ^);
- a concordance search may be restricted by specifying a context word which either *must* or *may not* be present within a certain number of words of a search word.

These functionalities of the program enabled capturing the necessary phrases regardless of different inflections or intervening words.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 The sociolinguistic analysis

4.1.1 The attitudes about gender-specific language use in political communication

The results of the first part of the questionnaire, namely the respondents’ opinion on the gender-specific linguistic differences in parliamentary discourse, are presented in Table 2. The majority of the respondents of both genders (57.3%) express their belief in the existence of some variation in how male and female politicians use language. A much smaller number of the respondents (9%) consider the interactional styles of male and female politicians to be the same. About a third of the questionnaires (33.7%)

provide no answer to this question and have been slotted into the ‘missing data’ category. Although the questionnaires have been differentiated with respect to the respondents’ gender, as shown in Table 2, the answers of male and female respondents to this question are distributed equally.

	Yes, in the same way	No, not in the same way	missing data	total
Female respondents	3 (5.8%)	31 (59.6%)	18 (34.6%)	52 (100%)
Male respondents	5 (13.5%)	20 (54.1%)	12 (32.4%)	37 (100%)
All respondents	8 (9%)	51 (57.3%)	30 (33.7 %)	89 (100%)

Table 2. Do female and male politicians use language in the same way?

Among the scarce reasons for not giving a response to the first question there are such comments as not being much interested in politics or in the way politicians speak. The few respondents who maintain that men and women politicians do not differ linguistically support their opinion by providing other criteria for linguistic variation in political communication including the personal degree of education or differences in communicative competence. Some of these respondents also add that the language use of male and female politicians does not differ because, in their opinion, all politicians equally tend to use incomprehensible language regardless of their gender. One of the female respondents makes still another proposition, which is rather divergent from the prevailing tendencies in the questionnaire comments:

Šiais laikais, kai vyro ir moters teisės tampa daugelyje sričių vienodos, tai ir politikoje kalba vienodėja tarp lyčių.

(Nowadays, as the rights of men and women become equal in different spheres, the gender-specific linguistic practices are getting similar in politics as well.)

This comment closely echoes the social change discussed in the introduction, namely women’s increasing role in corporate organizations and political institutions.

The broadest spectrum of comments, indeed, appears in the answers of those numerous respondents who agree to a certain gender-specific variation in political discourse. In their argumentation, these respondents, first of all, draw on the very abstract features of interactional styles. For instance, most frequently both male and female respondents claim that female politicians speak *softer*, *more polite* and *in a more diplomatic manner* whereas male politicians are described as *more linguistically strict*, *exact* and *critical* as well as *more ironic* and *sarcastic*. In conformity with *the widely cited features* selected by Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574), the respondents of both genders tend to frame female and male political discourse in traditional dichotomies such as women are *emotional* or *affectively oriented* while men are *rational* or *referentially oriented*; as well as women are *indirect* or *allusive* while men are *more straightforward*. Female linguistic indirectness, which in the scholarship of gender and discourse analysis was initially associated with private spheres (cf. Lakoff 1975), is especially accentuated by the male respondents, e.g., *aplinkiniaiis keliais* ('in a roundabout way') or *plepa plepa, kol galiausiai prieina prie reikalo* ('chatter and chatter before they finally come to the point'). The female respondents, on the other hand, highlight the vividness and liveliness of a female style in political communication by attributing such descriptions of linguistic behavior as *skurdesnė* ('poorer'), *grubesnė* ('harsher') or *dažniau nesivaldo* ('more frequently intemperate') to the use of male politicians. In that way, a female style in political discourse is described with a more negative slant by the male respondents, while a male style gets more negative remarks from the female respondents. Consequently, the gender of the respondents appears to have a certain influence on their attitudes towards the linguistic behavior of men and women in political communication.

The respondents' answers, however, reveal some contradictory judgments about gender-specific linguistic features. For instance, both genders ascribe the quality of *being logical* and the concept of *logic* itself to male politicians. Moreover, the concept of *logic* also seems to significantly influence the respondents' answers in the second part of the questionnaire where they have to decide about the gender of the politicians, the authors of the 11 extracts. Most of the answers with the choice of 'male' as the author's gender have the words *logical* or *logic* underlined as well. In spite of that, we have also found *being illogical* among the

comments of the female respondents on the language use by male politicians, for example, *kartais su įvairiais neloginiais nukrypimais* ('sometimes with various illogical digressions'). Interestingly, Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 576) classify *digression from the agenda*, or the lack of logic, as a traditional female feature in institutional discourse which they, in fact, find absent from the actual use by the female managers in their study. As the result, such examples of somewhat contradictory expectations among the respondents add to the presumption that the gender-specific linguistic features, which they see in political discourse, may be stereotypically judged and may have no linguistic support.

4.1.2 The indication of the politicians' gender from the given extracts

In the second part of the questionnaire the respondents are requested to indicate the gender of politicians from the given extracts of their parliamentary discourse. The results are presented in Table 3 (for all respondents) and Table 4 (Part 1 for female respondents and Part 2 for male respondents). In both tables, the answers are classified into 'successful' (i.e. the gender of the politician is indicated correctly), 'unsuccessful' (i.e. the gender is indicated incorrectly), 'either gender' (i.e. the possibility of both genders is indicated) or 'missing data' (i.e. no answer is given). In the first columns of the two parts of Table 4, the gender of the politicians, i.e. the authors of the given extracts, is presented. Table 4 also displays the distribution of answers with respect to all eleven extracts.

All respondents			
successful	unsuccessful	either gender	missing data
36.5%	56.8%	2.6%	4.2%

Table 3. Indication of gender from the given extracts

Table 3 shows that the number of unsuccessful guesses of the politicians' gender (56.8%) is noticeably larger than the number of successful guesses (36.5%) in the answers of all respondents. The results of male and female answers, calculated separately, maintain a similar pattern (Table 4).

Gender of politicians	Female respondents		
	successful	unsuccessful	either gender
1.Female	9 (17%)	43 (83%)	
2.Male	17 (33%)	35 (67%)	
3.Male	14 (27%)	38 (73%)	
4.Female	31 (60%)	21 (40%)	
5.Female	6 (12%)	46 (88%)	
6.Male	29 (56%)	23 (44%)	
7.Female	22 (42%)	30 (58%)	
8.Male	36 (69%)	16 (31%)	
9.Male	20 (38%)	32 (62%)	
10.Male	28 (54%)	24 (46%)	
11.Female	13 (25%)	37 (71%)	2
	225	345	2
total	39.4%	60.3%	0.3%

Table 4a. Indication of gender from the given extracts: respondents by gender – The answers of the female respondents

Gender of politicians	Male respondents			
	successful	unsuccessful	either gender	missing data
1.Female	6 (16%)	30 (81%)	1	
2.Male	10 (27%)	25 (67%)	1	1
3.Male	9 (24%)	25 (68%)	1	2
4.Female	23 (62%)	11 (30%)	2	1
5.Female	2 (5%)	32 (86%)	2	1
6.Male	17 (46%)	13 (35%)	1	6
7.Female	14 (38%)	14 (38%)	3	6
8.Male	23 (62%)	7 (19%)	1	6
9.Male	9 (24%)	20 (54%)	2	6
10.Male	11 (30%)	16 (43%)	4	6
11.Female	8 (22%)	18 (49%)	5	6
	132	211	23	41
total	32.4%	51.8%	5.7%	10.1%

Table 4b. Indication of gender from the given extracts: respondents by gender – The answers of the male respondents

As shown in Table 4, the percentage in the category of ‘either gender’ is very low in the answers of female respondents (0.3%) and is slightly higher in the answers of men (5.7%). No cases of ‘missing data’ are found within the female answers; while in the answers of the male respondents ‘missing data’ comprise 10.1%. The influence of the respondents’ gender is most significant in extracts 7 and 10. In extract 7, the female unsuccessful answers exceed their successful ones (42% to 58%), while the male

respondents score equal numbers in both categories (38%). In extract 10, the female respondents succeed more than they fail (54% to 46%), whereas the opposite outcome is observed for the male respondents (30% to 43%). In other extracts the patterns of successful and unsuccessful indications are similar for the respondents of both genders.

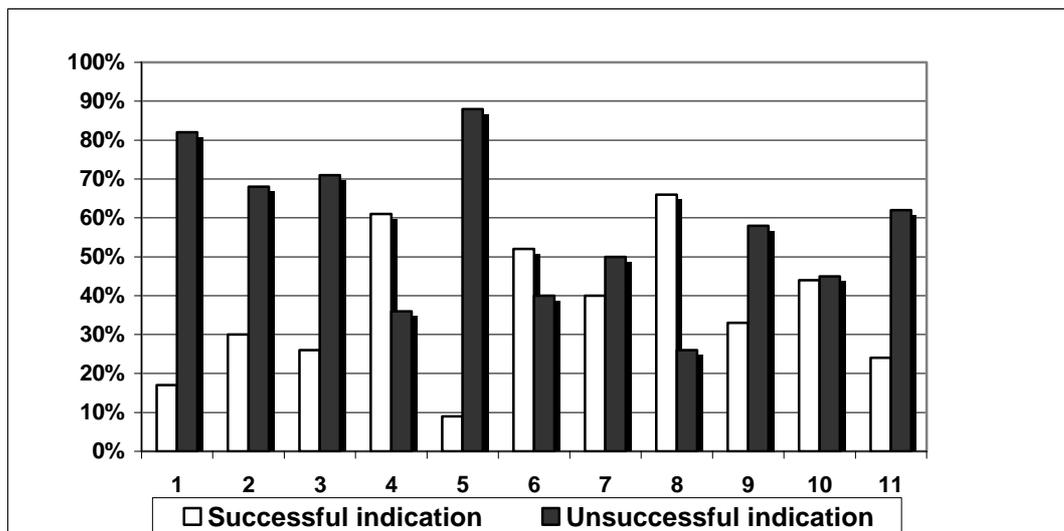


Chart 1. Indication of gender from the given extracts: all respondents

Importantly, as presented in Chart 1, the successful and the unsuccessful indication of the politicians' gender differ for all of the eleven extracts. The amount of successful indication of gender exceeds the number of unsuccessful indication only in extracts 4, 6 and 8. In extracts 7 and 10, the difference in favor of the unsuccessful answers is rather negligible; while in the other extracts this difference is quite noticeable, especially in extract 5. As long as the respondents were asked to underline gender-specific words and phrases in the extracts and to comment on their choice, possible motives for such distribution of the results could be examined. For instance, the successful indication of a female author of extract 4 appears to have been determined by the general linguistic softness and politeness and largely by the so-called female topic, namely drug abuse, prevention of Aids and health problems in general. Other 'female' topics, as assumed by the respondents, are social matters, national issues, honor and humanism. In the meantime, business, economics, security, oil industry, statistics and using force are regarded as 'male' topics. The topic of church is equally ascribed to male and female discourse.

Correct answers also dominate extract 8 produced by a male politician. As their motivation, the respondents mostly underlined a phrase *baikim juokus* ('let's stop joking') and in some cases *ir prašau priimti įstatymą* ('and I request to pass the bill'). The respondents regard such usage as linguistic strictness, plainness, exactness, confrontation, and determination. In other words, the respondents show much reliance on *the widely cited features* of a male style (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 574) and succeed in ascribing this extract to a male politician. However, this strategy does not always serve the purpose. For example, extract 5 received the largest number of unsuccessful choices. They were mostly accompanied by the phrases *logiškas* ('logical'), *dar kartą pabrėžiu* ('I accentuate again'), *iš esmės* ('essentially') and the emphasis on the topic of oil industry. In accordance with the traditional gender-specific dichotomy, many respondents incorrectly point to a male politician.

4.2 The corpus-based analysis

As mentioned above, the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry provided a number of phrases that they thought are characteristic to one of the genders. The corpus analysis has been intended to answer the question, whether corpus data confirms that the stereotypic phrases identified by the respondents as gender-specific are in fact gender-specific.

All the phrases reported by the respondents can be classified into four groups:

- phrases of politeness (more typical to female politicians);
- polite forms of address (more typical to female politicians);
- words and phrases of logic and essence (more typical to male politicians);
- personal phrases (more typical to male politicians).

The phrases have been counted across the two corpora and the results compared with the results of the sociolinguistic inquiry. The small size of the corpus has only allowed the consideration of frequent phrases, while rare ones have been left out. Only phrases that have occurred more than ten times have been included in the analysis. Although the size of the corpus does not permit making any far-reaching conclusions, it is big enough to

highlight certain tendencies that are connected to the study of gender-specific language features.

4.2.1 Phrases of politeness

Five phrases of politeness have been analyzed in the corpora: greeting phrases (*laba diena, labas rytas, labas vakaras*), ‘thank-you’ phrases (*dėkoju, dėkui, ačiū*), ‘please’ phrases (*prašom, prašau, prašyčiau*), and ‘sorry’ phrases (*atsiprašau*). Table 5 shows the number of times each phrase of politeness has been used in the discourse of female and male politicians. The percentage denotes the difference between the numbers. The last column presents the viewpoint of the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry towards these phrases: *F* means that the respondents regarded the phrase as more characteristic of female politicians, *M* as more characteristic of male politicians, and *F/M* that there has been no clear agreement among the respondents.

Phrases of politeness	English	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
laba(s) diena/rytas/vakaras	‘good day/morning/’evening’	32	67	52% (M)	F
dėkoju/dėkui	‘thanks’	117	159	26% (M)	F
ačiū	‘thank you’	615	808	24% (M)	F
prašom/prašau/prašyčiau	‘please’	253	163	-55% (F)	F
atsiprašau/-yčiau/-yti/-om	‘sorry’	65	62	-5% (F)	F
TOTAL		1082	1259	14% (M)	

Table 5. Phrases of politeness

The numbers indicate that most of the polite phrases that have been classed by the respondents as typical of female politicians are in fact used more frequently by male politicians in the Lithuanian Parliament. The exception is the ‘please’ phrases that are used much more frequently by women. The excusatory phrases appear with a more or less equal frequency in the discourse of both genders. The analysis has shown that female politicians

in the parliamentary debates do not use the phrases of politeness more frequently than male politicians. Clearly, the results contradict the general stereotype that female politicians are more polite than their male counterparts.

4.2.2 Polite forms of address

In the sociolinguistic inquiry, the respondents have considered *a form of address* to be an important gender-specific feature. Nevertheless, in most cases the respondents have not agreed on whether the phrases are more typical of female or male politicians (designated as F/M in the most right column in Table 6). The respondents have agreed only on the usage of the address forms ‘mister’ and ‘dear colleagues’, which they have classed as being more characteristic of female politicians. Interestingly, the address forms *pone/ponai* (‘mister/gentlemen’) can indeed be considered as gender-specific as the results of the present corpus analysis reveal. Contrary to the expectations of our respondents though, this form of address is used considerably more often by male politicians than by the female ones. This finding shows that the respondents rely on a quite misleading stereotype about the usage of address forms, which has little to do with the actual language use. In fact, we have discovered that almost all polite forms of address, which have been reported by the respondents, are more frequently used by male politicians, except for the phrases *gerbiamieji kolegos* (‘dear colleagues’) and *gerbiamoji* (‘honorable’), which are more frequent in female use.

Polite forms of address	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
pone/ponai	‘mister/gentlemen’	63	215	71% (M)	F
gerbiamasis posėdžio pirmininke	‘honorable chair’	123	241	49% (M)	F/M
gerbiamasis minister	‘honorable minister’	36	65	45% (M)	F/M
gerbiamasis	‘honorable (masc.)’	478	728	34% (M)	F/M
gerbiamieji kolegos	‘honorable colleagues’	328	469	30% (M)	F/M
gerbiamieji	‘honorable (pl.)’	540	692	22% (M)	F/M
mieli/mielieji kolegos	‘dear colleagues’	21	13	-62% (F)	F
gerbiamoji	‘honorable (fem.)’	52	41	-27% (F)	F/M
TOTAL		1634	2458	34% (M)	

Table 6. Polite forms of address

Consequently, the corpus analysis of the phrases of politeness and the polite forms of address suggests that the popular stereotype about female politeness is not supported in the context of Lithuanian parliamentary debates. Table 6 shows that 96 male politicians have used over 800 times more of the above-mentioned phrases than their 96 female counterparts.

4.2.3 Phrases of logic and essence

The third group of phrases is classed as the phrases of logic and essence. The group includes the word *logika* (‘logic’) and all its lemmata, the words *esmė* (‘essence’), the phrase *iš esmės* (‘in essence’), and the word *logiškas* (‘logical’) and all its lemmata. The majority of the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry indicated that these expressions are more typical of male politicians. Corpus counts support the expectation of the respondents (see Table 7) that male politicians use the words ‘logic’, ‘essence’, and ‘in essence’ more often. However, the adverb ‘logically’ is used more frequently by female politicians. The conclusion may be drawn that the respondents in the sociolinguistic inquiry have shown correct intuitions about the phrases of logic and essence, or, in other words, their

expectations of ‘logic’ and ‘essence’ being gender-specific are grounded in actual language use.

Phrases of logic and essence	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
logika	‘logic’	13	49	73% (M)	M
esmė	‘essence’	56	83	33% (M)	M
iš esmės	‘in essence’	278	334	17% (M)	M
logiškai	‘logically’	41	26	-58% (F)	M
TOTAL		388	492	21% (M)	

Table 7. Phrases of logic and essence

4.2.4 Personal phrases

The last category to be tested for a possibly stereotypic use has been named as *personal phrases*. The underlying idea behind this category is that with the use of the first person singular pronoun ‘I’ or phrases such as ‘in my opinion’, the speaker takes a personal responsibility of what is being said. As Wilson (1990) puts it, the choice of the first person singular pronoun ‘I’ is the most direct way of self-reference, i.e. a marker of the *deictic centre*. Thus, the use of ‘I’ expresses the highest “degree of personal involvement” and commitment to the matters under discussion (Wilson 1990: 48). Meanwhile, ‘we’ could be interpreted as an explicit reference to the collective responsibility, or, in Wilson’s terms, as a step distancing oneself from the *deictic centre*. In Biber, phrases like ‘in my opinion’ and ‘I think’ are said to convey explicit attribution of stance, i.e. they “mark the extent to which stance is attributed to the speaker/writer” (1999: 976).

As revealed by the sociolinguistic inquiry, some of the respondents believe that male politicians use phrases such as *aš manau* (‘I think’) and *mano nuomone* (‘in my opinion’) more frequently and relate this usage to the male politicians’ linguistic strictness and confidence (see section 4.1.1). The corpus analysis suggests that the expectations of our respondents about the use of the phrases *aš manau* (‘I think’) and *mano nuomone* (‘in my opinion’) are quite correct as these phrases are indeed considerably more frequent in the use of male politicians (see Table 8).

Personal phrases	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
mano nuomone	'in my opinion'	18	31	42% (M)	M
(aš) manau	'I think'	502	741	32% (M)	M
TOTAL		520	772	33%	M

Table 8. Personal Phrases

Other respondents, however, have expressed a contrary opinion by claiming that female politicians use more of the first person singular pronoun *aš* ('I'), whereas their male colleagues prefer the first person plural form *mes* ('we'). The question arises then whether there is any gender-related preference for the choice of the first person pronoun in singular or plural? Because of the grammar system, personal pronouns are often omitted in Lithuanian and their function is performed by the inflection of the verb, i.e. person is grammatically marked on the verb. Therefore, not only the occurrences of personal pronouns have been counted, but also the occurrences of verbs in the first person singular and plural, where personal pronouns are implied (see Tables 9 and 10 below).

Personal phrases	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
mano	'my'	420	485	13% (M)	M
aš (all cases)	'I'	2614	2855	12% (M)	F
(aš)	implied 'I'	3125	3155	1%(M)	-
TOTAL		6159	6495	5%(M)	

Table 9. First person singular use

Personal phrases	English translation	Female politicians	Male politicians	Difference	Respondents
mūsų	'our'	844	804	5% (F)	-
mes (all cases)	'we'	2187	2368	9% (M)	M
(mes)	implied 'we'	1445	1246	14%(F)	-
TOTAL		4476	4418	1%(F)	

Table 10. First person plural use

The total numbers show that there is a slight tendency for male politicians to use the explicit form of the first person singular pronoun *aš* ('I') more frequently (5%) than their female counterparts do. By contrast, female politicians tend to use the explicit form of the first person plural pronoun *mes* ('we') with a slightly higher frequency (1%). What is of most interest though is the gender-specific variation in the choice of the explicit or the implicit form of personal pronouns. While both forms of 'I' are used more frequently by male politicians (12% and 1%), the use of the plural forms diverges. The implied 'we' is considerably more typical of women (14%), whereas male politicians prefer the explicit usage of the pronoun 'we' (9%). This finding adds some support to the assumption of men being more straightforward and women being more indirect, which is among the gender-specific linguistic features indicated by Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574) and the respondents of the present study.

4.2.5 Gender-specific topics

The respondents have also supplied a number of topics, which in their opinion are gender-specific:

- masculine topics: business, economics, security, force, oil, statistics, church;
- feminine topics: abstract, social matters, health, medicine, church.

Counts of the most frequent nouns in the two corpora have confirmed that certain topics are indeed gender-specific. Although the respondents have successfully identified most of the gender-specific topics, the corpus analysis has revealed a more detailed view. Female politicians are more likely to talk about children, family, health, and social matters, while men prefer to debate on governance, legal matters and money. Talking about children, family and health stands out as being exceptionally feminine in the Lithuanian parliamentary discourse.

5. Conclusions

In the present study we have focused on gender-specific features in parliamentary discourse from a combined sociolinguistic and corpus-

linguistic methodological perspective. On the one hand, we have used questionnaires to examine the respondents' attitudes and expectations as to how male and female parliamentarians speak. With the help of the questionnaires, we have also studied if these expectations of gender-specific linguistic variation enable the respondents to successfully indicate the politicians' gender from a given piece of their discourse. On the other hand, in the corpus linguistic analysis, we have studied the extent to which some of these expectations of our respondents are corroborated through the evidence from the actual language use by the members of the Lithuanian Parliament. It should be noted that in this study the corpus-based analysis has only been a test bed for the sociolinguistic inquiry and, therefore, it has not answered more general questions concerning the language of female and male politicians. A more ambitious corpus-driven study is necessary for this task, which would analyze the language by male and female politicians at different levels of discourse.

The sociolinguistic analysis has shown that the majority of the respondents believe in the existence of gender-specific linguistic styles in political communication, in other words, they see differences in how male and female politicians speak. While commenting on their answers, those respondents largely draw on the traditional dichotomous qualities of male and female linguistic styles or the so-called *widely cited features* (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 574), as, for instance, the linguistic softness, politeness and indirectness of female politicians as well as the linguistic straightforwardness and rationality of men. There are fewer respondents who do not think that male and female politicians could differ linguistically. These respondents accentuate other criteria for linguistic differences in political communication like the level of education or professional competence, but not the gender of the political figures. The gender of the respondents themselves does not appear to have influenced the derived answers in this part of the questionnaire to the extent that male and female respondents have presented similar attitudes.

Despite the respondents' broad support to the gender-specific linguistic variation in political communication, in most cases the respondents have been unable to successfully indicate politicians' gender from the given extracts of political discourse. The number of the respondents' incorrect answers in the indication of politicians' gender highly exceeds the number of the successful ones. A conclusion could be

drawn that the gender-specific features, proposed by the respondents in this study, are either non-existent or simply inadequate to categorize a particular piece of political discourse as gender-specific. As far as the respondents' gender is concerned, it does not seem to have had much influence on their answers. The only tendency that has been detected is a weak tendency to give a little more negative interpretation for the language use of the opposite gender. This tendency could be accounted for as a hint at a certain kind of 'gender solidarity', on the one hand, as well as 'gender suspicion', on the other. That is to say, the respondents not only tend to see political communication gender-specific, which might not be empirically supported, but they also, in some cases, tend to make judgements about the linguistic practices of politicians on the bases of the politicians' gender.

Corpus analysis has shown that not all gender-specific features that have been supplied by the respondents can be classed as gender-specific. Although the expectations of the respondents concerning gender-specific *topics*, *personal phrases* and *phrases of logic and essence* have been more or less supported, their attitudes towards the gender-specific use of phrases *of politeness* have been found as not empirically grounded. The results may suggest that in political discourse the phenomenon of politeness works contrary to the expectations of the respondents. The general findings of the present study echo the perspective of Thimm et al. (2003: 530) on gender in professional and workplace communication: "gender differences will be salient in some, but not necessarily in all situations". Thus, given the findings of the corpus analysis, we regard the salience of gender in political communication as somewhat overestimated in the answers of our respondents, although not completely without basis. The overestimation of gender could be, firstly, seen as a result of reasoning along the dichotomous axes as suggested by Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574), i.e. considering 'all men' to be different from 'all women'. Secondly, it could be seen as a result of the disregard for the genre of political communication which appears to level out gender differences to a certain extent.

Appendix

The questionnaire in the Lithuanian language

Kaip Jūs manote, ar politikoje vyrai ir moterys vartoja kalba vienodai? Kokius žodžius arba pasakymus Jūs galėtumete paminėti kaip būdingus moterims politikėms/ vyrams politikams?

Toliau anketoje pateikiamos trumpos LR Seimo narių pasisakimų ištraukos. Prašyčiau nurodyti:

- 1) kokia, Jūsų nuomone, šių ištraukų autorių lytis (pabraukite: pvz., MOTERIS VYRAS),
- 2) kokie žodžiai ar pasakymai, Jūsų manymu, atspindi šių ištraukų autorių lytį (pabraukite juos ir pakomentuokite kodėl).

1. Gerbiamieji kolegos, čia yra pataisa, skirta tiems dalykams, apie kuriuos kalbėjo ir ponas A.Baura ir man teko kalbėti. Čia kalbama apie natūralius vaisių ir uogų vynus, kurių gamyba iš esmės buvo nuslopinta, jeigu galima taip pasakyti, arba prislopinta po 1999 m. spalio mėnesį dar pirmosios R.Pakso Vyriausybės pateiktų Akcizų įstatymo pataisų. Mano tvirtu įsitikinimu, čia kaip tik yra perspektyva “Anykščių vynui”, Lietuvai įstojus į Europos Sąjungą, tai yra gero produkto gamybos skatinimas.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

2. Laba diena. Žinoma, labai gaila, kad Lietuvoje vienintelė pramonės šaka, kuri dar gerai gyvuoja, yra alkoholio pramonė. Mes čia, matyt, dėl to ir mušimės. Bet keletas tokių pastabų, kurių gal kiti neišsakė. Pirmą yra tai, kad kai nagrinėjame tų akcizų įstatymus, mes visą laiką akcentuojame tik ekonominius dalykus: pelną ir t.t. Antras dalykas vis dėlto yra pati sveikata. Būtent reikia skatinti silpnų alkoholinių gėrimų vartojimą, nes silpnesni ne taip greitai žmogų padaro alkoholiku.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

3. Gerbiamasis ministre, aš gerai suprantu tą džiaugsmą, kurį jums suteikė proga pristatyti medicinos problemas čia, Seime. Bet aš vis dėlto norėčiau truputį paatvirauti, kaip sakoma, ir paklausti. Kaip jums atrodo, kas skatino, kas lėmė tą aplinkybę, kad ekonomikos profesorius vis dėlto iš visų sričių, kurios turi problemų tiek pat, kaip ir jūsų, pasirinko būtent mediciną? Ačiū.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS

Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

4. Gerbiamasis ministre, ačiū už labai išsamius atsakymus. Regis, daugelis Seimo narių pastebės, kad vis dėlto per tuos 3–4 mėnesius turbūt kažin ko sveikatos apsaugoje negalima atlikti ir žymių poslinkių negalima pamatyti. Aš norėčiau jūsų paklausti, kokį dėmesį jūs, dirbdamas ministru, nuo pradžių ir ateityje žadate skirti narkomanijos ir AIDS prevencijai Lietuvoje?

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS

Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

5. Taigi dabar mes priimame sprendimą, kuris iš tikrųjų yra logiškas. Bet šiuo sprendimu, dar kartą pabrėžiu, mes negalim kompensuoti ir iš esmės pakeisti situacijos, susidariusios 1999 m. dėl susitarimų su strateginiu investuotoju. Norisi tikėti, kad šis įstatymas, sudarantis prielaidas ištraukti... naftos tiekėjo, investuotojo vaidmeniu, sudarys realias prielaidas įvairiais aspektais gerinti "Mažeikių naftos" situaciją ir kartu didinti bendrą jos rezultatą valstybės naudai.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS

Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

6. Pone posėdžio pirmininke, gerbiamieji kolegos. Žinoma, šis dokumentas nėra toks svarbus, kad čia mes galėtume plačiai kalbėti, bet yra liaudies patarlė: "Nuo adatėlės galima prieiti prie kumelėlės". Kad toks kelias nebūtų pasirinktas valdančiosios kairiosios daugumos, mes norėtume pasakyti porą perspėjimų.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

7. Antras momentas. Atimam iš Sveikatos apsaugos ministerijos. Atleiskit, bet mes pakeliam jos statusą į nežinybinį, mes pakeliam jos statusą į nepriklausomą lygmenį, jina tampa Vyriausybės institucija, kaip ir visos kitos. Kodėl maisto, veterinarijos sritį kontroliuoja nepriklausoma institucija, o būtent sveikatos paslaugų sritį turi kontroliuoti žinybinė institucija? Kur logika? Ar šuniukų sveikata svarbiau už žmogaus sveikatą?

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

8. Dėkoju, gerbiamasis posėdžio pirmininke. Gerbiamieji kolegos, aš, kaip kolega J. Razma, irgi šį kartą pasakysiu – nesupratau, ką gerbiamasis kolega A.Klišonis norėjo pasakyti sugretindamas šikšnosparnius su vartotojais – ar norėjo pasijuokti iš vartotojų, ar iš vargšų šikšnosparnių. Kolega J. Raistenskis teisingai paminėjo, kad medikui reikėtų žinoti, jog visa, kas mus supa, yra susieta su mumis, ir jeigu bus gyvi šikšnosparniai, būsim gyvi ir mes. Baikim juokus ir prašau priimti įstatymą. Ačiū.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

9. Labai ačiū, Pirmininke. Labai sunku kalbėti, kai Vyriausybė nepritaria ir Seimo nariai neklauso. Bet aš vis tiek bandysiu agituoti ir prašyti, nes turime tikrai neeilinį dalyką – paminklinę Prisikėlimo bažnyčią, kuriai ši Seimo salė kiekvienais metais biudžete vis rasdavo galimybių. Atstatyti tautos paminklą vien aukotojų lėšomis yra be galo sudėtinga, juoba kad ponas P.Gražulis, svarstant biudžeto projektą, taip pat to prašė, bet nebuvo rasta šaltinio. Šaltinis dabar lyg ir atsirado, aš prašyčiau visų Seimo narių pritarti. Ačiū

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS
Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

10. Gerbiamieji kolegos, aš tikrai nenoriu trukdyti jūsų laiko, bet yra vienas principinis dalykas. Mes, opozicija, galėtume džiūgauti: kokia bloga pozicija, kokie blogi socialdemokratai ir socialliberalai. Bet aš noriu atkreipti dėmesį – visi eidami į rinkimus kalbėjome, kad ginsime Lietuvos žmonių interesus. Kaip mes juos giname? Man atrodo, kad šiandien tiems, kurie balsavo prieš šį įstatymą, paprasčiausiai turėtų būti gėda savo rinkėjų. Man atrodo, priimti tokius įstatymus, kurie eina prieš Lietuvos žmones, tokius, kurie blogina žmonių gyvenimą, iš tikrųjų yra negarbė Seimui.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS

Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

11. Esmė yra ta, kad ten, kur yra didelis nedarbas, t.y. jeigu jis yra 25% didesnis už vidurkį, ir jeigu ten steigiamos, veiklą pradeda mažosios įmonės, t.y. mikroįmonės, reikia taikyti nulinį pelno mokesčio tarifą.

Lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS

Kodėl Jums taip atrodo?

Jūsų lytis: MOTERIS VYRAS

Nuoširdžiai dėkoju už atsakymus

The English translation of the questionnaire

In your opinion, do female and male politicians use language in the same way? What words or phrases would you indicate as typical of female politicians/ male politicians?

Further in the questionnaire you are given extracts from the discourse of Lithuanian Parliamentarians.

Could you please answer the following questions:

- 1) **what is the gender of the authors of the given extracts? (Underline as shown: FEMALE MALE),**
- 2) **what words or phrases, in your opinion, reflect the gender of the authors of the given extracts ? (Underline these words or phrases and explain why).**

1. Honorable colleagues, this is an amendment to those things which mister Baura has talked about and I have also had a chance to talk about. The amendment is about the natural fruit and berry wine, the production of which was in principle suppressed, if it is possible to say so, or reduced after the introduction of the amendment to the excise duty by the first Paksas Government in October, 1999. I strongly believe, there is a good future for the wine producing company "Anykščių vinas" after Lithuania has entered the European Union; it is a promotion of the high quality production.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

2. Good morning. Indeed, it is very sad that the only industry that still prospers in Lithuania is the industry of alcohol. This is perhaps what we are fighting over here. But there are some remarks that others might have not made. First of all, when we are discussing these laws of the excise duty, we are always concentrating solely on economical criteria: profit and so on. Another thing, however, is the human health itself. Namely, it is necessary to promote the consumption of light alcoholic drinks because these do not turn a person into an alcohol-addict so quickly.

Gender: FEMALE MALE
Why do you think so?

3. Honorable minister, I understand very well your happiness about the possibility you have to introduce the problems of health service here, in Parliament. But still I would like to put it a little candidly, so to say, and to ask you. What do you think, what has inspired, what has determined those circumstances that a professor of economics has chosen namely health service from all the spheres which have the same number of problems as this one? Thank you.

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

4. Honorable minister, thank you for the very exhaustive answers. It seems that most of the MPs will notice that not much could be done in the sphere of health service over 3–4 months and significant progress could not be seen. I would like to ask you, starting from now and in the future, how much attention, as a minister, are you going to pay to the prevention of drug use and AIDS in Lithuania?

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

5. So now we are making a decision which is truly logical. But by making this decision, I accentuate again, we can not compensate and in principle change the situation that occurred in 1999 because of the agreements with the strategic investor. I would like to believe that this law, which presupposes the involvement of an oil supplier in the role of an investor, will open up real possibilities to improve the situation of “Mažeikių nafta” in various ways and will concomitantly increase the benefit to the state.

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

6. Mister speaker, honorable colleagues. Of course, this document is not so important that we could broadly generalize about it. But there is a folk proverb which says that big problems can develop out of small details. For such a route not to be taken by the governing left majority, we would like to make a few warnings.

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

7. The second moment. We take it away from the Ministry of Public Health. Sorry, but we lift its status up to a non-departmental level, we lift its status up to an independent level, it becomes a Governmental institution as the other ones. Why is food and veterinary control assumed by an independent institution, while namely the health service should be controlled by a departmental institution? Where is the logic? Is the health of doggies more important than human health?

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

8. I am grateful, honorable speaker. Honorable colleagues, like the colleague Razma, this time I will also say — I don't understand what the honorable colleague Klišonis wanted to tell us by making a comparison between bats and consumers. Did he want to mock at the consumers or at the poor bats? The colleague Raistenskis accurately pointed out, that a medical doctor should know that everything surrounding us is related to us and if bats live, we will also survive. Let's stop joking and I request to pass the act of law. Thank you.

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

9. Thank you very much, mister speaker. It is difficult to talk when the Government shows disagreement and the members of Parliament do not listen. But I will nevertheless try to agitate and to make requests because we are dealing with a really extraordinary thing, that is, a monumental church of "Prisikėlimas". Every year this Parliament has made budget allocations for its support. It is extremely complicated to rebuild this national shrine merely on private contributions. Moreover, mister Gražulis requested the same when the budget was under discussion; but the resources for the church were not found. Now the resources appear to have been found; I would kindly ask all the members to agree on that. Thank you.

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

10. Honorable colleagues, I am really not eager to disturb your time, but there is one essential point to be made. We, opposition, could rejoice: how bad is the majority in the Parliament; how bad are the social democrats and social liberals. But I would like to draw your attention to the fact that during the pre-election campaign all of us were promising to Lithuanian people to work in their interests. How are we doing this now? It seems to me that today those, who voted against this law, simply ought to be ashamed of themselves in front of their electorate. It seems to me that passing the laws which are against the interests of Lithuanian people and which make peoples' lives worse is really a disgrace to the Parliament.

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

11. The essence is that in those regions where the level of unemployment is high, i.e. if it is by 25% higher than the average, and if small businesses, i.e. micro-businesses, are being started there, a zero rate of corporation tax has to be applied

Gender: FEMALE MALE

Why do you think so?

Your gender: FEMALE MALE

My sincere gratitude for your cooperation

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Eliecer Crespo Fernández

**The Language of Death:
Euphemism and Conceptual Metaphorization in Victorian
Obituaries**

Abstract

Some experiences are too intimate and vulnerable to be discussed without linguistic safeguards. One of them is undoubtedly death, a timeless taboo in which psychological, religious and social interdictions coexist. It is the aim of this paper to explore the euphemistic language on obituary pages from the mid-nineteenth century, a time when the sentimentalization of death provided a fertile soil for the flowering of euphemism. Given the pervasiveness of metaphor to refer to human mortality, the present study proceeds to trace an account of the different conceptual metaphors aiming at substituting the notions of death and dying in Irish early Victorian newspapers within the framework of the well-known Conceptual Metaphor Theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The results obtained support the idea that there was a tendency to present sentimental obituaries in which the taboo of death can be accounted for by various conceptual metaphors, most of which view death as a desirable event under the influence of Christian beliefs.

1. Introduction¹

Mankind's failure to come to terms with death has been pervasive in different times and societies. In fact, human beings have traditionally felt reluctant to deal with the subject of death using straightforward terms. Whether owing to superstition, fear or social respect, the fact remains that when facing death language users try to soften the effect of what they really wish to communicate. To this end, they resort to euphemism, i.e. the semantic or formal process thanks to which the taboo is stripped of its most

¹ I would like to thank the three anonymous reviewers of this paper for their insightful comments and suggestions on an earlier version. I also want to express my gratitude to Clive Alexander Bellis, of the Department of English Studies, University of Alicante, for proof-reading the paper. Of course, I assume full responsibility for all forms of error still remaining.

explicit, offensive or obscene overtones. From this viewpoint, euphemism is not merely a response to a forbidden subject; rather, it provides a way to speak about the taboo, that is, about the unspeakable, about those concepts banned from public domain and removed from our consciousness. This refusal to speak freely of human mortality is, as Sexton (1997: 335) points out, symptomatic of the overall discomfort with the subject of death as whole.

Despite this reluctance to mention the subject of death, there are communicative situations in which one cannot evade the notions of death and dying. This is the case of obituaries, those newspaper notices devoted to recording and announcing a death. Given the obvious need to refer to mortality, the seriousness of the situation and the formality which the printed page imposes, it is no surprise that obituary columns are a breeding ground for euphemistic words and expressions related to the taboo of death.

The main concern of this paper is to explore the euphemistic language of death found in a sample of Irish Victorian obituaries. As metaphorization constitutes a potent source for euphemistic reference (Casas Gómez 1986: 217–218, Warren 1992: 146–149) and a common device to cope with death (Goatly 1997: 159, Sexton 1997), the focus in this paper will be predominantly on the conceptual categorization of the metaphors for death and dying as a euphemistic resource within the frame of the well-known Metaphor Conceptual Theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). This seems to be a worthy concern, because while there is substantial body of literature on the cognitive value of figurative language, including relatively recent studies devoted to the metaphorical conceptualization of human mortality (Marín Arrese 1996, Sexton 1997, Bultnick 1998), not much scholarly ink has been spilled over conceptual metaphor as a purely euphemistic device, an approach followed by Chamizo Domínguez and Sánchez Benedito (2000: 101–133) and Crespo Fernández (2006) concerning the taboo of sex. Thus, I attempt to gain an insight into the cognitive role of metaphorical euphemism as a resource to tone-down the taboo of death in early Victorian Ireland.

2. The taboo of death and obituaries

Death is, as Allan and Burridge (1991: 153) have argued, “a Fear-based taboo” in which different fears coexist, namely fear of the loss of loved ones, fear of the corruption of the body, fear of evil spirits and fear of what comes after death. The dread to look death full in the face is especially noteworthy in primitive societies in which the word associated with the taboo of death is believed to possess the same force as the taboo itself. In fact, for some Australian tribes the taboo of death imposes such serious verbal restrictions that it is strictly forbidden to pronounce the name of someone who has died (Gross 1985: 203); they even avoid words rhyming with the name of the deceased (Sánchez Mateo 1996: 47).² In such cases, the word associated with death is believed to possess magical powers which provide the term with the same force as the taboo. In this respect, such figures as Ullmann, Coseriu, Grimes and Jespersen (cited in Casas Gómez 1986: 21) have stressed the magical connection between the term and the concept (“the name for death is death”). So it seems that, when dealing with linguistic taboos, the boundaries between the linguistic sign and its referent are certainly fuzzy.

Therefore, the euphemistic alternative does not always mitigate the taboo, as happens in certain communicative situations in which the allusion to death is, regardless of the degree of indirectness or vagueness employed, utterly unacceptable. This is so because in the very act of alluding indirectly to the unmentionable concept, the euphemistic substitute calls it to mind. On these occasions, the only effective way to ameliorate the taboo is silence, which constitutes an evident proof of the interdictive strength of the taboo.³ Thus, silence sometimes coexists with paralinguistic elements with the purpose of avoiding the taboo words *death* and *die*. Indeed, a set gesture can be used to refer to death, as is the case of the traditional Chinese manner of clenching the hands and throwing the head slightly back (Gross 1985: 204).

² Lillo Buades (1995: 28–29) deals with the role of rhyme in the taboo of death for primitive societies.

³ This is also applicable to the taboo of sex, as Crespo Fernández (2005: 385–386) has demonstrated in Victorian England, when this taboo proved to be stronger than any verbal mitigation. For this reason, the sexual taboo was generally silenced in public discourse.

The taboo of death in the nineteenth century cannot be properly understood without considering the crucial role that religion played in sepulchral matters. In the Victorian Age, religion was generally thought to provide a reason not only for living, but also for dying. In fact, Victorians were obsessed with the subject of death and took for granted that religious practices and funerary rituals greatly contributed to ease the transition from life to death. In this sense, consolation was based on the Christian hope of the resurrection of the dead, a belief that meant taking on a completely new existence in Heaven, that blessed destination which represented for Victorians the fulfilment of their Christian faith (Wheeler 1994: 6–13). Hence, religious beliefs provided some sort of relief in the face of death, particularly the promise of an eternal life beyond physical death, a hope which constituted the basis of sound doctrine and determined much of the metaphorical euphemism employed in obituaries, as I will explain further on.

I cannot go any further without attempting to define the concept of obituary and establishing its types and linguistic properties. The term *obituary* is a euphemism in itself. It comes from Latin *obitus* ‘departure’, a common euphemistic term for death. The meaning the word has nowadays (“a record or announcement of a death or deaths, especially in a newspaper; usually comprising a brief biographical sketch of the deceased”, *OED2*) first appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century. Obituaries, it should be noted, go beyond the limits of a mere announcement of a demise; rather, they constitute a proof of mankind’s failure to face mortality. These funeral notices are far from being homogeneous, and it is precisely in their variety where much of their richness lies. As Hernando (2001) has argued, obituaries constitute a hybrid genre in which both publicity and information coexist, in which emotion and objectivity go hand in hand. In this way, there are two types of obituaries: those more informative and objective, usually limited to the exposition of facts about the death, the deceased or the place and time of the funeral, and those, supposedly more personal and intimate, used with a social or religious purpose, in which the feelings and emotions of the writer play a significant role. The characteristics of both types of obituaries are indicated below:

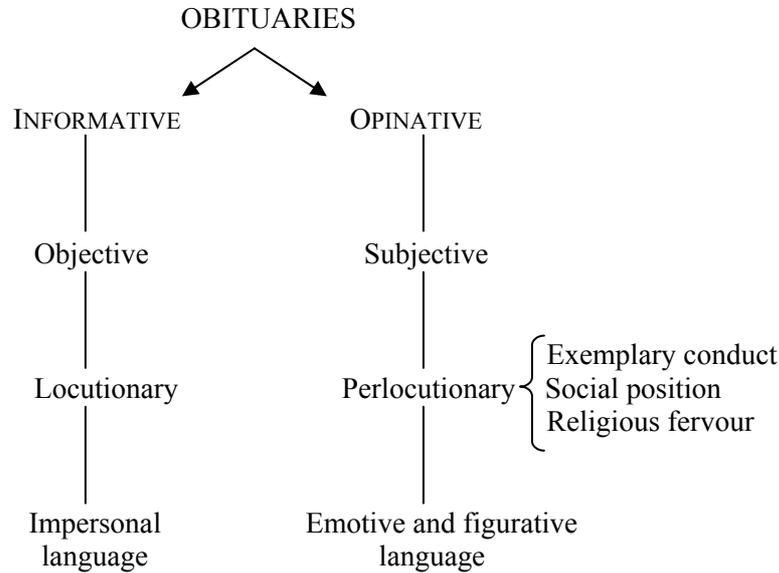


Figure 1. Informative and opinative obituaries

The above figure clearly shows the radically different characteristics of informative and opinative obituaries. The former are objective and rely on an impersonal language devoted to perform a locutionary function, that of transmitting the relevant details of a demise. Nonetheless, opinative obituaries present a subjective nature and, by means of an emotive and figurative language, perform a perlocutionary function, that is, they are oriented towards causing a favourable impression on the reader by showing the social relevance, exemplary conduct or religious fervour of the deceased.

Before moving to the theoretical framework on which the paper relies, it is appropriate to consider the peculiarities of nineteenth century English in Ireland. The standard variety of English was at the head of the linguistic hierarchy in Victorian Ireland and was generally employed in the full range of public domains (Harris 1991: 38–39). Thus, non-standard varieties were totally unacceptable and deemed impolite linguistic behaviour, especially in formal institutional contexts. Blake (1998: 288) puts the point in the following way: “People who spoke in non-standard varieties could never be accepted as fully developed human beings with a fine sense of morality and proper behaviour”. Accordingly, the language of obituaries in Irish newspapers tended to follow the standard British English, whose written

model was generally adopted in Ireland by the vast majority of the population.⁴

3. Theoretical assumptions: the cognitive tradition

The theoretical assumptions on which the present paper is based are derived from the cognitive model of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This approach claims that metaphors go beyond pointing to the similarities between entities or embellishing a given object; rather, they stand as a means of creating, organizing and understanding reality. In order to reify abstract elements, language users tend to relate them to our social and bodily experiences with the help of figurative (metaphorical and metonymic) language by means of which we are able to conceptualize those abstract concepts. From this standpoint, following Lakoff (1993: 203), a metaphor can be defined as “a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system”; in other words, a set of conceptual correspondences from a source domain (the realm of the physical or more concrete reality) to a target domain (the death taboo, in our case). A metaphorical mapping presents submappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains as a result of reasoning about the latter using the knowledge we have about the former. Within the cognitive tradition, metaphor is thus understood as a device with the capacity to structure our conceptual system, providing, at the same time, a particular understanding of the world and a way to make sense of our experience. Hence, the metaphor is, rather than a linguistic expression or a figure of speech with an aesthetic value, a mode of thought and reason:

⁴ During the nineteenth century, Irish was in decline because of several factors such as the introduction of English as the language of education, its adoption by both the nationalist movement and the Roman Catholic Church and the emigration of a considerable part of the Irish-speaking population. Thus, the English used in Victorian Ireland was virtually indistinguishable from that of standard British English, with the exception of a few items of vocabulary borrowed from Irish to refer to local customs and institutions such as *dáil* ‘parliament’ and *taoiseach* ‘prime minister’ (Harris 1991: 38–39).

[T]he metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it sanctions the use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts. (Lakoff 1993: 208)

Take the conceptual metaphor TO DIE IS TO SLEEP. There is a projection from a source domain (sleep) onto a target domain (die) and the associations that constitute this metaphor map our perception about sleep onto our perception about death. It is in this correspondence between the source and the target domains where cognitive conceptualization fulfils its euphemistic function. The source domain is therefore used to understand, structure and, in some cases, mitigate the target domain. This implies one of the basic aspects of the standard cognitive approach, the principle of unidirectionality, according to which the associative process goes from the more abstract concept to the more concrete reality. That this is so can be gathered from Barcelona (2003b: 214):

According to the standard cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy (CTMM), mapping in metaphor is always *unidirectional*: only the source is projected onto the target domain, and the target domain is not at the same time mapped onto the source domain. Therefore, simultaneous *bidirectional* metaphorical projections do not exist in this theory.

As conceptual and metonymic metaphors are grounded in our bodily and social experiences, there exist kinesthetic image-schemas into which our experience is organized, that is, recurring structures coming from our perceptions and bodily functioning (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987: 271–278). In fact, everything we do is located in a point of time and space, which provides a metaphorical basis for its linguistic expression. Thus, apart from conceptual mappings, there are also image mappings by means of which to talk about abstract concepts. Viewed this way, our daily experiences can be understood in terms of experiential blocks (containers, links, forces, paths, front-back, center-periphery, etc.) consisting of structural elements which permit us to deal with abstract concepts in particular terms.

Though it is not within the scope of this paper to describe metonymy in detail, I will briefly deal with this device of figurative language which coexists and interacts with metaphor in the conceptualization of abstract concepts. Both processes are so closely connected that a large number of conceptual metaphors have a metonymic basis (Goatly 1997: 57, Bultnick

1998: 62–72, Barcelona 2003a and 2003b: 241–246). In this sense, Kövecses (2000: 38), significantly enough, argues that certain metonymies can be considered as “metaphorical metonymies”, a label which accounts for the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. The main difference between both devices, though, lies in the fact that conceptual metonymies do not involve two domains, one of which is more abstract than the other, as is the case with conceptual metaphors; rather, they operate within a single domain in which an aspect of a concept stands for the whole or for another aspect of it. As Kövecses (2000: 5) puts it, “metonymy, unlike metaphor, is a “stand-for” relation (i.e., a part stands for the whole or a part stands for another part) within a single domain”.

4. Data and methods

The corpus samples 228 obituaries excerpted from the funeral sections of the Irish newspapers *The Connaught Journal* (1840) and *The Cork Examiner* (1847), which henceforth will be referred to as TCJ and TCE respectively. As mentioned before, the choice for obituaries as the source of empirical data for this article is based on the fact that obituary columns are a breeding ground for euphemism related to the taboo of death. I decided that it was interesting to focus on some authentic data, avoiding thus an approach to the metaphorical language of death with examples constructed by the author (Marín Arrese 1996) or excerpted from lexicographic sources (Bultnick 1998). In an attempt to minimize variables, the newspapers selected for this study belong to the same historical period (the Victorian era), within this period, to the same decade (1840s) and both were potentially addressed to a spectrum of provincial Irish readers (from Galway and Cork, to be precise).

As it seems to be a consensus that the Victorian period was especially prone to the creation of euphemisms (Rawson 1995: 7–8, Howard 1986: 109–111), I expected that the spread of evasive language for the taboo of death would not be unusual at that age. Furthermore, the nineteenth century saw a strong sense of religious spirituality attached to death (Wheeler 1994, Jalland 1999), which should obviously favour a down-toning language. In this respect, Rawson (1995: 8) talks about a “sentimentalization of death” in Victorian times as an attitude which tended to avoid a straightforward reference to the taboo. The choice for Ireland was not at random either. I

considered that the study of the verbal mitigation in Irish death notices could complement previous works which touched on the issue of euphemisms in obituaries in England (Gross 1985: 214–215), Australia (Allan and Burrige 1991: 161–164) and the United States (Hume 2000).⁵

As for the methods employed, I searched the Irish newspapers in their entirety for euphemistic substitutions of the taboos of death and dying on their obituary pages. In order to organize the wide variety of euphemisms that existed, once I detected a euphemistic substitute, I assigned it to its corresponding linguistic level(s) according to its method of formation. Regarding metaphors, I included them in their conceptual mapping following the model of Cognitive Linguistics.

5. Euphemism and the metaphorical conceptualization of death

Euphemistic words and expressions related to the taboo of death abound in the obituary pages consulted. In fact, out of a total of 228 obituaries, I have collected 119 euphemistic substitutes for the taboos of death and dying, whereas the “forbidden” words *death* and *die* have only appeared 33 times. The force of the death taboo is also seen in the 158 obituaries in which all allusion to mortality is avoided in the corpus. The linguistic mechanisms employed to substitute the taboos of death and dying in the obituaries consulted are shown in quantitative terms in the table below in the semantic, lexical and morphological levels:⁶

⁵ Of particular interest is the study carried out by Hume (2000), who surveys more than 8,000 newspaper obituaries of New York City, New Orleans, Baltimore, Chicago and San Francisco from 1818 to 1930.

⁶ The classification proposed in the table is the result of a method for collecting euphemisms according to a set of phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic devices which I used in a previous study (Crespo Fernández to appear). Here, I have only included those linguistic levels which are responsible for the creation of euphemistic substitutes in the obituaries consulted. This classification of euphemisms is based on those offered by Casas Gómez (1986) and Warren (1992).

Semantic devices		Lexical devices		Morphological devices	
Metaphor	80	Technical terms	12	Acronyms	1
Metonymy	7	Learned words	3		
Generic terms	7	Borrowings	1		
Hyperbole	4				
Circumlocution	3				
Reversal	1				

Table 1. Euphemistic devices in obituaries

Before going to the metaphorical conceptualizations of death found in the obituaries, which constitutes the primary focus of this paper, I will briefly describe the devices used to mitigate the taboo of death, as euphemism is not restricted to metaphor on the obituary columns consulted, as shown in the table above.

As regards the semantic devices, metonymy is responsible for seven euphemistic references to mortality. There are two groups of metonymic associations in the obituaries consulted: first, those which focus on the result of death for those left alive, which constitute instances of the conceptual metonymy THE SENTIMENTAL EFFECTS OF DEATH STAND FOR DEATH (*dissolution, void and separation*); second, those which stress the final moment under the metonymic principle THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF DEATH STAND FOR DEATH⁷ (*breathe one's last breath and put a period to one's earthly sufferings*). In addition, some conceptual metaphors encountered in the corpus present a metonymic basis. This is the case of DEATH IS A REWARD and DEATH IS A LOSS which, though intrinsically metaphorical in nature, and considered as such in the present paper, enable us to understand a metaphor for death via its cause and effect.

Also within the semantic resources, the euphemistic hyperbole (4), i.e., a device which fulfils its mitigating function by considerably

⁷ Concerning conceptual metaphors and metonymies on the basis of our experience of the physiological effects of death, see Marín Arrese (1996: 40–41) and Bultnick (1998: 27–30).

upgrading a desirable feature of the referent, aims not only at complimenting the deceased, but also at praising and magnifying the biological act of dying by means of overstatements based on Christian beliefs. In this sense, far from having simply died, the deceased is said to be *in a kingdom, in Heaven* or enjoying a *holy and uninterrupted communion with God*, something which, from the Christian point of view, supposes the fulfilment of happiness. It is worthy of note that some metaphors present hyperbolic overtones, like *world of unending glory* or *eternity of happiness* 'death'. Other semantic mechanisms employed are the use of generic terms (7) such as *concern* and *event* and circumlocutions (3) like *go where care or pain can reach her no more* 'die'. Also of interest is the reversal with a metaphorical origin *eternal life in Heaven*, which bases its euphemistic force on the opposition life against death.

The obituary writer also resorted to lexical devices of euphemism formation, for example to a shift in the stylistic level to cope with the taboo by means of technical terms (12). Indeed, death is substituted by *decease* (7) and *demise* (5), legal terms which fulfil a mitigating function when used in a nonlegal context like that of the obituary. In this respect, the dead person is the *deceased* or the *lamented deceased*. The stylistic shift commented also takes place in the learned word *expire*, repeated three times.

5.1 The conceptual mappings of consolatory metaphors

In turning to the euphemistic devices used in the funeral notices shown in table 1, the first noticeable quality is that metaphor is, by far, the most powerful mechanism in the formation of euphemisms for the taboo of death, with 80 cases detected. The number of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes is actually higher, since the hyperboles used to mitigate the taboo (*kingdom, wreath of glory, eternity of happiness* and *world of unending glory*) also have a metaphorical status.⁸ Even the borrowing (*requiescere in pace*) and its acronymic equivalent (*R.I.P.*) are motivated by the figurative association which conceptualizes death as a rest. In consequence, metaphor is ultimately responsible for 86 euphemistic

⁸ This seems to prove that, as Warren (1992) demonstrated, it is natural for hyperboles to be combined with devices of semantic change.

alternatives, that is, almost three quarters out of the total number of euphemisms recorded. Judging from these data, it becomes evident that metaphor constitutes a potent source of metaphorical reference to the death taboo. This seems to confirm the pervasiveness of metaphor to refer to the topic of death in Victorian times, a device which is considered “not only as a specific figure of speech but also, in its broader sense, as the foundation of language itself” (Wheeler 1994: 21).⁹ Indeed, obituary writers usually resorted to consolatory metaphors, i.e., highly poetic and connotative metaphors which aimed at evading the linguistic taboos *death* and *die* with the purpose of providing some sort of consolation to those left alive and help them accept the reality of the loss of a loved one.

Given that poetic and connotative metaphors were commonplace in nineteenth century obituaries, it is hardly surprising that over a half of the funeral notices collected (to be precise, 120 out of 228) fall under the category of opinative obituaries. After all, the greater or lesser degree of subjectivity in death recordings is mainly due to external factors closely linked to the sociocultural norms of each historical period,¹⁰ and the Victorian over-sentimentalization provided a fertile soil for the development of sentimental obituaries. Accordingly, purely informative death notices, with the aim of reporting the necessary details concerning the death and the deceased by means of an impersonal language and a concise expression, like the one offered below, were not very representative of Victorian social and religious attitudes to mortality:

⁹ The pervasiveness of metaphor to refer to human mortality is not restricted to the Victorian period, but it is also a defining feature of the contemporary approach to death in Western societies. As Sexton (1997: 337) argues, “one would be hard pressed to find a type of reference to death in this culture which is both frequently used and without metaphoric content. Rarely is death called by its own name”.

¹⁰ In this sense, Belmonte (1998: 153) maintains that the subjective nature of death notices in Spain during the 1830s is a consequence of the literary romantic vein of the period, a tradition which had an obvious influence on the newspapers edited at that time.

- (1) At Pusey, on the 8th ult., of scarlet fever, Henry Algernon Herbert, second son of the Hon. Edward Herbert, in the eighth year of his age. (TCE, March 3)¹¹

Within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics, the metaphors observed in the obituaries collected can be analysed in terms of the cognitive mappings to which they may be assigned. This provides significant information concerning the way in which the taboo of death was actually used, perceived and, what is more important for the aim of this paper, mitigated. I have found six conceptual mappings for the consolatory metaphors excerpted from the obituaries: DEATH IS A JOURNEY (14 different metaphors), DEATH IS A JOYFUL LIFE (13), DEATH IS A REST (6), DEATH IS A REWARD (6), DEATH IS THE END (5) and DEATH IS A LOSS (2).¹²

It must be noted that the majority of metaphors view death as a positive event, as a sort of reward in Heaven after a virtuous life on earth. In fact, by virtue of their cognitive support, and under the influence of Christian faith, four out of the six conceptual metaphors pointed out conceptualize the domain of death in terms of a domain with positive connotations, namely as a joyful life, a journey, a rest and a reward. There are only two sets of correspondences in which death is portrayed negatively: a loss and the end. Accordingly, most of the conceptualizations in my corpus imply a positive value-judgement of death. In this respect, it is interesting to note how the positive or negative value-judgement in the death-related mappings depends, as Simon-Vandenberg (cited in Bultnick 1998: 84) has argued, on the nature of the source domain. Indeed, it seems evident that a joyful life, a journey, a rest and a reward are concepts with positive connotations. The graph below displays the

¹¹ It is worth noting that all the obituaries for children collected for the present research are informative. As for the treatment of the death in children in Victorian times, see Wheeler (1994: 46–50).

¹² In the same vein, Allan and Burridge (1991: 161–164) analysed the conceptual metaphors DEATH AS LOSS, DEATH AS WORRIES ABOUT THE SOUL, DEATH AS A JOURNEY and DEATH AS BEGINNING A NEW LIFE in relation to a total of 536 ‘Death’ and ‘In Memoriam’ notices in the *Melbourne Sun* in May 1988. Bultnick (1998: 22–61) offered a survey of the conceptualizations of death in contemporary English, namely DEATH AS MOVEMENT, DEATH AS DOWNWARD MOVEMENT, DEATH AS SLEEP, DEATH AS LOSS, DEATH AS SURRENDER, DEATH AS LIGHT GONE OUT and DEATH AS END-POINT. In addition, this author studied the conceptual basis of expressions related to the physiological effects of death, to the feelings concerning the dead and to religion, mythology and “folk-stories”.

percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain:

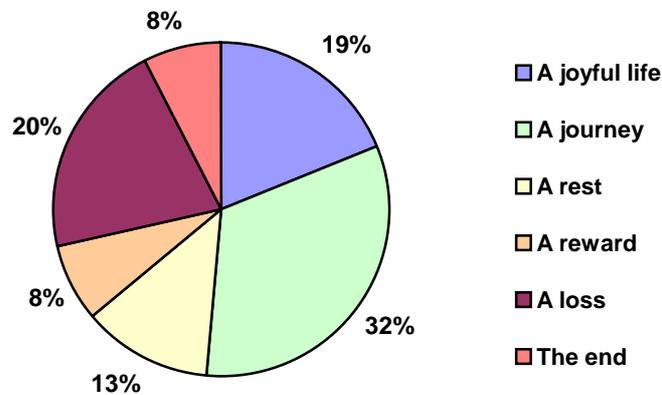


Figure 2. Conceptual domains for death in the obituaries

The conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A JOURNEY (26 substitutions) is the most relevant from a quantitative point of view, followed by DEATH IS A LOSS (17), DEATH IS A JOYFUL LIFE (15) and DEATH IS A REST (10), whereas the associations DEATH IS A REWARD (6) and DEATH IS THE END (6) are the least frequent. In what follows, I will attempt to clarify how the source domains shown in figure 2 (a journey, a loss, a joyful life, a rest, a reward and the end) are actually applied to target euphemistically the taboo concepts of death and dying. To this end, I will first deal with those conceptualizations that refer to the larger number of metaphorical substitutes in the corpus data.

5.1.1 Death is a journey

The conceptual metaphor which understands death in terms of a journey with a spiritual destination is the most relevant in quantitative terms. It is, in fact, the source of 26 consolatory metaphors in the funeral notices analysed, which makes up 32% of the total number of the metaphors found. By virtue of this conceptualization, based on the trivial assumption that the dead person is no longer around, as Bultnick (1998: 31) points out, human mortality is conceptualized as a departure from this world in which a basic domain of experience like death is understood in terms of a different and

more concrete domain, as a journey, an association which provides the basis for the verbal mitigation of the taboo.

This metaphorical mapping transfers different attributes from the source domain of a journey to the target domain of death. More specifically, it presents different sets of conceptual correspondences as a result of using the knowledge we have about journeys to talk about the taboo of death: first, the act of dying corresponds to the act of leaving; second, the destination of the journey is an encounter with God in Heaven; third, the dying person is the one that embarks on the journey. Though the nature of the source domain is radically different from that of the target domain, the immediate understanding of the euphemistic reference to death on the part of the reader is a consequence of the fact that these conceptual correspondences are already part of the receiver's cognitive system (cf. Lakoff 1993: 210). This is mostly so because the religious background of the nineteenth century reader shapes the knowledge of journeys in religious terms, similar to what happens with the domains of a joyful life and a reward. In what follows, I will attempt to clarify how the submappings just mentioned are used to target euphemistically the experiential domain of death.

In the metaphors which respond to this conceptual association, the act of dying corresponds to the act of leaving and, consequently, the deceased is obviously the person who embarks on the journey. The vast majority of the metaphorical substitutes observed (*depart/departure* –together with their variants *depart this life* and *departure out of this world*– *leave*, *pass from the sorrows of Earth*, etc.) focus on the act of leaving, on the journey itself, rather than on its conclusion. The final destination of the journey, that is, the encounter with God in Heaven, is based on the Christian belief of a joyful meeting with the Saviour, a notion which provides the euphemistic support of expressions such as *draw to God* and *go to one's eternal rest*. Curiously enough, the metaphor *pass away*, an old euphemism favoured by Victorian sentimentality which dates back to the fourteenth century (Rawson 1995: 309), has not been encountered on the obituary pages consulted. The two examples that follow illustrate the conceptual correspondences in the DEATH-IS-A-JOURNEY mapping discussed so far: the journey in (2) by means of *departed this life* and its heavenly destination in (3) with *gone to eternal rest*:

- (2) The Earl of Enniskillen *departed this life* at his residence Florence Court, county of Fermanagh, on Tuesday morning last. (TCJ, April 16)¹³
- (3) They will only find consolation in contemplating [...] that their darling has *gone to her eternal rest* ... (TCJ, February 27)

Some death-related expressions with the verb *leave* tend to emphasize the role of the survivors rather than the death itself. This is the case of the following obituary, in which the expression “has left two interesting children” clearly focus on the survivors of the one that has embarked on a journey:

- (4) Suddenly, Monday morning, at her residence, Fermoy, Mrs. Julia Desmond. She *has left two interesting*¹⁴ *children* to mourn the loss of a fond and tender parent. (TCE, March 17)

In the journey-metaphor the deceased corresponds to the person that has been capable of embarking on the journey. The dying person is thus supposed to have moved and, for this reason, considered to be somehow alive.¹⁵ That this is so can be gathered from the ways in which the deceased is verbalized (*departed*, *departing child*, *departed spirit* and *departed youth*) and in the use of verbs of motion (*depart*, *go*, *leave* and *pass*). By denying the total cessation of bodily movement as an intrinsic attribute of death, these metaphors do imply a negation of death as well. It is in this view of the deceased as an alive being that these metaphors fulfil their euphemistic function. This conceptualization has again its origin in a religious belief, that of an afterlife beyond death where the soul will live forever in God.

There are, however, some metaphors in which the dying person is not conceptualized as an alive being somehow capable of acting as such;

¹³ Hereafter, the terms and expressions that I want to highlight in the obituaries offered as examples will appear in italics.

¹⁴ In this obituary, the adjectival form *interesting* is employed to describe children as having the qualities of appealing to the emotions of the readers (*OED2*: s.v. “interesting”).

¹⁵ The importance of the concept of movement in this cognitive mapping is out of doubt. In fact, according to Bultnick (1998: 34–38), the conceptual metaphor DEATH AS A JOURNEY is a subdivision of the more general conceptualization DEATH AS MOVEMENT.

rather, in some obituaries the journey is seen as the result of an action performed by some external agent, someone who helps to bring about departure (Lakoff 1993: 232), like Providence (“It has pleased Providence to bestow upon him the rewards of his pious life”, TCJ, February 13) and God¹⁶ (“the man just called by the will of the Almighty before his throne of mercy”, TCE, January 1) in three cases each (see appendix). The journey may also be motivated by an unknown force, as in *be carried off in the prime of life* (TCJ, April 16) and *be cut away in the bloom of life* (TCJ, November 4). These two phrases are instances of a conceptualization in which death is viewed as an adversary, as a cruel enemy which can destroy us (Marín Arrese 1996: 43).

Therefore, from this standpoint, the two cases just mentioned can be said to convey a dysphemistic approach to death, rather than a euphemistic one, given the unfavourable connotations that these phrases transmit. This stands as a proof of how euphemism and its opposite dysphemism¹⁷ do not always form clear-cut categories; in fact, particular references to taboo topics display degrees of membership to one category or the other depending on contextual and pragmatic considerations which are beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say, as Allan and Burridge (1991: 28) point out, that “[l]ike euphemism, dysphemism is not necessarily a property of the word itself, but of the way it is used”.

5.1.2 Death is a loss

The domain of death is understood in terms of the domain of loss in 20% of the metaphors detected. This cognitive association has a metonymic basis (THE EFFECTS OF DEATH STAND FOR DEATH) which focuses on the negative results of death. Following Bultnick (1998: 44–45), the conceptual basis of this mapping lies in the fact that life is perceived as a valuable object and death is thus seen as the loss of this possession. Therefore, contrary to what

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the word *God* is avoided in the vast majority of the obituaries consulted. This term is the source of euphemistic substitutions like *the Almighty*, *Creator*, *Redeemer* or *Saviour*.

¹⁷ Following Allan and Burridge (1991: 26), a dysphemism can be defined as follows: “[A]n expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic term for just that reason”.

happens in the majority of the conceptual mappings observed in the obituaries, the metaphorical substitutes arising from this figurative association cannot be said to provide any sort of consolation or relief. In fact, as Allan and Burridge (1991: 162) maintain, the conceptual metaphor of death as loss evokes death as “malign fate”, as an event that human beings cannot control, leaving them powerless in the face of the unavoidable event. Euphemistic alternatives like *loss* (by far, the most employed euphemism in this domain with 13 occurrences, as shown in the appendix) and *bereavement* fall under this cognitive equation. In the following obituary the DEATH-AS-LOSS conceptual mapping is the source of the euphemistic substitution:

- (5) [...] his *loss* to society will be long and deeply felt, and the sympathy of his friends is now the only balm that we can pour on the bosom of his mourning family, with which a sense of religion can alone sustain them under the *bereavement*. (TCJ, June 18)

Granted that death is conceptualized as a loss, those who are left alive will *regret* and *lament* the loss. In fact, both *regret* and *lament* are terms commonly found on the obituary pages to stress the grief experienced by the relatives and closest friends of the deceased. Take the two death notices below:

- (6) At his lodgings, Cove, on Saturday the 3d inst., John Daniel Harnett, Esq., of Laurel Hill, Blarney, deeply *regretted* by his family and friends. (TCE, April 7)
- (7) The Right Hon. The Earl of Mountcashell, who was on friendly intercourse and intimacy with the *lamented* deceased. (TCJ, October 1)

In (6) and (7) the dying person is absent in the conceptualization, given the fact that the ed-participles *lamented* and *regretted* emphasize the role of the survivors rather than focusing on the person that dies. The shift of focus from the deceased to those left alive also takes place in certain uses of the verb *leave*, as seen in 5.1.1. Further, in these two obituaries, not only a direct reference to the subject of death is avoided, but also any euphemistic alternative. This seems to prove the mitigating effectiveness of silence.

5.1.3 Death is a joyful life

The Christian ideal of a joyful life, that is, a peaceful and everlasting existence with God in Heaven, is used to conceptualize death euphemistically in 19% of the metaphorical substitutes. This conceptual metaphor is based on one of the main principles in the Judaeo-Christian tradition: the belief in an afterlife in which the deceased will joyfully expect the resurrection in Heaven flanked by God and the celestial angels.

This cognitive mapping transfers the attributes from the domain of a joyful life to the domain of death. In this regard, the metaphors of hope and consolation found in the obituaries that arise from this conceptual association, such as *abode of peace*, *better world*, *joyful expectation of the resurrection of the just*, *happiness*, etc., present positive overtones to ameliorate the death taboo. Death is even verbalized in this mapping by means of the hyperbolic metaphor *holy and uninterrupted communion with God*, in reference to the ideal state for Christian faith. More specifically, this metaphorical phrase is a clear example of the metaphor DEATH IS ETERNAL LIFE proposed by Marín Arrese (1996: 44). In fact, under the belief in the resurrection of the dead on which the conceptual equation relies, this conceptual metaphor which understands death as an eternal life is but a projection of the DEATH-IS-A-JOYFUL LIFE metaphor considered here. The euphemistic sense of the source domain in all the metaphorical expressions proposed in this mapping is understood instantly, given the marked tendency of the Christian faith to reason about death, as is the case in the DEATH-IS-A-JOURNEY metaphor, commented in 5.1.1.

Due to the fact that the taboo domain of death is seen in terms of the domain of joy, life is viewed in negative terms. This conceptualization is reflected in metaphors like *lower scene*, *scene of wretchedness* and *anxiety and earthly care*, among others, which can be included in the conceptual mapping LIFE IS MISERY. A representative example is the obituary below in which religion inspired a positive view of death (*eternal rest*, *abode of peace*) and a negative view of earthly life (*scene of wretchedness*):

- (8) They will only find that consolation in contemplating the purity and virtues of the being that has left them – [...] in the pious and firmly grounded hope, that their darling has gone to the *eternal rest* – and that in the fullness of time, when it shall please God to call them from that *scene of wretchedness*, they will join her in that

abode of peace, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. (TCJ, November 27)

Of particular interest is the substitute for the verb *die* as *close existence on this side of the grave* in the obituary below in which both life and death are conceptualized as a grave:¹⁸

- (9) At Ballygar Lodge, on the 5th instant, the Rev. John KYNE, R.C.C, brother to Mr. KYNE, Merchant of this town. The pious, zealous, and exemplary Ecclesiastic *closed existence on this side of the grave*, by a malignant Fever,¹⁹ which he caught in the discharge of those consoling rites of religion, with which the Catholic Church assuages the *last agonies* of her departing children, and prepares them for the *Joys of a better world*. (TCJ, February 13)

In this respect, there is a change of focus from life to death, in which the latter is paradoxically viewed as an ideal state for the deceased with the aim of providing some sort of consolation to those left alive.²⁰ It is interesting to note that this conceptual association is especially common in the death notices of those who devoted their lives to religion. A good case in point is (9), in which the obituarist understands the transition from life to death as a passage from misery (*last agonies*) into happiness (*Joys of a better world*).

¹⁸ As an anonymous referee correctly observes, the grave could also be viewed as a bridge between life and death.

¹⁹ It is worthy of mention that an epidemic fever devastated Ireland during the years 1847 and 1848. Dr. Callanan of Cork reported in the *Dublin Quaterly Journal of Medical Science* (1849) that “the obituary of our workhouse here for the year 1847 gives the appalling return of 3,329 deaths”. As it could not be otherwise, given that TCE dates from 1847, one of the most disastrous years of the epidemic, this fever is testified by numerous references on the obituary pages of this newspaper. A good case in point is the following: “At Castlemain, county Kerry, of the prevailing epidemic [...]. This excellent and promising young clergyman was the fourth victim amongst his order in this county to the awful times in which we live” (TCE, April 14). Other obituaries are more explicit: “A few weeks since, we recorded the death of his worthy father; to-day we deplore the death of the son. Both fell victims to that scourge of that city—fever” (TCE, March 15).

²⁰ Paradoxes and contraries as affirmations of faith have their origin in the New Testament, more specifically in passages from John and II and I Corinthians 15 which view life in terms of death and incorruption in terms of corruption (Wheeler 1994: 5).

5.1.4 Death is a rest

Closely associated with the view of death as a desirable condition, I have found 10 metaphors (13% of the metaphorical euphemisms detected) which betray a conceptualization of death in terms of a peaceful rest after an earthly existence. Thus, all these metaphors show a positive judgement of death. The most frequent term in this mapping is *rest*, observed in phrases such as *eternal rest*, *rest in Him* and *rest in peace*, together with the more elaborate euphemisms *rest from the labours of a well spent life* and *rest on the merits of one's Saviour*, as shown in the appendix. Furthermore, *rest* appears in the well-known formula *rest in peace* (together with its Latin equivalent *requiescere in pace* and its acronym *R.I.P.*) and is likewise the source of euphemistic substitutions such as *resting place* 'grave'. Within this conceptual metaphor, I have also included *repose* and *sleep* in the expression *fall asleep in Christ*, in which a rest could easily resemble a gentle *falling asleep*.

The underlying notion of all the metaphors included in this mapping is based on the fact that a rest, a repose or a sleep are temporary, and therefore, death is also conceptualized as a temporary event. This analogy implies that the cessation of bodily functions and speech are not automatically identified with the symptoms of physical death, as they are also present in a peaceful sleep. The conceptualization which relates death to a rest or a sleep provides an effective euphemistic reference to the taboo mainly because this association ultimately leads to the denial of death as such: the dying person is no longer dead, but sunk in a comforting sleep.

In addition to this, within this conceptual metaphor, death is thought to provide some sort of relief for the dying person, a notion on which the euphemistic force of this mapping is also based. Consider the following obituary:

- (10) The Right Hon. William Gregory, for many years Under Secretary of State in Ireland, has *paid the debt of nature*. Full of years and of honours, his grey hairs have descended to the grave, and in the joyful expectation of the resurrection of the just, he *rests from the labours of a well spent life*. (TCJ, April 16)

In the death notice above, the relief is expressed in terms of a rest "from the labours of a well spent life". In this sense, the association between a death

and a rest is closely connected to the DEATH-IS-A-REWARD metaphor that I will analyse under the next heading.

5.1.5 Death is a reward

The domain of death is understood in terms of a reward for those virtuous human beings who have led exemplary lives in 8% of the metaphors found in the funeral notices consulted. Death is conceptualized as an event which, far from being fearful or harmful, involves a sort of liberation thanks to which the deceased and his or her survivors will find some hope and consolation. This conceptual mapping is built on a metonymy as it understands death via one of its effects, the same as the DEATH-IS-A-LOSS conceptual metaphor seen above. However, the DEATH-IS-A-REWARD cognitive association adopts a diametrically opposed perspective, since the metaphorical euphemism is based on the positive effects of death as a means for relief.

The knowledge of what constitutes a reward permits the obituarist to refer to death euphemistically. In this regard, I have observed two sets of conceptual correspondences in the obituaries consulted: the act of dying is a religious reward and the act of dying is a reward after a virtuous life on earth. In the first case, the Christian belief in a meeting with God in Heaven constitutes the source of the reward and is therefore used to mitigate the target domain of death. As a result of this analogy, death is verbalized as *a reward for someone in Heaven* or as *a blissful reward in the world of unending glory*. In the second submapping, the death is figuratively associated with a reward achieved by moral discipline after a life full of good deeds, as in the metaphor *enjoyment of the fruits of a well spent life*. This is also the case of the expression *enjoyment of that peace and bliss that await the virtuous and the good* in the following death notice that focuses on the virtuous earthly life of the deceased:

- (11) The unostentatious piety of her life, the charity and the domestic virtues which she invariably practiced give an assurance that she is now in the *enjoyment of that peace and bliss that await the virtuous and the good*. (TCJ, November 9)

5.1.6 Death is the end

By virtue of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema into which our everyday experience may be organized, life can be understood as a process with a starting, an end point and a time span. As Lakoff (1987: 275) puts it,

[c]omplex events in general are also understood in terms of a source-path-goal schema; complex events have initial states (source), a sequence of intermediate stages (path) and a final state (destination).

From this perspective, death is conceptualized as the final stage of our lifespan by means of the image mapping DEATH IS THE END, which provides the basis for understanding and mitigating death and dying in 8% of the euphemistic terms and phrases. The most obvious case in this conceptualization is *end*. In the example that follows, death is viewed as the end of the process of human life:

- (12) On Monday morning, the 15th inst., at eight o'clock, Mr. John O'Sullivan, grocer, of No. 2, Great George's-street, after a severe illness of six month's duration; leaving a widow and five young children to deplore his ultimately *end*. (TCE, March 17)

Furthermore, expressions containing the adjective *last* such as *last struggling moments of existence* and *last agonies* also belong to this cognitive network in the sense that they help to understand human death in terms of finality (cf. Bultnick 1998: 59). In this sense, metonymic expressions related to the physiological effects of death like *breathe one's last breath* and *put a period to one's earthly sufferings* can be considered to present the same metaphorical basis, in another proof of the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in the conceptualization of abstract concepts, as seen earlier.

The DEATH-IS-THE-END mapping has the implication that death is seen as the final debt one must pay just before leaving earthly existence as part of the concluding phase of a sort of economic transaction, as Ayto (cited in Marín Arrese 1996: 46) argues. This principle applies in the metaphorical expression *pay the debt of nature* in (10), where the euphemistic reference to death is the result of mapping the knowledge about that last moment (the need to settle one's accounts before leaving) onto knowledge about death.

6. Results and concluding remarks

The sentimentalization of death so characteristic of Victorian times provided a fertile soil for the flowering of metaphorical euphemistic language to conceptualize and verbalize the taboo of death. Indeed, there was a tendency to present elaborate and sentimental obituaries which commonly supposed exaggerated displays of grief and were supported by a considerable amount of poetic metaphors aiming at providing some sort of relief in the face of death.²¹ The great frequency of metaphORIZATION proves that this device fits the purpose of euphemism particularly well. In fact, I have found 80 metaphorical euphemisms out of a total of 119 euphemistic alternatives for the notions of death and dying. This proliferation of metaphorical euphemism seems to confirm the nineteenth-century attitude towards this taboo pointed out by Brown (cited in Rawson 1995: 309):

During the eighteenth century, according to my churchyard observation, people were allowed, quite simply, to die. [...] But about the year 1830 everything goes... Simplicity vanishes as well as the stately and sonorous rhythm. People no longer die, like Adam: they pass over, they go home, they are carried to rest, they fall asleep [...]. Anything but the plain fact of death.

Despite the large quantity of euphemisms, down-toning words and expressions cannot always mitigate the taboo, however hard they try. Indeed, the force of the death taboo can be observed in the 158 obituaries in which all allusion to the taboo is left out. This seems to demonstrate that, as commented earlier, on certain occasions silence stands out as the most effective euphemism. Thus, in some funeral notices, like (13), the only death references are the past tense of the verb employed (*bore*) and the ed-participle *regretted*:

- (13) At his residence, Upper Rathmines, after a painful and protracted illness, which he *bore* with Christian resignation, Mr. George Walker, for many years Conducting Printer to the Messrs. Grierson, her Majesty's Printers, aged 45 years, deeply and deservedly *regretted*. (TCE, December 31)

²¹ This sentimentality attached to death was also noticeable in the euphemistic poetic expressions collected by Pound (1936: 196–198) concerning the usage of American English in the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century.

Following the Conceptual Metaphor Theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), I have observed a rich variety of conceptual associations in the euphemistic figurative language of the taboo of death in the obituaries consulted. In fact, this paper attests that the model of Cognitive Linguistics provides solid tools for understanding and analysing how the taboo of death and its mitigation were dealt with in print in early Victorian Ireland. From this standpoint, the metaphors collected map different kinds of conceptual mappings and image-schemas. I have analysed six conceptual categories into which the consolatory metaphorical terms and expressions substituting the notions of death and dying can be included: DEATH IS A JOURNEY (32% of the consolatory metaphors observed), DEATH IS A LOSS (20%), DEATH IS A JOYFUL LIFE (19%), DEATH IS A REST (13%), DEATH IS A REWARD (8 %) and DEATH IS THE END (8%). In turn, these cognitive mappings entail further submappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains. Many of the metaphors included in these mappings rely on Christian beliefs. In this regard, most of the metaphorical language is based on the Christian hope that those who have died will enjoy a better life in Heaven. In the same vein, religion also inspired a positive view of death and a negative view of earthly life.

What emerges from the approach to death carried out in obituaries is that silence coexists with a euphemistic figurative language, mainly religious metaphors, to cope with the taboo of death. To a lesser extent, other semantic devices such as metonymies, generic terms and hyperboles, as well as lexical resources like learned terms, also play a significant role in the formation of euphemistic substitutes for the notions of death and dying (see table 1). In addition to this, though beyond the research interest of the present paper, it is interesting to note that the obituarist also resorts to direct references to the taboo –the words *death* and *died* appear 30 and 6 times respectively– and allusions to death which present dysphemistic overtones, as commented in 5.1.1.

In conclusion, the analysis of early Victorian obituaries excerpted from Irish newspapers in relation to the euphemistic substitution of the taboos of death and dying has revealed different features of the language of death which can be summarized in two main points. In the first place, the cult to sentimentalization surrounding death in the Victorian period is reflected in the proliferation of consolatory metaphors aiming at assisting those left alive in coping with the pain of loss. In the second place, death is

most commonly conceptualized as a liberation from a miserable earthly life under the influence of the religious belief in an eternal life beyond death.

Appendix

The following appendix lists the euphemistic substitutions for the taboos of death and dying excerpted from the newspapers used in the present research. Each headword is followed by the number of times that the substitute has been found in the 228 obituaries consulted, which provides information regarding the lexical frequency of each alternative, and the linguistic device which generates the euphemistic term or expression. Some substitutes are considered to be the result of more than one linguistic mechanism. In such cases, the first device to appear is that which more significantly contributes to the mitigating option. Square brackets mark a specific subject. The following abbreviations are used in the appendix:

ACR.....	Acronym	LEW.....	Learned word
BOR.....	Borrowing	MET.....	Metaphor
CIR.....	Circumlocution	MTN.....	Metonymy
GEN.....	Generic term	REV.....	Reversal
HYP.....	Hyperbole	TEC.....	Technical term

Death

- | | |
|---|--|
| - abode of peace (1) MET | - enjoyment of that peace and bliss that await the virtuous and the good (1) MET-CIR |
| - bereavement (4) MET | - eternal life in Heaven (1) MET-REV |
| - better world (1) MET | - eternity of happiness (1) MET-HYP |
| - blissful rewards in the world of unending glory (1) MET | - eternal rest (1) MET |
| - concern (1) GEN | - event (3) GEN |
| - decease (7) TEC | - fact (1) GEN |
| - demise (5) TEC | - full enjoyment of the fruits of a well spent life (1) MET |
| - departure (1) MET | - happiness (1) MET |
| - departure out of this world (1) MET | |
| - dissolution (1) MTN | |
| - end (2) MET | |

- in Heaven (1) MET
- holy and uninterrupted communion with God (1) MET-HYP
- joyful expectation of the resurrection of the just (1) MET
- kingdom (1) MET-HYP
- last agonies (1) MET
- last struggling moments of existence (1) MET
- loss (13) MET
- melancholy event (2) GEN
- reward for someone in Heaven (1) MET
- rewards of a pious life (1) MET
- separation (1) MTN
- visitation of Providence (1) MET
- void (2) MTN
- world of unending glory (1) MET-HYP
- wreath of glory (1) MET-HYP

Die

- be called by the will of the Almighty before his throne of mercy (1) MET-CIR
- be carried off in the prime of life (1) MET
- be cut away in the bloom of life (1) MET
- bestow upon someone the rewards of a pious life [Providence] (1) MET
- breathe one's last breath in peace (1) MTN
- call someone from this scene of wretchedness [God] (1) MET
- close existence on this side of the grave (1) MET
- depart (1) MET
- depart this life (4) MET
- descend to the grave [one's grey hairs] (1) MTN
- draw to God (1) MET
- enjoy the fruits of a well spent life (1) MET
- expire (3) LEW
- fall asleep in Christ (1) MET
- find eternal rest among the Joys of Heaven (1) MET
- go to the eternal rest (1) MET
- go to one's eternal rest (1) MET
- go where care or pain can reach one no more (1) MET-CIR
- join someone in that abode of peace (1) MET
- leave (4) MET
- meet the parent (1) MET
- pass from the sorrows of Earth (1) MET

- pay the debt of nature (1) MET
- put a period to one's earthly sufferings (1) MTN
- receive the unexpected summons of the tribunal of one's judge (1) MET
- release from all earthly pain and suffering [God] (1) MET
- remove from all anxiety and earthly care [Providence] (1) MET
- repose (1) MET
- requiescere in pace (1) BOR-MET
- R.I.P. (1) ACR-MET
- rest from the labours of a well spent life (1) MET
- rest in Him (1) MET
- rest in peace (1) MET
- rest on the merits of one's Saviour (1) MET

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**The Role of Perception in Loanword Adaptation:
The Fate of Initial Unstressed Syllables
in American Finnish and American Hungarian***

Abstract

This paper examines one aspect of the phonological adaptation of American English loanwords in two contact varieties, American Hungarian and American Finnish, namely, the fate of unstressed initial syllables of borrowed English words. The two recipient languages both have initial word stress, which is retained in their respective immigrant varieties. American Hungarian and American Finnish exhibit striking similarities in their strategies of adaptation: either (1) the stress is moved to the first syllable (just like in the Old World varieties of these languages), or (2) the unstressed initial syllable is deleted. In this analysis in the framework of Optimality Theory, the role of perception is argued to be crucial in explaining the presence of the two parallel strategies of adaptation. In the perception of word boundaries, Strategy 2 relies exclusively on auditory (rather than visual) input, where the word boundary is perceived as marked through stress by the speakers of the immigrant varieties.

1. Introduction

This paper examines one aspect of the phonological adaptation of American English (AmE) loanwords in two contact varieties, American Hungarian (AH) and American Finnish (AF), namely, the fate of unstressed initial syllables of borrowed English words. The two recipient languages, Hungarian and Finnish, both have initial word stress, which is retained in their respective immigrant varieties as well. American Hungarian and American Finnish exhibit striking similarities in their strategies with which they adapt such English words: either (1) the stress is moved to the first

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syllable (just like it would be in the Old World varieties of these languages as well, cf. Hungary Hungarian [HH] *'konverter* and Finland Finnish [FF] *'konvertteri*, both from English *con'verter*) (cf. AH *'anaunszol* and AF *'ünaunssata* ← AmE *a'nounce*), or (2) the unstressed initial syllable is deleted (cf. AH *'pojntment* and AF *'pointmentti* ← AmE *a'ppointment*). (The two strategies sometimes produce doublets, cf. AH *'emördzsönszi rúm* and *'mördzsenszi rúm* ← AmE *e'mergency room*.) The two strategies are employed in the two languages in very similar ways: the type of syllable which is most commonly deleted in both languages is the onsetless syllable (i.e. the vowel-initial syllable, most commonly a V-, less commonly a VC- or, rarely, a VCC-syllable, e.g. AH *genszt* ← AmE *a'gainst*, AF *pout* ← AmE *a'bout*, AH *gédzsment* ← AmE *en'gagement*, and AH *kjúzmi* ← AmE *ex'cuse me*), while syllables with onsets, i.e. consonant-initial syllables, are not deleted at all in American Hungarian, and in only very few isolated cases in American Finnish (e.g. AF *puplikaani* ← AmE *re'publican*).

In our analysis of this case of loanword adaptation in the framework of Optimality Theory (Kager 1999, Prince and Smolensky 2004), we argue that the role of perception (Kenstowicz 2001, Peperkamp and Dupoux 2003, and Steriade 2001) is crucial in explaining the presence of the two parallel strategies of adaptation (i.e. stress movement and unstressed initial syllable deletion). In the perception of word boundaries, Strategy 2 relies exclusively on auditory (rather than visual) input, where the word boundary is perceived to be marked through stress by the speakers of the immigrant varieties. This phonological explanation is fully in accord with the sociolinguistic evidence, namely that the forms where Strategy 2 is employed are used only by immigrants, who typically learn English through speaking (rather than reading and writing it), and for whom, thus, the spoken (rather than the written) form of English would have been predominant. At the same time, forms where Strategy 1 is exclusively employed are used in Hungary Hungarian and Finland Finnish, where visual input plays a much more important role than does auditory input. The role of visual input cannot, of course, be excluded in the immigrants varieties either (it is evidenced by forms such as AH *polic* [ts] 'police' and AF *sessori* [s:] 'assessor' etc.), but, as we will argue, auditory input has priority over it.

The paper aims to demonstrate the following main points. First, the point that Hungarian and Finnish, two genetically related languages, continue to share their common property of word stress even in their faraway contact varieties (where the language they are in contact with is

the same). Second, even with genetic relatedness aside, the two languages have the same typological property in word stress, and this property may lead to predictable strategies in identical contexts – as indeed it is shown to do so in the two contact varieties. And third, the priority of auditory input to visual input is supported by our analysis of loanwords in the two contact varieties in question.

2. The data

The American Hungarian linguistic data used for the analysis comes from four sources: two corpuses of American Hungarian speech (one from South Bend, Indiana, cf. Kontra 1990; and one from McKeesport, Pennsylvania, cf. Fenyvesi 1995), as well as Bartha's 1993 findings from Detroit, Michigan, and Vázsonyi (1995), a dictionary of American Hungarian from the Calumet region in Illinois. (For a comprehensive description of American Hungarians and their language use, see also Fenyvesi 2005). The source of the American Finnish data is Virtaranta's 1992 dictionary of American Finnish.

Altogether the four American Hungarian sources yield approximately 1,400 loanwords, of which about 150 occur in more than one source. (Alternative forms of the same loanword, like *afic* ~ *ofic* ~ *ofisz* 'office,' are only counted once.) Among the total of 1,400 words there are 70 where in the English source form word stress is non-initial and the initial syllable is unstressed. In 52 of these words the same adaptation strategy is used in American Hungarian as far as their stress placement is concerned: the word stress is moved to the initial syllable (and all of the syllables are preserved).

Of the 70 words whose American English source word has non-initial stress, 17 get adapted into American Hungarian through the deletion of the unstressed syllable (and one word through morphemic substitution of an initial unstressed syllable morpheme, see below) – here, then, the Hungarian-like initial word stress is achieved in a different way, via a strategy not used either in Hungary Hungarian or in any other contact variety of Hungarian. A list of these words is presented in Table 1 below.

American English source word	American Hungarian loan
adopt	daptol
adoption	daptolás
against	genszt
allergic	lörcsik
aluminium	luminum
American	meriken
apartment	partment ~ apartment
appendix	peniksz
appointment	pojment ~ pojntment
arrest	resztol ~ le-resztol *
electric	lektrik
emergency room	mördzsenszi rúm ~ emördzsönszi rúm
engage	le-gédzsol
engagement	gédzsmment
especially	peseli ~ pesöl
excuse me	kjüzmi
interpreter	tropender
involve	bele-volvál **

Table 1. American Hungarian words where the unstressed initial syllable of the source word is deleted.

Virtaranta's 1992 dictionary contains 4,571 loans, out of these there are 164 whose English source word has non-initial word stress. In 135 of these 164 word-initial stress is achieved by moving the stress to the first syllable, and in 29 the unstressed initial syllable is deleted. These 29 words are listed in Table 2 below.

American English source word	American Finnish loan
about	pout
accommodate	komoteitata
accommodation	komoteessi
account	kounti
agreement	kriimentti
alarm	larmi
align	lainata
allow	lauata
allowance	lauanssi
amount	mauntata
appendicitis	penetsait
appoint	pointata
appointment	pointmentti
appraise	preissata
appreciate	priisieitata
around	raund
arrest	rästätä
asparagus	sparakus
assemblyman	semplimies
assessor	sessari
association	soseissöni
attach	tötsätä
attest	testi
autopsy	tapsi
economy	kaanami
emergency	meersensi
refinery	faineri
republican	puplikaani
surprise party	praispaarti

Table 2. American Finnish words where the unstressed initial syllable of the source word is deleted.

3. Analysis

3.1 The phonological facts

Now we turn to see what the distribution of the various syllable types is in the words where the initial unstressed syllable of the English source word is deleted vs. not deleted. Table 3 presents the numerical distribution of the words with different types of initial syllables in American Hungarian and American Finnish, respectively, and their proportion with each type.

Syllable type:	American Hungarian		American Finnish	
	deleted	not deleted	deleted	not deleted
V	12 (75%)	4 (25%)	26 (68%)	12 (32%)
VC	4 (24%)	13 (76%)	0	26 (100%)
VCC	1 (17%)	5 (83%)	0	15 (100%)
CV	0	29 (100%)	2 (3%)	56 (97%)
CVC	0	0	1 (5%)	19 (95%)
CCV	0	1 (100%)	0	7 (100%)
Total:	17 (25%)	52 (75%)	29 (18%)	135 (82%)

Table 3. Types and the fate of initial syllables of words whose English source word has non-initial stress in American Hungarian and in American Finnish.

As we can see in Table 3, in American Hungarian only V-initial unstressed syllables are deleted in the process of borrowing: in the greatest number (12 out of 17, or 71%) of words where an unstressed syllable is deleted, this syllable is V, with the remaining being VC or VCC syllables. No C-initial unstressed syllable is deleted at all in American Hungarian. In American Finnish the great majority (26 out of 29, or 90%) of the words where a syllable is deleted, this syllable is V, while in the remaining 3 cases, it is CV or CVC. No VC or VCC syllables are deleted in American Finnish at all.

To summarize the facts, the most prominent tendency in both languages is to delete V syllables – their deletion accounts for 71% of all deletions in American Hungarian and 90% of them in American Finnish. In addition to this, American Hungarian also allows the deletion of other onsetless syllables, while American Finnish marginally allows the deletion of syllables with onsets.

3.2 An Optimality Theory account

Phonologically speaking, in a language like Hungarian or Finnish where primary stress always falls on the first syllable,¹ phonetic content preceding the stressed syllable may not be interpreted as part of the prosodic word. Hungary Hungarian and Finland Finnish invariably re-integrate pretonic syllables by moving the stress onto them while American Hungarian and American Finnish also delete some of them. Our proposal uses Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 2004) to account for the differences in loanword adaptation between the European and American varieties of the languages in question, paying special attention to the role of perception (cf. Kenstowicz 2001, Peperkamp and Dupoux 2003, Steriade 2001).

3.2.1 Accounting for the American Hungarian facts

The following three constraints will be used for both Hungary Hungarian and American Hungarian:

- (1) Align-Left
Primary Stress falls on the first syllable.
- (2) Max- σ
A syllable in the input has a correspondent in the output.
- (3) IDentity-Stress (ID-Stress)
A stressed syllable in the input should be a stressed syllable in the output.

In Hungary Hungarian, Align-L and Max- $\sigma\sigma$ are ranked above ID-Stress to avoid deletion:

- Align-L, Max- $\sigma\sigma$ >> ID-Stress

This is how American English *Alaska* [ə'læskə] becomes *Alaszka* ['ɒlɒskɒ] in Hungarian:

¹ Cf. Siptár & Törkenczy (2000: 21) for Hungarian and Turunen (1998: 62) for Finnish.

(4)

ə'læskə	AlignL	Max-σσ	ID-Stress
ɒ'lɒskɒ	*!		
☞ 'ɒlɒskɒ			*
'lɒskɒ		*!	

In American Hungarian, AlignL dominates Max-σσ and ID-Stress but Max-σσ and ID-Stress are not ranked with respect to each other:

- AlignL >> Max-σσ, ID-Stress

The following three tableaux illustrate how American Hungarian applies both stress movement and deletion. Tableau (5) gives an example of two attested winners, while (6) and (7) show attested winners with unattested alternative winners (marked with a parenthesized ☞).

(5) American English *a'partment* > American Hungarian *'apartment* ~ *'partment*

ə'pɑ:tmənt	AlignL	Max-σσ	ID-Stress
ɒ'pɔ:rtmənt	*!		
☞ 'ɒpɔ:rtmənt			*
☞ 'pɔ:rtmənt		*	

(6) American English *im'mediate* > American Hungarian *'immediet*

i'mi:diət	AlignL	Max-σσ	ID-Stress
im'mɛdiət	*!		
☞ 'imɛdiət			*
(☞) 'mɛdiət		*	

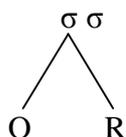
(7) American English *en'gagement* > American Hungarian *'gédzsmənt*

in'geɪdʒmənt	AlignL	Max-σσ	ID-Stress
ɛŋ'ge:dʒmənt	*!		
(☞) 'ɛŋge:dʒmənt			*
☞ 'ge:dʒmənt		*	

The choice between stress movement and deletion is not completely unpredictable. A syllable with an onset is never deleted in our American Hungarian corpus, which might be due to perceptual factors: a syllable with an onset is more salient than one without. An observation that might be related to the higher perceptibility of syllables with an onset as opposed to those without is that non-lexical hesitations tend to lack an onset as in British English [ʒ:] or American English [ʌm]. Lexical hesitations such as English well or Hungarian hát might begin with a consonant but note that both [w] and [h] lack supra-glottal consonantal features.

In structural terms, a syllable with an onset has a branching $\sigma\sigma$ node (as in 8), while one without only has a rhyme (9):

- (8) A syllable with an onset:



- (9) A syllable without an onset:



Note that a branching σ node is more salient than a branching rhyme. It does not matter whether an onsetless syllable has a coda or not: AmE en'gagement and in'terpreter as easily lose their initial unstressed syllable in American Hungarian as A'merican or a'luminum: en'gagement \rightarrow ['ge:dʒmənt], in'terpreter \rightarrow ['trɒpɛndɛr]; A'merican \rightarrow ['mɛrɪkən], a'luminum \rightarrow ['luminum].

The following constraint is motivated by the salience of a syllable with an onset:

- (10) Max-OR

Do not delete a syllable which is syllabified with a branching $\sigma\sigma$ node in the output.

Max-OR has to be ranked above ID-Stress to take effect and also above Max- $\sigma\sigma$ to allow for cases when syllables with an onset are not deleted but syllables without one are:

- AlignL, Max-OR >> Max- $\sigma\sigma$, ID-Stress

The tableau in (11) shows how English *police* [pə'li:s] becomes *polic* ['polits] in American Hungarian:

(11)

pə'li:s	AlignL	Max-OR	Max- $\sigma\sigma$	ID-Stress
po'lips	*!			
☞ 'polits				*
'lits		*!	*	

The tableau in (5), repeated as (12) below with an additional column, shows that the deletion of a syllable without an onset does not violate Max-OR.

(12)

ə'pɑ:tmənt	AlignL	Max-OR	Max- $\sigma\sigma$	ID-Stress
ɒ'pɔ:tmənt	*!			
☞ 'pɔ:tmənt				*
☞ 'pɔ:tmənt			*	

Note that a simpler constraint of Max-Onset, in place of Max-OR, would not yield the desired result because it would not prefer retaining the whole syllable to retaining only an onset:

(13) Max-OR replaced with Max-Onset

pə'li:s	AlignL	Max-Onset	Max- $\sigma\sigma$	ID-Stress
po'lips	*!			
☞ 'polits				*
☞ ?'plits			*	
'lits		*!	*	

While the deletion of an unstressed vowel without deleting the whole syllable is quite frequent in casual English (e.g. *p'lice* [p^h'lis] or *s'pose* [s'p^houz]), it has not been found in the American Hungarian data.²

3.2.2. Accounting for the American Finnish facts

The constraints proposed for American Hungarian properly account for most of the American Finnish data as well. The tableau in (14) shows the deletion of an onsetless syllable and the one in (15) shows that an unstressed syllable is not deleted if it has an onset:

(14) American English *a'ssessor* → American Finnish *'sessari*

ə'ses.ɹ	AlignL	Max-OR	Max-σσ	ID-Stress
a'ses:ari	*!			
(☞) 'ases:ari				*
☞ 'ses:ari			*	

(15) American English *po'lice* → American Finnish *'poliisi*

pə'li:s	AlignL	Max-OR	Max-σσ	ID-Stress
po'li:si	*!			
☞ 'poli:si				*
'li:si		*!	*	

However, American Finnish has some data which violate Max-OR but survive nevertheless: *'faineri* ‘refinery’, *'puplikaani* ‘republican’ and *'praispaarti* ‘surprise party’ (but note that AmE *surprise* is adopted as *'supraissi*).³

Demoting Max-OR just to allow *'faineri* and *'puplikaani* to win the race would not be a good idea because then we would lose a generalization that syllables with an onset are normally not deleted. Note that both *refinery* and *republican* begin with an [ɹ], an alveolar approximant. In a strictly structural approach, one could narrow the scope of Max-OR:

² Alternatively, one could claim that initial clusters may only appear on the surface to satisfy faithfulness constraints. Cf. Siptár & Törkenczy (2000: 98–103).

³ The deletion of the initial syllable of surprise in surprise party is affected by phrasal phonology and thus lies outside the scope of this paper.

(16) **Max-CR**

Do not delete a syllable with a non-approximant onset.

This constraint will still not allow the deletion of the pretonic syllables of words like *police* or *mechanic* but would not penalize the deletion of a syllable with an initial approximant. The tableaux in (17) and (18) show that a syllable with an initial approximant may be either deleted or become stressed:

(17) American English *re'finery* → American Finnish *'faineri*

ɹɪ'fainəɹi	AlignL	Max-CR	Max-σσ	ID-Stress
ri'faineri	*!			
(σ) 'rifaineri				*
σ 'faineri			*	

(18) English *re'ceipt* → American Finnish *'risiiti*

ɹɪ'si:t	AlignL	Max-CR	Max-σσ	ID-Stress
ri'siti	*!			
σ 'risiti				*
(σ) si:ti			*	

What Max-CR does not do is explain why *r*-initial syllables are only deleted in two words when there are 16 words (e.g. AF *rikoolata* ← AmE *recall*, AF *risaitata* ← AmE *recite*, AF *resortti* ← AmE *resort* etc.) in which they are not deleted but get stressed. In a perceptual approach, one would not necessarily change Max-OR. Instead, one could attribute the deletion of the initial syllables of *refinery* and *republican* to a failure to recognize an initial approximant as a consonant by native speakers of a language that does not have an alveolar approximant (Finnish *r* is a trill). What is perceived as the reduced vowel of *re-* is phonetically the transition from the rhotic to the following consonant. While the transition from [ɹ] to a following coronal involves tongue movement yielding a vocalic sound clearly distinguishable from the preceding rhotic, the transition from [ɹ] to a following labial does not require any tongue movement. Consequently, an onset–rhyme sequence of [ɹ] + neutral vowel (commonly transcribed as

[ɹ] ~ [ɹə]) may be phonetically identical to an onsetless syllabic [ɹ], which, like other onsetless syllables, may be perceived as non-lexical material that should be ignored. Perceptual input is neither raw phonetic material, nor invariable abstraction but individually varied interpretation. If initial unstressed *re-* is perceived as syllabic [ɹ] then it has no onset in the input. No initial consonant – no violation of Max-OR. Note that *re-* is followed by a labial in both *re'finery* and *re'publican*.

4. Discussion

In our analysis we have proposed an Optimality Theory account of the complex mechanism of the adaptation of loanwords with unstressed initial syllables in the source language. In the analysis we rely on recognizing the role of perception in the adaptation process and demonstrate that this perceptual approach tells more about the facts of the adaptation process in the two immigrant varieties – the similarities and the differences observed between them as well as the differences between the immigrant varieties and their respective Old World counterparts – than a strictly structural approach would.

The perceptual explanation of the differences in the adaptation strategies of the immigrant varieties with both stress-shifting and deletion and the Old World varieties with only stress-shifting is that speakers of Old World varieties have more visual input than auditory input while American Hungarians and American Finns have (had) more auditory input than visual input: while in today's European societies English loanwords enter the recipient language at least partly through writing and the written form of a loanword is at least as salient for speakers as its phonetic form, for the predominantly working-class and peasant origin Hungarian and Finnish immigrants in the US the phonetic form would have been far more salient. Even though both groups were among the groups of European immigrants with the highest literacy rates at the time – sources unanimously put the rate for Finns between 96 and 99 percent (Loukinen 1996, Spiegel 2005) and for Hungarians at 89% (Várdy 2000: 232), while the average immigrant literacy rate was 76% at the time (Spiegel 2005) – this is literacy in the first language, while literacy in English was beyond the reach of most of the immigrant generation of Hungarians and Finns, and, therefore, the oral channel must have been the dominant one for most of them.

As we all know, in written language, a word is a clear-cut unit between spaces perceived in its integrity, while in oral language stresses might be interpreted as word-boundaries by a listener whose first language is an initial-stress language.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we argue that perception plays a crucial role in the adaptation of English loanwords in Finnish and Hungarian, specifically, in the United States immigrant versus the Old World varieties of the two languages. The different strategies of loanword adaptation they apply produce different results in the phonological shape of the loanwords, which we explain by the predominance of auditory versus visual input in the two kinds of varieties, respectively.

The different adaptation strategies are modeled with different rankings of the same constraints in Optimality Theory. A constraint-based theory need not be unrelated to an explanation referring to auditory versus visual channels. One might relate constraints and channels by stipulating that integrity constraints like Max- σ are more likely to be undominated if speakers have more visual input than auditory input, while stress-faithfulness constraints like ID-Stress get strengthened when speakers have more auditory input than visual input.

In addition to the predominance of auditory vs. visual channels, the role of perception is highlighted in the analysis by perceptually motivated constraints like Max-OR, perceptually motivated hierarchies, like Max-OR above Max- σ , and perceptually interpreted inputs like initial unstressed *re-*.

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Dialect and Standard in Second Language Phonology: The Case of Arabic*

Abstract

This paper shows that students who learn Standard Arabic before a dialect take 'an etymological trip' in learning the phonology of the dialect in question. The paper also discusses instructional implications related to the teaching of foreign languages in general and Arabic in particular, arguing that learners should be exposed to dialects early on. This should be especially the case if the ultimate aim is to use the target language in face-to-face communication and not only to handle printed material.

1. Introduction

One assumption in language acquisition is that the lexicon and the phonology of the target language are learned simultaneously (Tesar et al. 2003: 477; Prince & Tesar 1999: 8). Whereas this is true for first language acquisition and many cases of second language acquisition, the assumption rarely applies to learning an Arabic dialect as a foreign language (outside the country where the dialect – or Arabic in general – is spoken). Most learners of Arabic learn Standard Arabic (hereafter SA) first. SA, however, is never used in everyday interactions and transactions; what native speakers use is a dialect (Levantine, Egyptian, Gulf, etc.), and SA is mainly used in education (e.g., printed material, formal lectures) and some forms of media (e.g., newspapers, news broadcasting). This is the main reason why some learners of Arabic as a foreign language¹ sign up for courses that

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¹ The language learners I have in mind here are university students.

teach a certain dialect after having learnt SA for a period of time, usually after three or four courses.

This implies that learners of an Arabic dialect who have already started with SA come to the dialect with a set of underlying forms that are different from those of the native speaker who normally learns a dialect first and then moves to SA in formal education. This paper shows that in the process of learning a dialect as a foreign language, the learner who comes from SA embarks on an etymological journey, a journey that ends with a grammar that is, not only different from, but also more demanding than the grammar that the native speaker has. I also argue that learners of Arabic whose purpose is to be able to use the language in face-to-face communication with native speakers should be exposed to a dialect early on in order to avoid this confusion. I use Egyptian Cairene Arabic (hereafter CA) to illustrate, focusing on the leftmost edge of Stem-V (FIVE) sound verbs;² the analysis is developed in the framework of Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993).

The paper is structured in this way: Section 2 delineates the characteristics of the leftmost edge of the prosodic word in both SA and CA. Section 3 highlights the case of Stem-V verbs in both dialects. Section 4 deals with first and second language acquisition of CA Stem-V verbs. Section 5 discusses the implications of the analysis on classroom instruction and language programs. Section 6 summarizes the analysis and offers suggestions for further research.

2. SA vs. CA: The leftmost edge of the prosodic word

Typologically, SA is a language that does not allow consonant clusters or onset-less syllables in the output; all output syllables are either CV or CVC. The same applies to CA, except that this dialect allows a complex coda at the right edge of the prosodic word; e.g., [ʔit.kal.limt] *I talked*. The focus of this paper will be on onsets at the left edge of the word. Codas, as well as variations in vowels between SA and CA, are not pertinent to the discussion at hand and, therefore, they will not be accounted for. Table 1

² ‘Sound’ here means that the verb has three consonants (excluding glides) in its root form; e.g. /ktb/ in the verb /katab/ meaning ‘to write’. Compare to /wʒd/ in the verb /waʒad/ meaning ‘to find’. A stem is also known as *wazn*, *binjan*, or *conjugation* (see McCarthy 2003).

shows how the leftmost edge of the prosodic word is the same in SA and CA. Compare to Levantine Arabic which allows consonant clusters at the leftmost edge of the word.

SA	CA	Compare to Levantine Arabic	Gloss
muʕallim	miʕallim	mʕallim	teacher/master
kabiir	kibiir	kbiir	big

Table 1.

In the event of an illegal onset, both SA and CA resort to epenthesis as a repair strategy. Therefore, if the underlying form begins with a consonant cluster, such as /CCVC/, [ʔi] or [ʔu] (the latter basically appears in SA) is inserted at the beginning of the prosodic word so that /CCVC/ surfaces as [CVC.CVC], or more precisely [ʔVC.CVC]. The case of the imperative mood is a good example and is discussed in details below.

2.1 The leftmost edge of verbs in the imperative mood: A general account

Take as an example the SA Stem-I verb [**darasa**] (to study) and Stem-II verb [**darrasa**] (to teach). Both forms are by default perfective, 2nd Sg Mas.³ Descriptively (though not necessarily diachronically), the imperative mood is based on the imperfective form of the verb, namely, [ja-drusu] (he studies / is studying) and [ju-darrisu] (he teaches / is teaching). Tables 2 and 3 show the imperfective forms of each verb with the 2nd person prefixes – since this is the person normally used in the imperative mood.

³ Abbreviations: Sg: singular; Pl: plural; Fem: feminine; Mas: masculine; IND: indicative

ta Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- drus	- Ø u MAS IND	ta Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- drus	- ii n FEM IND
ta Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- drus	- aa n DUAL IND	ta Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- drus	- uu n PI-MAS IND
ta Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- drus	- na PI-FEM-IND			

Table 2. – SA imperfective forms for /drus/ with 2nd-person prefixes

tu Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- darris	- Ø u MAS IND	tu Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- darri	- ii n FEM IND
tu Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- darris	- aa n DUAL IND	tu Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- darris	- uu n PI-MAS IND
tu Imperfect 2 nd prefix	- darris	- na PI-FEM-IND			

Table 3. – SA imperfective forms for /darris/ with 2nd-person prefixes

In order to form the imperative, the language user has to

- drop the imperfective prefix;
- drop the IND case marker – to be more precise, replace the overt IND marker, /n/ or /u/, by the jussive marker, /Ø/ (Younes 1999: 287).

Therefore, the underlying forms of the imperative paradigms of *to study* and *to teach* are:

Number and Gender	<i>Study</i>	<i>Teach</i>
Sg Mas	drus	darris
Sg Fem	drus-ii	darris-ii
Dual Mas/Fem	drus-aa	darris-aa
Pl Mas	drus-uu	darris-uu
Pl Fem	drus-na	darris-na

Table 4. – Underlying forms for SA imperative study and teach

The members of the imperative paradigm of *to teach* do not vary in the output since all the forms begin with a legal onset. The paradigm members

of *to study*, on the other hand, begin with a consonant cluster /dr/. As a repair strategy, [ʔu] is inserted at the beginning of every member, so the surface forms are: [ʔudrus], [ʔudrusii], etc. The reason not only a vowel is inserted is because SA does not allow onsetless syllables.⁴ This process applies almost exactly in CA, except that [ʔi] is usually used instead of [ʔu].⁵

2.2 The leftmost edge of verbs in the imperative mood: An OT account

In OT terminology, both dialects have a high-ranking constraint against complex onsets. The problem of /drus/ is solved by violating the two low-ranking constraints DEP-IO(C) and DEP-IO(V), leading to the optimal output [ʔudrus], as Tableau 1 shows. [udrus] is also ruled out as the result of a high-ranking ONSET:

- ONSET → A syllable must have an onset.
- *[CC] → No complex onsets are allowed.
- DEP-IO(C) → No epenthesis of consonants is allowed.
- DEP-IO(V) → No epenthesis of vowels is allowed.

/drus/	ONSET	*[CC]	DEP-IO(C)	DEP-IO(V)
☞ ʔudrus			*	*
udrus	*!			
drus		*!		

Tableau 1. – COMPLEX ONSETS – REPAIR STRATEGY (1)

Other outputs are hypothetically possible: [*rus] - [*dirus] - [*dus]. All are sub-optimal, however, due to the high ranking constraints: MAX-IO and CONTIGUITY-IO, as Tableau 2 below illustrates:

⁴ The glottal stop /ʔ/ inserted as a repair strategy is different from the one that starts out in the underlying form; e.g. /ʔam al/ (hope). For more details, see Broselow (1979) and Gadalla (2000). See also Wiltshire (1998) for an analysis of the behavior of epenthetic /ʔ/.

⁵ In SA, [ʔi] is inserted when the first stem vowel (the vowel between the 2nd and 3rd consonants) is [i] or [a] (e.g. [ʔism aɪ] *listen!*). [ʔu] is inserted when the stem vowel is [u] (e.g. [ʔudrus]) (Younes 1999: 287).

- MAX-IO → No deletion of segments is allowed.
- CONTIGUITY-IO → “No medial epenthesis or deletion of segments” is allowed. (Kager 1999: 250).

These two constraints rank higher than DEP-IO(V) and DEP-IO(C).⁶

/drus/	MAX-IO	CONTIGUITY-IO	DEP-IO(C)	DEP-IO(V)
☞ ʔudrus			*	*
dirus		*!		*
rus	*!			
dus	*!	*		

Tableau 2. – COMPLEX ONSETS – REPAIR STRATEGY (2)

Tableaux 1 and 2 put together show the following ranking:

ONSET, MAX-IO >> *[CC, DEP-IO(C), CONTIGUITY-IO, DEP-IO(V)

drus-ii	ONSET	*[CC	CONTIGUITY-IO	MAX-IO	DEP-IO(C)	DEP-IO(V)
☞ ʔudrus					*	*
udrus	*!					*
drus		*!				
dirus			*!			*
dus			*!	*		

Tableau 3. – /drus/ to [ʔudrus]

Notice, however, that /darris/ *teach* surfaces faithfully as [darris] by the current ranking of the constraints, as Tableau 4 shows. The insertion of [ʔi] is only a repair strategy in case of complex onsets. If there is no violation of the high-ranked ONSET and *[CC, no overkill is possible.

⁶ It might be more precise to rephrase DEP-IO(C) into DEP-IO(ʔ) since, to my knowledge, [ʔ] is the only segment that can be epenthesized in Arabic.

darris-ii	ONSET	*[CC	CONTIGUITY- IO	MAX- IO	DEP- IO(C)	DEP- IO(V)
☞ darris						
ʔidarris					*!	*!

Tableau 4. – from / darris/ to [darris]

In the following section, I use the above analysis to study the behavior of Stem-V verbs in both SA and CA.

3. The case of stem-V verbs

In SA, Stem-V verbs have the underlying form /t₁a₂C₃a₄C₅C₆a₇C₈/or the more common Arabic *wazn* ‘stem’ /tafaʕʕal/; e.g. /takallam/ *to speak*, /taðakkar/ *to remember*, /taʕallam/ *to learn*. Let us assume, with the non-native SA speaker who is learning CA, that CA has the same underlying form; this might or might not be true diachronically, but it must seem true to the CA learner who has learned SA first. Based on the analysis in section 2, we can predict that the left edge of Stem-V verbs will have the same output in both SA and CA. Yet, this is not the case. As the following table of the verb /takallam/ *to speak* shows, the members of the CA perfective paradigm of Stem-V verbs delete the first vowel in the SA form and insert [ʔi] at the beginning of the prosodic word, a behavior accounted for in section 2.2 as a repair strategy in case the verb begins with a consonant cluster.

Person/Number/Gender		SA PERFECTIVE	CA PERFECTIVE
1 st	Sg Mas/Fem	takallam-tu	ʔi-tkallim-t
	Pl Mas/Fem	takallam-naa	ʔi-tkallim-naa
2 nd	Sg Mas	takallam-ta	ʔi-tkallim-t
	Sg Fem	takallam-ti	ʔi-tkallim-ti
	Dual Mas/Fem	takallam-tum a	
	Pl Mas	takallam-tum	ʔi-tkallim-tuu
	Pl Fem	takallam-tunna	
3 rd	Sg Mas	takallam-a	ʔi-tkallim
	Sg Fem	takallam-at	ʔi-tkallim-it
	Dual Mas	takallam-aa	
	Dual Fem	takallam-ataa	
	Pl Mas	takallam-uu	ʔi-tkallim-uu
	Pl Fem	takallam-na	

Table 5.⁷ – Stem-V verb /takallam/ in the perfective mood: SA vs. CA

This apparently unnecessary deletion and epenthesis in CA Stem-V verbs is due to the fact that Stem-V verbs do not have the same underlying form in both dialects. The underlying form of Stem-V verbs in SA is /t₁a₂C₃a₄C₅C₆a₇C₈/ or /tafaʕʕal/ as we mentioned earlier. Yet, the same stem has the underlying form /t₁C₃a₄C₅C₆a₇C₈/ or /tfaʕʕal/ in CA (Gadalla 2000: 44-45). The consonant cluster at the beginning of the CA input makes the epenthesis of [ʔi] in the output necessary, just as it does with the imperative /drus/.

Now we turn to the issue of language acquisition.

4. Acquisition of stem-V verbs in CA

This section delineates how learners acquire CA Stem-V verbs. We first begin with native speakers acquiring their own dialect. Then we turn to foreign language learners of CA who have already had formal SA instruction.

⁷ The gaps indicate that the forms are not used in the dialect.

4.1 First language acquisition

Ideally, native speakers of CA should be able to deal with Stem-V verbs the same way they deal with the imperative form /drus/ *study*. A native speaker is never exposed to /tafaʕʕal/ until s/he starts going to school (the assumption here is that it is highly unlikely that the form /tafaʕʕal/ as used in the news – or other forms of media that use SA – will mean anything to a pre-school child). As Kager (1999) states, “if no alternations occur in a morpheme’s shape, the learner will never postulate an input deviating from the actual observable output form. Due to *Lexicon Optimization*, the input simply equals the output unless there is reason to deviate” (414). Therefore, the native speaker “adopts, as the underlying form, precisely the surface analysis of the overt form that has been heard” (Prince & Tesar 1999: 8), and s/he simply applies the same ranking of constraints that apply to /drus/. Tableau 5 shows how this is possible:

tkallim	ONSET	*[CC	CONTIGUITY- IO	MAX-IO	DEP- IO(C)	DEP- IO(V)
☞ ʔitkallim					*	*
tkallim		*!				
itkallim	*!					*
takallim			*!			*
kallim				*!		

Tableau 5. – from CA /tkallim/ to [ʔitkallim]

The foreign language learner, however, does not have such a smooth path towards the optimal output, as the following section shows.

4.2 Second language acquisition

How do non-native speakers coming into CA with SA background deal with the fact that what they know as /tafaʕʕal/ is actually realized as [ʔitfaʕʕal]? To such learners, this is considered a ‘mapping failure’ which results with either modifying the grammar or modifying the lexicon. According to Tesar et al. (2003: 481-2), “when the learner encounters a mismatch between the data and their hypothesized grammar, the learner should first attempt to modify the ranking. If modifying the ranking cannot resolve the problem, only then will the learner attempt to modify the

lexicon.” The following analysis shows that there is actually a grammar that can account for the data of the non-native speaker and that this grammar is learnable.

4.2.1 From SA input to CA output: The grammar

In order to understand the difference between the SA perfective paradigm of Stem-V verbs and its CA counterpart (as exemplified in [takallam-a] and [ʔitkallam] in Table 5 above), we must also examine the imperfective paradigms in both dialects. In the imperfective mood, the left edge of the verbs is almost the same in both paradigms, except that the CA forms again lack the first vowel in the stem, as Table 6 shows.

Person/Number/Gender		SA IMPERFECTIVE	CA IMPERFECTIVE
1 st	Sg Mas/Fem	ʔa-takallam-u	ʔa-tkallim
	Pl Mas/Fem	na-takallam-u	ni-tkallim
2 nd	Sg Mas	ta-takallam	ti-kallim
	Sg Fem	ta-takallam-iin	ti-tkallim-i
	Dual Mas/Fem	ta-takallam-aan	
	Pl Mas	ta-takallam-uun	ti-tkallim-uu
	Pl Fem	ta-takallam-na	
3 rd	Sg Mas	ja-takallam-u	ji-tkallim-uu
	Sg Fem	ta-takallam-u	ji-tkallim
	Dual Mas	ja-takallam-aan	ti-tkallim
	Dual Fem	ta-takallam-aan	
	Pl Mas	ja-takallam-uun	ji-tkallim-uu
	Pl Fem	ja-takallam-na	

Table 6. – Stem-V verb /takallam/ in the imperfective mood: SA vs. CA

The output forms in both dialects have legal onsets. The only difference is that the CA form is shorter (three syllables) compared to the SA form (four syllables). To the CA learner who comes from SA, this may seem as a tendency in CA to use vowel deletion in order to make the word shorter. This observation becomes a generalization once the learner is exposed to other CA prosodic words that display the same tendency dialect-internally (i.e., independently from SA). Here are some examples:

(1a) /ʃirib/ → [ʃirib] ‘he drank’;

(1b) /ʃirib-u/ → [ʃiribu] / [*ʃiribu] ‘they drank’ (also, ‘he drank it’ (mas))
(Omar 1973: 31)

(1c) /jaaxud/ → [jaaxud] ‘he takes’;

(1d) /jaaxud-u/ → [jaxdu] / [*jaaxudu] ‘they take’ (also, ‘he takes him/ it’ (mas))

(1e) /kaatib/ → [kaatib] ‘a writer’ (mas);

(1f) /kaatib-a/ → [katba] / [*kaatiba] ‘a writer’ (fem)

(Gadalla 2000: 14)⁸

Based on such examples, the learner arrives at the following conclusion: If the size of a word exceeds two syllables, CA tries to shorten it, as long as this shortening involves neither of the following:

- deletion of a consonant or a violation of MAX-IO(C)
- forbidden onset clusters or a violation of *[CC

In the SA imperfective mood of Stem-V verbs, a verb is made up of four syllables without the case ending: C₁V₂–C₃V₄C₅V₆C₇C₈V₉C₁₀; e.g., [ʔa.ta.kal.lam] *I speak*. The only way to shorten the word without violating MAX-IO(C) or *[CC is by deleting the first vowel in the stem; thus, / C₁V₂–C₃V₄C₅V₆C₇C₈V₉C₁₀/ surfaces as [C₁V₂C₃.C₅V₆C₇.C₈V₉C₁₀]; e.g., /ʔa-takallam/ → [ʔat.kal.lam] instead of [ʔa.ta.kal.lam]. The deletion of a vowel satisfies WD-BIN:

- WD-BIN → the prosodic word must NOT be bigger than two syllables.⁹

⁸ McCarthy (2003: 29) shows that vowel deletion in Iraqi Arabic can take place to satisfy WSP (Weight-to-Stress Principle) so as to make a syllable heavy; e.g. /fiʔalaw/ → [fiʔ.law] (the 1st syllable is heavy) instead of [fi.ʔa.law] (the 1st syllable is light). The 2nd and 3rd examples, [jaaxud] and [kaatib] show that the first syllable is already heavy and that vowel deletion in CA takes place to make the word shorter, satisfying WD-BIN.

⁹ WD-BIN means that words made up of more than two syllables must satisfy the minimal word constraint. Words that are made up of one syllable are not affected by this constraint. In this sense we can divide WD-BIN into WD-BIN⁺ and WD-BIN⁻

WD-BIN ranks higher than MAX-IO(V) and CONTIGUITY-IO. This ranking allows for a medial deletion of a vowel in order to make the word shorter. It also ranks higher than DEP-IO(V) and DEP-IO(C), which allows the epenthesis of [ʔi] in the perfective mood as we will see shortly.

However, WD-BIN ranks lower than ONSET, *[CC, and MAX-IO(C) so that word size is not satisfied at the expense of illegal onsets or deletion of consonants.

ʔa-takallim	ONSET	*[CC	MAX-IO (C)	WD-BIN	CONTIGUITY-IO	MAX-IO(V)	DEP-IO(C)	DEP-IO(V)
ʔat.kal.lim				*	*	*		
ʔa.ta.kal.lim				**!				
ʔta.kal.lim		*!		*		*		
ʔtkal.lim		*!				**		

Tableau 6. – from SA /ʔa-takallim/ to CA [ʔat.kal.lim]: interaction with WD-BIN

WD-BIN is a gradient constraint as shown in Tableau 6. Both the first and the second candidates violate WD-BIN, yet the first is optimal because it violates the constraint by only one syllable.

Therefore, deletion in the *imperfective* mood takes place to satisfy WD-BIN. Yet, there is no reason why the same phenomenon happens in the *perfective* mood. In other words, the SA /takallam t-u/ must be realized in CA as [*takallam t]; the deletion of the first vowel only results with an undesirable onset (e.g., [tkallam t]) which is repaired by violating DEP-IO to get the optimal output [ʔitkallam t]; both the expected [*takallam t] and the actual [ʔitkallam t] are three syllables each; so the whole deletion-insertion process serves no purpose, which is against the economy property as stated by Prince and Smolensky (1993: 27):

Economy Property of Optimality Theory: Banned options are available only to avoid violations of higher-ranked constraints and can only be used *minimally*.

The banned option [ʔitkallam t] does not satisfy the higher-ranked constraint WD-BIN and, therefore, should not be optimal. Yet, it is the output that native speakers use. The following section tries to explain why this is so.

4.2.1.1 The optimal paradigm theory and CA stem-V verbs

The apparently unnecessary alternation in the perfective paradigm of the CA Stem-V verbs can be explained in McCarthy's (2003) framework of Optimal Paradigm Theory (hereafter OP) which is an expansion of Benua's (1997) Transderivational Correspondance Theory (TCT) and Kenstowicz's (1996) Uniform Exponence (UE).

According to McCarthy, "a paradigm is a set of inflected forms based on a common lexeme or stem." In OP, the candidates of a paradigm strive to have similar phonological forms in accordance with output-output "intraparadigmatic correspondence relation." Alternation takes place as long as OP-Faithfulness constraints are not outranked by other Markedness or IO-Faithfulness constraints that resist change (McCarthy 2003: 1-2).

The question is: which output form do the other candidates strive to resemble? McCarthy calls this form "the attractor" and defines it as the candidate that satisfies the highest ranking markedness constraints. This means that the attractor is the least marked, and the other candidates "are forced to resemble it by visibly active [OP]-faithfulness constraints," the result of which is usually "overapplication-only" (McCarthy 2003: 6-8). Overapplication means that some members of the paradigm experience the same alternation as the attractor although they lack the environment for it (see Kager 1999: 198).

In CA, the highest ranking markedness constraints are ONSET, MAX-IO(C), *[CC and WD-BIN. In the perfective paradigm, WD-BIN is indecisive since it is equally violated by the optimal/less faithful candidate [ʔitkallam t] and the suboptimal/more faithful candidate [*takallam t], both being composed of three syllables each. The other three constraints are equally satisfied by both candidates. Faithfulness must have the final say between them, which contrary to facts seems to favor the suboptimal [*takallam t].

In the imperfective paradigm, however, the optimal/less faithful candidate [ʔat.kal.lim] satisfies WD-BIN better than does the suboptimal/more faithful [ʔa.ta.kal.lam]. Both candidates equally satisfy the rest of the high ranking constraints: ONSET, MAX-IO(C) and *[CC. This makes [ʔat.kal.lim] – or any member of the imperfective paradigm – the winner, the least marked, and ... the attractor; the other members of the paradigm are attracted to it by trying to resemble the stem [tkallim] ([ʔa] is a morpheme that varies according to aspect and agreement). The OP-

faithfulness constraint that the perfective paradigm tries to satisfy is: DEP-OP(V):

- DEP-OP(V) → Let A be the paradigm attractor and B a paradigm candidate.
Every vowel in B must have a corresponding vowel in A.

This constraint prevents /takallam t/ from surfacing as [*takallam t] since the first vowel in the output does not have a correspondent in the attractor [tkallim].

Now let us see how this constraint interacts with the other constraints. As a reminder, we have to bear in mind that for the learner the underlying form of the CA Stem-V verb *to speak* is most likely the SA /takallam/. Another point is worth noting before we proceed: In OP, the “violations of a candidate paradigm are the summed [...] violations of its individual members” (McCarthy 2003: 7-8). In other words, if five members in a paradigm violate a constraint, the result is five violations.

Here is a list of the paradigm members of /takallam/ followed by a tableau that illustrates the above OP analysis:

CA IMPERFECTIVE

ʔa-tkallim, ni-tkallim, ti-tkallim, ti-tkallim-i, ti-tkallim-uu, ji-tkallim,
ti-tkallim, ji-tkallim-uu

Prefixes: {ʔa - ni - ti - ji}

Suffixes: {∅ - i - uu}

CA PERFECTIVE

ʔi-tkallim-t, ʔi-tkallim-na, ʔi-tkallim-t, ʔi-tkallim-ti, ʔi-tkallim-tuu,

ʔi-tkallam, ʔi-tkallim-it

ʔi-tkallim-uu

NO Prefixes

Suffixes: {∅ - t - na - it - uu - ti - tuu}

In Tableau 7 below, the 16 members of the winning paradigm (a) violate WD-BIN 24 times: 8 three-syllable members with ∅ or C-suffix cause one violation each, the total of which is 8. The other 8 members are four syllables each since they have a V or CV-suffix; these cause two violations each, the total of which is 16. 8+16=24. Paradigm (a) does not violate

DEP-OP(V) since all the members are faithful to the imperfective attractor. All the members are unfaithful to the input /takallam/ since all of them undergo deletion of the first vowel in the stem.

Paradigm (b) has the 8 members of the perfective mood faithful to the input since – as we mentioned earlier – the vowel deletion and [ʔi]-epenthesis is apparently an overkill, resulting in no gain as to the size of the word. This means that the outputs of these 8 members are unfaithful to the attractor, resulting in 8 violations of DEP-OP(V). Paradigm (b) violates WD-BIN 24 times as well (the same math done for Paradigm (a) applies to Paradigm (b)). The paradigm loses because of the OP-faithfulness constraint DEP-OP(V) which ranks higher than IO-faithful constraint MAX-IO(V).

	{ʔa - ni - ti - ji} + takallam + {∅ - i - uu - t - na - it - uu - ti - tuu}	WD-BIN	DEP-OP(V)	MAX-IO(V)
Attractor: tkallim	a) ʔa-tkallim, ni-tkallim, ti-tkallim, ti-tkallim-i, ti-tkallim-uu, ji-tkallim, ti-tkallim, ji-tkallim-uu, ʔi-tkallim-t, ʔi-tkallim-na, ʔi-tkallim-t, ʔi-tkallim-ti, ʔi-tkallim-tuu, ʔi-tkallim, ʔi-tkallim-it, ʔi-tkallim-uu	24		16
	b) ʔa-tkallim, ni-tkallim, ti-tkallim, ti-tkallim-i. ti-tkallim-uu, ji-tkallim, ti-tkallim, ji-tkallim-uu takallam-t, takallam-na, takallam-t, takallam-ti, takallam-tuu, takallam, takallam-it, takallam-uu	24	8	8

Tableau 7. – from SA input to CA output: Optimal Paradigm

If we combine the ranking in Tableau 6 with the ranking in Tableau 7, we get the following grammar:

ONSET,	*[CC,	MAX-IO(C) >>
WD-BIN >>	DEP-OP(V) >>	CONTIG-IO,
MAX-IO(V) >>	DEP-IO(C),	DEP-IO(V)

This grammar accounts for the CA outputs based on the SA input. The next step is to explain how the learner arrives at the optimal CA output. The following section provides an analysis of this process based on Prince and Tesar's (1999) Biased Constraint Demotion Approach (BCD) and its further application by Tesar (2002), Tesar et al. (2003), and McCarthy (2005).

4.2.2 From SA input to CA output: Learning through BCD

The learner comes to CA with a lexicon and starts comparing her/his underlying forms with the outputs s/he comes across in the dialect. Based on these outputs, the learner forms a "list of winner-loser pairs" called the "*mark-pair data*" or the "*Support*."

Lexicon	Winner ~ loser
takallam-t	?it.kal.lam t~ ta.kal.lam t
ta-takallam	tit.kal.lam ~ ta.ta.kal.lam

Table 7. – the SA speaker's Support

Having formed the Support, the learner uses Biased Constraint Demotion (BCD) to modify the grammar. Here is how BCD works (Prince and Tesar 1999):

1. The learner identifies the constraints that favor winners only. For example, in Tableau 8 markedness constraint M2 and faithfulness constraint F1 favor winners only. (An 'L' in the Support tableau means that the constraint favors the loser; A 'W' means that the constraint favors the winner.)

Win ~ lose	M1	M2	F1	F2
A ~ B	L		W	
C ~ D	L	W		L
E ~ F	W			W

Tableau 8.

2. If a markedness constraint and a faithfulness constraint favor winners only, the learner ranks the markedness constraint high, postponing the ranking of the faithfulness constraint as long as possible. In Tableau 8, M2 is ranked high while the ranking of F1 is postponed.
3. When a constraint is ranked, it is removed from the Support tableau, along with the winner-loser pair that caused the ranking, as Tableau 9 shows, and the process is repeated with the other pairs and the other constraints.

Win ~ lose	M1	F1	F2
A ~ B	L	W	
E ~ F	W		W

Tableau 9.

4. If all the constraints that favor winners only are faithfulness constraints, the learner ranks the one that makes the ranking of a markedness constraint possible. In Tableau 9, F1 makes the ranking of M1 possible; by ranking F1 high, the whole row of the winner-loser pair A~B is removed. This “frees up” M1, which is now ranked higher than F2 (see point 2 above).

Win ~ lose	M1	F2
E ~ F	W	W

Tableau 10.

Thus the ranking is: M2 >> F1 >> M1 >> F2

By ranking markedness higher than faithfulness, the learner forms the most restrictive ranking. Restrictiveness means that a grammar has its “faithfulness constraints dominated by as many markedness constraints as

possible” (Prince and Tesar 1999: 6). The assumption is that in first language acquisition learners/children begin with all markedness constraints outranking faithfulness constraints; markedness constraints get demoted as needed (see Gnanadesikan 1995). Therefore, a learning algorithm must offer a grammar that is consistent with the data and that is the most restrictive. Restrictiveness can be computed through the r-measure:

The r-measure for a constraint hierarchy is determined by adding, for each faithfulness constraint in the hierarchy, the number of markedness constraints that dominate that faithfulness constraint. (Prince and Tesar 1999: 6-7)

For the ranking $M2 \gg F1 \gg M1 \gg F2$, the r-measure is the sum of the markedness constraints outranking $F1$ + the markedness constraints outranking $F2$, which is $1+2=3$.

Let us see how this applies to the Support in Table 7, repeated below.

Lexicon	Winner ~ loser
takallam-t	?it.kal.lam t~ ta.kal.lam t
ta-takallam	tit.kal.lam ~ ta.ta.kal.lam

Table 7. – the SA speaker’s Support

In the process of learning, the learner notices that CA tends to satisfy WD-BIN by shortening words that are made up of more than two syllables; for example,

- (2a) /ʃiribu/ ‘he drank it’ (mas) → [ʃirbu];
 (2b) /kaatiba/ ‘a writer’ (fem) → [katba]

This makes WD-BIN an active constraint. The other relevant constraints are MAX-IO(V), DEP-IO(V), and DEP-IO(C); these correspond to vowel deletion, vowel epenthesis, and consonant epenthesis that the words in the Support undergo. The following tableau shows how these constraints interact with the Support.

Lexicon	Win ~ lose	WD-BIN	MAX-IO(V)	DEP-IO(V)	DEP-IO(C)
takallam-t	?it.kal.lam t~ ta.kal.lam t		L	L	L
ta-takallam	tit.kal.lam ~ ta.ta.kal.lam	W	L		

Tableau 11. – BCD and the ranking of WD-BIN

WD-BIN is the only markedness constraint in the tableau. It favors winners only; therefore, it is ready to rank as the highest constraint. The second pair in the Support tableau is removed from the list along with the high-ranking constraint. This leaves us with the first pair and three constraints.

Lexicon	Win ~ lose	MAX-IO(V)	DEP-IO(V)	DEP-IO(C)
takallam-t	?it.kal.lam t~ ta.kal.lam t	L	L	L

Tableau 12. – no ranking prior to Optimal Paradigm constraint

As Tableau 12 shows, none of the constraints favors a winner. Here, the ‘efficient’ learner realizes that there is an output-output correspondence constraint at work. Or as stated by Kager (1999: 415),

[t]o deal with alternations, morphologically related output forms must be subjected to constraints which enforce ‘uniform exponence’, *limiting the phonological dissimilarity between alternants*. This is where OO-correspondence comes into play: it eliminates the function of UR in capturing phonological shape similarities between morphologically related output forms.

As we saw in section (3), because of WD-BIN the stem in the imperfective mood becomes the attractor, which activates the constraint DEP-OP(V). The learner adds this constraint to the Support tableau.

Lexicon	Attractor	Win ~ lose	DEP-OP(V)	MAX-IO(V)	DEP-IO(V)	DEP-IO(C)
takallam-t	tkallam	?it.kal.lam t ~ ta.kal.lam t	W	L	L	L

Tableau 13. – BCD and the ranking of DEP-IO(V)

All the constraints in Tableau 13 are Faithfulness constraints, with only one of them, DEP-OP(V), favoring the winner. This constraint automatically ranks the second highest, second to WD-BIN (according to BCD, markedness ranks higher than faithfulness). Therefore, we get the following ranking:

WD-BIN >> DEP-OP(V) >> MAX-IO(V), DEP-IO(V), DEP-IO(C).

These constraints interact with the other constraints in the learner’s grammar, and eventually the learner has the following ranking:

ONSET,	*[CC,	MAX-IO(C) >>
WD-BIN >>	DEP-OP(V) >>	CONTIG-IO,
MAX-IO(V) >>	DEP-IO(C),	DEP-IO(V)

Will the learner attempt to change the lexicon so as to have the same underlying form as the native speaker? UNLIKELY. The learner attempts to modify the lexicon and do any necessary adjustments to the Support via what Tesar et al. call “surgery” if s/he detects inconsistency; that is, when the learner determines that “no amount of ranking modification will reconcile [her/him] with the data” (Tesar et al. 2003: 483-7). This usually happens in cases like the following when no ranking is possible because no constraint favor winners only:

Win ~ lose	C1	C2
A ~ B	L	W
C ~ D	W	L

Tableau 14.

In the case of Arabic, the ranking could account for the data, so no surgery is needed.

5. Instructional implications

As we have seen so far, arriving at the output [tkallim] from the input /takallam t/ only happens to learners of CA coming from SA. For the CA native speaker, the SA input /takallam t/ is pointless since it does not occur in the dialect. This is what Prince and Smolensky (1993) call Stampean occultation. Though the underlying form /takallam t/ “is in principle possible under richness of the base, [native speakers] will never be moved to set it up as an actual lexical item because it is hidden or occulted by the actually occurring form [[tkallim]], with which it always neutralizes” (McCarthy 2003: 16).

Stated differently, there is no Optimal Paradigm constraint coming into play when the native speaker acquires CA. The only constraints that are active are Markedness and IO-Faithfulness constraints. This is not to imply that the above analysis is incorrect. It only implies that the OP analysis accounts for the etymological or historical variation that took place

when the Arabic language (what we call SA today) underwent change in Egypt to become Egyptian Arabic (as it did everywhere else in the Arab world – for example, in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine it became Levantine Arabic).¹⁰ OP in this sense does not account for the current grammar of the native speaker. It accounts for the historic path that SA took to become CA!

This means that Learners of Arabic as a Foreign Language who first get exposed to SA are only getting ready for a historical, etymological ride when they move to CA, forming a grammar that the native speaker does not have because s/he has never taken that ride, at least not in the same direction. This suggests that learners who want to use Arabic for more than gaining access to printed material should begin by learning a dialect first and then move to SA, just as native speakers do. In this way, they have the chance to learn the dialect in its own right.

In practice, however, this proposal is not without its problems. One problem is that dialects are strictly used in oral/aural communication but not in written material; for foreign language learners who are exposed to the language three to five hours per week, it is hard to retain material if they do not have a concrete reference – e.g., a textbook – to fall back on and visit and revisit. Nevertheless, the writing system in Arabic, which is different from that of most other languages and thus needs formal teaching in its own right, is mainly used for writing SA. Here lies the dilemma: learning an informal language by using a formal writing system!

A solution is possible, however. One suggestion is that learners CAN learn a dialect by using a SA writing system, especially because

¹⁰ There are two views as to the relation between SA and the dialects. One view says that the dialects descended from some form of Arabic called the Arabic Koine that was used side by side with SA yet different from it in several aspects (Ferguson 1959). Another view says that the dialects in question are actually descendents of SA (Versteegh 1997; Holes 1994). For the purpose of this paper, I will adopt the latter view, although if we assume that the Arabic Koine was phonologically similar to SA and to the Arabic dialect used by the Bedouins of the time, then the former view could be adopted as well.

Further, whether SA and the different Arabic dialects are diachronically related or not is really orthogonal to the present discussion. What is more relevant is that the non-native speaker who comes to the dialect with an SA background cannot but see that a big portion of the lexical items in the dialect have SA counterparts that s/he is familiar with, only phonologically different. Consequently s/he will take the latter as underlying forms for the former simply because s/he was exposed to the SA forms first.

orthography in Arabic is to a large extent phonemic with a writing system that lends itself to sound-letter correspondence. As a matter of fact, textbooks that teach CA from level one without assuming any prior knowledge of SA on the part of the learner do exist. One example is the series *Anistuna* by the Egyptian author Nahed Awni.

Alternatively, a language program can be designed such that learners learn both SA and a dialect at the same time. The focus in SA should be on reading and writing and partly on listening (e.g., news broadcast). The focus in the dialect should be on oral/aural skills, providing learners with enough opportunity to practice with what Hall (1999: 138-9) refers to as “prosaics of interaction” or “recurring interactions” involved in the everyday life of the native speaker, such as greetings, agreeing or disagreeing, apologizing, etc. Even expressions related to classroom management can be introduced in their dialect version at the beginning of the semester and added to as the course unfolds.

Another problem is that of moving from a dialect to SA. It can be argued that learners can have difficulty learning the phonology of SA if they start with a dialect and that they will never become fluent in SA. This is true ... applying, not only to foreign language learners, but also to most educated native speakers (except those whose occupations demand that they speak SA fluently). SA is a highly prescriptive language, and speaking SA (reading aloud, reporting, lecturing, etc.) includes a conscious effort regardless of who the speaker is. Thus, there is no reason why we should assume that the learner should speak it effortlessly. When it comes to SA, the learner should be expected to attain proficiency in reading comprehension, listening comprehension, and writing. It is a dialect that the learner should eventually get to speak effortlessly.

6. Conclusion

To summarize, we have seen that learners of Arabic who learn a dialect after having learnt SA form a grammar that is not only different from that of the native speaker's but also more complicated. The reason is that the learner may take SA output as the dialect input. Cairene Arabic is used to show how this is possible. The analysis is developed in the framework of Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993) and the Optimal Paradigm Theory (McCarthy 2003).

The paper argues that a dialect should be taught side by side with (or even before) SA. To my knowledge, only two of all the universities that

offer Arabic language courses in the United States actually do this. The rest offer SA courses first; colloquial follows. The weakness of my argument, however, is that it is based on theory only; no field research has been conducted to confirm or otherwise the claims I make. The following step should be a longitudinal study that means to investigate the validity of these claims; such a study may lead to radical changes in the teaching of Arabic as a foreign language.

Besides, the idea covered here can be extended to languages that, like Arabic, have a gap between the formal standard form and the colloquial everyday form (e.g., Chinese and Tamil). Research studies can be designed to examine if such languages also impose an etymological itinerary on the learner if s/he moves from the formal/standard form to the informal/colloquial dialect. If the findings of these studies agree with the argument of this paper, this means that the suggestions listed in the previous section apply not only to Arabic but also to similar languages.

On a larger scale, this paper sheds light on the dilemma of printed material and input in second language phonology in general. Documenting a language in print is like taking a snapshot of a baby. A snapshot! One moment in time, seized for saving ... for scrutiny. It can be visited and re-visited; it may give us an idea about what the moment was like. It can probably give us a retrospective foreshadowing of the present. But it is never the present.

The difference between first language acquisition and second language acquisition (more accurately, foreign language acquisition that takes place in the milieu of the classroom) is analogous to the difference between meeting an old person and then seeing one of his teenage snapshots on the one hand, and seeing the snapshot first then meeting the old person on the other hand.

Stated differently, first language acquisition means acquiring a language synchronically (i.e., as it is used by the community at the time of acquisition), followed by formal education in case of literacy. If literacy takes place, the learner gets to acquire the standardized form of the language, or more precisely the learner acquires the language that was to a large extent frozen by being documented.

Second language acquisition, however, begins with the frozen standardized language through exposure to printed material from the outset; this exposure is accompanied with – or is more often followed by – the language as it is currently used by a particular community.

The discussion in this paper leads to two assumptions that are worth researching:

- 1) First language acquisition comprises one synchronic grammar or one ranking of constraints
- 2) Second language acquisition more often comprises two grammars:
 - a. A synchronic grammar of the standardized language
 - b. A diachronic grammar that derives current colloquial output from standardized input.

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Complex Morphosyntactic Features of Nominal Predicates in Erzya

Abstract

This paper investigates the morphosyntactic features of Erzya nominal predicates, concentrating on the synthetic construction type based on predicative suffixes. The Erzya nominal and locational predicates can be inflected for person, number and tense by using the predicative suffixes. The predicative suffixes are identical with the person markers of verbal conjugation except for the third person singular of the present tense and those past tense constructions in which double marking of plurality is possible. Diachronically, the present tense predicative suffixes most likely developed by extension from the verbal conjugation, while the complex past tense suffix developed by grammaticalization of a copula verb. From the formal point of view, the present tense predicative suffixes display a feature typical of clitics: they have variable hosts, when the predicate is a syntagm including an adjectival modifier. From the functional point of view, the predicative suffixes are ambiguous, as they can occur either with or without an overt controller.

1. Introduction

Mordvin nominal predicate constructions offer an interesting field for research into linguistic complexity. Rich inflectional morphology is considered to be a mature feature which increases linguistic complexity (Dahl 2004). The Mordvin languages Erzya and Moksha stand out among Uralic languages in that they exhibit an especially strong tendency to synthetism with very rich inflectional morphology. This makes morphologically and semantically complex nominal predicate constructions possible: the nominal and locational predicates can be inflected for person, number and tense using the same suffixes that are used for verbal inflection. Besides the synthetic constructions, more simple analytic constructions are also used, but in this study only the morphologically complex constructions are investigated in detail.

The main corpus of the larger investigation I am carrying out on the topic consists of about 4,500 Erzya nominal predicate constructions from

texts of various ages and genres. The older material dates back to the beginning of the last century and is mostly folkloric. The newer material has been collected in a variety of ways, mainly from periodicals and prose works, as well as also from my own consultations with native speakers of Erzya.

In this paper, if not noted otherwise, the term *nominal predicate* is used to refer to all non-verbal predicate classes—class, property and locational predicates—because they are encoded similarly. When necessary, the predicates with the noun inflected in some locative case (or modified by a postposition or an adverb expressing location) are called locational predicates as opposed to the class predicates (expressed by a noun) and to property predicates (expressed by an adjective). (Cf. for example Stassen 1997)

This paper consists of three parts. First, the morphosyntactic features of synthetic nominal predicate constructions are described in detail. Then the diachronic development of predicative suffixes is discussed, and finally, the Erzya predicative suffixes are examined in a typological context and their position on the grammaticalization scale is discussed both from formal and functional points of view.

2. The synthetic nominal predicate construction: predicative suffixes

The most complex type of Erzya nominal predicate constructions is the synthetic one, which is based on using predicative suffixes expressing person, number and tense. The predicative suffixes are the same as those used for verbal inflection. Only the third person is an exception: it is unmarked in singular and takes the plural suffix *-t* in the plural—in verbal inflection the third person is marked in the present tense, although no person marker is used in the past tenses. The unmarkedness of the third person is to be expected, since if a language has a zero person marker, it occurs typically in the third person (Siewierska 2004: 24). Compared to verbal inflection, the nominal inflection paradigm is incomplete: it is found only in the indicative, and not in any other of the six modes besides the indicative. Of the tenses, the present and the perfect forms are used, but not the simple past tense (traditionally called imperfect). Functionally, the perfect form of the nominal conjugation corresponds to the imperfect form

of the verbal conjugation. Table 1 presents the nominal predication of *od* ‘young’ in the present and the past tense.

	Present		Past	
Sg1	<i>od-an</i>	‘I am young’	<i>od-ol' -iń</i>	‘I was young’
Sg2	<i>od-at</i>	‘You are young’	<i>od-ol' -it'</i>	‘You were young’
Sg3	<i>od-Ø</i>	‘He/She is young’	<i>od-ol'</i>	‘He/She was young’
Pl1	<i>od-tano</i>	‘We are young’	<i>od-ol' -ińek</i>	‘We were young’
Pl2	<i>od-tado</i>	‘You are young’	<i>od-ol' -id' e</i>	‘You were young’
Pl3	<i>od-t</i>	‘They are young’	<i>od-ol' -t'</i>	‘They were young’

Table 1. Predicative suffixes, MdE *od* ‘young’ (Cygankin 2000: 109).

The examples below demonstrate the use of predicative suffixes and the similarities of nominal (examples 1 and 3) and event (examples 2 and 3) predicate constructions. Note that the same 2SG suffix that indicates the subject in *kij-at*, *tej-at* (examples 1 and 2) marks the possessor in *t' et' a-t-kak* in example 3. The locational predicates take the same suffixes as nominal predicates but have an additional spatial marker (examples 4 and 5). The use of subject personal pronouns is not necessary, since the information is carried by the bound form—nevertheless, double marking of the subject is quite frequent in the data.

- (1) *Kij-at ton?* (Paltin et al. 1997: 35)
 who-2SG you
 ‘Who are you?’
- (2) *A ton meže t' ej-at?* (Mosin & Bajuškin 1983: 24)
 And you what do-2SG
 ‘And what are you doing?’
- (3) *T' et' a-t-kak soda-sa: jalga-tano, vej-se kal-t*
 father-2SG.POSS-too know-1SG/3SG friend-1PL one-INESS fish-PL
kund-še-t' ano. (Syatko 3:8, 51)
 catch-FREQ-1PL
 ‘I know your father, too: we are friends, we fish together.’
- (4) *T' e-se-t' ano!* (Syatko 7: 1, 19)
 This-INESS-1PL
 ‘We are here!’

- (5) *Tago valm-alo-tado!* (Syatko 1: 14, 13)
 Again window-under-2PL
 ‘You are again under the window!’

Synchronically, in Erzya there is a whole paradigm with nominal predicates agreeing in tense and person with the subject. In the present tense, no trace of an auxiliary can be seen and the person marker attaches straight to the nominal stem. In contrast, the form of the past tense predicative suffix is transparent: the source of the new person and tense marker is a suffixed and reanalyzed auxiliary verb. Before the person agreement marker the suffix *-l'* is attached, which originates from the auxiliary *ul' ems* ‘be’ and which, through the grammaticalization process, has been reduced to a tense marker (Bartens 1999: 108, 130; see also Siewierska 2004: 133).

In the past tense, besides the synthetic constructions, an analytic construction with the copula verb can also be used. Even though the same copula verb can be shown in both the synthetic and the analytic past tense constructions, the two constructions do not differ only in the degree of the fusion of their elements: in the synthetic construction phonological reduction affects the verb *ul' ems* ‘be’, and in the analytic past tense construction the copula verb never occurs in its simple form (*ul' e-*) but always with the frequentative suffix (as *ul' -ńe-*).

The synthetic and analytic construction types are in free variation in the past tense. The free variation of the predicative suffix and the copula in past tense is illustrated by examples 6 and 7. Example 7 contains a past tense copula (example 7.a) and a past tense predicative suffix (example 7.c) and, furthermore, a predicate of origin (which is in Erzya usually an adjectivized noun with the adjectivizing genitive suffix *-ń*) (example 7.b) and a locational predicate in present tense (example 7.d).

- (6) *Ušo-s ekše-l', set' me-l'.*
 weather-DEF cool-PF.3SG silent-PF.3SG

Meńel' -eš ul' -ńe-š čopoda-seń. (Kločagin 1997: 56)
 sky-DEF be-FREQ-PST.3SG dark-blue.
 ‘It was cool and silent. The sky was dark blue.’

- (7) a. *Ki-je te ul' -ńe-š?* b. *Ko-sto-ń?*
 Who this be-FREQ-PST.3SG where-ABL-ADJ
 ‘Who was this man?’ ‘Where is he from?’

c. *Kodamo-l'?*
 What.like-PF.3SG
 'What was he like?'

d. *Nej koso?* (Syatko 1: 4.22)
 Now where
 'Where is he now?'

In a locational predicate construction the predicative suffix may attach to a postposition as in *lang-so-l' -i-t'* in example 8.

(8) *Kuvat' ki lang-so-l' -it'?* (Syatko 4, 41)
 long.time road on-INESS-PF-2SG
 'Where you long on the road?'

The locational predicate *tarka-so-n-zo-l'* in example 9 displays a high level of syntheticity with the inessive suffix and the plural suffix of the possessive paradigms, the possessive suffix of the third person and the last, the past tense predicative suffix of the third person singular. So, one inflectional form exhibits multiple functional properties: it indicates location, the number of the possession, the number and person of the possessor, and tense.

(9) *V' el' e-ń a vejke mazij-ka-ń sed' ej-gak a*
 village-GEN NEG one beauty-DEM-GEN heart-too NEG

tarka-so-n-zo-l'. (Syatko 1: 4.4)
 place-INESS-PL-3SG.POSS-PF.3SG
 'The hearts of many beautiful girls of the village were not in the right place.'

As noted by Laakso (1997: 268), the conjugation of the predicate noun differs from the complete verbalization of nouns: unlike ordinary verbalization, predicate conjugation does not delete information about the relationship between noun and other entities involved since that relationship can be expressed with case suffixes, as in *tarka-so-nzo-l'* in example 9.

2.1 The double marking of plural

Sometimes a plural subject is marked twice on the nominal predicate: the plurality is expressed first by the nominal suffix *-t* and then by the predicative suffix. In our present tense example 10, the nominal predicate *koda-t-tado* contains the plural suffix *-t* and the predicative suffix of second person plural *-tado*. The complex past tense predicative form in example 11

išt' a-t-ol' -t' contains the plural suffix *-t*, then the tense suffix of the perfect, and again the same plural suffix.

- (10) *Koda-t-tado tiń, ruz-t' -ńe...* (Syatko 2: 45)
 What-kind-PL-2PL you Russian-PL-DEF
 'What are you like, Russians...'
- (11) *T' et' a-nzo-ava-nzo, kort-it', išt' a-t-ol' -t'* (Syatko 1: 4, 2)
 father-3SG-mother-3SG talk-3PL like that-PL-PF-3PL
 'His/her parents, they say, were like that.'

According to my data, double marking is more usual in the perfect tense of the third person plural and with some frequently used pronouns. One of the older grammars of Erzya shows a paradigm with double plural marking in all plural forms (Evsevev 1963: 117, 413), but the newer ones do not have such examples. In Moksha this kind of double marking is basically always used in the plural past tense (Bartens 1999: 131).

The double marking of plural, as in example 11, would be expected in the past tense, if we assume that the synthetic types have developed from analytic constructions. In the analytic types the nominal predicate always agrees in number with the subject, as illustrated by a present tense juxtaposition in example 12 and a past tense copula construction in example 13.

- (12) *Ki-t' tiń?* (Syatko 1: 12, 21)
 who-PL you.2PL
 'Who are you?'
- (13) *Min-ś ul' -ń-i-ńek azor-t.* (Kločagin 1997: 82)
 we-EMPH be-FREQ-PST-1PL landlord-PL
 'We were landlords.'

The plural double marking in the past tense constructions would thus be expected to occur when the copula *ul' ems* 'be' agglutinates to the noun and becomes a bound morpheme. The lack of double marking in modern Erzya reflects a more advanced state in the grammaticalization process, through which the morphological complexity of the construction has decreased.

Unlike nominal predicates, the locational predicate does not take the plural marker *-t* when the subject is in the first or second person plural (but it does obligatorily with the subject of third person plural). Thus **miń*

kudo-so-t (we house-INESS-PL) is not a possible construction type in Erzya (S. Motorkina, N. Kazaeva, personal communication). In contrast with Erzya, other Finno-Ugric languages such as Komi, Udmurt and Khanty use their plural markers on locational predicates also with the first and the second person subjects (Honti 1992: 264).

3. The origin of the predicative suffix

Since the person markers of nominal predicates are the same as those of the verbal conjugation, a commonly accepted view about their origin is that the present tense predicative suffixes have been extended from the verbal paradigm into the nominal, as, indeed, dependent person markers have been known to evolve from other dependent person markers via extension (Siewierska 2004: 247). The extension may have happened at least in two ways, as hypothesized by Honti (1992) on the one hand and Keresztes (2001) on the other.

Honti (1992) suggests that the third person is the source of the extension. According to him, it used to be morphologically neutral with respect to the opposition between verb vs. noun in many Uralic languages: in the verbal conjugation, third person present tense person markers use suffixes of nominal origin. Because the present tense third person predicate did not have morphological elements of only verbal origin, it was not morphologically distinct from the present tense nominal predicate. Due to the neutral character of the third person, the verb vs. noun opposition became weaker in the first and the second persons, and it became possible to attach the person agreement markers of the first and the second person to nominal predicates. (Honti 1992: 269)

Keresztes (2001) argues that the agreement phenomena of the present tense nominal predicates are of secondary origin. According to him, the past tense of the nominal conjugation developed first. Then, the fusion of the copula to the nominal predicate probably led to the development of the verbal inflections of the perfect tense. After developing the perfect tense of verbal conjugation with the material from the nominal conjugation, the nominal conjugation has, in turn, developed the present tense by analogy. Thus, the opposition of present tense and perfect in verbal paradigms may have extended to the nominal paradigm: *sod-il' -iń* : *sod-an* 'I knew : I know' > *od-ol' -iń* : *od-an* 'I was young : I am young.' (Keresztes 2001: 95–96) Since the prototypical instance of person agreement is that of subject and verb (Siewierska 2004: 120), it seems logical that in the

predicative position the nominal constituent has been given verbal features, and it is, therefore, possible for the constituent to take the suffixes expressing person, number and tense.

As far as other Uralic languages are concerned, predicative suffixes attach to nouns in the Samoyedic languages as well. The predicative suffixes of Mordvin and Samoyedic most likely are not of Uralic origin, but they have extended to nominal paradigms during the later development of these languages (Honti 1992: 270; Keresztes 2001: 95). The Permic languages and Khanty use their plural markers on locational predicates also with first and second person subjects—contrary to Erzya, as described above. That is, these languages mark both the nominal and locational predicate, but the copula function is filled by the plural suffix. The predicative element is nominal in Khanty and Permic, and verbal in Mordvin and Samoyedic (Honti uses the term ‘Pseudoverbalisierung’, cf. Honti 1992: 264, 266, 270). Considering the inflections of nominal predicates in present-day Uralic languages and looking at the large area of nominal conjugation in North-Eastern Asia, Hajdú claims that the nominal conjugation was possibly used in Proto-Uralic (Hajdú 1981: 133–134).

Mordvin nominal predicate constructions are discussed in Stassen’s (1997) typological study of intransitive predication. His view about the origin of Mordvin (and other North-East Asian) predicative suffixes is opposite to those of Honti and Keresztes. Stassen states that the similarity between the nominal and verbal paradigms is due to nominal merging. The person agreement markers of nominal predicates have extended their range of usage to verbal inflection (in Mordvin in the subject conjugation) and not the other way round. Stassen’s theoretical assumptions about the development of personal affixes in Uralic languages are studied in detail in Pajunen (1998). One of the main misleading factors in the classification of Mordvin is that Stassen does not discuss the negation of nominal and verbal predicates in Mordvin in detail. He states that the encoding of nominal and verbal predicates differs. According to him, event predicates are encoded nominally except for negation (Stassen 1997: 50, 285, 291). As earlier pointed out in Pajunen (1998), this observation does not hold, since the negation particle *avol’* used with nominal predicates is etymologically of the same origin as the particle *a* used with verbal predicates (Pajunen 1998: 480–481). Furthermore, in the present tense constructions the particle *a* can be used with nominal predicates as *a šimića-n* in example 14 (see also example 7 above with a locational predicate) as well as with verbal predicates as *a večk-an* in example 15.

(14) *Mon ed' a šimića-n.* (Syatko 4: 88)
 I namely NEG drinker-1SG
 'I am not a drinker, you see.'

(15) *Mon a večk-an šokś-eń ška.* (Mosin & Bajuškin 1983: 33)
 I not love-1SG autumn-GEN time
 'I don't like autumn time.'

Even if the negation strategies of nominal and verbal predicates are partly the same in the present tense, in the past tense constructions they differ: the same negation particle is used with nominal predicates as in present tense, whereas verbal predicates have an inflected negation verb. In any case, Stassen's hypothesis about nominal merging of person markers in Uralic languages is highly questionable, as pointed out in Pajunen (1998).

A similar kind of system of nominal predicate constructions as in Mordvin is used in the neighboring Tatar (for more detail, see Turunen, to appear). Whether language contact could have played some role in the rise of the predicative suffix in Mordvin is an issue which should definitely be examined in further research in more detail.

4. The functional and formal dimension of the predicative suffix

In this section I discuss the degree of grammaticalization of predicative suffixes. The grammaticalization of person markers proceeds along a functional, formal and semantic dimension.

The functional dimension of person markers is studied within the framework of Bresnan and Mchombos' (1987) grammatical vs. anaphorical agreement typology on which Siewierska (2004) builds. In this typology the person agreement markers and the typology of agreement are based on the co-occurrence possibilities of person markers and their controllers in the same construction (and not on the morphophonological form of the agreement markers). The agreement markers are divided into syntactic, ambiguous and pronominal. The syntactic agreement markers cannot occur without an overt controller and the pronominal markers cannot occur with an overt local controller in the same construction. The ambiguous markers can occur both in the presence of an overt controller in the same construction and in the absence of such a controller. According to Siewierska (2004: 262), the functional dimension relates to the change from a pronoun, that is a referential expression with deictic or anaphoric

force to a syntactic agreement marker which only redundantly expresses person features:

PRONOMINAL AGREEMENT MARKER > AMBIGUOUS AGREEMENT MARKER > SYNTACTIC AGREEMENT MARKER

The predicative suffixes of Erzya are ambiguous agreement markers: they can occur both in the presence of an overt controller, as *ton* ‘you’ in example 1, and in the absence of such a controller, as in example 3. The classification of Erzya predicative suffixes is made with the help of the pronominal controllers of the first and the second persons, because, as noted above, in Erzya the third person has no overt person marker.

Bresnan and Mchombo use the term grammatical agreement for syntactic agreement with an overt local controller, and the term anaphorical agreement for pronominal agreement with a non-local controller (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: 752). Since the Erzya predicative suffixes are ambiguous, they may be involved in both grammatical and anaphoric agreement.

From the formal point of view, the person markers may be classified on the basis of their morphological independence and phonological substance. According to Dahl (2004: 106), by maturation the complexity of linguistic patterns tends to increase as periphrastic constructions develop from free to fusional constructions:

FREE > PERIPHRASTIC > AFFIXAL > FUSIONAL

The grammaticalization of the past tense predicative suffixes has been studied in detail above. It was noted that they developed as the copula agglutinated into the nominal stem. The development of the past tense of nominal predicates mirrors the increase of maturity: patterns involving words with a complex morphological make-up develop out of syntactic constructions (Dahl 2004: 106).

The development of person markers is in accordance with the more general assumption of development of grammatical patterns and maturation. Siewierska (2004: 261–262) suggests that person markers may undergo the following change in the formal dimension:

INDEPENDENT PERSON MARKER > WEAK FORM > CLITIC > AGGLUTINATIVE AFFIX > FUSIONAL FORM > Ø

From the formal point of view, the Erzya predicative suffixes need to be studied in more detail, especially as far as the borderline between affixes and clitics is concerned. The basic diagnostic feature distinguishing clitics from bound forms is their relative independence from their hosts: bound forms attach only to a particular type of stem, but clitics are not thus restricted. They attach not to a particular stem but rather to phrases and/or specialized syntactic positions. The Erzya predicative suffixes are affixal, but one particular feature makes them more like clitics: they have variable hosts (Siewierska 2004: 24, 27, 34).

To study the Erzya predicative suffixes in the light of the clitic hypothesis, first we need to take a look at the marking of definiteness. In Erzya, nouns get a definite suffix as *ušo-ś* ‘weather-DEF’ in example 6. Predicate nouns in the nominative may also be marked as definite. According to descriptive grammars of Erzya as well as my informants, the definite suffix does not block the predicative conjugation when the predicate is in the nominative (Evsevev 1963: 137). However, I have not found any constructions of that kind in my corpora. Definite predicate nouns are all analytic constructions, like in example 16, in which the subject *mon* is expressed with a pronoun and is not suffixal:

- (16) *T' e-se nej komand' ir-eś mon,..* (Erkay 1991: 160)
 here now chief-DEF I
 ‘Here I am the chief now’

When the nominal predicate is a syntagm including an adjectival modifier, marking the definiteness of the predicate noun and choosing the host for the predicative suffix depend on each other in a rather complex way. As pointed out by Bartens (1996: 23, 29), the constructions with restrictive or contrastive adjectival modifiers are usually formed so that the modifier bears the predicative suffix and the noun is marked definite. The example 17 contains such a contrastive modifier: the predicative suffix attaches to the adjective *vad'ra* ‘good’. The suffix can only be attached either to the adjective or to the noun, but not to both of them. When the predicative suffix attaches to the modifier, the noun is obligatorily marked as definite.

- (17) *Arś-iń, vadřa-tado lomań-t' -ńe, paro paro-so*
 think-PST.1SG good-2PL people-PL-DEF good good-INNESS

pand-tado! (Syatko 3: 8.29)

pay-2PL

‘I thought you were good people and return good deeds for good deeds.’

According to my Erzya informants, the adjective is emphasized if it takes the predicative suffix, but this depends also on intonation (S. Motorkina, N. Kazaeva, V. Cipkajkina, personal communication). If the adjective is not contrastive, the noun is not marked definite and thus the predicative suffix can attach to the noun, as in *jalga-tano* in example 18.

- (18) *Miń son-ze marto paro jalga-tano.* (Syatko 1: 13, 6)
 We (s)he-3SG with good friend-1PL
 ‘(S)He and I are good friends.’

One factor influencing the choice of construction type is the word order. In Erzya, the attributive adjective precedes the noun when the word order is unmarked, as illustrated by the examples above. If the word order is marked—the noun precedes the adjective—the adjective obligatorily takes the predicative suffix and the noun is marked definite. (Bartens 1996: 23–24) In example 19 the word order is unmarked and the noun bears the predicative suffix, as opposed to example 20, in which the word order is marked.

- (19) *išt' akak b' eřań lomań-an, išt' akak plohoj lomań-an* (MVII: 257)
 such bad man-1SG such wretched man-1SG
 ‘I am such a bad man, I am such a wretched man.’

- (20) *mon lomań-eś b' eřań-an, mon lomań-eś plohojń-an* (MV II: 284)
 I man-DEF bad-1SG I man-DEF wretched-1SG
 ‘I am a bad man, I am a wretched man.’

The clitic-like nature of the predicative suffixes is supported by the fact that they are also used in many other construction types besides the nominal and locational predicate constructions discussed in this paper. The predicative suffixes may attach to participles, infinitives, and they are met in possessive and quantifying constructions (see Bartens 1996). The pragmatic and semantic factors influencing the use of the predicative

suffix, the choice of the host as well as the word order in nominal predicate constructions are issues which need further investigation.

It is worth noting that the analytic construction agreeing with the nominal predicate only in number also displays a similar kind of variation. There are two ways of marking the plurality of the construction. In the morphologically simple construction the plural suffix attaches to the noun, while the adjectival modifier stays unmarked, as in example 21. The other possibility is that the noun is marked as definite plural, and the adjective takes the plural suffix, as *lomań-t' -ńe* and *vadra-t*, respectively, in example 22.

- (21) *Miń Miša marto vadra oja-t.* (Syatko 7: 1, 1)
 we Misha with good friend-PL
 'Misha and I are good friends.'

- (22) *Tiń vadra-t lomań-t' -ńe.* (Nina Kazaeva, personal communication)
 you good-PL people-PL-DEF
 'You are good people.'

5. Conclusion

The nominal predicate constructions of Erzya display complex morphosyntactic features: they can be inflected for person, number and tense using the same suffixes as are used in the verbal conjugation. The locational predicate constructions connect nominal inflection (locative cases) to nominal conjugation (predicative suffixes). The nominal conjugation is not totally identical to the verbal one, for example the negation strategies of the two differ in part. Furthermore, unlike verbal predicates, nominal predicates may display the plural suffix before the predicative suffixes, which is not surprising in the light of their diachronic development. In the grammaticalization process, from the functional point of view, the predicative suffixes of Erzya display features of both pronominal and syntactic agreement markers and are, thus, ambiguous. From the formal point of view, the grammaticalization process of the present tense and the past tense predicative suffixes differs. First, the past tense suffix is an agglutinated copula which has gone through phonological reduction processes. The present tense suffix most probably extended from the verbal conjugation. The variability of the host makes the present tense predicative suffixes clitic-like: when the predicate nominal is a syntagm

consisting of an adjectival modifier and a noun in nominative, the predicative suffixes may attach either to the modifier or to the noun.

List of abbreviations

ADJ	adjective
DEF	definite
EMPH	emphatic
FREQ	frequentative
GEN	genitive
INESS	inessive
NEG	negative
PF	perfect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PST	past
SG	singular

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Semantic Relations in Statutory Texts: A Study of English and Bulgarian

Abstract

The article reports results from a larger contrastive study of legislative documents across two different legal systems – the codified Roman-law based legal system in Bulgaria and the common law and precedent based system in England. The hypothesis is that the differences are reflected in the language used to conceptualise statutory provisions. The main aspects of the textual component of statutory texts, namely the structure and place of legal qualifications and their relatedness to preceding or following discourse are examined. The study is based on the assumption that the thematic and informational structure of discourse and patterns of cohesion are adequate *tertium comparationis* in analysing different genres.

The first part of the study (Yankova, forthcoming) analyses the various ways legal provisions are textualised, their syntactic position and thematic organisation in Bulgarian and English statutory texts (200 pages in each language) from the area of criminal law and proceedings. In the second stage of the contrastive study presented here, non-structural text-forming relations which effectuate the semantic textual relations of the text are investigated. The analysis is based on the premise that the way meaning is superficially encoded by cohesive links which contribute to the texture of a stretch of discourse is specific for each genre and varies across languages.

1. Introduction

The present article investigates semantic textual relations (or cohesion) as a tool for exploring the structure of texts taking into account generic, cultural and language characteristics. The analysis is based on the premise that the way meaning is superficially encoded by cohesive links, which contribute to the texture of a stretch of discourse, is specific for each genre and varies across languages. It is part of a larger study which endeavours to delineate similarities and differences in the expression of legislative provisions in the common law and precedent-based practice in England and the codified legal system in Bulgaria originating from Roman law. The ultimate aim is to reveal the generic structure of English and Bulgarian legislative texts by

describing and highlighting the regularities in the construction of this genre. It follows the tenets of applied discourse analysis – the rationale underlying genre types and the regularities in their structuring. The concept of genre is defined after Bhatia (1993: 16) as depending on its communicative purpose, the context in which it is used and the communicative events it is associated with. Thus, the genre of legislative provisions is investigated. Part one of the study (Yankova, forthcoming) looks at the way legal provisions are textualised in the two languages, their syntactic position and their thematic organisation.

2. Theoretical framework

A text is a communicative occurrence which should satisfy seven standards of textuality (Beaugrande & Dressler 1981): the text-centred notions of cohesion and coherence, the user-centred notions of intentionality and acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality. The factors that contribute to text cohesion are recurrence, partial recurrence, parallelism, paraphrase, ellipsis, tense and aspect, junction and pro-forms. In one of the most important and exhaustive works on cohesion, Halliday and Hasan (1976) introduce several topical concepts such as tie and texture. They regard text as a semantic unit and texture as the property of ‘being a text.’ Text is non-structural deriving its unity not from grammatical structure, but from cohesion.

Hasan (1989) views lexical cohesion as the focus of textual analysis, with co-referential relations forming a chain where each element refers to the same entity, while co-classification and co-extension form similarity chains within an identical class or field of meaning. Continuing the tradition of Hallidayan systemic functional grammar, Eggins (1994) analyses lexical cohesion by means of lexical strings and hypothesises that certain texts are characterised by strings that point to the ‘deep’ level of a field, such as technical texts, while everyday texts include items pointing to its ‘shallow’ end. Lexical choices “point upwards to the field dimension of context” (Eggins 1994: 105). For Hoey (1991), lexical cohesion is the only type which can establish multiple connections, with clusters of lexically cohesive items arranged into networks that stretch across the whole text. Most of these studies can be classified into two groups, dealing respectively with cohesive chains or strings and with lexical clusters. The first group (cf. Parsons 1990; Eggins 1994) follows Halliday & Hasan’s (1976) framework; the second group (Wessels 1993; Renouf & Collier

1995, Benbrahim & Ahmad 1994) adopts the approach developed by Hoey (1991).

That lexical cohesion in general and repetition in particular is the dominant type of cohesion has been corroborated by several researchers. In Halliday & Hasan's example, texts over 40% of the ties are lexical (in Hoey 1991). In the studies of expository prose by Witte & Faigley (1981) and Stotsky (1986), lexical ties also constitute the majority of cohesive ties. Most intersentential cohesive ties in three biology, psychology and history passages also occurred in the lexical category and ranged from 95% to 96% of the total number of ties in each text (Lovejoy 1991). Tyler (1994) discusses whether lexical repetition and anaphoric reference are confused with the natural consequences of staying on topic and general pragmatic principles. Reynolds (2001: 440) considers lexical repetition as the principal means of explicitly marking cohesion in a text, as an index of its semantic structure. Hasan (1989) states that repetition is a powerful texture-forming device since it is the most direct and frequent way to create a tie.

One of the few analyses of legal texts from the point of view of cohesion is that by Iedema (1993), where he focuses on referential and conjunctive relations as well as the thematic organisation of clauses in the subgenre of Case Notes and how they contribute to the development and coherence of the text. The present study is another attempt at unveiling cohesive relations in statutory texts.

The working model follows the Hallidayan functional systemic paradigm for examining text-forming strategies. The non-structural, text-forming relations are semantic relations which are not restricted by sentence boundaries. Cohesion can be further defined not as the presence of a particular item as such but as a relation between the presupposing and the presupposed. The different types of cohesion are *lexical cohesion*, *reference*, *substitution*, *ellipsis* and *conjunction*. Lexical cohesion (reiteration and collocation) encompasses sequences of lexically cohesive items joined through semantic relations such as synonymy, meronymy, hyponymy and antonymy. 'Reference' is when an item refers to another item for its semantic interpretation (in other models the term is 'pronominalisation' or 'pro-forms') and can be personal, demonstrative and comparative. This study examines only cases of endophoric reference, since exophoric reference within the systemic functional theory is not taken to integrate texts and is therefore not cohesive. 'Substitution' is replacement of one lexical entity with another which performs the same

syntactic function, and ‘ellipsis’ is substitution by zero. Cohesion by ‘conjunction’ relates elements by means of conjunctions.

Cohesion within the sentence remains outside the scope of the present work since it is bound by grammatical structure. The object of study here are suprasentential semantic relations.

3. The corpus

The analysed texts in the study—200 pages (or 100 000 words) of legislative provisions in each language—have been selected from British and Bulgarian Criminal Law. The choice was determined by the assumption that the area of criminal law and proceedings would not manifest great differences cross-culturally and conceptually in the two legal systems and would thus offer a sound basis for a contrastive analysis. Laws governing civil disputes are quite often tainted by idiosyncratic socio-cultural and historical factors. For instance, the fundamental categories of English law concepts of tort or trust are unknown in Continental law. In addition, the choice of corpora was determined by two other factors: first, the indisputable fact that of all varieties of written legal discourse – law textbooks, case reports and statutes – the latter are considered to be the most difficult for native and non-native students alike, as well as for ESP (English for Specific Purposes) teachers; and second, that legislation is the largest source of law in any modern society, besides being the most esoteric form of legal discourse. The corpus comprises the following: British legislation: Administration of Justice Act 1960, Criminal Appeal Act 1968, Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, and the Bulgarian: Penal Procedure Code 1998 and Penal Code 1998. (For a comprehensive account of the differences between common law and continental law systems and the resulting linguistic variations in drafting statutes see Yankova 2004). Although there is a temporal discrepancy between the Acts and the Codes, they are parallel texts in that they cover the same legislative domain, and this provides a sound *tertium comparationis*. Moreover, changes within the formulaic, rigid and conservative style of statutory texts occur rather slowly.

4. Hypothesis

Prior to the analysis, there was a set of expectations concerning the various cohesive devices that would be employed. Some of these devices were expected to materialise in both the English and the Bulgarian texts since they were thought to belong to the genre of ‘statutory writing’, and were therefore genre-specific; while others were anticipated to be present due to the different legal and language systems, or presumed to be language- or culture-specific. The hypothesis was the following:

Genre-specific expectations:

- Since the function of statutes is to legislate and to regulate behaviour, lexical repetition would abound in both languages. The language of statutory provisions strives for both precision of expression and all-inclusiveness with the ultimate purpose of avoiding any misunderstanding or misinterpretation. It was expected that lexical cohesion would be the prevalent device for this particular genre.
- Another surmise was that conjunction would also play an important role in the creation of texture in both languages. Expressing the complex subject matter in a legal norm would call for a clear explication of the relation between the different provisions. A generous incidence of additive, adversative and causal conjunctions used as cohesive devices was anticipated. Not so temporal conjunctions, since statutes are oriented towards the ‘ever present present.’
- Synonymy was dismissed as a possibility since the precision and uniformity of legal terms by definition excludes the idea of resorting to synonyms. The same could be said for ellipsis and substitution.

Language-and culture-specific expectations:

- The two different legal systems of English and Bulgarian law entail the following differences: the Continental drafter puts emphasis on the legal principle, on generality, on simplicity of expression, brevity, the use of ordinary grammar. Thus the final result is simplicity of expression. Common law drafting involves emphasis on the precise meaning of terms, on particularity, on detail. Consequently, the texts

are much longer than in Continental Law and the ultimate aim is certainty in meaning. Therefore, the number and density of cohesive ties was expected to be higher in English than in Bulgarian.

- It was assumed that reference would be utilised as a cohesive device more often in Bulgarian owing to the explicitly marked grammatical category of gender in the noun and the lack thereof in the English language.

Widdowson (2005) argues for a comprehensive basis in the interpretation of text which requires an account of the relationship between the semantic and the pragmatic. Such pragmatic issues as facts about the actions, intentions, and inferences of language users and in general the ‘broad context’ that is relevant to a pragmatic study of discourse, however, are not considered in detail and are outside the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, in some cases we resort to pragmatic considerations in the interpretation of facts, since certain linguistic phenomena (e.g. ambiguity, anaphora, reference resolution, etc.) can be said to straddle the boundary between semantics and pragmatics.

5. Results and discussion

The total number of cohesive devices in the texts analysed is 3316 in the English texts and 2301 in the Bulgarian texts (see Chart 1). Their density in the English Acts is 1.4 times higher. All the numbers in the present study indicate a single instance of cohesion, a tie, which is one occurrence of a pair of cohesively related items.

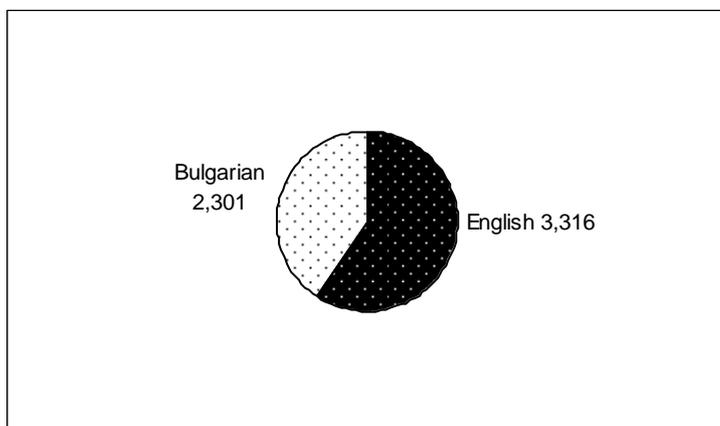


Chart 1. Cohesive devices total

5.1 Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion accounts for 84% of all ties in English and 92% in Bulgarian, of which repetition is the prevailing type (99.4% in English and 98.6% in Bulgarian). This is in keeping with most studies to date where lexical repetition has been shown to account for the dominant type of text cohesion in different genres (see section 2). Chart 2 below shows the absolute number of reiterations in the texts under study:

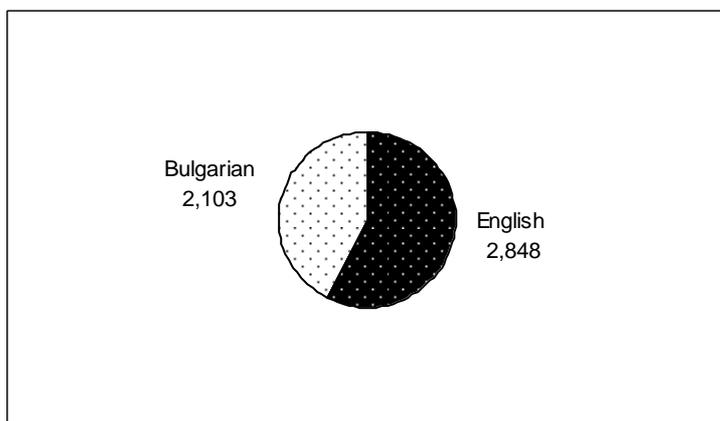


Chart 2. Lexical cohesion

In the English corpus the co-extentional relationship between the ties more often than not involves repetition of whole phrases. This is rare in most types of non-literary texts:

- (1) *s36, PCEA*
Custody officers at police stations

- (1) One or more custody officers shall be appointed for each designated police station.
- (2) A custody officer for a designated police station shall be appointed by (...)

In the above example the *custody officer* or the *designated police station* in subsection (1) and (2) are not coreferential: they do not have identical reference. The cohesion is due to the relation of the forms. In this case, as in the predominant part of statutory provisions, the situation is putative. Therefore, the matter of common reference is not at issue.

Repetition can also stretch over whole clauses, as in:

(2) *s 8, CAA*

- (3) **If the person ordered to be retried was, immediately before the determination of his appeal, liable to be detained in pursuance of an order or direction under Part V of the Mental Health Act 1959 (...)**
- (3A) **If the person ordered to be retried was, immediately before the determination of his appeal, liable to be detained in pursuance of a remand under section 36 of the Mental Health Act (...)**

Another specific characteristic of lexical cohesion that surfaced in the present analysis is the length of the cohesive chains. They can spread along the whole section/article or even beyond it:

(3) *art 157, PPC*

- (1) Когато не се яви на разпит без уважителни причини, обвиняемият се **довежда принудително**, ако явяването му е задължително или съответният орган намери, че то е необходимо.
- (2) Обвиняемият и свидетелят могат да бъдат **доведени принудително** без предварително призоваване, когато са се укрили или нямат постоянно местоживееене.
- (3) **Принудителното довеждане** на обвиняемия се извършва през деня, освен когато не търпи отлагане.
- (4) **Принудителното довеждане** се извършва от органите на МВР.
- (5) За **принудително довеждане** на затворници се прави искане пред администрацията на съответния затвор или поправителен дом.
- (6) Военнослужещите се **довеждат** от съответните военни органи.
- (7) Решението за **принудително довеждане** се предявява на лицето, което трябва да бъде доведено.
- (8) Разпоредбите на ал. 3–7 се прилагат и при **принудително довеждане** на свидетел по чл. 95, ал. 3.

- [(1) Where the accused fails to appear for interrogation without good reasons, the accused shall be **brought in by compulsion** should the appearance be obligatory, or should the respective body consider this necessary.¹
- (2) The accused and the witness may be **brought compulsorily** without first being summoned, if they have gone into hiding or have no permanent place of residence.
- (3) **The compulsory bringing** in of the accused shall be effected in daytime, except where it should suffer no delay.
- (4) **The compulsory bringing** in shall be performed by bodies of the Ministry of Interior.
- (5) For **compulsory bringing** in of prisoners, request shall be made to the administration of the respective prison or correctional institution.
- (6) Members of the armed forces shall be **brought in** by the respective military bodies.
- (7) The decision for **compulsory bringing** in shall be served on the person who must be brought in.
- (8) The provisions of paragraphs (3)–(7) shall also apply in the case of **compulsory bringing** in of witness pursuant to Article 95, paragraph (3).]

The higher incidence of lexical cohesion in the English texts can be attributed to several factors. First of all, the nature of Common law drafting, which is based on conciseness of expression, is different from the Continental style, which is based on statements of general principles (cf. David & Brierley 1968). Secondly, differences in language conventions affect the choice and number of cohesive devices. According to Hawkins (1986), English as a whole allows for more ambiguity than German due to the level of surface form mapping.

Similarly to German, in the Bulgarian language there is more one-to-one mapping between form and meaning. For instance, the grammatical distinction of nouns classified by gender allows for a referential density effectuated through other means in English, most commonly through lexical repetition. The genre of statutory writing in English has always had a very high propensity for reiteration, or in other words, the genre allows it and the language system demands it (cf. Hervey, Higgins & Loughridge 1995). Therefore, the differences in English and Bulgarian language conventions affect the degree of recurrence of lexical items – in this case the grammatical distinction of gender and the accepted level of repetition in both languages.

¹ Texts within square brackets are English translations of Bulgarian provisions provided by Ciela 2004.

The repeated lexical item can be accompanied by the definite article. Its function in general is to indicate that there is a particular referent in the environment to which the reiterated item points.

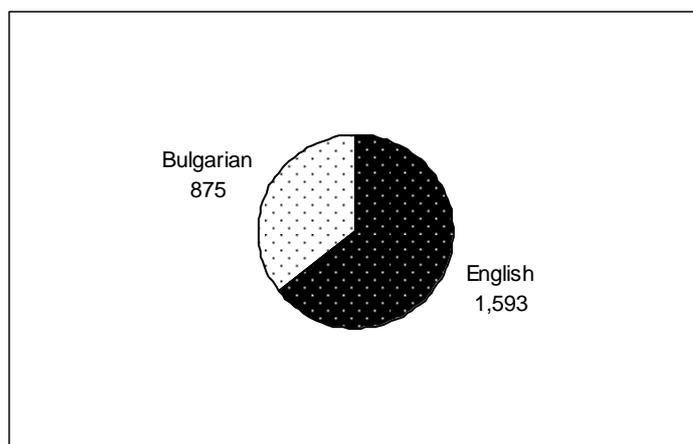


Chart 3. Lexical reiteration

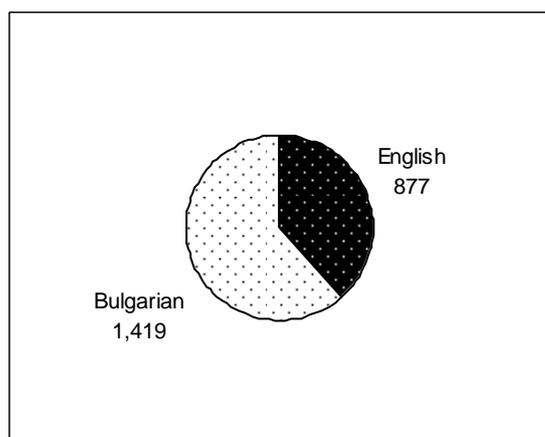


Chart 4. Lexical reiteration with a demonstrative

The incidence of lexical reiteration and lexical reiteration with a demonstrative (*the, this, that*) differs significantly in the two languages (see Charts 3 and 4). The English corpus shows a marked tendency for opting for the former, while the Bulgarian displays a propensity for the latter.

(4) *art 317, PPC*

- (1) **Жалбата и протестът** се подават в седемдневен срок от обявяването на присъдата, а в случаите на чл. 306 – в двуседмичен срок.
- (2) **Жалбата и протестът** се подават чрез съда, който е произнесъл присъдата.

- [(1) **The appeal and the protest** shall be filed within seven days following the pronouncement of the sentence, and in the cases under Article 306 within fourteen days.
- (2) **The appeal and the protest** shall be filed through the court which has pronounced the sentence.]

Art. 317 stipulates the terms and procedures for filing an appeal and protest. The definite article (*the* appeal and *the* protest) has a specific reference to the protests and appeals enumerated in the previous art. 316 and the drafter is obviously not worried that other contingencies might arise.

(5) *s 34, CAA*

- (1) **An application** to the Court of Appeal for leave to appeal to the House of Lords shall be made within the period of fourteen days beginning with the date of the decision of the Court (...)
- (2) The House of Lords or the Court of Appeal may.... extend the time within which **an application** may be made (...)
- (3) An appeal to the House of Lords shall be treated as pending until **any application** for leave to appeal is disposed of....; and for the purposes of this Part of this Act **an application** for leave to appeal shall be treated as disposed of at the expiration of the time (...)

Employing the indefinite article in its generic use emphasises the all-inclusiveness of the above provision, which is further strengthened by the combination of *any* + *application* in subsection (3), thus signifying ‘any representative member of the class’ (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 1997) or ‘universal generic meaning’ (Stankov 1995).

Owing to the different legal principles that underlie the two systems, in Bulgarian we find:

(6) *art 379, PPC*

При **предварителното и съдебното** следствие се събират данни за деня, месеца и годината на раждането на непълнолетния (...)

[In the course of **the preliminary inquiry and the judicial inquiry** information shall be collected about the date, month and year of birth of the minor (...)]

This preliminary inquiry becomes clear if we go back to art. 377, which reads:

(7) *art 377, PPC*

По делата за престъпления, извършени от непълнолетни, се провежда предварително следствие от определени следователи със съответна подготовка.

[In cases of crimes committed by minors, preliminary inquiry shall be conducted by appointed examining magistrates with appropriate training.]

Art. 379 employs the definite article to make the reader look for the missing information in the text, searching for the specific inquiry. The English text shows a marked tendency for repeating the circumstances or conditions to which the legal rule applies, thus making the use of the definite article unnecessary. In this vein, art. 379 can be paraphrased as:

(8)

При предварително и съдебно следствие по дела за престъпления, извършени от непълнолетни (...)

[In the course of preliminary inquiry in cases of crimes committed by minors (...)]

An observation to be taken into account is that in Bulgarian, a generically used noun is, as a rule, accompanied by the definite article when it is the grammatical subject and is part of the theme (Ivančev 1978). In addition, whether a generically used noun is with or without the definite article depends on its thematic or rhematic position in the sentence (see also Šamrai 1989, Stoyanov 1980 for a syntactic explanation of the use and omission of articles).

Another reason for the discrepancy between the repeated lexical items, with or without a demonstrative, may be found in the different choice of surface expression of similar content in the two languages. Where in English a noun is accompanied by the generic indefinite article in sentences beginning with ‘An appellant who...., A constable who...., A person who....’ in Bulgarian this is usually rendered by a substantivised form of a relative pronoun within a nominal relative clause functioning as subject:

(9) *art 162, para 1, PC*

Който проповядва или подбужда към расова или национална вражда или омраза, или към расова дискриминация, се наказва с лишаване от свобода до три години.

[**Who** propagates or incites racial or national hostility or hatred or racial discrimination shall be punished by imprisonment of up to three years and by public reprobation.]

The underlying meaning, however, is the same: *a person who propagates or incites*. According to Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik (1997: 1244), “nominal relative clauses are unique among relative clauses in that they ‘contain’ their antecedents.”

There are several instances of ellipsis in Bulgarian which would correspond to lexical repetition plus a demonstrative in English:

(10) *art 20, para 1, PPC*

Не се образува наказателно производство, а **образуваното** се прекратява, когато (...)

[No penal proceedings shall be instituted, and **the instituted (proceedings)** shall be terminated where: (...)]

There were instances of fuzzy and misleading lexical cohesion in the corpus, as in:

(11) *art 160, PPC*

(1) Призовките, съобщенията и книжката се връчват срещу разписка, подписана от **лицето**, за което са предназначени.

(2) Когато **лицето** отсъства, те се връчват на пълнолетен член на семейството му, а ако няма пълнолетен член на семейството – на домоуправителя, домоначалника или портиера, както и на съквартирант или съсед, когато поеме задължение да ги предаде.

(3) Ако **получателят** или **лицето по предходната алинея** не може или откаже да подпише, връчителят прави бележка за това в присъствието поне на едно лице, което се подписва.

[(1) Summonses, subpoenas and papers shall be served against receipt signed by **the person** for whom they are intended.

(2) Where **the person** is absent, they shall be served on an adult member of the person's family, and if there is no adult member of the family – on the house steward, house manager or janitor, as well as on a room-mate or neighbour, where the latter shall assume the obligation to deliver them.

(3) If **the recipient** or **person under the preceding paragraph** cannot sign or refuses to sign, the serving person shall make a note of this in the presence of at least one person who shall sign.]

A linguistic analysis of the above provision concludes that *the person* in subsections (1), (2) and (3) refers to one and the same person. When this was presented to a lawyer, however, his interpretation revealed that *the recipient* in subsection (3) co-refers with *the person* in subsections (1) and (2) and that the antecedent for *the person under the preceding paragraph* is *an adult member of the family... house steward, house manager or janitor... room-mate or neighbour*.

Another explanation for the high incidence of lexical cohesive devices is that they help disambiguate meaning. Bearing in mind the complex subject matter of provisions, lexical cohesion helps elucidate relations, sequences, and contingencies which would otherwise remain unclear. E.g.:

(12) s 39, sub-s 3, PCEA

If **the person detained** is subsequently returned to the custody of **the custody officer**, it shall be the duty of **the officer investigating the offence** to report to the **custody officer** as to the manner in which this section and the codes of practice have been complied with while **that person** was in his custody.

If not for the lexical reiteration of items like *person, custody officer, officer investigating the offence*, the provision would be unintelligible. The use of personal pronouns would not disambiguate the meaning owing to the number of items mentioned to which the same pronoun would correspond.

However, there are quite a few examples of rather hazy pronominalisation, as in:

(13) s 42, sub-s 8, PCEA

The officer to whom it falls to determine whether to give the authorization may refuse to hear oral representations from the person in detention if **he** considers that **he** is unfit to make such representation by reason of **his** condition or behaviour.

In such cases it is more a matter of general knowledge that helps us disambiguate the meaning of the provision. The recipients of the text resort to pragmatic considerations in identifying the drafter's intention in producing the statute.

Contrary to expectations, there were several instances of *synonymy* in the texts under study (see Chart 5). In the following example, *appellant* and *person* are contextual synonyms:

(14) *s 22, CAA*

Right of appellant to be present

- (1) Except as provided by this section, **an appellant** shall be entitled to be present, if he wishes it, on the hearing of his appeal, although he may be in custody.
- (2) **A person** in custody shall not be entitled to be present –
 - (a) where his appeal is on some ground (...)

In the next two provisions the following words are synonymous: делото/производството ‘case/proceedings’, претърсване/обиск ‘search/perquisition’:

(15) *art 386, PPC*

- (1) Когато обвинението е повдигнато срещу непълнолетен за престъпление извършено от него преди да навърши пълнолетие, **делото** се разглежда по общия ред.
- (2) Когато престъплението е извършено от непълнолетен в съучастие с пълнолетен, обвиненията не се разделят и **производството** се разглежда по общия ред.

[(1) Where an accusation has been brought against an adult for a crime committed by him prior to having reached maturity, **the case** shall be conducted under general procedure.

(2) Where the crime has been perpetrated by a minor in complicity with an adult, the accusations shall not be separated and **the proceedings** shall be conducted under general procedure.]

(16) *art 138, PPC*

- (1) **Претърсване** на лице без разрешение на прокурора се допуска: (...)
- (2) **Обискът** се извършва от лице от същия пол (...)

[(1) **Search** of a person without permission by the prosecutor shall be allowed: (...)

(2) The **perquisition** shall be performed by (...)]

Synonyms and near synonyms are sometimes used in statutory language to express every possible contingency, legal subjects, legal actions and to include all duties and obligations that might arise in particular circumstances, as in:

(17) *s 3, sub-s2, Local Government Act 1999*

For the purpose of deciding how to fulfil the duty arising under subsection

(1) an authority must consult–

(a) representatives of persons liable to pay any **tax, precept or levy** to or in respect of the authority (...)

Some of these pairs, known as binomials, resulted from the process of preserving a French term and a term from Old English, lest misunderstanding should arise at the time of the Norman Conquest: devise and bequeath, goods and chattels, will and testament.

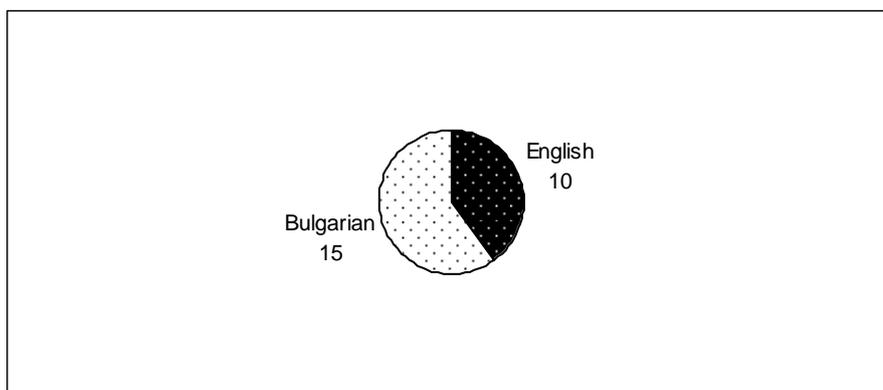


Chart 5. Number of synonyms

Besides presenting a case of intrasentential cohesion, the use of synonymous expressions in the examples from the present corpora is not necessitated by the exigency to show different aspects of one and the same referent. It is either an oversight on the part of the drafter or a desire to reformulate the same idea, to vary the language. Moreover, their number is not statistically significant to merit further detailed discussion and analysis.

The number of instances of cohesion through *collocation* in the texts under study is as follows:

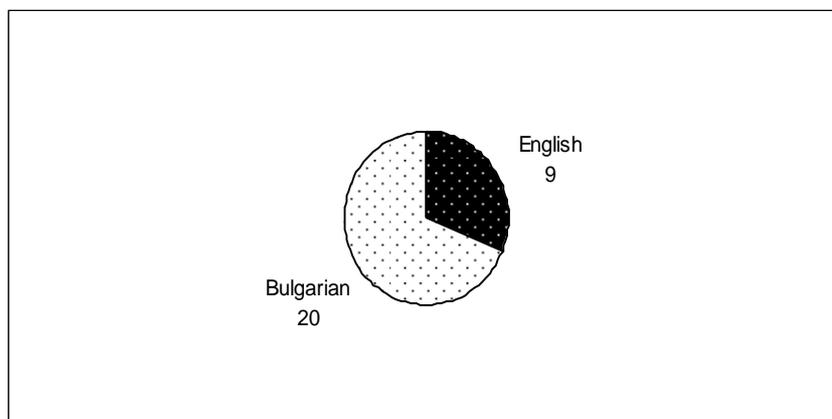


Chart 6. Collocation

There were several types of semantic relations:

Meronymy (the semantic relation that holds between a part and the whole):

(18) *art 266, PPC*

Когато подсъдимият, частният обвинител, частният тџжител, гражданският ищец или гражданският ответник не спазва реда на съдебното заседание, **председателят** го предупреждава, че при повторно нарушение ще бъде отстранен от съдебната зала. Ако той продължава да нарушава реда, **съдът** може да го отстрани от съдебната зала за определено време.

[Where the accused, the private accuser, the private complainant, the civil claimant or the civil defendant fail to observe the order in the court hearing, **the presiding judge** shall warn them that upon second violation they shall be removed from the court room. Should such a person continue to violate the order, **the court** may remove that person from the court room for a specified period of time.]

Hyponymy (relationship between a general term and specific instances):

(19) *art 111, PPC*

(1) Когато веществените доказателства не могат да се отделят от мястото, където са намерени, както и в други предвидени в този кодекс случаи, се изготвят **фотоснимки, диапозитиви, кинозаписи, видеозаписи, звукозаписи, планове, схеми, отливки или отпечатъци.**

(2) **Материалите по предходната алинея** се прилагат към делото.

- [(1) Where material evidence cannot be separated from the place, where it was found, and also in other cases specified by this Code, prepared shall be **photographs, slides, films, video tapes, sound-recordings, layouts, schemes, casts or prints** thereof.
- (2) **The materials under the preceding paragraph** shall be attached to the case file.]

(20) *s 21, PCEA*

- (1) **A constable** who seizes anything in the exercise of a power conferred by any enactment, including an enactment contained in an Act passed after this Act, shall, if so requested by a person (...) Provide that person with a record of what he seized.
- (2) **The officer** shall provide the record within a reasonable time from the making of the request for it.

Antonymy (the relationship between two words denoting opposite meanings):

(21) *s 13, CAA*

- (1) Subject to the provisions of this section, the Court of Appeal shall **allow an appeal** under section 12 of this Act if they are of opinion (...)
- (2) The Court of Appeal may **dismiss an appeal** under section 12 of this Act, if (...)

Although statistically insignificant, the number of synonyms and collocations used as cohesive devices is almost double in the Bulgarian Codes (see Charts 5 and 6). One explanation is system-specific: the more 'flexible' interpretation of the statute in the Bulgarian legal system allows for restatement and reformulation as opposed to the 'rigid' approach in the English Acts.

Lexical repetition is preferred in legal, academic, and administrative texts, i.e. texts in which clarity and lack of ambiguity is highly desirable. In statutory texts it is used either to point to the same referent (especially when accompanied by the definite article) or to denote one and the same condition as background for different actions and doers.

There are cases in which lexical repetition is absolutely necessary when the ties demonstrate remoteness from one another or when ambiguity can arise. If the lexical ties are too dense, however, they can hamper comprehension. Employing repetition too frequently can lead to a lower degree of informativity because either no new information is presented or the information is blurred by disproportionate reiteration of co-textually or contextually evident items. Shuy and Larkin's study (1978) demonstrates

that frequent repetition of lexical items is the principal reason why insurance policy language is difficult to read.

In statutes, preciseness of content is enormously important and sometimes the usual considerations of informativity present in other types of discourse are disregarded. Conciseness is one of the more permanent trends in statutory writing: everything which is not necessary in a text is dangerous (Bennion 1995: 94). Superfluous words are likely to obscure the meaning. Thus, legal discourse is over-compact and each sentence is made to count for too much.

5.2 Reference as a cohesive device in statutory texts

Reference items shorten and simplify the surface text and allow the recipient to keep text content in active storage without the need for the author to restate it. Anaphora is the most common form of reference in most genres and also in the texts under study. Chart 7 gives the incidence and the type of reference used as a text-forming device in the Bulgarian and English corpora.

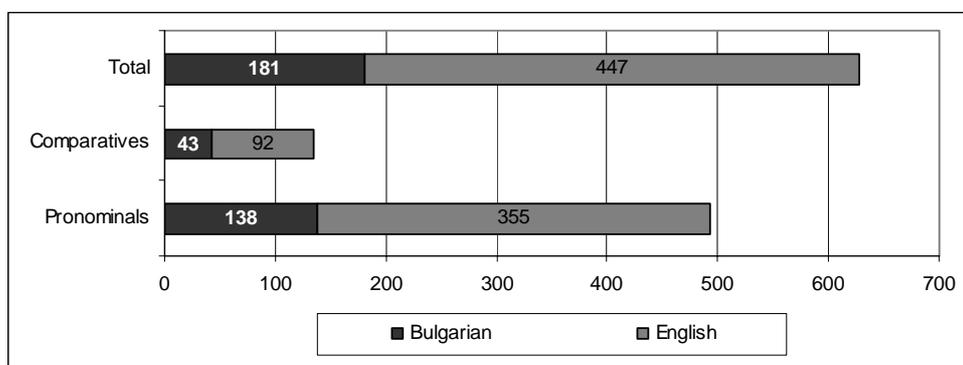


Chart 7. Reference

Personal Reference:

(22) *art 316, para 3, PPC*

Подсъдимият може да обжалва **присъдата** във всичките ѝ части. **Той** може да **я** обжалва и само относно мотивите и основанията за оправдаването **му**.

[The **defendant** may appeal the **sentence** in all its parts. **He** may appeal **it** also only with regard to the reasons and the grounds for **his** acquittal.]

(23) *s 61, PCEA*

- (7) In a case where by virtue of subsection (3) or (6) above a **person's** fingerprints are taken without the appropriate consent.
- (8) If **he** is detained at a police station when the fingerprints are taken (...)

Most of the examples of comparative reference display the semantic relations of similarity and identity:

(24) *art 192, PC*

- (1) Родител или друг сродник, който получи откуп, за да разреши на своя дъщеря или сродница, ненавършила 16-годишна възраст, да заживее съпружески с другиго, се наказва с лишаване от свобода до две години или с глоба до десет хиляди лева, както и с обществено порицание.
- (2) **Същото** наказание се налага и на този, който дава или посредничи при даването на **такъв** откуп.

- [(1) A parent or another relative who receives a ransom in order to permit his daughter or relative under 16 years of age to lead a connubial life with another shall be punished by imprisonment of up to two years or by a fine of one hundred to three hundred levs, as well as by public reprobation.
- (2) **The same** punishment shall be imposed to those who give or mediate in the giving of **such** a ransom.]

(25) *s 15, PCEA*

- (1) This section and section 16 below have effect in relation to the issue to constables under any enactment (...) of warrants to enter and search premises (...)
- (2) Where a constable applies for any **such** warrant, it shall be his duty – (...)

There is only one instance of cataphoric reference:

(26) *s 15, PCEA*

- (3) Subject to subsection (4) below, a custody officer may seize and retain any **such** thing or cause any **such** thing to be seized and retained.
- (4) Clothes and personal effects may only be seized if the custody officer –
 - (a) believes that the person from whom they are seized may use them –
 - (i) to cause physical injury to himself or any other person;
 - (ii) to damage property;
 - (iii) to interfere with evidence (...)

In fiction, cataphora is usually employed to generate unpredictability and intensify readers' interest. It can be a powerful tool for creating focus on specific content in a text. In the above example, however, the cataphoric *such* is used to reduce the length of subsection (3), which introduces the legal subject and the legal action. The additional conditions are enumerated in subsection (4) within a rather verbose qualification. The drafter obviously decided to reduce the content by splitting the case description and the main provision into different subsections.

The following article is an interesting example of combining lexical repetition and reference. There are two legal subjects—a custody officer and a person granted bail. Undoubtedly pronominal reference alone would not help in eliciting the correct antecedent. The drafter has opted for reiteration in the case of the custody officer (the chain is: a custody officer, the custody officer, the custody officer) and for reiteration and pronominal reference in the second case (a person, that person, a person, he, his, him). In other words, pronominal reference was only resorted to when referring to one and the same antecedent.

(27) *s 47, PCEA*

- (4) Where **a custody officer** has granted bail to *a person* subject to a duty to appear at a police station, **the custody officer** may give notice in writing to *that person* that *his* attendance at the police station is not required.
- (5) Where *a person* arrested for an offence who was released on bail subject to a duty to attend at a police station so attends, *he* may be detained without charge in connection with that offence only if **the custody officer** at the police station has reasonable grounds for believing that *his* detention is necessary –
 - (a) to secure or preserve evidence relating to the offence; or
 - (b) to obtain such evidence by questioning *him*.

The English corpus contains 2.5 times more instances of reference than the Bulgarian texts. One explanation for this discrepancy is grammatical: since Bulgarian is a pro-drop language, personal pronouns can be omitted, e.g.:

(28) *art 194, para 1, PPC*

Когато следователят откаже да образува предварително следствие, Ø
изпраща материалите на прокурора.

Elliptical subjects are also possible if the zero subject of the subordinate clause is co-referent with the subject of the main clause, as in the following example:

(29) *art. 453, para 3, PPC*

Ако \emptyset отмени определението, втората инстанция решава делото.

The two provisions above are translated into English with the respective pronouns in subject position:

[Where the examining magistrate refuses to institute preliminary proceedings, **he/she** shall forward the materials to the prosecutor.]

[Should **it** revoke the ruling, the intermediate appellate review court shall decide the case.]

Regarding omission of pronouns in Bulgarian, Ilieva (1995) holds the view that explicit expression of a pronoun in subject position is anaphorically connected with an antecedent which is not in subject position in the previous text; while if it is implicitly expressed, i.e. ellipted, it is co-referential with an antecedent which is the subject of the preceding text. The Bulgarian corpus, however, manifests a number of instances where the pronominal subject is not ellipted even when it co-refers to the subject of the preceding text, as in:

(30) *art. 71, PPC*

Защитникът не може да се откаже от приетата защита, освен ако стане невъзможно да изпълнява задълженията си по независещи от него причини. В последния случай **той** е длъжен да уведоми своевременно обвиняемия.

[The defence counsel may not renounce the accepted defence, except where it becomes impossible to carry out his obligations for reasons beyond his control. In the latter case **he** shall be obliged to notify the accused in due time.]

This can be attributed to genre requirements: the highly formulaic and standardised expression of statutes, where frequent ellipsis would not be considered sufficiently formal or ceremonial.

Another explanation for the fewer cases of reference as a cohesive link in Bulgarian is that the more complex structure of the legislative

provision in English calls for explicit reference either by means of reiteration or by pronominalisation, especially in long, left-branching and verbose qualifications specifying the circumstances to which a legal provision applies.

5.3 Ellipsis, conjunction and substitution as textual relations

While lexical cohesion and reference are relations on the semantic level, substitution and ellipsis are grammatical. They represent a relation within the text and a substitute item has the same grammatical function as the one it substitutes. The number of instances of substitution, conjunction and ellipsis as cohesive devices is shown on Chart 8:

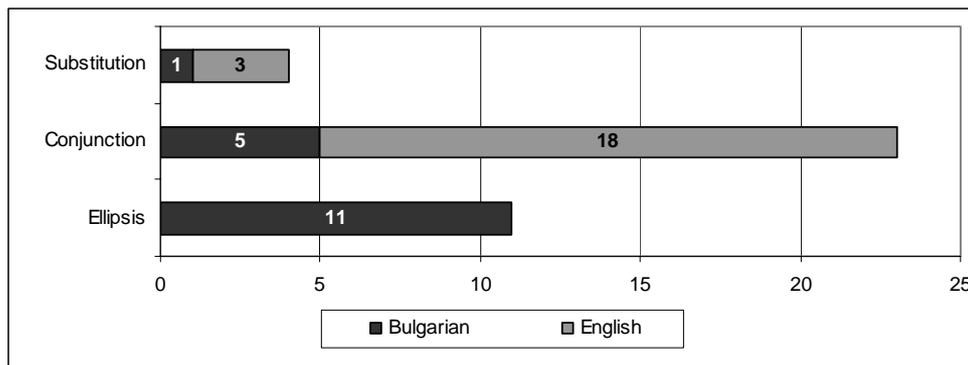


Chart 8. Ellipsis, conjunction, substitution

Ellipsis is a frequent phenomenon for the Bulgarian language, since a lot of the information necessary for correct comprehension lies in the grammatical categories of person and number of the verb, and subject ellipsis is an exceptionally common device for suprasentential cohesion. A text with fully explicit elements would require greater effort to unpack. If applied in moderation, ellipsis leads to language economy. Moreover, the recipient can focus on the most important part of the discourse. There were 11 examples of ellipsis as a cohesive link in the Bulgarian texts and none in the English statutes.

(31) *art 216, PPC*

(1) След като проучат материалите, съответните лица могат да правят **искания, бележки и възражения.**

- (2) **Писмените искания, бележки и възражения** се прилагат към делото, а **устните** се вписват в протокола за предявяване на следствието.

[(1) After examination of the materials, the respective persons may make **requests, remarks and objections**.

- (2) **The written requests, remarks and objections** shall be attached to the case file, and **the verbal** shall be entered into the protocol for presentation of the investigation.]

If we compare the Bulgarian provisions with their translation in English (Ciela 2004), we see that the elliptic forms are rendered by substitution (art. 216, PPC) or lexical repetition.

5.3.1 Conjunction

The few cases of conjunction in Bulgarian were mainly adversative and additive, and one sequential:

- (32) *art 347, PPC*

Съдът, който е постановил определението, може сам да го отмени или измени в разпоредително заседание. **В противен случай** съдът изпраща на втората инстанция частната жалба и протеста с обяснения, а при нужда – и делото.

[The court which has pronounced the ruling may itself revoke or modify it at an executive sitting. **Otherwise**, the court shall forward the private appeal and protest to the intermediate appellate review court with explanations and also the case file, if necessary.]

In the English statutes, cohesive conjunctions were found after semicolons. Nevertheless, the effect is cohesive, since the two parts are not connected structurally:

- (33) *s 17, sub-s 4, AJA*

An appeal under section one of this Act shall be treated for the purposes of this Act pending until any application for leave to appeal is disposed of and, if leave to appeal is granted, until the appeal is disposed of; **and** for the purposes of this Act an application for leave to appeal shall be treated as disposed of at the expiration of the time within which it may be made, if it is not made within that time.

Even though the conjunction in the above example is not a suprasentential link formally, it can be considered cohesive, because the section in fact consists of two separate provisions: a) the conditions when an application for leave to appeal is considered pending, and b) the conditions when an application will be considered disposed of.

The semicolon comes immediately after the period in the hierarchy and is the coordinating mark of punctuation. It may also be followed by a coordinator, such as *and* or *but*, and this use is chiefly found in highly formal writing and in cases where sentence complexity already involves the use of several commas. The aspiration to put all possible cases and contingencies in one provision in English has led to the need to explicate the relations within this complex subject matter. The conjunctions in English in such use were the additive *and* and the adversative *but*.

On the whole, there were no causal conjunctions and rarely were temporal conjunctions employed as cohesive links. These semantic relations were signaled by other means, such as ordering sequences in lists and placing conditions and circumstances in separate provisions. The fact that statutes are oriented to the ‘ever present present’ explains the lack of temporal conjunctions. Instead, the Bulgarian drafter makes use of the present tense to stipulate options, alternatives and sequence. In English, employing the modal ‘shall’ imposes legal obligations that extend from the past to the future. Other genres with standard expository order, for instance the narrative, employ many more conjunctive devices to explicate the relations between the various parts of a text. The fact that each legislative sentence is comparatively complete semantically and the aspiration of the drafter to squeeze everything into one provision account for the lack of conjunctive cohesive relations above the sentence. Moreover, orthography plays an important role in the structuring of Acts – they are, after all, formulaic texts.

5.3.2 Substitution

Substitution as a cohesive device accounts for only four instances in the corpora: three in the English Acts and one in the Bulgarian Codes. The following is an example of clausal substitution:

(34) *s 37, PCEA*

- (2) If the custody officer determines that he does not have such evidence before him the person arrested shall be released either on bail or without

bail, unless the custody officer has reasonable grounds for believing **that his detention without being charged is necessary to secure or preserve evidence relating to an offence for which he is under arrest or to obtain such evidence by questioning him.**

- (3) If the custody officer has reasonable grounds for **so** believing, he may authorize the person arrested to be kept in police detention.

The legal draftsman has opted to reduce verbosity by not repeating the whole clause. The meaning is clear and unambiguous as a result of the use of the clausal substitute *so*.

Article 23 of the Bulgarian Penal Code provides for punishments for multiple crimes. *Същото* (the same) substitutes the provision that certain punishments shall be accrued to the most severe punishment and this shall also apply to compulsory domicile:

- (35) *art 23, para 2, PC*

Наложените наказания задължително заселване, обществено порицание и лишаване от права по чл. 37, точки 6–9 се присъединяват към определеното най-тежко наказание. Ако е постановено лишаване от еднакви права, налага се онова от тях, което е за най-дълъг срок. **Същото** се прилага и по отношение на задължителното заселване.

[The imposed punishments of compulsory domicile, public reprobation and deprivation of rights pursuant to art. 37, para 1, item 6, and 9 shall be accrued to the most serious punishment imposed. If deprivation of equal rights is ruled the one with the longest term shall be imposed. **The same** applies in cases of compulsory domicile.]

Substitution is not a common cohesive device in the corpora. Moreover, it is much more typical for the English language: the nominal *one*, the verbal *do* and the clausal *so* and *not* are usually rendered by other means in Bulgarian, such as reference and ellipsis.

What is important in considering texture is not only a single instance of cohesion, but also the multiple references to an extralinguistic object and the chain these references form. Identity chains are co-referential: every member of the chain refers to the same referent. Similarity chains are based on the relation of co-classification or co-extension. In the overall structure of the statutes under study the identity chain is very powerful as an integrative device in both languages:

(36) *s 4, PCEA*

- (1) This section shall have effect in relation to the conduct of **road checks** by police officers (...)
- (2) For the purposes of this section **a road check** consists of (...)
- (3) Subject to subsection (5) below, there may only be **such a road check** if a police officer (...)
- (4) An officer may authorize **a road check under subsection (3) above** for the purpose (...)
- (5) An officer....may authorize **such a road check** if it appears to him (...)
- (6) (...)
- (7) (...)
- (8) An officer to whom a report is made under subsection (6) above may, in writing, authorize **the road check** to continue.
- (9) If such an officer considers that **the road check** should not continue (...)
- (10)(...)
- (11) An officer (...) shall specify a period (...) during which **the road check** may continue (...)

It is clear from the above example that the sequence in the chains is from the more general to the particular; the co-referential structure is made narrower by resorting to the definite article or a demonstrative or comparative pronoun.

Consider the next example:

(37) *art 266, PPC*

- (1) Когато **подсъдимият, частният тъжител, гражданският ищец или гражданският ответник** ((не спазва реда)) на съдебното заседание, *председателят го* предупреждава, че при повторно ((нарушение)) ще бъде **ОТСТРАНЕН** от съдебната зала. Ако **той** продължава да ((нарушава реда)), *съдът* може да **го** **ОТСТРАНИ** от съдебната зала за определено време.
- (2) След като **ОТСТРАНЕНИЯТ** се завърне в съдебната зала, *председателят му* съобщава действията, които са били извършени в **негово** отсъствие.
- (3) Когато **прокурорът, защитникът или повереникът** и след предупреждението на *председателя* продължава да ((нарушава реда)) в съдебната зала, *съдът* може да отложи разглеждането на делото, ако не е възможно да бъде заменен по съответния ред с **друго лице** без вреда за делото. За ((нарушението)) *председателят* съобщава на съответния орган или обществена организация.
- (4) Когато **други лица** ((нарушават реда)), *председателят* може да **ги** **ОТСТРАНИ** от съдебната зала, а *съдът* да **им** наложи глоба до 400 лева.

- [(1) Where **the accused, the private accuser, the private complainant, the civil claimant or the civil defendant** ((fail to observe the order)) in the court hearing, *the presiding judge* shall warn **them** that upon second ((violation)) **they** shall be REMOVED from the court room. Should **such a person** continue to ((violate the order)), *the court* may REMOVE **that person** from the court room for a specified period of time.
- (2) When the REMOVED PERSONS return to the court room, *the presiding judge* shall inform **such persons** of the actions performed in **their** absence.
- (3) Where **the prosecutor, the defence counsel or the attorney**, even after the warning of *the presiding judge* continue to ((violate the order)) in the court room, *the court* may adjourn the examination of the case if it is impossible to replace any of **them** with **another person** under the respective procedure without prejudice to the case. *The presiding judge* shall inform the respective body about the ((violation)).
- (4) Where **other persons** ((violate the order)), *the presiding judge* may REMOVE **them** from the courtroom and *the court* may impose on **them** a fine of up to four thousand leva.]

Several cohesive chains bind the text together. Two chains (in small capitals and double brackets) provide the topic of the provision – the removal from the courtroom in cases of non-observance of the order of the court hearing. Another chain (in bold) specifies the people to whom the provision applies (*the accused, the private accuser, the private complainant, the civil claimant or the civil defendant, the prosecutor, the defence counsel or the attorney, another person, other persons*). Then there is the legal subject (in italics): *the presiding judge, the court* and the setting (underlined): courtroom.

Paragraph (2) provides an item which participates in two chains – *removed (persons)*. It coheres both with the chain *removed, remove* and with the chain *the accused, the private accuser, the private complainant, the civil claimant, the civil defendant, the prosecutor, the defence counsel, the attorney, other persons*.

One of the factors that determine the choice of a cohesive device is the place of the co-referential device in the co-referential chain. The most common patterns are: antecedent (lexical item), lexical repetition (lexical item plus a demonstrative, usually the definite article), reference (personal pronoun), as in *срок, този срок, го* (period, this period, it) or antecedent (lexical item), lexical repetition (lexical item), reference (comparative pronoun), lexical repetition (lexical item plus a demonstrative), as in *road checks, road checks, such a road check, the road check*.

A substantial variation of chain length becomes evident when comparing the texts: as a rule chains in the English Acts are over double in length compared to chains in the Bulgarian Codes. What is also important is the distance between the presupposed item and the co-referent. If the items are too far apart, the cohesive force is weaker and the interpretation becomes harder. In such cases it is mostly lexical repetition that the drafter resorts to. In general, all these factors determine the degree of tight or loose structure of the text.

6. Conclusions

Cohesion is clearly a useful tool for exploring the structure of texts in connection with the requirements of different genres, cultural preferences and linguistic characteristics (cf. Yankova 2005). The cohesive devices in the corpora demonstrate the following:

Genre-specific characteristics: The predominant type of cohesive device in both the Bulgarian and English texts under study is lexical repetition, with higher frequency in English. It was anticipated since terms can hardly be substituted in statutory language. In cases of complex syntax, lexical reiteration is necessary owing to words with grammatical and semantic characteristics identical with the antecedent. In addition, there are cases when the distance between the antecedent and the co-referent calls for lexical repetition.

If cohesion is considered a set of relations in language, three different kinds of relations surface: relatedness of form, relatedness of reference, semantic connection (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 304). The type of cohesion that corresponds to each relation is respectively a) substitution, ellipsis, lexical collocation; b) reference, lexical reiteration; c) conjunction.

The cohesive devices in the texts under study demonstrate a marked preference for lexical repetition and reference. Therefore, the predominant nature of cohesive relation is relatedness of reference. This phenomenon is determined by the specifics of the genre of statutory texts and is in keeping with the legal reasoning behind this type of legislative text. Legal theorists have defined statutory writing as simultaneously precise and all-inclusive or abstract. This logic finds expression in the linguistic means used to conceptualise it on a suprasentential level. Reference as a cohesive device in both the Bulgarian and English texts is predominantly personal and demonstrative – in most cases it has the same referent. The interpretation of one item is effectuated by means of being identified with another: it is

definite and precise. With lexical reiteration, the reference need not be identical, apart from cases when the lexical item is accompanied by the definite article. Statutory texts strive to include all possible conditions, cases and contingencies that a provision can apply to. The aim is to encompass ‘any’, thus ‘all’, people, situations and actions. The language has to be precise, informationally accurate and never ambiguous. Therefore, the two predominant types of cohesion reflect the gist of legal reasoning and the function of statutory writing.

Substitution, ellipsis and conjunction do not play a significant role in the cohesion of the texts under consideration. This is again determined by genre characteristics. In substitution there is no identity of referent, there is usually a redefinition of the item.

Therefore, genre is one of the factors that determine the choice of cohesive devices. The main aim of drafting is to convey the intention of the legislature. The discourse structure of the statutes under study (and all statutes for that matter) is not always chronological. In most cases, it is compressed into a single sentence with no tense markers. Great demands are made on the reader’s non-grammatical interpretative abilities. The choice of a cohesive device is also reflected in the peculiarities of drafting – it is not identical to other kinds of writing and its complexity necessitates guarding against over-generalisations, such as arguing for a standard syntax. Functional clarity depends not only on clarity of language, but also on clarity of concept, organisation and context. Sometimes statutes are written by different draftsmen and amended at different times, a phenomenon called ‘patchwork drafting’ (cf. Brightman 2002) or ‘legislation by reference.’

Language and culture-specific differences: There is a higher incidence of lexical repetition in the English Acts. It can be accounted for by the certainty in meaning and simplicity of expression, typical for Common Law drafting as different from the Continental style, which focuses on statements of general principle with little attention to detail. On the whole, the English text is explicit and little is left for conjecture, while the Bulgarian text is implicit, requiring the recipient to search for the facts.

In view of the observation that English as a whole allows for more ambiguity of forms than Bulgarian due to the level of surface form mapping, it is only logical that lexical repetition should be employed more frequently in English than in Bulgarian. However, excessive lexical repetition is one of the factors that make legal English more difficult to comprehend – it lowers the degree of informativity.

In addition, the more complex syntax of the legislative provision in English calls for explicit reference either by means of reiteration or by pronominalisation. Pronominal reference cannot always disambiguate meaning, since the nouns used in the statutory texts are predominantly third person singular, masculine gender.

In the Bulgarian corpus there is a higher number of same item repetition accompanied by the definite article. The generic use of the indefinite article in English where the definite is resorted to in Bulgarian accentuates the all-inclusiveness of the provision in English. The generalising meaning of the indefinite article and of *any* in English is rendered with the definite article in Bulgarian.

Another reason for the discrepancy between the repeated lexical items with or without a demonstrative may be found in the different choice of surface expression of similar content in the two languages. Where in English a noun is accompanied by the generic indefinite article in sentences beginning with *an appellant who, a constable who, a person who*, in Bulgarian it is construed by *който употреби насилуие, който образува или ръководи организация* [who applies violence, who forms or heads an organisation].

The ratio of pronominal reference of English to Bulgarian is 2.6:1. One of the explanations for the fewer cases of reference as a cohesive device in Bulgarian is grammatical: the subject can be omitted. Personal pronouns in subject position can be dropped; deletion of subject could help in disambiguating reference while the English text would opt for lexical repetition in most cases.

There are no cases of ellipsis as a cohesive link in the English Acts. Ellipsis is a common phenomenon for the Bulgarian language, since a lot of the information necessary for adequate comprehension lies in the grammatical categories of person and number of the verb – and it is connected with the fewer instances of reference in Bulgarian.

Other factors that have a bearing on the choice of device are: its place in the co-referential chain, the grammatical and semantic characteristics of the words (a pronoun might refer to more than one antecedent) and subjective factors such as the drafter's personal style.

The present analysis does not claim to be exhaustive on the topic of semantic relatedness of legislative texts. It can, however, serve as a basis for the further study of the text and context of statutes as well as for comparing the data of penal statutory texts regarding the number, density and types of cohesive devices with those of other legislative texts (e.g.

property law, international law, etc.) or other genres altogether (e.g. fiction, academic writing). In general, further and more detailed research on the textual patterning of the legislative provision, on the incidence, type and density of cohesive devices, as well as on the distribution of given and new information, can help develop schemata that represent writing within this particular discourse community.

Appendix: List of abbreviations

art	– article
AJA	– Administration of Justice Act
CAA	– Criminal Appeal Act
para	– paragraph
PC	– Penal Code
PPC	– Penal Procedure Code
PCEA	– Police and Criminal Evidence Act
s	– section
sub-s	– subsection

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Remarks and Replies

Fred Karlsson

On the Principles of Grammar Writing

Karlsson (2005, henceforth K-05) criticized several claims in Itkonen (2003, henceforth I-03). Itkonen's reply (2005, henceforth I-05) to K-05 prompts me to the following concluding comments.

I-03 claimed that grammars composed in all cultures and all historical periods are remarkably uniform. K-05 demonstrated the untenability of this 'uniformity hypothesis' by introducing the (rather self-evident) tripartition between large reference grammars, introductory school grammars, and field grammars, all hugely different in scope and methodology. I-05 is silent in face of this criticism, thus obviously giving up his 'uniformity hypothesis'. Itkonen's silence is especially remarkable as concerns the methodological practices of large modern reference grammars for which his claims of the irrelevance of corpus observation are simply false.

I-05 notes that his wholesale rejection of observation in grammar writing ("irrelevance of spatiotemporal occurrences") on page 23 in I-03 is "qualified on p. 34". This is equal to admitting being inconsistent which was precisely what K-05 claimed I-03 had been. If observation of spatiotemporal occurrences is not fully irrelevant, it is relevant.

I-03 (34) insisted that observation is needed in grammar writing only in connection with variation, in particular with regard to frequencies of occurrence, social and geographical variation, and language change. But K-05 provided ample evidence drawn from several large reference grammars showing that observation is normally invoked throughout the description, along with use of intuition in clear cases. No grammar writer has personal

intuitive mastery of the full range of phenomena to be accounted for in a large reference grammar.

In I-03, Itkonen promised to explicate what grammarians “do in fact”, but said next to nothing about how advanced grammars are composed. Of the three types of grammars mentioned above, only school grammar books such as Miettinen (1955) are written without essential use of observation, *i.e.* corpus work. But now I am happy to see that Itkonen explicitly admits (I-05: 365), apparently for the first time in his collected works, that corpus observation is indeed indispensable throughout advanced grammar writing, *e.g.* in the description of complex constructions.

I-03 claims that Hakulinen & Karlsson (1979) (the title of which is *Nykysuomen lauseoppia*, not “Suomen kielen lauseoppia” as in Itkonen’s list of references) could have been written without corpus observation. Certainly this book contains hundreds of invented examples, but likewise it contains hundreds of genuine examples. Itkonen’s opinion that it could have been written without corpus observation is mere speculation.

Itkonen claims that K-05 takes linguistics to be “just one natural science among others” (I-05: 366). Certainly no such claim was made in K-05. Instead, the claim was that normative considerations, especially the idea of prototypes, are relevant in some of the natural sciences, *e.g.* ornithology, in much the same way as in grammar writing, thus contesting Itkonen’s claim that “rule-sentences” like (1) are quite different from “empirical hypotheses” (Itkonen’s terms) like (2):

- (1) In English, the definite article precedes the noun.
- (2) All ravens are black.

My point was that (2) should rather be expressed and interpreted as (3) if it is to be seriously taken as an empirical hypothesis of professional ornithology:

- (3) All prototypical ravens are black.

This is so because there is a normative element in the ornithologist’s conception of what he/she studies: normal, prototypical, *i.e.* ‘correct’ ravens, not abnormal or accidentally damaged, ‘incorrect’ ones, just like the grammar writer is primarily interested in prototypical (= grammatically correct)

sentences. Itkonen blames me for a “monumental confusion” and then goes on:

- (4) “Of course the empirical hypothesis [*i.e.* (2)] is falsified by albino (= non-black) ravens. Just **look at** the empirical hypothesis as it is formulated before your very eyes. It is **not** about **prototypical** ravens, it is about **all** ravens. It claims that **all** ravens, without exception, are black. Therefore if, and when, we find an entity which is a raven and yet is not black (for instance, an albino raven), then the hypothesis is falsified. If the hypothesis had been formulated **differently**, *i.e.* as ‘All prototypical ravens are black’, and if we have reason to consider albino ravens as non-prototypical, then—and only then—the hypothesis would not be falsified by albino ravens. —If you do not understand this argument on the first reading, I advise you to read again.” (I-05: 371–372, emphases original)

Of course Itkonen is right in terms of logical form alone. But there is a fundamental problem in (2) and (4) concerning concept formation, *i.e.* the precise definition of the word *raven*, and its relation to prototypicality. What is the meaning of *raven*? From the three English dictionaries I happen to have on my shelf I cite (*s.v. raven*):

- (5) “A **raven** is a large bird with shiny black feathers and a deep harsh call.” (Collins Cobuild English Dictionary)
- (6) “a large passerine bird, *Corvus corax*, having a large straight bill, long wedge-shaped tail, and black plumage.” (Collins English Dictionary)
- (7) “any of several large, corvine birds having lustrous, black plumage and a loud harsh call, especially *Corvus corax*.” (Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language)

Thus, blackness is part of the lexical meaning of *raven*, at least as expounded in ordinary dictionaries. Blackness also passes all standard semantic tests for qualifying as a canonical semantic feature of *raven* (Cruse 1986: 19). Because blackness is a definitional feature of *raven*, the idea of a ‘non-black raven’ is strictly speaking anomalous and this, of course, is precisely what real-world albino ravens are. All **normal ravens** are black and this certainly makes blackness a highly salient and semantically relevant feature of ravens. Furthermore, given the frequent, often blackness-related occurrence of ravens *e.g.* in European myths and legends, it seems impossible to deny the semantic importance of raven blackness.

Thus, under a strict interpretation of the meaning of *raven*, including blackness, albino ravens are not ravens. An instance of an albino raven does not falsify (2) because what (2) really means is paraphrased in (3). Note that (8) is contradictory whereas (9) is normal:

(8) *All ravens are black but there are a few white ones as well.

(9) All prototypical ravens are black but there are a few white ones as well.

Imperfect, ill-formed, not fully functional, accidentally damaged etc. individuals have no relevance for determining the nature of the prototype. Similarly, scientific descriptions of natural kinds of course treat prototypes and make no explicit exceptions for abnormalities. It would be strange to describe the plumage of ravens by stating that, say, 99.9999 % are black and .0001 % (the imperfect albinos) white. Rather, individuals with an albinic deficiency in pigmentation, across plant and animal species, are exempted by general convention when the prototype is at stake.

In consequence of this discussion, Itkonen's 'empirical hypothesis' (2) is not really an empirical hypothesis at all but rather a tautology. The asserted blackness is inherent already in the definiendum.

K-05 called for a precise statement of the vocabulary and syntax of the presumed atheoretical rule-sentences, as compared to the vocabulary and syntax of grammar rules proper. I-05 offers no detailed answer, thus corroborating the impression that these vocabularies and syntaxes would be overlapping. Itkonen (1983: 263) admitted that formulations of his atheoretical rule-sentences (then called norm-sentences) presuppose knowledge and use of "the rudiments of the linguistic terminology". It certainly is inconsistent to allow statements claimed to be atheoretical to contain theoretical terms.

As for the falsifiability of the presumed atheoretical rule-sentences, I finally note that K-05's examples (10, 11) do indeed falsify both rule-sentence (1) and Itkonen's attempt to make (1) atheoretical by stepping down to the level of individual words (12):

(10) third *man*, *the*

(11) Look at that *man*, *the* fat one over there.

(12) *The man* is right, *man the* is wrong.

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Squibs

Becky Butler Thompson

The Pharyngeal Hierarchy¹

Abstract

Emphasis spread (or pharyngealization) can be described as the act of sounds with a primary or secondary pharyngeal constriction affecting neighboring sounds by pulling them lower and farther back in the mouth. Emphasis spread is blocked by sounds that are phonetically antagonistic to it because of the height and frontness of their places of articulation. However, the sets of blocking segments differ between and even within dialects. I explain these differences using constraints in an Optimality Theoretic framework that are based on a phonetically motivated hierarchy of sounds.

1. Introduction

Most dialects of Arabic contain a set of consonants known as emphatics, which are defined by a primary constriction in the oral cavity with a secondary constriction in the pharynx. Some common examples are [t^ʕ, d^ʕ, s^ʕ, ð^ʕ]. In the production of emphatics, not only do the pharyngeal walls constrict but the epiglottis tilts backwards and the tongue root is backed and lowered as well (Laufer and Baer 1988). Emphasis spread, or pharyngealization, as discussed in this squib is the phonological effect emphatics have on neighboring sounds by pulling them farther back and lower in the mouth. Emphatic segments will be said to have the feature [+phar]. In Arabic, regressive emphasis spreads unbounded to the beginning of the phonological word. However, progressive spread occurs to

¹ This paper is based on work presented at the UTASCIL in 2005. I appreciate all the helpful comments I received there. I am indebted to Jennifer Smith and Elliott Moreton for their guidance in this work. Any errors herein should be attributed solely to me.

differing degrees, so it is progressive spread that will be discussed in this work.²

In what follows, I present data from two Palestinian dialects. I describe two facts about these data (involving the types of sounds that block emphasis spread), which have not yet been adequately explained in terms of phonological theory. I discuss three previous attempts to account for the data within the framework of Optimality Theory (henceforth, OT) (Prince and Smolensky 1993), and then I propose a more adequate solution by appealing to constraints based on a phonetically grounded hierarchy. Finally, I demonstrate the constraints in a series of tableaux and present my conclusions.

2. Differing blocking segments

Emphasis spread is blocked by the intervention of certain sounds that are phonetically antagonistic to pharyngealization because they are high or forward in the mouth. However, different dialects of Arabic contain differing blocking segments. Davis (1995) presents data from two Palestinian dialects, Southern and Northern. In Southern, emphasis spread is blocked by [i, j, ʃ, ʒ].³

(1) /t^siin-ak/ ⇒ [**t**^siinak]

‘your mud’

(2) /s^sajjaad/ ⇒ [**s**^sajjaad]

‘hunter’

(3) /ʔat^sʃaan/ ⇒ [**ʔat**^sʃaan]

‘thirsty’

(4) /ð^saʒʒaat/ ⇒ [**ð**^saʒʒaat]

‘type of noise’

Otherwise, it spreads to the end of the word.

(5) /t^saʃn-ak/ ⇒ [**t**^saʃn**ak**]

‘your stabbing’

² There is no phonetic reason why progressive spread is blocked and regressive spread is unbounded. For an example of unbounded progressive spread but bounded regressive spread in Aramaic, see Hoberman 1988.

³ Hereafter, emphasis spread in the phonetic representation is denoted by bold and underline.

In Northern Palestinian, emphasis spread is blocked by [i, j, ʃ, ʒ] as well as [u, w].

(6) /t^ʕwaal/ ⇒ [t^ʕwaal]

‘long’

(7) /kat^ʕt^ʕuuʃa/ ⇒ [kat^ʕt^ʕuuʃa]

‘piece of mat’

The question, then, is how to account for this difference in blocking segments between dialects. If emphasis spread is blocked due to articulatory antagonism to pharyngealization because of phonetic properties of certain segments, why do some sounds only block in some dialects but not others?

3. Spread-to-[a]-and-stop

A second issue yet to be adequately explained in the extant literature about emphasis spread is what I dub the “spread-to-[a]-and-stop” problem of Northern Palestinian also presented in Davis (1995). The set of blocking segments listed in §2 holds true except when following [a], in which environment the set is expanded to include all non-guttural consonants, where ‘guttural’ comprises uvular, laryngeal, pharyngeal and glottal consonants as in traditional Arabic grammars referred to by McCarthy (1994).

(8) /t^ʕaaza/ ⇒ [t^ʕaaaza]

‘fresh’

(9) /s^ʕnaaf/ ⇒ [s^ʕnaaf]

‘brands’

If after spreading through [a], the pharyngeal feature does not immediately encounter a non-guttural sound, it continues until it does reach a blocking segment (10) or until the end of the word if there is no blocker present (11).

(10) /t^ʕaʃn-ak/ ⇒ [t^ʕaʃnak]

‘your stabbing’

(11) /mas^ʕlaha/ ⇒ [mas^ʕlaha]

‘interest’

This issue is even more problematic than the set of blockers differing between dialects because given these data, the set appears to change *within* one dialect. If the blocking of pharyngealization is due to intrinsic phonetic properties, one would not expect this to be the case.

4. Past attempts to explain the ‘spread-to-[a]-and-stop’ problem

There have been several previous OT attempts to explain the difference in the set of blocking segments pre- and post- [a]. However, each attempt proves insufficient. First, Van de Vijver (1996) proposes a constraint EMPHATIC-NUC: “Only a nucleus must be emphatic if its onset is emphatic.” This constraint attempts to play two roles at once: faithfulness (a coda must be the same in the input and the output) and markedness (spread emphasis to a nucleus). In OT, this effect should be enforced by two different constraints, one which requires emphasis to spread and one which blocks it. By combining these roles into one constraint, this phenomenon is not represented as a result of two universal violable principles but is reminiscent of a rule-based approach, which probably lacks cross-linguistic explanatory power. Additionally, de Vijver gives no phonetic justification of this constraint, so we are left wondering why it is true at all.

Similarly, Adra (1999) proposes the constraint ALIGN(RTR, a): ALIGN([RTR]-domain, R; a, R). This constraint, which aligns [RTR] (Adra’s choice of feature to describe emphasis) to [a], like that of Van de Vijver, lacks phonetic justification. What phonetic explanation is there for a [+phar] feature to spread only up to [a]? His proposal is that [a] is opaque to emphasis spread, which is why the sounds following it are not pharyngealized. However, if it were truly opaque, one would expect that [a] itself would not be pharyngealized either.

Finally, McCarthy (1997) suggests a constraint RTR-TO-a, saying that some markedness constraint “spreads RTR no further than a following (C)V sequence.” He refers to the idea that harmony, in part, serves to maximize perceptual salience. For McCarthy’s analysis, this means that emphasis would not spread further than a nucleus because violating any further faithfulness constraints would not produce any greater perceptual cues. Therefore, an equally salient and more faithful form would be preferred to a candidate in which emphasis has spread through the next consonant, whether coda or onset. However, though it may be the case that some consonants are hard to perceive as pharyngealized, it seems doubtful that that is always the case, considering that the most salient measures of

pharyngealization are the raising of F1 and, even more noticeably, the lowering of F2. Since formants are quite perceptible in many non-nucleic sounds (like sonorants, for example), McCarthy's suggestion about saliency is probably not justified.

5. Solution: The Pharyngeal Hierarchy

In light of the data, I propose the following phonetically based solution which accounts for all the data presented but does not require a constraint that causes emphasis to spread to [a] and stop. The proposal is that all segments are antagonistic to emphasis. However, some are more antagonistic than others due to their height and frontness in the mouth. Therefore, classes of sounds can be ranked on a scale of antagonism to pharyngealization called the pharyngeal hierarchy. Here, sounds are listed in order of decreasing antagonism to emphasis.

(12) The Pharyngeal Hierarchy

[+P]: [i, j, ʃ, ʒ] This feature (defined as “fronted tongue body”) applies to front vowels, palatoalveolars, alveopalatals, palatals, and palatalized segments. (Hall 1997)

>

[-cons, +hi]: [u, w] High non-front vowels and glides

>

[+cons, -gutt]: [t, k, b, d, f, θ, s, ð, z, m, n, l, r] All other consonants without a primary or secondary guttural (uvular, laryngeal, pharyngeal, glottal) constriction

>

[+cons, +gutt]: [ʔ, h, ʕ, ħ, X, ʁ] Guttural consonants

>

[-cons, -hi]: [a] Low vowel

>

[+phar]: [t^ʕ, d^ʕ, s^ʕ, ð^ʕ] Emphatics

6. Stringency Hierarchy constraints

Based on the pharyngeal hierarchy above, it is possible to form the hierarchy of constraints in (13). The idea of Stringency Hierarchy is taken from de Lacy (2004) (citing earlier work from Prince). Each constraint (i) is freely rankable and (ii) “refers to contiguous ranges of the hierarchy.” Each constraint is referred to by its abbreviated name (given first), and each refers to the categories listed to its right. For example, *Ph/[+cons, -gutt] is violated if any of the sounds [i, j, ʃ, ʒ, u, w, t, k, b, d, f, θ, s, ð, z, m, n, l, r] is pharyngealized, i.e. is [+phar].

(13)

*Ph/[+P]:	*Ph/[+P]
*Ph/[-cons, +hi]:	*Ph/[+P], [-cons, +hi]
*Ph/[+cons, -gutt]:	*Ph/[+P], [-cons, +hi], [+cons, -gutt]
*Ph/[+cons, +gutt]:	*Ph/[+P], [-cons, +hi], [+cons, -gutt], [+cons, +gutt]
*Ph/[-cons, -hi]:	*Ph/[+P], [-cons, +hi], [+cons, -gutt], [+cons, +gutt], [-cons, -hi]
*Ph/[+phar]:	*Ph/[+P], [-cons, +hi], [+cons, -gutt], [+cons, +gutt], [-cons, -hi], [+phar]

7. Putting the constraints to use

By using the stringency hierarchy constraints based on the pharyngeal hierarchy, the issues addressed in §2 and §3 can be explained in a phonetically motivated way. These constraints interact with ALIGN constraints as well as AGREECC to produce the correct surface forms.

7.1 Differing blocking segments solution

By interaction with ALIGNR(PHAR), the Stringency Hierarchy constraints yield the correct results in the following tableaux. In Southern Palestinian, (15) shows that ALIGNR(PHAR) (14) is ranked higher than *Ph/[-cons, +hi], so that [w] does not block emphasis spread. In (16), however, the ranking is reversed so that despite the alignment violations, [w] does indeed block spread.

(14) ALIGNR(PHAR)⁴: Align(PrWd, R, [+phar], R): The [+phar] feature must be aligned to the right edge of the prosodic word (based on McCarthy and Prince 1993).

(15) Southern Palestinian: *Ph/[+P] >> ALIGNR(PHAR) >> *Ph/[-cons, +hi]

/t ^ʕ waal/	*Ph/[+P]	ALIGNR(PHAR)	*Ph/[-cons, +hi]
<u>t^ʕwaal</u>	✓	*!***	✓
☞ <u>t^ʕwaal</u>	✓	✓	*

(16) Northern Palestinian: *Ph/[+P] >> *Ph/[-cons, +hi] >> ALIGNR(PHAR)

/t ^ʕ waal/	*Ph/[+P]	*Ph/[-cons, +hi]	ALIGNR(PHAR)
☞ <u>t^ʕwaal</u>	✓	✓	***
<u>t^ʕwaal</u>	✓	*!	✓

7.2 Spread-to-[a]-and-stop solution

The problem presented for Northern Palestinian in §3 is easily resolved using the stringency hierarchy constraints as long as the emphatic consonant is immediately followed by [a], such that *Ph/[+cons, -gutt] outranks ALIGNR(PHAR), as in (17). However, when there is an intervening non-guttural consonant, as in (18), an incorrect candidate is predicted as the winner.

(17) Northern Palestinian: *Ph[-cons, +hi] >> *Ph[+cons, -gutt] >> ALIGNR(PHAR)

/t ^ʕ aaza/	*Ph[-cons, +hi]	*Ph[+cons, -gutt]	ALIGNR(PHAR)
<u>t^ʕaaza</u>	✓	✓	***!
☞ <u>t^ʕaaza</u>	✓	✓	**
<u>t^ʕaaza</u>	✓	*!	*
<u>t^ʕaaza</u>	✓	*!	✓

⁴ ALIGN violations of long vowels, which are represented by two adjacent identical vowels, are only assigned one asterisk. Assigning two violations to long vowels does not change the analysis.

(18) Northern Palestinian: *Ph/[-cons, +hi] >> *Ph/[+cons, -gutt] >> ALIGNR(PHAR)

/s ^h naaf/	*Ph[-cons, +hi]	*Ph[+cons, -gutt]	ALIGNR(PHAR)
●* <u>s^h</u> naaf	✓	✓	***
<u>s^h</u> naaf	✓	*!	**
☞ <u>s^h</u> naaf	✓	*!	*
<u>s^h</u> naaf	✓	*!*	✓

This problem is solved by appealing to a constraint AGREECC, which is based on the propensity of consonant clusters to agree for place of articulation (See Lombardi 1999 for a similar constraint related to voicing). Tableau (20) shows that this constraint eliminates the false winner from (18).

(19) AGREECC: *[C_[αphar]C_[-αphar]]: Adjacent consonants must have the same specification for [phar].

(20) Northern Palestinian: AGREECC >> *Ph/[+cons, -gutt] >> ALIGNR(PHAR)

/s ^h naaf/	AGREECC	*Ph[+cons, -gutt]	ALIGNR(PHAR)
<u>s^h</u> naaf	*!	✓	***
<u>s^h</u> naaf	✓	*	**!
☞ <u>s^h</u> naaf	✓	*	*
<u>s^h</u> naaf	✓	*!*!	✓

8. Conclusion

I have shown that it is possible to account for the difference of blocking segments both within and between dialects using an OT framework, such that the relevant constraints are based on a phonetically motivated hierarchy. The pharyngeal hierarchy may need to be divided even further into more distinct levels as it is tested on other dialects. Nonetheless, at this point, it not only accounts for the data presented here but it allows for cross-linguistic predictions of the behavior of emphasis spread.

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Ulla Vanhatalo

Is there Synonymy between Finnish Idioms—and How to Describe or Measure it?¹

Abstract

Synonymy is generally understood as referring to similarities of sense between single lexical items. The potential synonymy of idioms² has been mostly ignored in lexical semantics. The synonymy of idioms is, however, implicated in e.g. the occasional practice of cross-referencing in Finnish idiom dictionaries. This paper sets out to see whether the testing of a native-speaker population using a questionnaire method could disclose novel aspects of the synonymy of idioms in Finnish. The present findings are compatible with the idea that synonymy is found between idioms, which in turn raises some tentative options for improving synonymy-related glossing in idiom dictionaries. In addition, the project also yielded a large, open-access database of synonymous Finnish idioms.

¹ I wish to thank Elke Gehweiler, Tarja Riitta Heinonen, Marja Nenonen, Oksana Petrova, Jarno Raukko and Maria Vilkkuna for their support. The preliminary results were presented at *Kielitieteen päivät 2006* (Vanhatalo 2006), many thanks for the useful comments from the public during this event. Special thanks belong to Anne Takkunen, who organized the experiment for the students of Jämsän Kr. Kansanopisto (Jämsä Christian Folk High School) in March 2006. Finally, I want to sincerely thank the informants who voluntarily invested their time and energy in this experiment.

² Idiom in the sense of a conventional, noncompositional, syntactically and/or lexically frozen lexical item longer than one word (e.g. Nenonen 2002: 8); this should be understood as a definition of a prototypical idiom, with a substantial variety of exceptions. Recently there have also been attempts to make idiom concepts more flexible (e.g. Penttilä 2006).

1. Introduction

1.1 Synonymy—a property restricted to single lexemes?

Despite the extensive literature on the properties of idioms in a large number of languages, very little attention has been paid to the possible existence of synonymy between phrasal lexical items. The overall emphasis of the current literature suggests an implicit assumption that synonymy is restricted to single words (e.g. Chrystal 2003).

Recent studies in Slavic, German and French (Danell 1997) linguistics have addressed the issue of synonymy in phraseology. Most Russian studies have been based on either structural distinctions or on dividing phrases into full and partial synonyms (Čerkasova 1991). Some studies have also followed Kunin's (1996) conception by dividing phraseological synonyms into groups with respect to their differences in meaning, connotation, and style, forming groups named ideographic synonyms, stylistic synonyms and stylistic-ideographic synonyms (Soshnikova 2006). There are at least two synonymy dictionaries on Russian phraseology (Žukov 1987; Birih et al. 1998/2001). Many German studies have taken advantage of the ongoing large-scale electronic lexicography (especially the collocations project in the German language, Akademie der Wissenschaften), which has made it possible to examine extensive German corpora in order to disclose the contextual conditions that lead to fixed and dynamic semantic convergence or divergence of idioms (Hümmer 2004). Studies of this kind have repeatedly emphasized the need for much more fine-grained lexical information to be obtained between semantically closely related lexical units in Natural Language Processing (Hümmer 2004; see also Edmonds 1999; Edmonds and Hirst 2002).

In Finnish studies the topic of synonymous idioms has been peripherally touched upon in studies on euphemisms and word taboos (Nirvi 1944, Varis 1998; see also Rapola 1944; Tuomola 1935). There are also references to synonymy between phrasal lexical items in Finnish-German idiom studies (e.g. Korhonen 1995 or Hyvärinen 1996). The idea of synonymy between phrasal lexical items has not been specifically targeted in any of these studies.

While the synonymy between idioms may be intuitively obvious and theoretically interesting as such, its practical significance becomes clear in

the lexicographical context. Even in the absence of systematic analytic lexicographic data, there has been occasional cross-referencing within Finnish phraseological and idiom dictionaries (see e.g. Virkkunen 1974; Kari 1993; Korhonen 2001). Synonymy is also recognized in dictionaries between single headwords and their glosses which often are phrases.

The present study was motivated by the apparent lack of theoretical and pragmatic data in facing this lexicographic challenge. The study aims at proving with empirical populations testing, that implicit and intersubjective³ understanding of synonymy between idioms exists, as it does for single word lexical items. The study draws attention to synonymy as a phenomenon, and proposes ways to make current glossing practice in dictionaries more explicit and systematic.

1.2 A preliminary data collection on synonymy in the field of Finnish idioms

A preliminary data collection was made in winter 2005–2006⁴. The objective was to find idiom pairs or groups that could be used for further studies, as well as for cross-referencing in future Finnish idiom dictionaries.

Most of the database was collected from the idiom lists in Marja Nenonen's Ph. D. thesis (2002) and Erkki Kari's idiom dictionary (1993). Additional data was collected from many other available sources of idioms (e.g. Virkkunen 1974, Rekiaro 1998). Since there are as yet no corpus tools that could identify idioms and/or their synonymy in Finnish, the data was repeatedly scanned by the analysts reading the idiom lists and dictionaries.

³ For intersubjectivity, see e.g. Raukko 1999.

⁴ When the preliminary results from the data collection process were presented at *Kielitieteen päivät 2006*, there were signs of interest especially from Joensuu idiom researchers towards co-operative and open-access data collection. The currently used database can be found at www.helsinki.fi/people/ulla.vanhatalo. The database is open and free to use for anyone interested. At the moment, there are about 1370 idioms forming over 300 synonymic pairs or groups in the database.

2. The research setting

2.1 Method

This study employed an experimental questionnaire method⁵ which is based on an intersubjective view of linguistic understanding, i.e., lexical knowledge resides in the minds of native speakers. The genuine characteristics of lexemes may hence be best exposed by strategies that attempt to elicit the tacit (i.e. hidden) knowledge of the native speakers. The present method utilizes tailored questions related to the target lexicon to make this implicit knowledge explicit and potentially measurable.

A method of this kind has been successfully used in several recent studies on lexical semantics, including experiments on synonymy (e.g. Vanhatalo 2005), polysemy (e.g. Raukko 1999), acknowledgements (e.g. Colston 2002), and idioms (e.g. Nenonen 2002). Similar strategies have been occasionally used in linguistic research for more than half a century (Nirvi 1944; see also Rapola 1944).

2.2 Material and participants

A subset of the database was selected with a pilot test.⁶ The final test set included 25 idioms that comprised 11 synonymous pairs and one three-idiom group⁷ (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire also included some ‘fillers’, idioms with strikingly different meanings. Odd additions of this kind are thought to single out informants who are not attentive enough. The informant group consisted of 94 native speakers of Finnish, whose age range was 16–25 yrs. (average 16.5 yrs.), and of whom 53,6 % were female. Most participants were born and raised in Southern, Western or Central Finland. All participants answered the same questions, which took 6–24 minutes. For practical details of the testing, see e.g. Vanhatalo 2005.

⁵ For more about the method and the practical test organization see Vanhatalo 2005. Some of the test settings in this study were inspired by Marja Nenonen 2002.

⁶ The pilot testing took place in the graduate seminar of the Department of General Linguistics at Helsinki University in January 2006.

⁷ Some other idioms which are not presented here were also studied at the same time.

2.3 The questions and their results

2.3.1 The first section

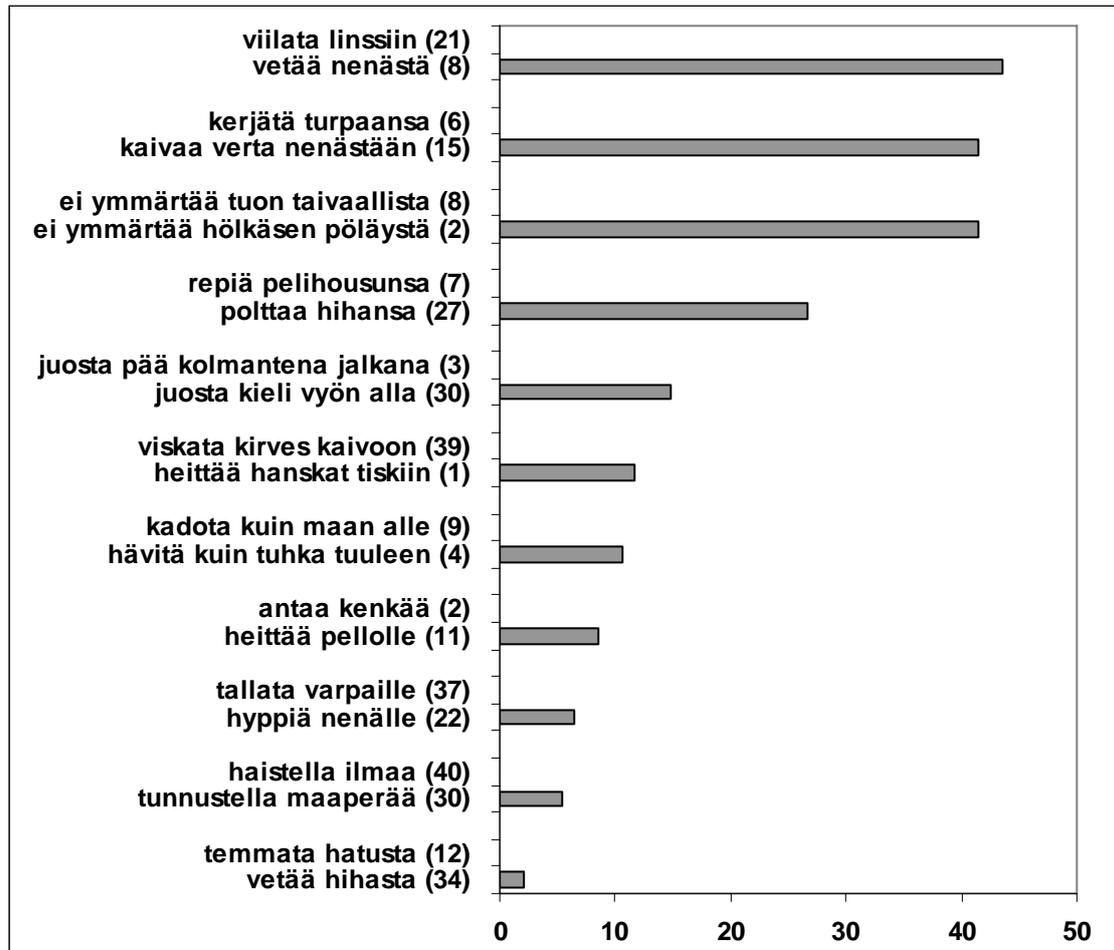


Table 1. Summary of the answers to the first test section showing the percentage of informants who used exactly similar phrasing for explaining both idioms in each synonymic idiom pairs. Note that the synonymic pairs were not placed consecutively, so the informant is presumably generating phrasings/descriptions anew for each idiom, rather than simply copying the phrasings from the preceding idiom. The numbers in parentheses after each idiom show how many informants gave an answer to the given idiom (i.e. empty and “I do not know” answers excluded).

The first test section (11 idiom pairs) included open-ended questions which aimed to test whether similarities between idioms could be revealed by

having the informant freely explain the meanings of the idioms. Surprisingly, a large number of the 94 students chose identical (25–40 students) or near-identical (37–52 students) phrases for both idioms (Table 1). For instance, the idiom pair *repiä pelihousunsa* ‘lit. rip one’s game pants; flare up’ and *polttaa hihansa* ‘lit. burn one’s sleeves; flare up,’ were glossed as *menettää hermonsa* or *mennä hermot* ‘loose one’s nerves;’ *raivostua* ‘get mad;’ *suuttua* ‘get angry’ and *hermostua* ‘get nervous’. This is strongly suggestive of the hypothesis that genuine synonymy exists between idioms. The other end of Table 1 reveals another interesting feature: The meaning of idioms may change over time. Older speakers normally presume that the idioms *temmata hatusta* ‘pull from a hat; guess’ and *vetää hihasta* ‘pull from a sleeve; guess’ denote the same action (‘to guess’). It turned out from the students’ results that the informant group conceived the meaning of the idiom *vetää hihasta* rather often as ‘to stop someone to ask for help or advice’, which is an emerging, contemporary meaning of this idiom. Finally, a considerable proportion of the idioms were not familiar to the informants.

2.3.2 The second section

In the second test section the informants rated the synonymy between idiom pairs on a scale from 0 to 5. The responses from all informants are strikingly similar, giving ratings between 3 and 5 (Table 2). These results hence further corroborate the idea that synonymy is a fundamental and distinct property of idioms.

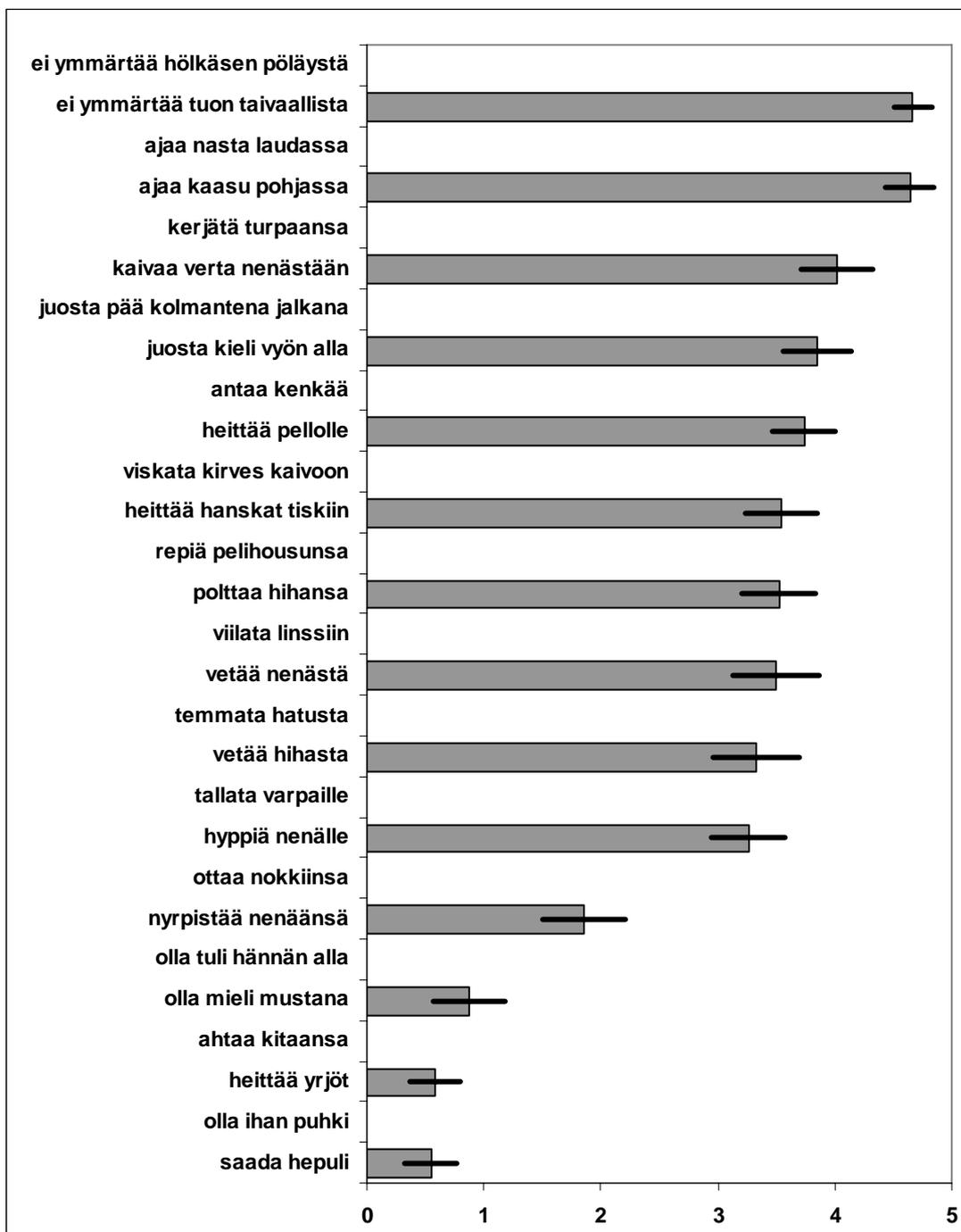


Table 2. Summary of the answers to the second test section showing the level of similarity between each idiom pair. Error bars depict 95 percent confidence intervals in each answer. The lowest three pairs are clearly recognized as fillers with a similarity index below 1, while the semifiller is rated below 2.

2.3.3 The third section

The third test section was an open-ended test where the informants were requested to explain the differences in the meaning or use of single idioms. Here two idioms were contrasted, while the first section sought the similarity between idioms. The idioms selected here were all common Finnish idioms used to denote the act of driving a car very fast.

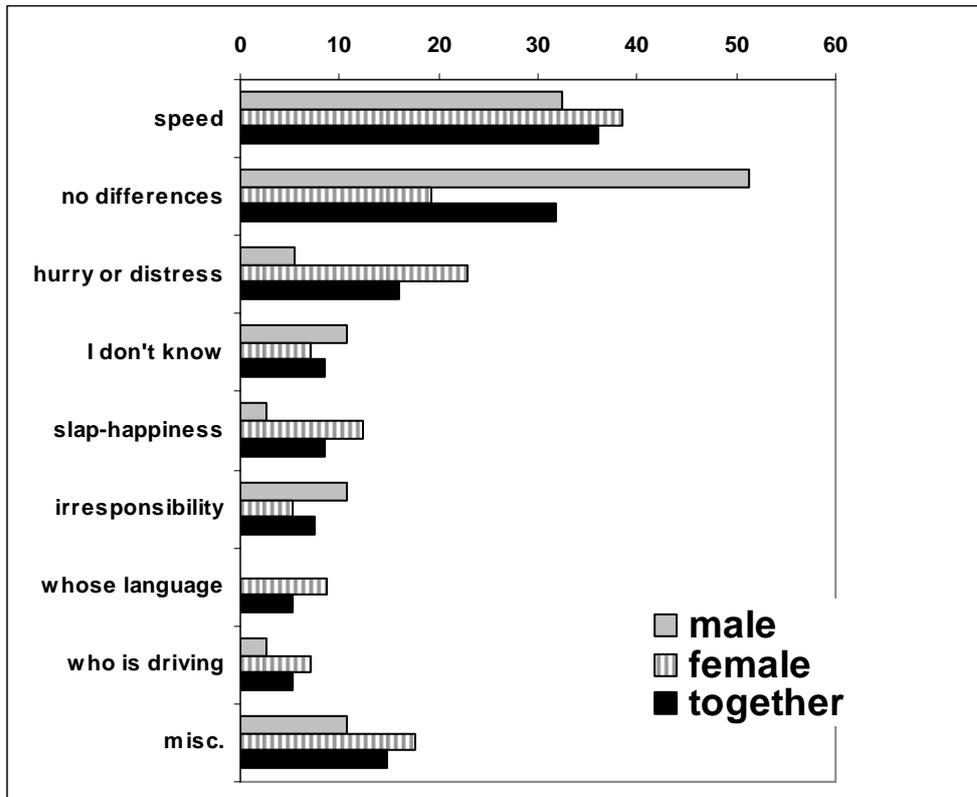


Table 3. Table 3 demonstrates the percentages of informants (separately shown for males, females and both together) who answered that the given feature is important in distinguishing the idioms. Misc. includes cases of playing some role (3), chase (3), driving skills (2), tone of the expression (2), connection other than driving a car (2), danger (1), or empty answer (1).

Most of the answers suggested a difference that is related to the speed (Table 3), while only a small number of informants differentiated the idioms by various other features. An interesting observation in this study

section is that there are marked gender differences. Males gave “no difference” answers more than twice as often as females, whereas females emphasized “hurry or distress” many times more often than males. These observations raise the possibility that the semantics of at least some idioms may not be as gender-independent as was recently suggested for groups of single words (see Vanhatalo 2004).

2.3.4 Methodological considerations

While the overall rationale for using experimental methods in semantic research is well established, there are a few aspects in this particular study setup that deserve more attention.

First, to the best of this author’s awareness, this is the first study of idioms using a methodology of this kind. Therefore the present results needed to serve also as an internal control for the suitability of this approach in idiom research in general. This was accomplished by preselecting the test set of idioms with a pilot study so that there was already some level of confidence concerning the synonymy of many idiom pairs. Hence the actual study was, indeed, bi-directional. While it served to support the hypothesis of synonymy between idioms (the main objective of this paper), it was also testing whether and how well judgements of synonymy may be elicited with this methodology.

Second, it may be pointed out that the idioms studied here might have been too abstract for the present study group of young adults (age range 16–25 yrs.), even though these idioms are all widely known and in everyday use in Finnish society. It is generally thought that the acquisition of highly abstract patterns of language continues long into adulthood. Late acquisition of idiomatic language may be reflected in the *I don’t know* answers, in the few cases with an obvious misunderstanding (e.g. *viilata linssiin* ‘lit. file into lense; pull one’s leg’ > ‘be pedantic,’ obviously caused by the analogous idiom *viilata pilkkua* ‘lit. file a comma; be pedantic’) or unintentional slips (see also Mäntylä and Dufva 2006). It is notable, however, that in the present study design, such a lack of facility in idiomatic language cannot show up as an artifactual synonymy (i.e. show incorrect positive findings), but rather it may lead to an underestimation of the degree of synonymy. The true quantitative figures about synonymy in the wider Finnish-speaking adult population might hence be considerably

higher than the figures obtained in the present paper. Finally, it should be noted that previous studies using a similar test paradigm have shown no significant effect on study results by informant's demographic factors (Vanhatalo 2004), and that even thorough studies have been unable to demonstrate any age-specific maturation in idiom comprehension (e.g. Nippold and Rudzinski 1993; Nippold and Taylor 1995).

Third, in a post-hoc analysis of the open-ended sections it became evident that there are emerging new meanings for several idioms, especially in the younger population. Such multiple meanings do conceivably obscure the clarity (i.e. quantitative level) of synonymy, posing challenges for both testing and glossing.

Fourth, questionnaire tests of this kind are deliberately context-independent. It is possible that, by giving a context for the idioms, the familiarity of the studied idioms would have been much higher, and the descriptions of the idioms in the open-ended tests could have been richer (see also Nippold and Martin 1989). It must be noted, however, that context is also a potential confounder which would be an interesting, easily targeted question for future psycholinguistic studies. Finally, context may not only 'fine tune' but even determine the meanings of idioms, especially in the case of polysemous ones (see also point 3 above).

Fifth, the fixed form type of questionnaire may also lead to errors, such as misconceptions. These would be easily avoided by using an electronic medium.

Sixth, an extensive, multidimensional data matrix, such as the results from this questionnaire test, may be subjected to very different kinds of analyses. This study attempted to find empirical support for the existence of synonymy between idioms; another study could, for instance, search for traces of polysemy in the same results. The full results (data) are always stored in this type of test design, which creates the opportunity to test multiple, even mutually contrasting hypotheses from the same experimental data set.

3. Discussion

By testing native Finnish speakers, the present study provides empirical evidence that synonymy is a distinct and measurable property of idioms. Thinking intuitively, this may feel expected, and it can also be postulated

on theoretical grounds (see Introduction). It is notable, however, that the concept of synonymy between idioms has been little studied in either the linguistic literature or in dictionaries of idioms, leading to a situation where absence of its proof can be easily taken as a proof of its absence. The present study design assumed that the most convincing proof for a lexical variable can be found only from empirical testing of the implicit knowledge of genuine native speakers. As a by-product, the present study design also brought up a multitude of specific features of the tested idioms, that either contribute to their differential meanings or that may imply existing (or emerging) polysemy with some idioms.

In addition to its linguistic findings, this type of study has pragmatic value. The nature of synonymy is, indeed, a challenging topic in current lexicography, especially with regard to the design of (idiom) dictionaries to come. This study was also partly motivated by the two ongoing idiom database projects (Heinonen 2006; Jantunen et al. 2006). While lexicographers are, and will be mainly responsible for collecting and organizing dictionary data, some questions (such as those relating to synonymy) are probably more suitable for studies that are independent of the limitations in time and financial resources that often put pressure on the actual dictionary construction. Such independent (often academic) studies would both support the quality of dictionary content, and could yield commonly available, open-access resources for all relevant future lexicographic projects, whether scientific or commercial. Such co-operative activities are well established worldwide, e.g. in technical and biomedical sciences.

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Appendix 1

List of the studied Finnish idioms with their literal meaning and approximate English translation. The numbers show how the idioms were grouped. The idioms were formed to be understandable by adolescents (e.g. *ei ymmärtää hölkäsen pöläystä* instead of *jku ei ymmärrä jstak hölkäsen pöläystä*).

in Finnish	literally	meaning
1. ajaa kaasu pohjassa	drive gas in the bottom	drive very fast
1. ajaa nasta laudassa	drive pin in the blank	drive very fast
1. ajaa tuhatta ja sataa	drive thousand and hundred	drive very fast
2. antaa kenkää	give shoe	lay off
3. ei ymmärtää hölkäsen pöläystä	not understand *	not understand
3. ei ymmärtää tuon taivaallista	not understand heavenly	not understand
4. haistella ilmaa	smell air	sound out
5. heittää hanskat tiskiini	throw gloves on the desk	give up
2. heittää pellolle	throw to the field	lay off
6. hyppiä nenälle	jump onto nose	be forward
7. hävitä kuin tuhka tuuleen	disappear as ash into wind	disappear without
8. juosta kieli vyön alla	run lip under belt	be in a great hurry
8. juosta pää kolmantena jalkana	run as head the third leg	be in a great hurry
7. kadota kuin maan alle	disappear as under the ground	disappear without trace
9. kaivaa verta nenästään	delve blood from one's nose	irritate
9. kerjätä turpaansa	beg for muzzle	irritate
10. polttaa hihansa	burn one's sleeves	flare up
10. repiä pelihousunsa	rip one's game pants	flare up
6. tallata varpaille	stamp on toes	be forward
11. temmata hatusta	pull from hat	guess
4. tunnustella maaperää	explore ground	sound out
11. vetää hihasta	pull from sleeve	guess
12. viilata linssiin	file into a lens	cheat
5. viskata kirves kaivoon	throw axe into well	give up
12. vetää nenästä	pull nose	cheat
'Fillers:'		
13. ahtaa kitaansa	push one's mouth	wolf down
13. heittää yrjöt	throw georges	throw up
14. nyrpistää nenäänsä	purse one's nose	be supercilious
15. olla ihan puhki	be totally through	be really tired
16. olla mieli mustana	be with black mind	be sad
16. olla tuli hännän alla	be with fire under tail	be nervous or in
14. ottaa nokkiinsa	take into one's noses	be provoked
15. saada hepuli	to get a seizure	get upset

Book Reviews

Hutchby, Ian (2006) *Media Talk: Conversation Analysis and the Study of Broadcasting*. Glasgow: Open University Press. Pp. xiii, 185.

Reviewed by Pentti Haddington

1. Introduction

As is mentioned in the acknowledgements of Ian Hutchby's *Media Talk: Conversation Analysis and the Study of Broadcasting*, the chapters in the book build upon his and other scholars' prior research on language and talk in the media. However, although the broadcast media has been studied quite extensively from a discourse analytic viewpoint, there are not many texts that assemble the findings of various interactional or conversation analytic research on media talk in one book.¹ Hutchby's book is therefore a welcome addition to the selection.

The book begins with a discussion regarding the importance of using empirical data and transcriptions, and the methodology offered by Conversation Analysis for investigating and analyzing media talk. After the introduction the book is divided into three larger coherent parts (Television talk and Audience Participation, Radio Talk and Broadcasters and Politicians), which are then further divided into chapters. Each chapter discusses different genres of media talk and supports the findings with examples from various programs. The end of each chapter holds a useful list of references for further readings. At the end of the book there is a brief glossary of some central terminology used in the book. Each chapter is discussed briefly in the following.

¹ Clayman and Heritage's (2002) book on news interviews perhaps being the only exception.

2. Summary of contents

2.1 The emergence of empirical interest in broadcast talk

In the first chapter Hutchby provides some background information about the history and development of talk and discourse in the Anglo-American media and previous research on Anglo-American media discourse and media talk. The most important point he makes in the chapter is the division of prior media talk research into the *discoursal* approach (cf. Stuart Hall and the Birmingham school) and the *interactional* approach (conversation analytic media talk research). Even though this division could be considered quite simple, it illustrates the shift in research foci from *explaining* how audiences *interpret* media texts (i.e. reception research) to *describing* what participants *actually do* with talk in the media. Both approaches are important, but the author makes a clear case for focusing on discourse practices and talk in the media and especially on the interactional relationship between journalists, guests and the audience. The central idea in much of the interactional approach is that broadcast talk is first and foremost produced for the audiences (cf. Clayman and Heritage 2002, Scannell 1991). It should be remembered that this is not a rule imposed on the participants by for example the broadcast companies. Rather, as Hutchby and several other studies (e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002) show, it is something that the participants orient to and which they display by the actions and practices they produce and co-construct through their talk.

2.2 Introduction to Conversation Analysis

In the second chapter Hutchby provides an overview of Conversation Analysis (CA), its methodology, some of the most central terminology and notions ('turn taking', 'action'), and the rationale for its appropriateness and usefulness as a method for analyzing broadcast talk. Interestingly, he also connects the rise of CA to the criticism given to Chomsky's, Austin's and Wittgenstein's work. He also discusses the much-debated relationship between CA and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and similarly to Thornborrow (2002), aims to build—in spite of the distinct methodological

and theoretical differences between the approaches—a bridge between CA and CDA. Still, Hutchby convincingly argues for the importance of the analyst's task to empirically show how power or ideology underpins human action and thus becomes a feature and a resource of institutional interaction.

2.3 Televised audience debates

As Hutchby argues at the beginning of the third chapter, news programs and documentaries have tended to diminish the access of lay people's opinions to the media. Instead they have given for example politicians and other elite groups priority to state their views and opinions. However, audience participation shows, for example *Oprah*, are clear exceptions to this tendency. Although there are numerous books that discuss these programs, Hutchby claims that few actually concentrate on the organization of talk in them. Hutchby shows that in *Oprah* the host's questions to audience participants are different from the questions she designs for her "expert" guests. The questions to the audience members are relatively easy, whereas for the experts she builds a more difficult position to speak from. Hutchby also discusses the role of audience applause and how it displays affiliation with the lay participants and their comments. One question that Hutchby does not raise here is whether the audience is explicitly guided to applaud at particular moments and whether this affects the action of applauding at a particular interactional moment.

2.4 Confrontational TV talk shows

Towards the end of the 20th century a new form of audience participation show emerged (*Ricki Lake Show*, *Oprah Winfrey*, *Jerry Springer*). The guests in these shows are ordinary people and the topics focus on their everyday dilemmas. What is interesting about these shows is that the everyday topics are discussed publicly and in a very confrontational manner. In the fourth chapter Hutchby focuses on these confrontational TV talk shows and especially on *Ricki Lake Show*. He describes certain routinized practices that organize and construct talk as confrontational and furthermore, render it *hearable* for audiences as such.

The confrontational TV talk shows are usually organized so that first the host describes the complainable matter (“the problem”) and then introduces the guest as indeed having “the problem.” After this, the host gives the floor to the first guest, who then produces a complaint about the forthcoming second guest. After the complainer has been heard, the host introduces the second guest, who quite obviously has been presented in rather negative light and can be booed in on the stage by the studio audience. Consequently, the guest is, because of the sequential actions that preceded his/her entrance, introduced as someone who has to respond to the prior complaints. What is also interesting about these shows is that the host can react at any moment by providing an explicit stance about the subject matter. The host’s action is targeted to the audience which can provide an audible reaction in return.

Hutchby claims that this sequential order of actions provides a particular participant framework (Goffman 1981) and consequently narrows down the array of actions that each participant can produce in the show. In other words, the sequential structure of the show provides each participant a role: the first guest acts as the complainer and the second guest has to respond to the complaint. Moreover, this particular sequential structure situates the studio audience and the viewing audience as the target for the first guest’s complaint and not the person who is being complained about.

Hutchby’s analysis of the confrontational audience participation shows is careful and insightful. It reveals the importance of looking at the sequential organization of talk and helps the reader to build up an understanding of the interaction on stage / on TV as “confrontational.”

2.5 Talk in radio

In chapter 5 Hutchby moves on to discuss both advice-giving talk radio shows and open-line talk radio shows. In the open-line talk radio shows, the talk is organized sequentially so that first the callers present their standpoints on matters that are on their minds. Consequently, they can select their own topics and can be seen as active participants in media talk. Moreover, in the opening turn callers frequently authenticate their right to speak about the topic by using various types of ‘witnessing devices’ that are relevant for the topic under discussion. In spite of these features of the

opening turn, the hosts are able to build up an argument against the caller's opinion in the following turn—i.e. in the second position. As Hutchby claims, it is precisely this sequential position, the possibility to go second, which provides the host a resource to call into question or even attack the caller's position. Consequently, the structural organization of talk radio shows provides the host a more powerful discursive position.² However, as Hutchby also notes, this does not always happen. Rather, the interactional organization of radio talk shows *provide* the host a possibility to express a disagreement. Nevertheless, some resourceful callers can in fact use the second position as a resource for challenging the host and consequently for building up and fortifying their own stance. Consequently, the power relations in talk radio are not static but dynamic and shifting.

This last point is something that may interest especially critical discourse analysts. Hutchby claims that the sequential approach to talk and what it reveals about “unbalanced” power relations between the host and the caller combines the interests of both Conversation Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis.

2.6 Advice-giving in broadcast media

Advice-giving in talk radio shows is one type of media genre talk, in which the media surroundings provide a public arena for lay people to talk about highly personalized matters. Advice-giving radio shows are slightly different from other talk radio programs in that in addition to the caller (advice-seeker), the host and the audience, the show involves a fourth participant: the expert (the advice-giver). In this context, Hutchby sets out to investigate, on the one hand, how the structural characteristics of talk in the advice-giving context situate *the audience* as a recipient for the advice given in the programs and, on the other hand, the role of the host in the advice-giving sequences.

² By comparison, in news interviews it is the host that goes first and designs the first turn as a question. However, in order to prevent the guest from providing possible counterarguments the hosts frequently design their turns so as to include a difficult position for the guest. By doing so the host “forces” the interviewee to respond to the position (Haddington under review).

Hutchby describes a recurrent practice in which the expert (i.e. person giving the advice, not the host) first responds to the caller's specific question and then subsequently provides general information about the issue at hand. Hutchby calls this the AAI format (Answer plus Auxiliary Information). The latter part (i.e. the auxiliary information) of the expert's turn frequently contains more information than answering the caller's specific question would require. Therefore, the expert's answer can be seen to specifically situate *the audience* as the recipient of his/her talk. However, at the same time the auxiliary information can also confuse the callers—in case they are not able to judge which information in the expert's turn is relevant for them.

The hosts in the advice-giving programs often orient to the expert's role as an advice-giver and do not intervene in the expert's talk. However, sometimes they can intervene in the advice-giving activity by producing 'continuers' or utterances that collaborate with the expert's talk. According to Hutchby, the interventions seem to relate specifically to transfers from answers to the auxiliary information. Finally, before the calls are ended, the topic of the talk is brought back from the auxiliary information to the original caller's question and the expert sums up the call by giving a straightforward and short answer to the original question.

2.7 News interviews – public figures on the air

The news interview genre is perhaps the most familiar and most researched of the various media talk genres discussed in the book (see also Clayman and Heritage 2002). In news interviews politicians and other public figures discuss topical issues. News interview talk differs radically from everyday conversation in that it is organized into exchanges of interviewer questions and interviewee answers. What is more, as is understood in Conversation Analysis, the institutional roles of an interviewer and interviewee in news interviews (or in any form of institutional talk) are not pre-assigned but rather actively co-constructed by the participants themselves. For example, as Hutchby shows (123), if the interviewee asks a question from the interviewer, which is of course rare, the interviewers can hold the interviewee responsible for such unconventional behavior by explicitly stating that it is the interviewer who asks the questions.

Hutchby describes various features of the question-answer sequences in news interviews, such as the *lack of* third-turn evaluative actions, continuers and minimal responses, which are very common in everyday talk and some other forms of institutional talk. There are two main reasons for the lack of these interactional phenomena. The first is that news interview talk is directed to the “overhearing” audience. The second is that by not producing evaluations, continuers and minimal responses, the interviewers actively refrain from reacting to the interviewees’ answers and thus maintain a ‘neutralistic’ stance towards their guests.

Hutchby also describes how interviewees can produce a formulation of an interviewee answer in order to recapitulate, elaborate or even challenge the point in it. Although formulations have generally been considered as ‘neutralistic’ in that they avoid taking explicit stances on the topical matter (cf. Clayman 1992, Heritage 1985), they still represent the interviewer as an active interpreter of what has been said in the previous turn.

In the remaining part of the chapter, Hutchby discusses some rare but interesting examples from news interviews in which the interviewee has made a move to either take control of the interview situation or to walk away from the TV studio. From a conversation analytic viewpoint, such incidents are interesting deviant cases, because they show how the conventional interactional structure of news interview talk is broken down. Moreover, as Hutchby notes, such incidents often become more newsworthy than the actual interviews themselves.

2.8 Rhetoric and live political talk

Although the news interview has for a long time been an important arena for political discourse, a variety of other political discussion genres have emerged quite recently; one of them is the political panel interview or as Hutchby calls it, the political debate show. Hutchby takes a detailed look at these shows that have a co-present audience and describes how the audience can take or be given the role of an active participant. Consequently, if talk in news interviews is structured so that it addresses the “overhearing” audience, in debate shows the audience often takes a more active role. One central element of audience participation is

alignment or counter-alignment with the guests, which is expressed mainly by jeers and applause.

Hutchby also discusses the use of rhetorical devices in debate shows, namely *three-part lists*, *contrasts* and *recompletions*, which frequently generate situated displays of audience alignment in form of applauses. As regards *three-part lists* in particular, audiences orient to them as coherent lists and anticipate their completion by applauding either in overlap with the third part of the list or immediately after the list has been completed. Consequently, the three-part list is an important rhetorical device that politicians can use for pursuing an aligning response from the audience.

3. Evaluation and discussion

Ian Hutchy's book focuses on talk and language in the media by looking at various interactional and discursive features of different media talk genres. Those who are already familiar with the conversation analytic research on media talk are probably not going to find much new information in the book—unless they find it useful to have all conversation analytic research on media talk between single covers. However, linguists, interaction analysts, discourse analysts, sociologists and media researchers who are not familiar with CA research and who are seeking for an introductory book or a textbook on media talk that is both accessible and in-depth will surely find Hutchby's book useful. The book should be particularly useful for students and scholars interested in the use of language as a resource for producing and maintaining social order and in the issue of *power* in media discourse.

The book is well-written, informative and accessible. In general it is a great summary of previous interactional and conversation analytic research on various types of media talk exchanges systems, genres and research findings. The analysis and the interactional phenomena are presented in a very clear manner without an overwhelming use of complicated terminology. Those unfamiliar with the conversation analytic terminology will find the glossary at the end of the book useful. In addition to the general reference list provided at the end of the book, each chapter ends with suggestions for further reading.

More specifically, there are perhaps three things that make this book an important contribution among other books on media discourse and

media talk. First of all, one of the most important and positive things about the book—which reflects Goffman's (1981) ideas about the participation framework and which is also discussed in detail in Heritage (1985) and Clayman and Heritage (2002)—is the fact that it focuses on the ways in which media talk is produced for the audience. Second, the book emphasizes the way in which participants jointly produce and orient to each others' actions and practices, and consequently co-construct the interaction themselves. Finally, the claims made about media talk are supported with several illuminating examples.

In addition to the fact that Hutchby's book provides a good summary of prior interactional research on media talk, it also shows what has *not* been studied. For (functional and interactional) linguists in particular, one path to take would be to pursue the study of recurrent linguistic practices that co-occur with the actions described in Hutchby's book. Some work has already been done on for example questions (Heritage and Roth 1995) and denials (Haddington 2005) in news interviews, but a lot remains to be done.

Moreover, during the recent years, the analysis of interaction has increasingly started to consider also other interactional modes than language. This is an area of research that certain areas of linguistics (e.g. functional linguistics, interactional linguistics) needs to start to take into account in its analysis. Thus, what is indeed missing in media talk research is a combined analysis of the different interactional modes (language, embodiment and place) as resources for action production in the televised media in particular. This is perhaps the next step that needs to be taken in the analysis of broadcast media.

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Ian Lockerbie, Ines Molinaro, Karim Larose and Leigh Oakes (2005) *French as the Common Language in Québec. History, Debates and Positions*. Québec: Éditions Nota Bene. (Collection *New Perspectives in Québec Studies*). Pp. 202.

Reviewed by Wim Remysen

In terms of population, Québec is the second largest province of Canada and home to approximately 6 million Francophones, representing about 82 % of Québec's population and about 86 % of the whole French-speaking Canadian community.¹ This province remains however rather enigmatic for a lot of Europeans – and even for a lot of North Americans for that matter – especially when it comes to its specific linguistic and sociolinguistic context (Remysen 2003). For instance, it is often assumed that Québec is an overall bilingual society, even though only some of its regions have an important English-speaking community.² Also, some myths and stereotypes still remain about the variety of French that is spoken in this province: Québec French (QF) is often wrongly accused of being a somewhat archaic form of French or is even considered as unintelligible for European Francophones. Despite its distinctive features, this is in fact not the case for QF, in the same way the Canadian or American variants of English (usually) are far from being unintelligible to speakers of British English. This stereotype is predominantly due to the fact that QF is often reduced to its informal, more casual register, in which such particularities abound, without taking into consideration its formal register.³

French as the Common Language in Québec tackles a few of the issues related to the particular sociolinguistic situation characterizing Québec. It is the second volume to be published in the collection *New*

¹ According to the 2001 census.

² The majority of English-speaking Quebecers live in the greater Montréal area. Anglophones are also to be found, but to a lesser extent, in the Eastern Townships bordering on the United States, as well as in some municipalities along the Ottawa River, which defines the border between the provinces of Ontario and Québec. In comparison, approximately 99 % of the provincial capital's population, Québec City, is Francophone (2001 census).

³ See, for example, Mercier (2002) and Verreault (1999) for further discussion on this topic.

Perspectives in Québec, edited by the Éditions Nota Bene (Québec City). This collection, directed by Daniel Chartier, aims precisely to diffuse academic articles about Québec, primarily by publishing English translations of articles that have previously appeared in the journal *Globe. Revue internationale d'études québécoises*. The volume contains four articles, all focusing on a different aspect of the situation of French in Québec: language planning (both corpus and status planning are discussed in chapters 1 and 3 respectively), the linguistic integration of immigrants (chapter 2) and French as the common public language (chapter 4). As Daniel Chartier describes in the presentation of this volume, the different articles examine “the French language as a social, political and identity-related tool” (p. 12).

Corpus planning and language quality

It is hardly an overstatement to say that Québec society tends to pay special attention to the language debate. In fact, the controversy over whether QF should strictly follow the language norm laid down in France or rather develop its own distinctive norm goes back to the mid-19th century, when intellectuals became more aware of the fact that the language of French Canadians was in many respects different from the language used across the Atlantic. In the first article of this volume, entitled “The debate on l'aménagement du français in Québec” (pp. 15-65), Ian Lockerbie (University of Stirling, UK) focuses on corpus planning attempts of QF, concentrating on the way Québec tries to define and describe its variety compared with French as used in France. As Lockerbie points out in the first part of his article, the debate opposes the more conservative adherents of a strictly French norm to those in favour of a specific Québec norm, defined from within the Québec linguistic community. The latter are usually called *aménagistes*.

The article gives an overview of some of the particularities of QF, especially in lexis and pronunciation, but its most important part is dedicated to the recent lexicographic history of QF. Lockerbie describes some of the most salient aspects of three significant Québec dictionaries: the *Dictionnaire du français plus* (DFP, published in 1988), the *Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui* (DQA, 1992) and the *Dictionnaire historique du français québécois* (DHFQ, 1998). The latter is a differential dictionary of QF, i.e. a dictionary describing only its distinctive, mostly lexical features, whereas the two former dictionaries are both general, i.e.

they describe QF in its entirety rather than focusing solely on its lexical particularities. The author also discusses the controversy that these works have often aroused, especially in the press. Lockerbie rightly notes that this controversy has generally concerned two aspects. First, the inclusion of informal colloquialisms of QF is rejected by some commentators who fear that they would be legitimized in this way. Second, there is disagreement over the use of geographic labels in the DFP and the DQA: in so far as these dictionaries consider QF an autonomous variety, they label particularities of French as used in France (so called *francisms*), rather than those usages which are specific to QF.

This article clearly illustrates how part of the French-speaking Québec community is reluctant to accept a more pluricentric vision of the French language that recognizes the existence of different language varieties.⁴ It is interesting to see how Lockerbie approaches the issue. For instance, he clearly believes in the existence of a QF standard variety, thus recognizing QF as a self-sufficient variety of French. He also has a very candid opinion of the concept of “français international” (“international French”): whereas some commentators try to convince Quebecers that “international French” or “universal French” is the standard variety that all Francophones have in common, it is in fact a veiled reference to the standard language used in France and is thus misleading, as Lockerbie rightly points out (p. 22, note 5). At the same time, Lockerbie has a very realistic attitude to QF, acknowledging the fact that it will never enjoy the same degree of autonomy as US English does in relation to UK English on account of Québec’s modest demographic weight. In my opinion, this article provides an interesting reflexion on QF that will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of this variety of French and its standard register. While some commentators try to bring this vision into disrepute, arguing that the recognition of QF leads to the ghettoization of Québec society, Lockerbie shows that this is far from being the case.

⁴ See Clyne (1992) on the concept of pluricentric languages.

Linguistic integration of allophone⁵ communities

The contribution of Ines Molinaro (University of Cambridge, UK), “Context and integration: the allophone communities in Québec” (pp. 67-115), gives an overview of Canadian and Québec policies with respect to cultural diversity and the integration of different ethnocultural communities. According to Molinaro, the Canadian and Québec models are very different in this respect, although they both seek to encourage the creation of an inclusive national community. One can easily understand the importance of this matter, especially considering Québec’s current circumstances: the province has to deal with the attraction English has for new Quebecers and has to encourage them to learn French in order to maintain the demographic weight of Francophones.⁶ It does this by promoting a Francophone civic culture.

On the one hand, Canadian nation-building is based on two main principles, namely bilingualism and multiculturalism. Whereas multiculturalism acts as a framework in which official bilingualism is guaranteed, the Canadian model dissociates at the same time language and culture, hence refusing to recognize biculturalism. As Molinaro argues, this federal policy is reluctant to accept the concept of biculturalism for merely political reasons and it aims to neutralize further demands for special measures to defend French in Québec. In other words, the Canadian model fails to endorse a special status for French Canadians, who are regarded as one ethnic group amongst others, thus ignoring the English/French duality of the country. This philosophy also explains why the federal government “denied the reality of linguistic practices” (p. 78) by favouring individual rather than territorial bilingualism when it passed the *Official Languages Act* in 1969. According to Molinaro, the Canadian model has only been partially successful, not only in Québec (where several commentators regret the non-recognition of Canada’s duality), but also in the rest of Canada (where commentators often plead for a more explicit expression of

⁵ The term *allophone* is used in Canadian English in order to designate a person whose native tongue is other than French or English, as opposed to *Francophone* or *Anglophone*. As a loanword borrowed from QF, it is especially used in reference to the language differences in Québec.

⁶ It is worth noting that Québec is the only Canadian province that is responsible for the selection of immigrants wishing to settle in its territory, despite the fact that immigration is usually a federal competence.

the “minimal demands for inclusion” (p. 81) in order to ensure the integration process⁷).

The integration policy promoted by Québec, on the other hand, evolves in a unilingual framework and is based on an intercultural approach. Unlike multiculturalism, the intercultural model is more explicit in defining the extent to which a society is willing to accommodate ethnocultural diversity. In this respect, it is clear that one of the main goals of the Québec’s unilingual policy is to ensure the preservation and further development of the French language, and encourage allophones to take part in what Molinaro calls “mainstream Québec society”.⁸ Even though Molinaro clearly favours the Québec approach over the Canadian one, she rightly mentions that the situation is anything but obvious for an immigrant settling in Québec: even though it is evident that it is in an immigrant’s interest to be proficient in French, one cannot deny the asset of mastering English, considering the geopolitical reality of Québec as part of North American society. However, statistics show that the unilingual policy of Québec has an important influence on the linguistic integration of immigrants who are increasingly shifting to French. On a more personal note, Molinaro concludes that French can only become a “shared civic good” (p. 115) if it enables immigrants to take part in a pluriethnic, heterogeneous society.

Status planning and Québec’s project of unilingualism

The concept of unilingualism is examined in its historical context by Karim Larose (Université Laval, Canada). “The emergence of unilingualism: archeology of the language issue in Québec” (p. 117-152) explains how the idea of turning Québec into a unilingual society arose in the late 1950s and especially the tumultuous 1960s, a period known in Québec as the *Quiet Revolution*. In so far as the term *unilingualism* is generally not used in France, Larose considers it a concept that is particular to Québec. Far from pursuing the establishment of a monolingual Francophone society, the idea

⁷ For instance, the Supreme Court of Canada recently officially approved the wearing in public schools of the *kirpan*, a ceremonial shortsword carried by Sikhs. In Québec as well as in the rest of Canada, this decision provoked much controversy and is one of the many examples that come to mind concerning problems of integration.

⁸ As Molinaro recalls, the recognition of Québec as a unilingual, Francophone province also implies the promotion of a civic rather than an ethnic identity. This aspect is further developed in chapter 4 by Leigh Oakes.

of unilingualism originally appeared as a reaction to the systematic lack of knowledge of French on the part of the Québec Anglophone community and the federal government.⁹

According to Larose, four circumstances encouraged the emergence of the concept of “unilingualism”. Besides the polemic against bilingualism already alluded to, Larose mentions the influence of the neo-nationalist philosophy of the *École historique de Montréal* developed in the 1950s. One of the main ideas of this new historiographic current was the necessity of a political intervention concentrating efforts within Québec rather than defending the French language in Canada as a whole. Moreover, the principle of nationality, boldly summarized in the well-known phrase *one state, one nation, one language*, gained in popularity during the 1950s and it had significant influence on the language debate in Québec, although it never questioned the existence of an Anglophone minority. Finally, one cannot comprehend the history of unilingualism without mentioning the rising nationalism during the Quiet Revolution, nourished by simmering social discontent in the Francophone community.

Although the idea of unilingualism first appeared during the 1960s, unilingualism was only officialized in 1977, when the National Assembly passed the *Charter of the French Language* (Bill 101). This charter pursues one essential goal: the recognition of French as the common language of Québec, thus enabling Quebecers to “live in their language” (Michel Plourde as cited by Larose, p. 146-147). Larose emphasizes that the philosophy of unilingualism as expressed in Bill 101 appeared to be the only solution to guarantee the status of French as the first language of Québec, and refuses to consider it an attempt to ignore Anglophone Quebecers. In my opinion, it is essential that Larose accentuates this aspect of Bill 101, often experienced as a coercive law, especially when it comes to its application to the area of education.¹⁰ However, as Larose rightly puts it, bilingualism on a provincial level would only benefit English, as was the case before the 1960s, when English was the dominant language of a minority of speakers.

⁹ For instance, Radio-Canada (the Francophone counterpart of CBC Canada) recently broadcast a documentary on the crisis in the aviation sector in 1976: despite the language act of 1969, the use of French was prohibited in Québec air traffic control towers, creating a lot of discontent among Francophones.

¹⁰ In the public sector, parents can only send their children to English-speaking schools in very strict circumstances: either one of the parents must have received their education in English in Canada.

French as the language of public use and civic nationalism

Since French has become the official language of Québec in 1977, it is considered to have become a common public language for all Quebecers regardless of their different ethnic origins. Especially in political circles, French has been gradually dissociated from the concept of “French-Canadian ethnicity”, which has led to a more inclusive definition of the national identity of Quebecers. In his article “French as the ‘common public language’ in Québec” (pp. 153-194), Leigh Oakes (Queen Mary, University of London, UK) examines whether it is possible to completely “de-ethnicize” language, to quote the author’s words, as is sometimes suggested when defending the concept of French as language of public use in this province.

The first part of this article can be regarded as a continuation of the previous article in so far as it gives a historic overview of how French gradually became the public language since the adoption of Bill 101. In this respect, Oakes mentions that the concept of “public language” was introduced in order to analyze more adequately the dynamics of the use of French in the province: as from the 1990s, the notion is used in official documents to distinguish between the mother tongue and the language used at home on the one hand and the language used in different public activities on the other hand. At the same time, the notion of “common language” opened the door for a renewed conception of Québécois identity, focused on French as a common value for all Quebecers, but no longer based on French Canadian ethnicity. Over the past years, official authorities have thus been promoting a language policy based on more civic terms, giving the impression that language and culture are clearly separate. However, as Oakes stresses, language plays an important role in both ethnic and civic nationalisms, although in different ways. Whereas ethnic nationalism focuses on language as a symbol of “mythical ancestry” (p. 168), language is seen as a unifying value in civic nationalism that can bring together people from different ethnic origins.

This observation leads us to the second part of the article. In spite of the recent ethnoculturally neutral position of language politics in Québec, striving towards a citizen-orientated conception of identity, Oakes clearly demonstrates that it is not possible to completely “de-ethnicize” language. For instance, Oakes notes that the distinction between Québécois *de souche* and those who are not of French Canadian descent is still made: only the former are usually called *francophones* whereas immigrants usually are

referred to as *allophones*. Oakes argues that this situation is far from being unique to Québec and discusses, amongst others, the situation in France, Sweden and the US. Moreover, Oakes is opposed to the idea that identity should be completely “de-ethnicized” because ethnicity plays an important role in the maintenance of a language, which is not an insignificant detail when taking into consideration the situation of Québec in its North American context. Especially when it comes to the integration of immigrants, Québec has to provide incentives for newcomers to learn French as a second language rather than English. Oakes mentions the “integrationist” model as an interesting alternative to an exclusively civic model. This model creates a civic framework in which people can express their attachment to the French language, but to different degrees.

In short, given that language is an important element of the identity of the French Canadian ethnic group, Oakes considers that Québec should not completely “de-ethnicize” the French language, because it would have the opposite effect on the preservation of French. At the same time, the author is very much aware of the challenge involved in convincing immigrants to adhere to French as the public language. The integrationist model could provide an interesting alternative in this respect. I find this article provides an interesting contribution to the language debate in the province. For instance, the expression of a Québec identity based on language is often criticized, not only by Canadians outside Québec, but also by some Québec intellectuals, because it is often considered too exclusive. In this way, it is very often used as a point of contention in the debate opposing federalism and separatism, the latter being accused of being too exclusive.¹¹ This article however succeeds in demonstrating that ethnicism should not be confused with ethnocentricity, although it is often the case when issues related to identity are discussed.

The volume ends with a selected bibliography on the language issue in Québec (pp. 195-200). Although one cannot expect such a bibliography to be complete, I was rather surprised not to find the proceedings of the lexicography congress held in 1985 (Boisvert, Poirier and Verreault 1986) nor the issue that the *Revue d'aménagement linguistique* dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the *Charter of the French Language* in 2002.

¹¹ This is partly due to a speech made by Jacques Parizeau in 1995 following the defeat of the second referendum on the separation of Québec: Parizeau attributed this defeat in part to “ethnic votes”, to quote his words, by which he meant the votes of the different immigrant communities. It goes without saying that this statement provoked (and it still does) much controversy.

All in all this volume provides an interesting contribution to the understanding of some facts about Québec's particular sociolinguistic context. In this regard, I think it will certainly interest scholars that work on language planning, but also a wider public curious to learn more about Québec. However, in order to increase the accessibility of this collection, I would personally encourage the editors to review the articles (rather than simply translate them) in order to adapt them to the needs of the target audience. For instance, the first article contains some French words that are not translated (thus making the examples difficult to understand) and the different articles sometimes mention facts that might be unknown to readers who are not familiar with Québec at all.

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John H. McWhorter (2005) *Defining Creole*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 444.

Reviewed by Angela Bartens

John McWhorter's latest book (at least to my knowledge; McWhorter is a highly prolific writer) is a collection of thirteen papers published over the past decade, updated and grouped together into three thematic sections.

While some authors resort to publishing anthologies in order to make articles dispersed in small journals of difficult access available to the wider public, this can be hardly assumed to have been McWhorter's main motive. It would rather seem that he has wanted to draw a line under his recent work, assembling it into a single volume. This is the body of work which has or at least should have changed Creolistics for good.

The thematic sections are "Is There Such a Thing as a Creole?", "Is Creole Change Different from Language Change in Older Languages?", and "The Grey Zone: The Cline of Pidginization or the Inflectional Parameter?". In the first part, McWhorter argues that contrary to conventional creolist wisdom, creoles can be identified as a synchronic typological class on the grounds of the cooccurrence or rather absence of three grammatical features which he calls the Creole Prototype: inflectional affixation is extremely rare or inexistent, tones are not used to encode morphosyntactic distinctions, and there is no noncompositional derivation. All of these features, as well as a few others, many of which McWhorter calls "ornament" (e.g., p. 98), "frills" (p. 99) or "cases of overspecification" (p. 44) arise in languages over time but are lacking from creoles because of their shallow time-depth and their genesis through initial pidginization. This entails detailed discussions of complexity, aptly entitled "The World's Simplest Grammars Are Creole Grammars" (pp. 38–71), and the necessity of postulating a pidgin precursor to creole genesis ("The Rest of the Story: Restoring Pidginization to Creole Genesis Theory", pp. 72–101).

In Part II, McWhorter argues for the role of internal innovation as opposed to transfer from the substrate in some specific cases (e.g., the [Atlantic] Creole English equative copula *da*, the locative copula *de*, modal *fi/fu/fo*), the pivotal role of previously existing English, French, and Portuguese pidgins and their transplantation in the genesis of the English-, French-, Spanish- and Portuguese-based creoles (that is, monogenesis within groups of creoles with the same lexifier language and within a larger

area such as the Atlantic and Pacific English-based creoles) as well as the inclusion of intertwined languages into Creole Studies based on the postulate that language intertwining is quantitatively but not qualitatively different from creolization (one substrate language instead of several; specialists in language intertwining may find this postulate hard to swallow). The central argument of McWhorter's 2000 book, *The missing Spanish creoles*, is taken up in the discussion of "Creole Transplantation. A Source of Solutions to Resistant Anomalies" (pp. 225–246): the two known Spanish creoles of the Americas, Papiamentu (which I would call Iberoromance-based rather than Spanish-based) and Palenquero, have arisen as a result of the transplantation of Afro-Portuguese Pidgin. The absence of other Spanish-based creoles in the Americas is explained by the fact that the Spanish did not have trade forts in Africa. Transplantation would also explain why English-based Caribbean creoles exhibit a creole continuum while corresponding French-based varieties do not: in the case of English-based creoles, a mesolectal variety would have been transplanted alongside a basilectal one, a thesis which would seem to call for (even) more empirical evidence.

Part III, finally, deals with the clinal nature of pidginization or, as other scholars would term it, restructuring, demonstrating *inter alia* that albeit not a creole, English has undergone restructuring which has made it even less overspecified than Afrikaans, nowadays generally acknowledged to be a semi-creole or a restructured variety, and that Black English, on the other hand, stems from second language acquisition of English and not, say, the spread of Gullah or some other creole over wide regions of the American south at some point in history.

Besides arguing the case for his own theory, the Creole Prototype, McWhorter takes issue with a number of current theoretical stances. Understandably, the syntactocentric positions of DeGraff and Lefebvre are discussed in several chapters. Personally, I found the last chapter of Part I, "The Founder Principle versus the Creole Prototype: Squaring Theory with Data" (pp. 142–159), most enlightening. In it, McWhorter takes issue with the superstratist position, traditionally well represented among the French creolists around Robert Chaudenson but recently also defended by Salikoko Mufwene in (mostly) English writing. According to Mufwene's Founder Principle (the founders of a colony were the first whites whose linguistic input is therefore deemed crucial in creole formation), "1. Early plantation slaves spoke not creoles, but close approximations of the lexifier. 2. Even

creoles are simply varieties of their lexifiers. 3. Nothing distinguishes creoles from other varieties that have undergone extensive language contact. 4. *Creole* is not an empirically valid classificational term. 5. One language cannot be more or less ‘creole’ than another.” (p. 145). McWhorter elegantly argues that regional varieties of e.g. French do not fully account for the make-up of today’s creoles and that creoles must already have arisen during the early phase of a colony when numerical disproportions between population groups were not yet important so that creole speakers most probably acquired both the creole and the lexifier language. The Creole Prototype and its gradient nature counter the remaining working hypotheses of the Founder Principle.

There are, of course, minor inaccuracies as in any volume of this size. Contrary to McWhorter’s affirmation (p. 23), acrolectal varieties of Cape Verdean have retained verbal morphology to an extent which does parallel the situation in Réunionnais. There is an obvious explanation for the existence of noncompositional derivational morphology in Haitian French Creole (pp. 25–26): the affixes may have been borrowed from French as part of unanalyzed lexical items. While McWhorter claims that the most likely source for the Palenquero anterior marker *-ba* is Spanish/Portuguese *acabar* ‘to finish’ (p. 237), Iberocreolists would cite the Spanish/Portuguese imperfect ending as the most likely source albeit allowing for the converging influence of morphemes like Mandingo *ban* ‘to finish’ and the Mandyak preterite suffix *-bá* (cf. e.g. Bartens 1995: 38; 65; 273). Palenquero also appears to have developed a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (Moniño 2002), quoted as an example of un-creole frills by McWhorter (p. 60).

The author states in the Preface (p. 1) that “very few readers will have the occasion to read the anthology in its entirety, and for that reason, there are various cases where I decided that allowing the overlaps was the best choice.” While it is not quite clear to me why readers would not read the entire volume, the overlaps are infortuitous in a few rare cases: e.g. after arguing for the incorporation of intertwined languages under the umbrella of the concept of a creole language in Ch. 10, intertwined languages are cited as an outcome of language contact clearly distinct from creoles in Ch. 11 (p. 267).

Summarizing, the anthology contains the writings of the scholar who has tried to innovate the field of Creole Studies the most systematically

over the past decade. It is obligatory reading for anyone interested in creoles and in the theoretical issues related to them.

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