

Papers from the
Lancaster University
Postgraduate Conference in
Linguistics & Language Teaching

Volume 5
Papers from LAEL PG 2010

Edited by

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2011



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The Cultural Basis of Conceptual Metaphors: The Case of Emotions in Akan and English

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Abstract

Recent cross-cultural studies of conceptual metaphors in the cognitive linguistic tradition, particularly, those that concern emotion concepts, reveal both similarities and variation in the conceptualisation of emotion concepts across cultures. The cultural embodied prototype theory explains this phenomenon by positing that the conceptualisation of emotion concepts across cultures is grounded in both universal embodied cognition and culture-specific cognition. In this paper, within the general framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), I draw on evidence from language-specific (Akan and English) elaborations of the two conceptual metaphors LOVE/RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY and ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Based on this evidence, I argue in support of the cultural embodied cognition position that the universality principle may indeed be applicable at one level of conceptualisation only, namely the generic/schematic level. While universal human embodied cognition may be the basis for highly schematic conceptualisations of emotion across cultures, based on the principle of cultural embodiment, I argue that there are culture/language-specific construals or elaborations of such universal human schemas that are grounded in cultural salience (cultural embodiment). Linguistic data for analysis were elicited through focus group discussions to corroborate intuitively generated data for a conceptual metaphor analysis.

1 Introduction

This paper explores the role of culture in the conceptualisation of two emotion concepts in each of two languages, English and Akan. It examines the culture/language-specific realisations of two conceptual metaphors, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and LOVE/RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY both of which occur in Akan and English. The question of whether the conceptualisations of emotion concepts are universal across cultures or language/culture-specific has been a matter of research interest in cognitive linguistics and social anthropology (Kövecses, 1995, 2005; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lutz, 1988; Maalej, 2004). Several views and positions have been expressed in this regard centred around two main competing arguments. The first argument is that the conceptualisations of basic emotions are universal, i.e. the same across cultures, because they are grounded in universal human embodied cognition. The second line of argument in this debate holds that the conceptualisations of emotion concepts are culture-specific because they are socio-culturally constructed. Based on more recent findings from cross-cultural studies of the conceptualisations of emotion concepts, however, there is a third emerging argument, the cultural embodied prototype theory (Kövecses, 2005; Maalej, 2004), which takes the middle position that the conceptualisations of emotion concepts across cultures may be universal and culture-specific at the same time. Its proponents explain how this is possible by suggesting an extended view of the embodied cognition thesis, i.e. the cultural embodied cognition thesis.

Although evidence for the various debates has come from many different languages and cultures, only a couple of them (Wolof and Zulu) have come from African languages and cultures. This paper, drawing data from Akan, a West African language, therefore aims to contribute to the universality versus culture-specificity debate about the conceptualisation of emotions across cultures by showing evidence from another African language. The paper argues along the lines of the cultural embodied cognition thesis with regards to the conceptualisation of emotion concepts across cultures. This is because the analysis of the language-specific realisations of the two conceptual metaphors under examination reveals both similarities and differences in the Akan and English language-specific conceptualisations. On the other hand, it is possible to attribute the similarities in the conceptualisations of anger in English and Akan to universal embodied cognition from which general metaphorical principles derive, e.g. the body as container, responsibilities as burdens, and metonymic principles, e.g. body heat stands for anger. On the other hand, the differences may be explained in terms of cultural filtering of the general universal conceptualisations to reflect human experiences that are more salient to a particular socio-

cultural group. As Lutz (1988) has argued, universal embodiment may be overridden by cultural factors.

2 The Conceptualisation of Emotion Concepts: Universal or Culture-specific?

The existence of major similarities and variations in the conceptualisations of basic emotion concepts within and between cultures has been documented extensively in cognitive linguistic research and social anthropology (Breugelmans et al., 2005; King, 1989; Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Lutz, 1988; Matsuki, 1995; Munro, 1991; Taylor & Mbense, 1998; Yu, 1995). Often discussed in terms of conceptual metaphors, the similarities of conceptualisation of emotion concepts across cultures have been explained in terms of the embodied cognition thesis. First introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in what has become known as the standard view, it was proposed that conceptual metaphors in general are based on human embodied cognition, i.e. how the human body and brain function in relation to their environment. Subsequently, universal human experiences, including human emotions, produce universal conceptual metaphors. The embodied cognition thesis was the basis for the prototype view which regards emotion concepts as structured scripts, scenarios or cognitive models.

There are two schools of thought within this view: the experientialists (e.g. Lakoff, 1987, Russell, 1991) and the social constructionists (e.g. Lutz, 1988). The experientialists subscribe fully to the embodied cognition thesis and posit that emotion concepts that have prototypical emotion scripts are largely universal, i.e. the same across languages and cultures, so that the respective conceptual metaphors that are based on universal human experiences, e.g. getting angry and a rise in bodily temperature, are universal or near universal. However, while the social constructionists agree with the notion that emotion concepts are scripts/scenarios, they disagree with the experientialists' claim that these conceptualisations of emotions are the same across cultures. Instead, the social constructionists argue that emotion concepts are socio-cultural scripts/scenarios or constructs whose properties depend on particular aspects of a given culture. According to this view different cultures will have different conceptualisations for the same emotion concepts because different cultures give concepts different socio-cultural salience.

Evidence from more recent cross-cultural studies on the conceptualisation of basic human emotion concepts (Breugelmans et al., 2005; Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Lutz, 1988; Maalej, 1999, 2004) suggests that indeed, each of these views is right in its claims to a certain degree. This

has led to the proposal of, the *embodied cultural prototype* view (Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Maalej, 2004), which synthesises the two diverging prototype views and proposes that the conceptualisation of emotion concepts across cultures is based on both universal human embodied experiences and more specific socio-cultural constructions. In other words, *embodied cultural prototype* theorists believe that bodily motivations have a socio-cultural salience and social constructions have a bodily basis. That is to say that while the general conceptualisation of such concepts is grounded in universal human experiences, different cultures attach different cultural salience specific realisations, elaborations or construals to these near-universal conceptual metaphors.

According to Kövecses (2000, 2005), these similarities and variations in the cross-cultural conceptualisation of emotions occur in two major areas: (1) the source domains in terms of which a particular target concept is understood, and (2) the elaborations in the conceptual correspondences of shared conceptual metaphors. This paper focuses on the latter. The two selected metaphors for analysis in this paper involve two emotion target concepts, ANGER and LOVE. It is interesting to note, however, that while the concepts involved are indeed emotion concepts, the analysis of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor as occurs in the literature, (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002)), is based on love *relationship* rather than love as an emotion.

3 Conceptual Metaphors and Emotion Concepts

The study of emotion concepts was given scant attention in research in the past. According to Oatley and Jenkins (1996, p. 122) 'emotions have traditionally been regarded as extras in psychology not as serious mental functions like perception, language, thinking and learning'. In semantics, emotion concepts were considered as consisting of feelings only, and devoid of conceptual content (Lakoff, 1987). Recent research in cognitive science, however, has paid particular attention to the study of emotion concepts, particularly the language of emotion concepts (Kövecses, 1990, 2000, 2005). Dzokoto and Okazaki (2006) is the most frequently cited study of the language of emotion in Akan.

Current researchers recognise the important contribution findings from the study of emotion concepts can make to research on cognition. Oatley and Jenkins (1996, p. 122) subscribe to this view when they conclude that 'emotions are not extras but the very centre of human life'. Similarly, Lakoff (1987, p. 380) submits that 'emotions have an extremely complex structure, which gives rise to a wide variety of non-trivial inferences'. Cognitive linguistic research on emotion concepts, especially in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) tradition, has focused largely on the structure of such concepts within and across cultures. This is often

done by analysing the metaphors structuring such concepts. In CMT, a conceptual metaphor is generally defined as the systematic structuring or restructuring of one conceptual target domain, a coherent organization of experience, in terms of a source domain through the projection of semantic features of one domain onto the other. Typically, target domains are more abstract while source domains are more concrete. In other words, a conceptual metaphor is defined as understanding a more abstract conceptual domain in terms of a less abstract and more concrete domain, typically using knowledge structures of a less abstract aspect of experience to reason about a more abstract aspect of experience (Kövecses, 2002).

First proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), CMT claims that ‘the generalizations governing metaphorical language are not in language, but in thought: They are general mappings across conceptual domains’. Therefore, they propose that linguistic metaphors are good evidence of what our conceptual system looks like because they are instantiations of our conceptual structuring and organisation, i.e. linguistic metaphors reflect metaphorical structuring and organisation in our conceptual system. Thus, conceptual metaphor theorists analyse the linguistic metaphors or metaphorical expressions that are used to talk about one conceptual domain in terms of another to infer underlying conceptual structure and organisation. For example, based on the metaphorical expressions in italics about social organization in English in examples 1a-e below, Kövecses (2002) argues that the knowledge structure of plants is used to understand social organisations in English.

1. SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS

- (a) He works for the local *branch* of the bank.
- (b) Our company is *growing*.
- (c) They had to *prune* the workforce.
- (d) The organization was *rooted* in the old church.
- (e) His business *blossomed*.

He, therefore, postulates the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS with the following conceptual correspondences in Table 1 below:

TABLE 1: *The SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PLANTS metaphor (Kövecses 2002, p. 8)*

<i>Source: Plant</i>		<i>Target: Social organization</i>
The whole plant	⇒	the entire organization
A part of the plant	⇒	a part of the organization
Growth of the plant	⇒	development of the organization
Removing a part of the plant	⇒	reducing the organization
The root of the plant	⇒	the origin of the organization
The flowering	⇒	the best stage, the most successful stage
The fruit or crops	⇒	the beneficial consequences

Thus, CMT researchers investigate the conceptualisation of emotion concepts by inferring the conceptual structures of the concepts from a careful study and analysis of the metaphorical expressions that are used to talk about them. In the next section, I explain how CMT works, i.e. how linguistic metaphors are identified in a discourse as well as how conceptual metaphors are inferred from linguistic metaphors.

4 Methodology

This study adopted the general CMT framework of metaphor analysis which aims at systematically inferring conceptual representations and organisation from linguistic expressions that are metaphorically understood where metaphorical meaning is indirect meaning. The approach assumes that language is a window onto cognition, and that linguistic expressions in part reflect cognitive processes and structures. Consequently, CMT systematically links metaphorical expressions to underlying conceptual metaphors by positing conceptual mappings between two conceptual domains.

In this paper, two sets of linguistic data are discussed, native English data and native Akan data. Whereas the English data were from secondary sources, based on previously analysed conceptual metaphors in English¹, the Akan data were primary data generated through my native speaker's intuition and through elicitation. Relatively monolingual native speakers of Akan in rural and semi-rural Ghana participated in focus group discussions to generate the elicited data. Each focus group was constituted by 6-8 participants and each discussion lasted for approximately 12 minutes. In all a total of approximately 120 minutes of discussions were audio recorded and later transcribed for analysis. Linguistic metaphors from the data were identified and analysed in order to infer conceptual metaphors from the metaphorical expressions.

Until recently, no explicit procedures had been established to identify both linguistic and conceptual metaphors in cognitive linguistic metaphor research. Consequently, metaphor researchers tended to rely on unilateral introspection in identifying both linguistic and conceptual metaphors. This has been criticised as potentially causing researcher bias in metaphor research (Deignan, 2005). However, in recent times, several proposals to systematize and make metaphor identification more explicit have been put forward, e.g. the Pragglejaz group approach, i.e. the metaphor identification procedure or MIP (Crisp et al., 2007; Steen, 1999). This study adopted the MIP approach in identifying linguistic metaphors, and Steen's (1999) five-step procedure to inferring conceptual metaphors from linguistic metaphors.

In line with the MIP, the following steps were taken in identifying linguistic metaphors from the Akan data: the entire transcription of the discussion was read to establish a general understanding of the meaning of the text; then the text was divided into lexical units after which I determined whether any of the lexical units in the discussion had been used metaphorically, i.e. indirectly. Where lexical units were believed to have been used metaphorically, I determined whether they had more basic meanings than the contextual meanings, where basic meaning relates to any of the following: (i) a more concrete meaning, e.g. smell, taste, feel, see, hear, bodily action, (ii) a more precise as opposed to vague meaning or (iii) a historically older meaning. The method also includes checking corpus-based dictionaries if in doubt about the meanings of a word. If the contextual meanings were different from the basic meanings, I decided whether the two meanings contrast but can be understood in comparison with each other. If the contextual meanings were related to the basic meanings by some form of similarity, then the lexical units were marked as metaphorical.

¹ The cited literature deals with American English.

Steen's (1999) five-step procedure in identifying conceptual metaphors is a logical reconstruction of what presumably takes place when researchers assert that a lexical unit has been used metaphorically. It incorporates both linguistic metaphor identification and conceptual metaphor identification:

- (1) Identifying metaphorical focus
- (2) Identifying metaphorical idea
- (3) Identifying metaphorical comparison
- (4) Identifying metaphorical analogy
- (5) Identifying metaphorical mapping.

The first three stages of Steen's procedure are covered under MIP. Indeed, Steen's stage (3) corresponds to MIP's final stage which begins the conceptual metaphorical identification; identify source and target domains and establishing general connections between them. Consequently, only stages (4) and (5) of Steen's procedure were applied in inferring conceptual metaphors from linguistic metaphors. Steen's fourth step involves making more specific connections between elements in the source and target domains in such a way that the elements in the two domains fulfil analogous functions in the two similar domains, e.g., suppressing or keeping anger functions analogously to a burden one carries (cf. 5.2, example 9: ANGER IS A BURDEN). The identification of such metaphorical analogies then becomes the basis for coming up with a list of correspondences (with their entailments) in the final step of metaphorical mapping. Linguistic expressions that contained either the actual words for the target domains LOVE and ANGER, (*ɔdɔ* and *abufuw* in Akan respectively) or references to them were selected from the data. The expressions were then grouped according to their relatedness in terms of what other domains of experience, i.e. source domains, they could be associated with. After identifying the source domains, elements in them were then identified and mapped to arrive at the conceptual metaphors that license the linguistic metaphors.

In the discussion of my examples, I maintain the original Akan metaphorical expressions and then provide three levels of translation for them, namely, an interlinear glossing, a literal translation and an English translation equivalent. Since the analysis of the English metaphors was based on secondary data, I did not have to go through the metaphor identification procedures for the English data. This method is systematic and to some extent replicable, but it also has limitations that need to be addressed/justified, e.g. identifying the specific elements in both target and source domains remains largely at the subjective discretion of the researcher.

5 The Conceptualisation of Anger and Love: Comparing English and Akan

In this section, I present the language-specific construals only of the conceptual metaphors ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, and LOVE IS A JOURNEY in English and Akan as further evidence in support of the notion that the conceptualisation of emotions across cultures is grounded in culturally embodied experience.

5.1 ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER in English

According to Lakoff (1987) and Kövecses (2002), the conceptual structure of anger in English is constituted by a system of conceptual metaphors that derive from interactions between general metonymic² and metaphoric principles. The ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor is believed to derive from the interactions between the general metaphor ANGER IS HEAT (when the heat is applied to liquids), which is based on the conceptual metonymy BODY HEAT IS ANGER, and the general metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. Kövecses (2002) postulates the following conceptual correspondences for this metaphor:

TABLE 2: *The BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS metaphor (Kövecses, 2002, p. 96)*

<i>Source: Hot fluid in a container</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
The physical container	⇒	the angry person's body
The top of the container	⇒	the rational self of the angry person
The hot fluid inside the container	⇒	the anger
The degree of fluid heat	⇒	the intensity of anger
The cause of increase in fluid heat	⇒	the cause of anger

² In metonymic conceptualisations, one entity figuratively stands for another.

2. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

- (a) She's a real *hothead*.
- (b) You make my *blood boil*.
- (c) Let her *stew*.
- (d) I got all *steamed up*.
- (e) He's just *blowing off steam*.
- (f) I had *reached the boiling point*.
- (g) He *boiled over*.
- (h) She felt her *gorge rising*.
- (i) *Simmer* down!

Based on carryover knowledge from the source domain, the mappings are further elaborated to produce metaphorical entailments. For example, it is common knowledge that intense heat may cause a rise in volume or upward movement of hot fluids in a container. Such carryover knowledge gives rise to metaphorical entailments in the mappings above, so that the rise in the volume of the hot fluid corresponds to increase in the intensity of anger. Other carryover knowledge from the source domain includes the fact that heat produces steam in the container, putting pressure on it. In addition, it is common knowledge that too much heat produces too much steam and therefore too much pressure on the container, potentially causing the container to explode. When the container explodes, parts of the container go up in the air, and what was inside the container comes out. This knowledge produces the following metaphorical entailments in the mappings above:

- Intense anger produces steam: he got *all steamed up*; *Billy's just blowing off steam*.
- Intense anger produces pressure on the (body) container: his pent-up anger *welled up inside him*.

- When anger becomes too intense, the person explodes: He just *exploded*; he *erupted*.
- When a person explodes, parts of him/her go up in the air: I *blew my top*; I *blew my stack*; she *flipped her lid*.
- When a person explodes, what was inside him/her comes out: smoke *was pouring out of his ears*; his anger finally *came out*.

Kövecses (2005) identifies a more specific metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, which arises from the entailments of the central metaphor, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. He postulates the following mappings for the ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER metaphor:

TABLE 3: The ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER metaphor (Kövecses, 2005, p. 39)

The container with some substance or objects	⇒	the person who is angry
The substance or objects in the container	⇒	the anger
The pressure of the substance/objects on the container	⇒	the effect of the anger on the angry person
The cause of the pressure	⇒	the cause of the anger
Keeping the substance or objects inside the container	⇒	controlling the anger
The substance or objects coming out of the container	⇒	the expression of anger

3. THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER

- (a) He *exploded*.
- (b) I *blew a gasket*.
- (c) He *was fuming*.
- (d) I could barely *keep it in* anymore.
- (e) He managed to keep his anger *bottled up* inside him.
- (f) He *suppressed* his anger.
- (g) He *let out* his anger.

5.2 ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER in Akan

The general conceptualisation of anger in Akan is similar to that of English in many respects. First of all, the conceptual structure of anger in Akan is also constituted by a system of conceptual metaphors that are based on the interactions between some general metaphoric and metonymic principles. With more specific regard to the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor, the conceptualisation is derived from the same general metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, as well as the metaphonymies, i.e. metonymy-based metaphors³, (Goossens, 2003) INTERNAL PRESSURE IS ANGER and THE BODY HEAT IS ANGER. I postulate the following similar yet different conceptual correspondences for the Akan version of this metaphor:

³ Unlike metaphor which relates two entities that are usually not associated with each other, metonymy is defined as a conceptual operation in which one entity (vehicle) may be employed in order to identify another entity (target) with which it is usually associated (Evans, 2007).

TABLE 4: The postulated Akan version of the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor

<i>Source: Hot fluid in a container</i>		<i>Target: Anger</i>
The physical container	⇒	the angry person's body (chest)
The hot fluid inside the container	⇒	the anger
The degree of the heat of fluid	⇒	the intensity of anger
The cause of increase in the heat of the fluid	⇒	the cause of anger

4. ANGER AS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

(a)	Ne	<i>bo</i>	re-	<i>huru</i>	<i>so.</i>	
	Poss	chest	prog.-	boil	over.	
	His/her	chest	is	boiling	over.	
	He/she	is boiling	with	anger.		
(b)	Ne	<i>bo</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>dwo</i>	ne	ho.
	Poss	chest	neg	cool	poss	self.
	His/her	chest	does not	cool	him/	herself.
	He/she	is	still	angry		
(c)	ɔ	wɔ	<i>a-</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>fuw</i>	<i>hyew.</i>
	3SG	has	nom	chest	weedy	hot.

	He/she	has	a hot,	weedy	chest.
(d)	Ne	<i>bo</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>dwo-</i>	<i>e.</i>
	Poss	chest	neg	cool	compl
	His/her	chest	has not	cooled	down.
	He/she	is not	appeased		
(e)	Me	<i>dwo</i>	<i>dwo</i>	<i>Abufuw</i>	<i>no</i> <i>So.</i>
	1SG	cool	duplication	anger	Det. on.
	I	<i>cool</i>	<i>down the</i>	<i>anger.</i>	
	I	calm	down.		

Like English, Akan also makes use of some entailment potentials of the body-as-container source domain to elaborate the identified mappings. For instance, the general knowledge that intense heat causes a rise in volume or upward movement of a fluid in a container corresponds to the increase in the intensity of anger in Akan where the entire container rather than the hot fluid in it moves upward, e.g. *n'akoma a-sɔ re* 'his/her heart has risen'; *n'akoma kɔ soro* 'his/her heart has gone up'; *nebo rehuru* 'his chest is boiling'. Other carryover knowledge from the source domain that produces metaphorical entailments in the Akan mapping is that too much heat can cause the container to explode and that when the container explodes, what was inside it comes out, e.g. *w'adwa* 'he has split open (he/she has flared up)'; *ɔrepae* 'he/she is bursting/breaking' (he/she is *fuming*).

However, while some elaborations of the English mapping are based on the entailment potential 'hot fluid produces steam in the container', e.g. *He's just letting off steam*; there is no linguistic evidence of such elaborations in Akan. Again, in the English conceptualisation there is a linguistic evidence to show that parts of the body container go up in the air, and what was inside the container comes out in the case of an explosion of the container. However, there is no linguistic evidence to suggest that parts of the Akan body container go up in the air in the

case of explosion even though there are some linguistic elaborations that are based on the entailment that in an explosion what was inside the container comes out. This is shown in the following example taken from focus discussions:

5. Me bo fu a me n-tumi n-ye hwee, enti se me ne nipa no ko a na abufuo no afiri me mu.

When I get angry I can do nothing so if I fight the person, then *the anger gets out of me*.

As is evident from the analysis above, there exist both similarities and differences in the general conceptualisations of anger in native English and native Akan. First of all, both English and Akan make use of metonymic and metaphoric principles in their conceptualisations of anger. For instance, the human body is a key source domain in how anger is metaphorically understood in both languages. The physiological effects of anger on the body are used metonymically to stand for the emotion of anger (see section 6). However, not all the physiological effects identified in English are identified and used in Akan. For example, while the skin colour (redness around the face and neck area) is used metonymically to conceptualise anger in English, it is not used in the Akan metonymic conceptualisation of anger.

However, more specifically, the language-specific conceptualisation of ANGER AS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER in both languages is consistent with the conceptualisation of another emotion concept that stands in close contrast to anger, patience. The Akan label for this concept is *abotare*. It consists of three morphemes: *a-* a nominal marker, *bo-* chest and *tare-* to stick. Thus, in Akan, patience is construed as the process of the chest sticking on the body. In other words, in both English and Akan PATIENCE IS COOL FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Lakoff (1987) suggests that in the central metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, lack of heat corresponds to the absence of anger. Similarly, in the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor, when there is no heat, the fluid is cool and calm. Again, there is similarity in the metaphorical entailments both languages use in elaborating this conceptualisation of contrast. For example, while hot fluids have the tendency to rise in volume and get out of the container that contains them, cool or cooled substances have the tendency or propensity to settle or remain securely in their containers.

I postulate the following conceptual correspondences for the conceptualisation of *abotare* 'patience', the concept that most closely contrasts *abufuw* 'anger' in Akan as A COOL FLUID IN A CONTAINER where the body is a container for cool, cooled or calm emotions:

6. PATIENCE IS A COLD FLUID IN A CONTAINER

(a)	Me <i>bo</i>	<i>a- dwo.</i>	
	Me-chest	compl- cool	down.
	My chest has	cooled	down.
	I am not	angry	any more.
(b)	Me <i>bo</i>	<i>a-tɔ</i>	<i>me yam.</i>
	Poss chest	compl fall	poss stomach.
	My chest has	fallen into	my stomach.
	I am appeased.		
(c)	<i>n'akoma</i>	<i>a- tɔ</i>	<i>ne yam.</i>
	Poss. heart	compl fall	poss stomach.
	His/her heart	has fallen into	his/her stomach.
	He/she has	calmed down.	

These similarities notwithstanding, there are differences in each language's construal of this metaphor. First of all, while the two languages conceptualise the human body as a container for anger, the specific body parts each language conceptualises as containing the emotion of anger differ. Whereas in English anger may be contained in the *eyes, face, neck, guts, nerves* and *blood*, anger is contained in the *chest, heart, back of the head* and *stomach* in Akan. In addition, although the hot fluid corresponds to anger in both languages, the hot fluid is specified as blood in the English elaborations, (e.g. you make my blood boil), but not specified in Akan. In fact, on the surface it may even look like there is no fluid at all in the Akan conceptualisation because no specific fluid is mentioned in the elaboration. However, the use

of a verb like *huru* 'to boil' (*ne bo rehuru so* – his/her chest is boiling over, he/she is boiling with anger) in Akan presupposes the presence of some liquid, usually water, although other liquids may apply.

Furthermore, whereas the English mapping has a role for 'top of the container' with linguistic elaborations, e.g. I blew my *top*; he blew the *gasket*, there is no linguistic evidence to suggest either in the mappings or in their elaboration, that the Akan body container is covered or has a top – no body parts go off in the Akan explosion even though the idea of explosion is alluded to in the Akan elaborations of this metaphor (*wadwa; wapae* 'he/she has split open', i.e. he has exploded). Again, while some English elaborations of this metaphor are based on the entailment potential of the source domain that hot fluid produces steam in the container (he is blowing off *steam*), this elaboration is absent in Akan.

Moreover, it has been shown how in the metaphorical entailment of both the English and the Akan conceptualisations of anger as A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, lack of heat corresponds to lack of anger. However, there are differences in the specific ways in which this mapping is elaborated in each language. In English, the body container is made to settle down but in Akan, the anger-bearing container is made to settle in a more secure container to prevent the hot fluid from moving upward, e.g. *ka w'akoma to wo yam* 'push your heart into your stomach', i.e. calm down/be patient or *ma wo bo ntɔ wo yam* 'let your chest fall into your stomach', i.e. calm down/be patient.

5.3 LOVE IS A JOURNEY in English

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002), the conceptual structure of JOURNEY is used to metaphorically understand the target domain LOVE in English with the following conceptual mappings that produce the metaphorical expressions in example 6 below:

TABLE 5: The LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 44-45)

<i>Source: Journey</i>		<i>Target: Love</i>
Travellers	⇒	Lovers
Vehicle	⇒	the love relationship itself
The journey	⇒	events in the relationship

The distance covered	⇒	the progress made
The obstacles encountered	⇒	the difficulties encountered
Decisions about which way to go	⇒	choices about what to do
The destination of the journey	⇒	the goal(s) of the relationship

7. LOVE IS A JOURNEY

- (a) They are *at a crossroads* in their relationship.
- (b) This relationship isn't *going anywhere*.
- (c) They are in a *dead-end* relationship.
- (d) This marriage is *on the rocks*.
- (e) This relationship has been *spinning its wheels* for years.
- (f) Their marriage has really gone *off the track*.
- (g) Look how *far we've come*.
- (h) We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
- (i) We can't *turn back* now.
- (j) We're *stuck*.
- (k) It's been *a long, bumpy road*.
- (l) This relationship is *foundering*.

The mappings and elaborations in the English conceptualisation of LOVE AS A JOURNEY show roles for a vehicle in the journey. There is also evidence from the linguistic elaborations

of this metaphor that the English love journey can occur on land or by sea: 'It's been a *long, bumpy road*' and 'The marriage is *on the rocks*'.

5.4 LOVE IS A JOURNEY in Akan

A careful examination of the conventional linguistic expressions of LOVE in Akan reveals that the concept is equally understood in terms of a journey. There are travellers (lovers) set on a journey (the love relationship) over a distance (progress in the relationship) towards a destination (goals of the relationship); the love relationship takes a course with crossroads (difficult decisions) etc. For instance, people talk about the distance their relationship has covered by referring to the onset of their journey together, (*yɛsɪm akyɛ*, 'it's been a long time since we set off'). Based on the metaphorical expressions analysed, I postulate the following conceptual mappings for the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in Akan:

TABLE 6: The posited Akan version of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

Source: Journey		Target: Love	
Travellers	⇒	Lovers	
Journey	⇒	the love relationship	
Distance covered	⇒	progress made	
Impediments en route	⇒	difficulties in the relationship	
Destination	⇒	goal(s) of the relationship	

8. LOVE/RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY

(a)	Yɛ	a-	sian	a-	kyɛ
	3PL	compl	walk together	compl	long.

	We have	walked	together	for long.
	We have	come a long	way.	
(b)	Yε	<i>sim- m</i>	a-	<i>kyε.</i>
	3PL	set off- past	compl	long time.
	We set off	long ago.		
	We have	come a long	way.	
(c)	Yε	<i>a- nante</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>kyε.</i>
	3PL	compl-walk	compl-	long time.
	We have	walked for a	long period.	
	See how far	we have	come.	
(d)	Aware	<i>kwan</i>	<i>ware.</i>	
	Marriage	Path	long.	
	Marriage	path is long	marriage is	forever.
(e)	Yε <i>to- o</i>	<i>nkwanta</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>yε a- pae.</i>
	3SP meet past	junction	rel.	3SP compl split up
	If we met	crossroads	we have	taken separate routes.
	This is the	end of the	road.	

Again, there is evidence of similarities in the conceptualisations of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in both English and Akan. For instance, both languages conceptualise lovers in a

love relationship in terms of travellers, and difficulties in a relation in terms of impediments. These similarities notwithstanding, there are differences between the Akan love journey and the English one. For instance, while the English love journey has a role for vehicle (this relationship is spinning *its wheels*), there is no explicit linguistic evidence to suggest that the Akan love journey has a role for vehicle. Instead, there are expressions to suggest that the Akan love journey takes place on foot, (*yɛanante akɔɛ*, 'we have walked for a long time', 'look how far we've come'). In addition, whereas there are linguistic expressions to suggest that the English love journey may take place either on water or land (*it's been a long bumpy road, this relationship is on the rocks*), the data available on Akan suggest that the Akan love journey takes place on land only (*aware kwan ware* 'marriage path is long, *yɛtoo nkwanta a yɛapae* 'we've parted at the crossroads/ we've come to the end of the road').

6 The Cultural Basis for Conceptual Metaphors

On the basis of the data presented above, one of the goals of this paper is to take a step forward in the understanding of the cultural influence on language-specific construals of the two metaphors discussed in this paper. Indeed, proponents of the cultural embodied prototype view (Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Maalej, 1999, 2004) propose two kinds of embodiment: physiological embodiment and non-physiological embodiment, also known as culturally specific embodiment. Going along this line of reasoning, it is possible to explain, for instance, the similarities between Akan and English construals of these metaphors as instances of physiological embodiment where the body is generally conceptualised as a container. However, we may explain the differences, e.g. in the specific body parts conceptualised as the container e.g. *blood, eyes, guts* in English and *chest, heart, stomach* in Akan, in terms of culturally specific embodiment.

As Maalej (2004, p. 173) argues, in culturally specific embodiment, a particular emotion establishes a conventional cultural correlation between a body part and a certain conceptualisation of an emotion concept, e.g. redness of skin around the neck and face area as anger in English, so that there is a fusion of culture and physiology. Indeed, if the body has both physiological and cultural dimensions, as Maalej (2004) claims, then the role of culture in the conceptualisation of emotion concepts cannot be denied. For example, it is easier to see the change of skin colour on light-skinned bodies than it is (if the latter is possible at all) to see it on dark-skinned bodies. The metaphonymic use of redness of skin around the neck and face area in the conceptualisation of anger has been reported across several cultures including English, Hungarian and Chinese, all languages of light-skinned cultures. However, this principle of conceptualisation does not operate either in Akan or Wolof, both languages

of dark-skinned cultures. This is obviously an example of cultural-specific embodiment. Here, I would like to argue that cultural specific embodiment is grounded in cultural salience. For instance, whereas the physiological effects of anger based on skin colour are culturally salient and are therefore encoded in the embodied cognition in light-skinned cultures, e.g. English, Hungarian, Chinese etc., such physiological effects are not culturally salient, and are therefore not encoded in the embodied cognition of dark-skinned cultures, e.g. Akan and Wolof.

While we may not be able to convincingly explain the differences and similarities between English and Akan conceptualisations of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in terms of physiological embodiment proper, the principle of general level conceptualisation that operates in physiological embodiment is applicable. In other words, the cross-cultural similarities in conceptualisation of this metaphor occur only at the highly schematic level of conceptualisation of a journey. The more specific conceptualisations or elaborations of this generic-level journey are motivated by specific cultural knowledge and socio-culturally more salient experience of journeys.

For, instance, the reason why the English love journey can take place on water or land but the Akan journey seems to take place only on land may be explained in terms of cultural salience. While the original home of English, England, is an island where both water and land journeys are common and perhaps necessary for everyday living, the original home of the Akans is largely a tropical rainforest with a few rivers and streams. Thus, while journeys by land and water may be geo-culturally more salient in English, only land journeys appear geo-culturally salient in Akan. In other words, only aspects of a journey that are culturally salient to each of the cultures are highlighted in the mapping and get encoded in the more specific construal of a journey in this conceptualisation.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have compared and contrasted the language-specific construals or elaborations of two conceptual metaphors of emotion concepts that are shared in Akan and English: ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and LOVE IS A JOURNEY. In explaining the similarities and differences on language-specific construals of these two metaphors in the two languages, I have made references to the embodied cultural prototype theory in emphasising the role culture plays in the conceptualisation of emotion concepts across cultures. Finally, I have argued that cultural embodied cognition is grounded in socio-cultural salience. This paper has drawn on data provided by relatively monolingual native Akan speakers in rural and semi-rural Ghana only. It would be interesting to know the kind of data we may get from other categories of native Akan speakers, e.g. bilinguals, city dwellers and

those in the diaspora. This is a viable area of research for not only Akan scholars but also for cognitive anthropological researchers.

8 References

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ABBREVIATIONS

Compl. = Completive Aspect; Det. = Determiner; Nom. = Nominal Marker/Morpheme; Neg. = Negative Marker/Morpheme; Prog. = Progressive Marker; Plu. = Plural marker; Rel. =Relative Marker; Redup. = Reduplicated form/reduplication; 1SG = First person singular pronoun; 2SG = Second person singular pronoun; 3SG = Third person singular pronoun; 1PL = First person plural pronoun; 2PL = Second person plural pronoun; 3PL = Third person plural pronoun

Comparing Perceived and Actual Task and Text Difficulty in the Assessment of Listening Comprehension

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Abstract

The paper reports on a study which investigated compatibility between candidates' perceptions of task and text difficulty in listening comprehension tests and candidate performance in those tests. To this end, a comparison was made between item analysis data derived from six listening comprehension test papers and candidate responses to task and text difficulty as indicated from the analysis of feedback questionnaires concerning the same tests. The study was conducted in the context of the Greek State Certificate of English Language Proficiency, known as KPG, and the data was derived from the B2 level English exam. Through the comparative analyses, candidates' perceived task and text difficulties in the KPG listening tests were found to correlate to a great extent with the results of item analysis, with reference to the same tests. The only cases of inconsistency pertained to the role of paralinguistic features of the oral texts (i.e., speaker's accent) and cognitive variables (i.e., background knowledge) in test performance. Implications are drawn for test developers and item writers of listening comprehension tests as well as for language teachers.

1 Introduction

This paper draws on a broader research project exploring the effect that specific task and text variables can have on the outcome of the listening comprehension process. Language testers have long held an interest in the factors that affect second language test performance and several empirical studies have demonstrated that test score variation in language tests can be attributed to a number of underlying factors. Bachman (1990) and later Bachman and Palmer (1996) proposed a framework for investigating the factors which can affect candidate performance in language tests. They recognized three central categories of factors, i.e., test method characteristics, language ability and the characteristics of test takers. My research seeks to provide empirical evidence in terms of the first set of factors in Bachman and Palmer's (1996) framework (i.e., test method). This area of study is closely linked to their view that

since we cannot totally eliminate the effect of task characteristics, we must learn to understand them and control them so as to ensure that the tests we use will have the qualities we desire and are appropriate for the uses for which they are intended (Bachman & Palmer, 1996, p. 46).

A review of the relevant literature reveals the existence of a series of studies (e.g., Buck, Tatsuoka, Kostin & Phelps, 1997; Buck & Tatsuoka, 1998; Freedle & Kostin, 1999; Spelberg, de Boer & van de Bos, 2000) that have demonstrated the way that specific aspects of the listening test can be associated with overall listening comprehension difficulty. These studies have mainly drawn their findings by examining test scores through psychometric measurement tools such as item analysis. There is, however, a dearth of research focusing on the investigation of task and text difficulty from candidates' perspective, thus using the two sources of information (i.e., test scores and candidates' perspective) comparatively.

The present study is thus motivated by a lack of empirical research on candidates' perceived task and text difficulties in listening comprehension tests and by the ensuing need to explore the extent to which these perceptions correlate with their actual performance in the tests. To address the purpose of this research, data from post administration item analysis of listening test items has been compared and contrasted with candidates' perceptions of listening task and text difficulty obtained from the analysis of feedback questionnaires, with reference to the same examination periods. The purpose of the study is to shed light on the variables of difficulty influencing candidate performance in listening comprehension tests. Discovering which of the candidates' perceived difficulties affect test scores and performance would be a valuable source of information for item writers who wish to design reliable and valid tests.

In the following section, research relevant to this study is reviewed. This includes a discussion on the complex nature of the listening comprehension process and the effect of task- and text-related factors on listening test difficulty. Section 3 describes the context, the participants, the instruments and the research procedure that was used to collect and analyse the data in this study. In sections 4 and 5, results from the comparisons of item analysis data with questionnaire analysis data are presented and discussed. The final section presents directions for future research and reflects on the strengths and limitations of this study.

2 Background to the Study

Although, up to present, very few studies have attempted to shed light on learners' beliefs about listening, most evidence tends to suggest that learners have negative feelings about listening more than they have about any of the other language skills. Arnold (2000) comments on how listening induces anxiety in learners because of the pressure it places on them to process input rapidly (cited in Graham, 2006, pp. 165-166). Graham (2004) investigated language learning in England and she found that for intermediate (i.e., B2 level) learners, listening was the skill in which they experienced the greatest difficulty.

In many ways it is unsurprising that learners perceive listening as difficult. Researchers agree that listening is a complex, active procedure that requires simultaneous use of knowledge, processing skills and strategies. They argue that it is an inferential process in which the listener must use a wider variety of knowledge sources, linguistic and non-linguistic to interpret rapidly incoming data (Anderson & Lynch, 1988; Buck, 2001; Rost, 1990). Buck (2001) explains that listening comprehension involves discrete elements of language such as phonology, vocabulary and syntax but it goes beyond this because it also involves interpretation. Rost (1990) further argues that listening involves background knowledge and listener-specific variables as meaning is constructed within the listener's background and in relation to the listener's purpose. What is more, the listening input is characterized by such features as speech rate, accent, elision, the placement of stress and intonation, redundancy and hesitation, which are unique to listening and different from one language to another (Buck, 2001).

Graham's research (2006) is one of the few that looked at learners' beliefs about listening providing some useful evidence with regards to a) how learners perceive themselves as listeners and to what they attribute their success or lack of it and b) the strategies they were aware of employing when listening. She concluded that many students tend to hold the belief that they are simply not good at listening. The main difficulties identified are coping with

speed of delivery of texts, making out individual words in a stream of spoken language and making sense of any words that have been identified or understood. Furthermore, most learners attribute their difficulties in listening to their supposed low ability in the skill and to the difficulty of the listening tasks and texts. When it comes to strategy use, learners display little insight into what strategies might be appropriate for listening. In general, they express doubts that the problem of task difficulty can be tackled by appropriate listening strategies.

Other research into the testing of listening has mainly focused on the investigation of specific text and task characteristics that may affect difficulty (Brindley & Slatyer, 2002; Freedle & Fellbaum, 1987; Freedle & Kostin, 1999; Jensen, Hansen, Green & Akey, 1997; Nissan, DeVincenzi & Tang, 1996; Shohamy & Inbar, 1991). These studies have highlighted features of task and text that might influence test takers' performance in listening tests. Freedle and Fellbaum (1987) (cited in Yanagawa & Green, 2008, p. 112) found that item difficulty was influenced by the relationship between the text and the answer options. Test items could be made more difficult by increasing the number of lexical repetitions among the incorrect options and by decreasing the number of lexical repetitions among the correct options. Items could also be made more difficult if more lexical inferences were added to the incorrect response options.

Nissan et al. (1996) investigated listening test items taken from 15 TOEFL tests administered before 1996. The study identified five significant predictor variables affecting the difficulty of dialogue test items. These were inference question, utterance pattern, negatives in the text, speaker's role and infrequent vocabulary. In a follow-up to Nissan et al. (1996), Freedle and Kostin (1999) examined the effect of the multiple-choice listening task-type on test difficulty in the TOEFL examination. Among other things, they found that the two most important determinants of difficulty were the location of the necessary information and the degree of lexical overlap. Therefore, when the necessary information came near the beginning of the text or when it was repeated, the item tended to be easier. Similarly, lexical overlap between the text and the correct option was found to be the best predictor of easy items whereas lexical overlap between the text and the incorrect options was the best predictor of difficult items presumably because test-takers tend to select options which contain words they recognize from the passage.

Moreover, Shohamy and Inbar (1991) looked at the effect of three types of questions a) global questions which required test-takers to synthesize information or draw conclusions, b) local questions which required test-takers to locate details or understand individual words, and c) trivial questions which required test-takers to understand precise but irrelevant details not related to the main topic. They found that the global questions were

harder than the local questions but the trivial questions behaved in an unpredictable manner and “served no meaningful purpose in an evaluation tool” (Shohamy & Inbar, 1991, p. 37). Therefore, this research suggests that questions need to focus on key information in the text, not on irrelevant detail.

Another important study on item difficulty was carried out by Jensen et al. (1997) (cited in Brindley & Slatyer, 2002, p. 387). Jensen et al. investigated the effects of text and item characteristics on item difficulty in an English for Academic Purposes listening test. What they discovered was a significant correlation between type of response and length of text; as the length of the text decreased, items requiring a verbatim response – as opposed to a nonverbatim response – became easier.

Furthermore, Brindley and Slatyer (2002) investigated item difficulty in the context of the Certificates in Spoken and Written English (CSWE) assessment system in Australia. They looked into the effect of three structural components of listening assessment tasks on difficulty, namely, the necessary information, the surrounding text and the stem (i.e., item question). Their study suggested that there is a complex interaction between these different components of the task. As a result, particular combinations of item characteristics appear either to accentuate or attenuate the effect on difficulty. For example, they found that an easy, high frequency, one-word response item may become more difficult by the complex syntax of the stem, the weak match with the cue and a long retention time (Brindley & Slatyer, 2002, p. 387).

The above investigations discuss difficulty in terms of specific text and item characteristics. However, in terms of exploring language test performance, we would ideally want to see whether these or other characteristics are also related to what test takers perceive as difficult in a test. In this way, we would be able to determine what it is that causes difficulty to the candidates. The present study is directed towards the above aim by taking into consideration candidates’ perspective on task and text difficulty so as to more fully investigate this phenomenon. The following section turns into the context of this study addressing the data collection and research procedure.

3 Method

3.1 Context and Participants

The data presented in this study was collected from the listening comprehension exam papers administered by the Greek State Certificate of English Language Proficiency,

nationally and internationally known as KPG (an acronym for the Greek title *Kratiko Pistopiitiko Glossomathias*).

The KPG is a high-stakes exam in Greece and as such it can influence one's future prospects for employment and education. It is especially designed for Greek users of the English language and takes into account the social circumstances for its use. It is the only language examination battery in Greece that aims to fulfil the communicative, social, vocational and educational needs of people living, working and studying in Greece. It was developed by taking into account the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (2001) respecting that this document provides a common basis for the recognition of qualifications in all member states. Responsibility for administering the exam lies with the Greek Ministry of Education in collaboration with Departments of Foreign Language and Literature of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

The exam in English was first introduced in November 2003 at the B2 level. Since then three more levels have gradually been introduced, namely the C1 level (since April 2005), the B1 level (since May 2007), and the A1/A2 level (in one graded written test since May 2008) on the scale set by the CEFR (2001). For the current study, all data were derived from the B2 level as it has been the level attracting the majority of candidates sitting for the KPG English exam since it was first introduced. The B2 level exam is mainly addressed to learners who are above 15 years of age. Eligible to take these exams are EU citizens and others who are living, studying and/or working in Greece and who have a basic knowledge of Greek.

In terms of the development of the exams, the university English team has produced clear specifications regarding the purpose of the exam, its content and intended audience, number of modules, duration and grading (<http://rcel.enl.uoa.gr>) (www.kpg.minedu.gov.gr). The English language exam consists of four modules each aiming at the assessment of one of the four language skills: Module 1 is entitled *Reading comprehension and language awareness*, Module 2 is entitled *Writing and written mediation*, Module 3 constitutes the *Listening comprehension* test paper and Module 4 is the *Speaking and spoken mediation* test paper (KPG Common Test Specifications, 2007).

The B2 level listening test paper (Module 3) is a 20-minute test. It consists of three to four activities and a total number of 20 test items. The item format includes multiple-choice questions with three options and short answers. The listening activities in general aim at assessing comprehension of the gist of the text, specific ideas in the whole text and in parts of it, what is directly stated or implied and what certain words or expressions mean in the specific context. The listening stimuli at this level are either authentic texts (recorded live,

from the radio, from CDs, or from the Internet) or simulated situations recorded in a studio. Texts are usually heard twice at normal speed and pace. The pronunciation is generally that of natural speakers of English using a standard variety of the target language and clearly articulated sounds. Text types include narrations, radio/TV programmes, news, advertisements, announcements, interviews and everyday conversations. Before listening to the texts, candidates are always given time to read the relevant test questions (KPG B2 test specifications, 2007).

3.2 Data

Data were made available to me through the Research Centre for English Language Teaching, Testing and Assessment (RCEL). RCEL is a unit of the Faculty of English Studies, University of Athens, which, among other things, is responsible for the development of the KPG exams in English. The KPG exam data analysed for the purposes of the present study were collected using two main methodological tools, namely classical item analysis using Item Response Theory (IRT) and feedback questionnaires especially designed for candidates who have sat for the KPG listening test at the B2 level.

Item analysis: In order to determine the degree of exam difficulty, the KPG test development team carries out systematic analysis of the test items after each administration as a means to ensure test validity and consistency.

Item analysis is conducted through specialized software called ITEMAN. ITEMAN is simple in its operation: the user (usually a statistician who works for the RCEL) enters specific examination data from each administration (i.e., exam level, candidates ID, and candidates' responses to test items) and the programme provides automatically, through complex mathematical procedures, the following information: a) internal consistency or reliability of the exam (utilizing Cronbach Alpha), b) index of difficulty (i.e., a value showing the proportion of candidates answering an item correctly), c) discrimination efficiency (i.e., a value showing how well an item succeeds in distinguishing highly competent from less competent candidates) and d) distractor analysis (i.e., the frequency with which each option of a particular test question is chosen).

In terms of item difficulty, the test development team identified as normal values of difficulty for a test item a range between 0.40 and 0.80. This means that any test item that the item analysis shows to have an index of difficulty above 0.80 or below 0.40 is considered to be too easy or too difficult respectively for the exam level. Thus, further analysis is required to determine what makes the specific test item unacceptable for the exam level.

Candidate feedback questionnaires: Since 2004, candidate feedback questionnaires have randomly been distributed to a number of exam centres all over Greece after administering each examination. Their content refers to the reading, writing and listening comprehension test papers of the KPG English exam. Candidates are requested, among other things, to evaluate the level of difficulty of each of these tests. The questionnaires, which are in the form of Likert scales, are provided in the candidates' first language (i.e. Greek).

The questions focusing on the listening comprehension test paper (see Appendix A) aimed at providing information with regards to candidates' perceptions of task and text difficulty in the tests. In particular, candidates were requested to provide feedback on the difficulty level of certain aspects of the listening task and text. With regards to the aspects of the listening task, candidates were asked to rate the level of difficulty of the rubrics included for each activity as well as decide whether it was the stem of the multiple choice test items or the options provided (i.e., the distractors) that caused greater difficulty for them.

The majority of the questions, however, focused on the evaluation of the exam listening stimuli and of certain text difficulty variables as it was not possible to obtain such information from item analysis. More specifically, candidates were requested to rate the level of difficulty of linguistic factors (i.e., lexical difficulty), paralinguistic factors (i.e., speaker accent and rate of speech), cognitive factors (i.e., topic unfamiliarity and lack of background knowledge)⁴ and other affective factors (i.e., lack of topic interest and anxiety).

Another reason why the majority of the questions included in the feedback questionnaires focused on the evaluation of text difficulty variables rather than on the characteristics of the listening tasks is that during the pilot phases, when the questionnaires were still at the stage of design, it proved pointless to ask candidates to provide feedback on specific task-related features (i.e., length of question, information organisation, syntactical organisation, lexical overlap, lexical difficulty and inference) that they could hardly recognize in the items or remember after the end of the test.

In the present section, the two basic methodological tools used in my study, i.e., item analysis research and candidate feedback questionnaires were introduced and fully described. I will now proceed with the actual research procedure which, as it will be shown below, was carried out in three phases.

⁴ The identification of background knowledge as a cognitive type variable follows Purpura's (1999) conclusion that linking new information with prior knowledge constitutes a cognitive process-type variable representing the storing or memory processes in human information processing.

3.3 Procedure

In the context of the present study, data were collected from six B2 level KPG listening comprehension tests and analysed. These were derived from the examination periods of May 2006, November 2006, May 2007, November 2007, May 2008 and May 2009.

The research procedure involved three steps. The first step concerned the examination of the data derived from item analysis. More specifically, the items that item analysis showed to have demonstrated unacceptable values of difficulty, that is, either above 0.80 or below 0.40, were selected and separated from the effective ones as they were considered to be too easy or too difficult respectively for the exam level. The two categories of 'problematic' test items (i.e., too easy and too difficult) from each examination period were further examined so that conclusions could be drawn as to what features rendered each item difficult or easy for the specific group of candidates. Part of this analysis also involved examination of the incorrect answers (i.e., distractors) included in a particular 'problematic' test question. Alderson, Clapham and Wall (1995) have investigated the role of the distractors in multiple choice test items and found that a low discrimination index can often be explained by the performance of one or more distractors. In the present study the role of the distractors in the 'problematic' test items was examined with the purpose of finding some interaction between item difficulty and distractor performance.

This investigation was complemented with a systematic examination of the texts from which the tasks originated in an attempt to find the relationship between text variables and item difficulty. The analysis concerned linguistic features of the text and especially lexical appropriacy to exam level, information structure, information density, and paralinguistic features (i.e., accent, speech rate, background noise and number of speakers involved) that can have an impact on the level of difficulty of the relevant test items.

As a second step, the analysis of the candidate feedback questionnaires followed. A total number of 6,000 questionnaires corresponding to the aforementioned examination periods were analysed. The following table presents the exact number of B2 level questionnaires analysed from each of the six examination periods:

TABLE 1: B2 level candidate questionnaires

Examination Period	Number of candidate feedback questionnaires
May 2006	B2 level ► 500 questionnaires
November 2006	B2 level ► 494 questionnaires
May 2007	B2 level ► 1000 questionnaires
November 2007	B2 level ► 750 questionnaires
May 2008	B2 level ► 750 questionnaires
May 2009	B2 level ► 2505 questionnaires

The last step involved the comparative analysis that yielded the results of the present study. Therefore, a comparison was drawn between the test items showing an index of difficulty higher than expected (i.e., dif. index < 0.40) based on the results of item analysis and candidates' evaluations of certain task and text difficulty variables showing high percentages of difficulty (i.e., above 50%) as indicated by the analysis of the feedback questionnaires. In other words, with reference to the same listening tests, the most difficult (or easy) test items, as displayed by item analysis, were selected to be compared with specific task and text characteristics that were rated as very difficult (or too easy) by more than 50% of the respondents in the questionnaires. The ultimate purpose was to provide findings in terms of whether candidates' perceptions of listening task and text difficulty were consistent with the data derived from item response analysis.

In the following two sections, I will present and interpret the results derived from the third phase of the research process, i.e., the comparative analysis, while in Section 6 the conclusions along with the implications and possible limitations of the current study will be discussed.

3.4 Presentation of Results

Lack of space makes it impossible to present, describe and comment on the findings derived from the analysis of 6,000 candidate feedback questionnaires corresponding to the six KPG listening tests selected in the context of the current research. As a result, I am going to focus

on the results elicited from the investigation of the KPG listening tests administered in May and November 2006 and May 2008, in which a total number of 1,744 candidate feedback questionnaires was collected and analysed (see Table 1 above). The selection of the particular administrations is attributed mainly to two reasons: a) because, based on item analysis, the particular test papers involve a significant number of 'problematic' test items (i.e., either too easy or too difficult) and b) because the analysis of the relevant questionnaires has also shown candidates to face great difficulty with specific text characteristics (see Appendix B, tables 2a-4b).

Regarding data organisation, two tables are provided for each exam period: one illustrating the 'problematic' listening test items with their corresponding difficulty indices (see Appendix B, tables 2a, 3a and 4a) and the other showing candidates' evaluations of specific text characteristics in terms of level of difficulty (see Appendix B, tables 2b, 3b, 4b). Each pair of tables is designed to be read comparatively and contrastively. For this reason, data are categorised in terms of the listening activities they refer to as well as in terms of the oral texts they are associated with. Additionally, correlations between item analysis data and questionnaire results are highlighted so as to be more easily identified by readers. Going through the questionnaire analysis tables (see Appendix B, tables 2b, 3b and 4b), the reader should bear in mind that the numbers do not equal 100%. This is because some respondents did not answer all the questions provided. The 'no answer' parameter was taken into consideration in the analysis but it has been excluded from the tables of this paper to achieve a more accurate illustration of candidates' responses to each question.

Results from each pair of tables (see Appendix B, tables 2a and 2b, 3a and 3b, 4a and 4b) reveal that the respondents' rating of the difficulty level of the oral texts in terms of lexical difficulty, background knowledge and topic interest correlates with the difficulty values indicated by item analysis with reference to the same texts (see for example Appendix B, tables 2a and 2b). As it is evident, the difficult test items for each oral text demonstrate the same hierarchical order of difficulty as candidates' rating of the oral texts in terms of lexical difficulty: *South France* (53%), followed by the *Movie extract* text (52.6%), followed by the texts *Language Museum* (48.2%) and *Radio News* (43.4%) respectively.

This finding leads to the conclusion that candidates' performance in listening can actually be influenced by the level of difficulty they attach to the oral texts accompanying the test items. In particular, specific text-related factors of difficulty (i.e., lexical difficulty), or cognitive (i.e., lack of background knowledge) and affective attributes (i.e., lack of topic interest) can predispose the candidates negatively towards the test items, thus leading to unsuccessful performance. The obvious question arises as to whether the extent to which these difficulty

variables can have an impact on candidates' performance in listening tests. Further research seems to be needed to examine this.

An exception to the above finding has been the oral text *Robinson Crusoe* used in the November 2006 listening test (see Appendix B, tables 3a and 3b). Thus, although the questionnaire results reveal that 70.8% of the respondents consider the text to be particularly demanding due to lexical difficulty (60.8%) and topic unfamiliarity (59.7%), item analysis indicates that only two items (i.e., item 12 and 20) out of the ten addressing the particular text caused great difficulty to the candidates. The paradox in this finding lies with the fact that a great number of respondents (59.7%) are found to be unfamiliar with the story of Robinson Crusoe. Indeed, it was really unexpected that neither the younger nor the older candidates who have sat for the exam have heard this story before.

A similar conclusion can be drawn as regards the respondents' perceived lack of background knowledge in terms of the oral text *Aesop's fable* (see Appendix B, table 4b). Provided that this text originates from the Greek culture, it seems awkward that 54% of the respondents claim to have little background knowledge about the text. However, this finding is shown to be consistent with item difficulty (see Appendix B, table 4a). Based on my examination of the salient characteristics of the particular text, the use of low frequency vocabulary (*greed, envy, vices etc.*) not only confirms the high percentages of lexical difficulty (58.3%) as it is evident in Table 4b (see Appendix B) but also seems to partly account for the consistency with item difficulty.

Comparing the results from tables 4a and 4b (see Appendix B), another case of inconsistency between item difficulty and text difficulty is noted. While the text USA's *Multilingualism* used in activity 2 is considered difficult by a great number of respondents, item analysis indicates the exact opposite, namely, that candidates did not face any particular difficulty in responding correctly. Here, the respondents' perceptions of text difficulty are mainly attributed to speaker's accent (66.3%), lexical difficulty (54.8%) and lack of interest in the topic (60.5%).

In terms of text interest, the finding can be justified by the specialized topic of the text (i.e., USA's multilingualism), which seems to address the interests, knowledge and experiences of a specific group of candidates (i.e., older, educated candidates). In addition, the specialized topic can partly explain why the respondents have rated the text so high in terms of lexical difficulty (54.8%). However, the inconsistency of these findings with the item analysis data from Table 4a (see Appendix B) implies that the candidates have probably found the test items associated with this text less difficult.

Regarding speaker's accent, the inconsistency with item difficulty can generally be explained by the high percentages of difficulty evident in Table 4b (see Appendix B) in terms of the other texts as well (*Brief oral messages* – 60.6%, *USA's multilingualism* – 66.3% and *Aesop's fable* – 70.8%). It can therefore be assumed that the candidates tend to face difficulties in understanding oral speech probably because they are not as familiar with authentic spoken language as it was expected. This can be explained by taking into consideration the fact that L2 learners are rarely exposed to authentic listening situations in the learning classroom whereas the KPG listening test is designed mainly on the basis of authentic or semi-authentic material.

On the other hand, the low number of difficult test items in Table 4a (see Appendix B) suggests that candidates are not as influenced as they believe by their inadequacy to understand everything they are listening to. This finding supports Rost's (1990) view that second language learners cannot keep up with the language when it is spoken in normal speed and they feel that if they had more time to think about what they are hearing, they would have much less trouble understanding.

Another interesting finding that deserves our attention concerns the role of anxiety in listening comprehension performance. As results from Tables 2b and 3b (see Appendix B) show, the respondents' levels of anxiety are raised according to the difficulty level of the oral texts. Most importantly, consistency is observed between this finding and the results derived from item analysis (see Appendix B, tables 2a, 2b and 3a, 3b) (the only exception being the text *Robinson Crusoe*). This can lead to the assumption that anxiety is likely to influence candidates' performance. Though feelings of anxiety are more or less expected in testing situations, the correlation of candidates' levels of anxiety with text difficulty and item difficulty needs further exploration.

4 Discussion

The main finding of this study is that there is a correlation between item difficulty and candidates' perceptions of text difficulty. In particular, candidates' rating of text difficulty in terms of vocabulary use, background knowledge and topic interest has demonstrated the same hierarchical order of difficulty with the test items displaying unacceptable values of difficulty. Such results seem to suggest that candidates' responses to the test items are influenced by their perceptions of text-related difficulties. This conclusion has important implications for the development of listening comprehension tests as it provides useful insights into the factors underlying candidate performance. Determining what it is that

causes difficulty to candidates in responding, will prove useful for item writers to design valid and reliable listening comprehension tests.

Important conclusions are also drawn from the examination of the cases of data inconsistency revealed in the study. The first finding concerns the paradox that high percentages of respondents are shown to claim lack of background knowledge with texts they are expected to be familiar with (the cases of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Aesop's fable* presented in the previous section). This discrepancy seems to provide support to Vandergrift's (2006) conclusion that L2 learners are either unable to transfer inferencing ability from the L1 drawing on nonlinguistic knowledge resources (e.g., world knowledge) or unaware that they are actually doing it. In the *Robinson Crusoe* text, the fact that the high rates of lexical difficulty are found to be inconsistent with item difficulty may imply that the candidates actually made use of their background knowledge to compensate for their lack of linguistic resources (i.e., vocabulary knowledge) without being aware of it.

Obviously, this finding has clear implications for L2 pedagogy. It suggests that learners may benefit from strategy instruction when responding to listening activities. Relevant research on strategy use and language test performance has shown that L2 listeners need to learn to become more reliant on guessing from contextual or prior knowledge in order to compensate for difficulties with processing oral input (Olsen & Huckin, 1990; O'Malley, Chamot & Küpper, 1989; Tsui & Fullilove, 1998). Similar studies of strategy use by L2 learners have indicated that high proficient learners are more successful listeners than low proficient learners because they tend to make connections between what they listen to and what they already know. In contrast, the less proficient learners consistently rely on words, spelling and pronunciation (Bacon, 1992a, 1992b; Murphy, 1985) (cited in Seo, 2005, pp. 64-65). It is, therefore, implied that language teachers will be able to enhance their learners' L2 listening skills if they encourage them to activate strategies related to the use of their prior knowledge (i.e., inferencing, elaborating, etc.).

Inconsistency is also found in candidates' perceptions of speaker's accent as a factor of difficulty in the oral texts, while item analysis indicates the exact opposite, namely, that they performed successfully. Provided that the phonological features of the English language are remarkably different from the Greek language, this inconsistency is to some extent justified. However, as the data reveal, test performance is not influenced to the extent candidates believe. This finding seems to support several views found in the literature that listening comprehension is very difficult for L2 learners due to distinctive features (i.e., speech rate, accent, elision, the placement of stress and intonation, redundancy and hesitation) that are not found in any of the other language skills (Anderson & Lynch, 1988; Buck, 1991, 1992,

2001; Flowerdew, 1994; Lund, 1991; Rost, 1990, 2002; Ur, 1984). Again important implications are drawn for foreign language teaching and the way listening is taught in the EFL classroom. Clearly, L2 learners should be given more opportunities for exposure to authentic listening situations where the foreign language is spoken naturally.

Finally, the study provides interesting findings regarding the role of anxiety in test performance. Namely, it demonstrates that candidates' levels of anxiety correlate both with text difficulty and item difficulty. Thus, it can be assumed that anxiety may have had an effect on their performance. This conclusion certainly deserves our attention: while it seems natural for candidates to feel anxious in a testing situation, this anxiety must not in any way impede them from responding correctly. This would constitute a threat towards the validity and reliability of the test. There are also implications for pedagogy: the fact that candidates get so anxious during the listening test procedure suggests that they probably feel insecure about their listening abilities. Moreover, it seems necessary that they are provided with more practice in employing test-taking strategies for overcoming any test difficulties.

5 Conclusion

Data were derived from two different sources, namely item analysis and questionnaire analysis. What I actually discovered is that text difficulty in terms of vocabulary use, topic familiarity and topic interest can have an effect on candidate performance. However, background knowledge as a variable of difficulty behaved in a rather unpredictable manner. Thus, a great number of respondents claimed lack of background knowledge with texts whose topics were expected to be generally known to Greek candidates. Obviously, further research is necessary to examine this inconsistency. Moreover, the respondents' perceptions of speaker's accent as a factor of text difficulty were not confirmed by the item analysis data. The authentic or semi-authentic texts used in the KPG listening exam seems to partly account for this inconsistency, given the fact that Greek learners have limited opportunities for authentic listening practice in the learning classroom. Finally, text anxiety was found to influence text difficulty and item difficulty, a finding that certainly deserves further attention.

Unlike previous research focusing on listening comprehension difficulty by analysing either test items or candidate questionnaires, the originality of the present study lies in the fact that it combines the two research methods to achieve its aims. However, lack of evidence in terms of the effect of specific task difficulty variables on candidate performance should be regarded as a limitation of the present study. Further research could build on the current study and look at the influence of those factors on listening comprehension performance.

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APPENDIX A

The set of questions about listening comprehension as extracted from the questionnaires⁵

Please answer the following questions by putting a tick ✓

1. I found the oral texts:	VERY DIFFICULT	DIFFICULT	EASY	VERY EASY
a. Text A (<i>title of the oral text</i>)				
b. Text B				
c. Text C				
d. Text D				

2. I found the vocabulary in the oral texts:	VERY DIFFICULT	DIFFICULT	EASY	VERY EASY
a. Text A (<i>title of the oral text</i>)				
b. Text B				
c. Text C				
d. Text D				

3. I found the speaker's accent in the oral texts:	VERY DIFFICULT	DIFFICULT	EASY	VERY EASY
a. Text A (<i>title of the oral text</i>)				
b. Text B				
c. Text C				
d. Text D				

4. I was anxious while listening to the oral texts:	VERY MUCH	MUCH	LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
a. Text A (<i>title of the oral text</i>)				
b. Text B				
c. Text C				
d. Text D				

5. I liked the topic of the oral texts:	VERY MUCH	MUCH	LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
a. Text A (<i>title of the oral text</i>)				
b. Text B				
c. Text C				
d. Text D				

6. I was familiar with the topic of the oral texts:	VERY MUCH	MUCH	LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
a. Text A (<i>title of the oral text</i>)				
b. Text B				
c. Text C				
d. Text D				

⁵ The questions were in the form of Likert scales. They were originally provided in the candidates' first language (e.g. Greek) and were translated into English by the researcher for the purposes of the present paper.

7. The quality of sound in the oral texts influenced my understanding:	VERY MUCH	MUCH	LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
a. Text A (<i>title of the oral text</i>)				
b. Text B				
c. Text C				
d. Text D				

APPENDIX B

Correlation results⁶

TABLE 2a: May 2006 item analysis data (Total number of test items: 25)

PROBLEMATIC TEST ITEMS							
Activity 1 – 6 M/C test items (Radio News)		Activity 2 – 7 M/C test items (Language Museum)		Activity 3 – 6 T/F/NS test items (South France)		Activity 4 – 5 Short answers (Movie extract)	
Item 1	0.24	Item 10	0.29	Item 16	~0.30	Item 21	<0.20 (too difficult)
Item 5	~ 0.30	Item 11	0.27	Item 17	<0.40	Item 22	0.25
		Item 13	0.29	Item 18	0.22	Item 23	<0.20 (too difficult)
				Item 19	0.28		
				Item 20	0.29		

TABLE 2b: May 2006 Questionnaire analysis data [frequency]

	Radio News (Activity 1)		Language Museum (Activity 2)		South France (Activity 3)		Movie extract (Activity 4)	
	Very Difficult / Very Much	Very Easy/ Little	Very Difficult / Very Much	Very Easy/ Little	Very Difficult / Very Much	Very Easy/ Little	Very Difficult / Very Much	Very Easy/ Little
Text Difficulty	53.2%	37%	56%	34.6%	60%	29.8%	68.4%	21.4%
Text Lexical Difficulty	43.4%	45.4%	48.2%	42%	53%	36.6%	52.6%	36.6%
Background Knowledge	41.8%	47.8%	36.6%	53.2%	34.2%	55.2%	33.2%	56.4%
Topic Interest	42.4%	46.8%	45.6%	43%	38%	51%	31%	56.4%
Text Anxiety	34.9%	44.8%	44.4%	44.8%	50.8%	39.2%	58.4%	31.2%

⁶ The following tables (2a-4b) present the item analysis data and the questionnaire analysis results elicited from the examination periods of May and November 2006 and May 2008.

Overall Task Difficulty	Very Difficult	53.4%	Very Easy	23%
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N=500

TABLE 3a: November 2006 item analysis data (Total number of test items: 25)

PROBLEMATIC TEST ITEMS							
Activity 1 – 6 M/C test items (TV/Radio News)		Activity 2 – 4 M/C test items (Interview with Grace Kelly)		Activity 3 – 4 M/C & 6 T/F/NS test items (Robinson Crusoe)		Activity 4 – 5 Short answers (Notting Hill)	
Item 1	0.88 (too easy)	Item 7	0.82 (too easy)	Item 12	0.30	Item 22	~0.30
Item 5	0.33	Item 8	0.85 (too easy)	Item 15	>0.80 (too easy)	Item 23	~0.30
Item 6	0.37	Item 10	0.31	Item 20	~0.30	Item 24	~0.10 (too difficult)

TABLE 3b: November 2006 Questionnaire analysis data [frequency]

	TV/Radio News (Activity 1)		Interview with Grace Kelly (Activity 2)		Robinson Crusoe (Activity 3)		Notting Hill (Activity 4)	
	Very Difficult / Very Much	Very Easy/Little	Very Difficult / Very Much	Very Easy/Little	Very Difficult / Very Much	Very Easy/Little	Very Difficult/Very Much	Very Easy/Little
Text Difficulty	49.2%	45.8%	49.8%	44.6%	70.8%	24.7%	80.3%	14.8%
Text Lexical Difficulty	24.5%	49.4%	43.1%	50.6%	60.8%	33.8%	66.2%	27.5%
Background Knowledge	39.4%	55.4%	37.7%	56.7%	34%	59.7%	24.5%	68.6%
Topic Interest	50.6%	44.6%	52.4%	42.1%	46.7%	47.8%	31.6%	61.7%
Text Anxiety	44.9%	49.6%	46.7%	47.5%	56.9%	37.7%	68.3%	26.9%
Overall Task Difficulty	Very Difficult		64.4%		Very Easy		25.7%	

N=494

TABLE 4a: May 2008 item analysis data (Number of test items: 20)

PROBLEMATIC TEST ITEMS		
Activity 1 – 6 M/C test	Activity 2 – 9 M/C test	Activity 3 – 5 Short answers

items (Brief oral messages)		items (USA's multilingualism)		(Aesop's fable)	
Item 1	0.39	Item 8	~0.85 (too easy)	Item 16	<0.20 (too difficult)
Item 2	0.27 (too difficult)	Item 15	0.26 (too difficult)	Item 17	<0.30
				Item 18	<0.40

TABLE 4b: May 2008 Questionnaire analysis data [frequency]

	Brief oral messages (Activity 1)		USA's multilingualism (Activity 2)		Aesop's fable Activity 3	
	Very Difficult/ Very Much	Very Easy/ Little	Very Difficult/ Very Much	Very Easy/ Little	Very Difficult/ Very Much	Very Easy/ Little
Speaker's accent	60.6%	37.1%	66.3%	31.2%	70.8%	26.4%
Text Lexical Difficulty	53.3%	44.1%	54.8%	42.9%	58.3%	39.3%
Background Knowledge	47.7%	49.9%	45.3%	52.4%	43.7%	54%
Topic Interest	44.2%	52.8%	36.5%	60.5%	37.8%	59.2%
Sound Quality	58.4%	39.5%	58.8%	38.7%	61.2%	36.4%
Overall Test Difficulty	Very Difficult	74.5%		Very Easy	23.5%	

N= 750

**Following the Path from ‘*follow*’ to ‘*according to*’.
Interpreting Layering of Functions of Italian
secondo, *segundo* and *a seconda di* as Clues to
the Grammaticalisation of Latin *sequor* via
secundum.**

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Abstract

The existence of a grammaticalisation path of the type FOLLOW > ACCORDING TO has been noted in the literature, but has not been investigated in detail yet. The evolution of the Italian preposition *secondo* ‘following’, ‘according to’ ‘depending on’ tracing back to the Latin *sequor* ‘follow’ (via the preposition/adverbial *secundum*), is analysed in this light, relying on data from *The Latin Library* corpus for Early and Classical Latin and the *LIZ* and *CORIS* corpora for Old and Contemporary Italian, respectively, as well as information gathered from grammars and dictionaries. The discussion, restricted to the construction *secondo NP* and the related constructions *segundo NP* and *a seconda (di/che) NP/S*, covers the semantic and syntactic levels, as they are both involved in the grammaticalisation process. In particular, the syntactic analysis highlights the typical phenomenon of ‘decategorialisation’ and the semantic analysis points out the role of the ‘intermediate’ meaning of functional dependency (co-variation and conformity) in the semantic development of the forms under analysis, according to phenomena of ‘desemanticisation’ and ‘extension’. Finally, the analysis also benefits from the contribution that cross-linguistic data can bring to the identification of paths of development when monolingual data only show layering of functions.

1 Introduction⁷

While pointing out the existence of a grammaticalisation path of the type FOLLOW > ACCORDING TO with reference to Latin (1) and Swahili (2), Heine & Kuteva (2002, p. 139) observe that “more research is required on the exact nature and the genetic and areal distribution of the process”.

(1) Latin

Sequi ‘follow’, *secundus* ‘following’ (gerund, de-verbal adjective) > preposition *secundum* ‘along’, ‘(immediately) after’, ‘according to’, ‘for (the benefit of)’ (Kühner & Holzweissig [1912] 1966, p. 935, quoted in Heine & Kuteva, *ibid.*)

(2) Swahili

Ku-fuatana na ‘to follow each other’ > *kufuatana na* ‘following, according to’.

(Heine & Kuteva *ibid.*)

To my knowledge, the process has not been studied in detail as yet, one exception being the cognitive linguistics account of the semantic change of Latin *secundus* by Matos Rocha (1998).

In light of this, researching the relationship between Italian *seguendo* ‘following’ (3),⁸ *secondo* ‘according to’ (4) and *a seconda di* ‘depending on’ (5), ultimately tracing back to Latin *sequor* ‘follow’ (Cortelazzo Zolli, 1999) is likely to add to the understanding of the grammaticalisation path suggested by Heine & Kuteva.

- (3) a. *il motorino rosso procede seguendo la macchina blu*
the moped red moves.along following the car blue
‘the red moped moves along following the blue car’
- b. *il mobile deve essere montato seguendo le istruzioni*
the piece.of.furniture must be mounted following the instructions

⁷ Many thanks to Anna Siewierska (Lancaster University), Willem Hollmann (Lancaster University) and two anonymous reviewers for helpful criticism and suggestions. My thanks also go to Steve Disney (University College of St. Mark and St. John, Plymouth) for his constant support and continuous intellectual stimulation. All mistakes are to be considered entirely mine.

⁸ All examples are constructed unless specified.

- (4) a.⁹ ? *il pullman avanza secondo il canale*
the coach moves.forward along the canal
- b. *il tribunale giudica secondo la legge*
the court judges according.to the law
- c. *la giuria premia secondo i meriti*
the panel awards.prizes in.proportion.to the merits
- (5) a. *Giulia è loquace o silenziosa a seconda dell' umore*
Julia is talkative or quiet depending on.the mood

Whereas *seguendo* takes only an NP complement (its direct object), *secondo* and *a seconda* enter a variety of constructions. *Secondo* can take both a nominal complement and a sentential complement headed by the complementiser *che* 'that' or by the demonstrative-relative 'double' pronouns¹⁰ (Serianni, 1989, p. 320). Similarly, also *a seconda di* enters two constructions, taking either a nominal complement or a sentential complement headed by pronouns/adjectives¹¹ or the complementiser *come* 'how'. Furthermore, the construction *a seconda di* is related both to the construction *a seconda che*, followed by a sentence, and to the adverbial *a seconda*. Mainly for reasons of space, this paper focuses mainly on the constructions *secondo NP* and *a seconda (di/che NP/S)*. For similar reasons, only the Latin

⁹ An anonymous reviewer points out that this use is not fully acceptable. However, similar examples have been found:

- (i) *viaggiare secondo la strada che impone la gravità*
Travel.INF along the road that imposes the gravity
'to travel along the road imposed by gravity'
(www.youtube.com/video/Uw2ImIGN7IU, accessed Feb. 3rd 2011)
- (ii) *Fiat: Quagliano, procede secondo la strada tracciata*
Fiat Quagliano moves.forward along the road laid.out
'Fiat: Quagliano, (he/she/it) moves.forward along the road layout'
(headline, <http://www.milanofinanza.it/news/>, accessed Feb. 3rd 2011)

An empirical investigation of this construction's degree of acceptability, e.g. with experimental techniques such as Magnitude Estimation of Acceptability (Bard et al., 1996) would allow one to ascertain how marginal it is in contemporary Italian.

¹⁰ Such pronouns introduce relative clauses which are to be considered expansions of the nominal complement rather than sentential complements themselves.

¹¹ See fn. 3.

construction *secundum NP* is considered, i.e. the (later)¹² construction *secundum quod* followed by a sentence is not analysed here.

The investigation of the gerund and the de-verbal prepositions tracing back to Latin *sequor* 'follow' is carried out by considering three periods corresponding to Early and Classical Latin (II century B.C., first quarter of the I century A.D.), Old Italian (XIII-XIV century) and Contemporary Italian (1980s-1990s). In order to carry out the analysis, information from grammars (Allen & Greenough, 1904; Gildersleeve & Lodge, 1895; Hammond, 1976; Lindsay, 1963; Palmer (undated)); Panhuis, 2006; and dictionaries (Georges Calonghi, 1964; Lewis & Short, 1879; Simpson, 1959) gathered for Early and Classical Latin is checked against the texts in *The Latin Library*¹³. A similar approach is taken to Italian, by comparing data from the *Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli (LIZ)* corpus for XIII-XVI century prose and the *Corpus di riferimento per l'italiano scritto (CORIS)* to information obtained through grammars (Dardano & Trifone, 1985; Renzi, Salvi & Cardinaletti, 1995; Serianni 1989; Serianni, Castelveccchi & Patota, 1997; Tekavčić, 1972) and dictionaries (*GRADIT*, 1999; Treccani, 2008; Volit, 1997; Zingarelli 2011).

As grammaticalisation is a process involving both the semantic and the morpho-syntactic level (Heine 2003, p. 579 among others), this study presents an analysis of the behaviour of *secondo NP*, *sequendo NP* and *a seconda di/che NP/S* along these two axes for Latin (sections 2 and 3), Old Italian (sections 4 and 5) and Modern Italian (section 6). The study is qualitative in nature, although some quantitative observations are also made regarding the development of *a seconda di/che* (section 7).

The analysis suggests that cross-linguistic data and knowledge about similar grammaticalisation chains can help identify paths of development when monolingual data only show layering of functions (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, pp. 124-126) and points out the role played by the 'intermediate' meaning of functional dependency (conformity and co-

¹² An initial consultation of some Medieval Latin texts (e.g. *Regulae Sancta Clarae*, *S. Bonaventura Bagnoregis Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum* etc.) seems to suggest that this construction is widespread in this period. Further investigation into Late and Medieval Latin would be needed in order to prove this hypothesis.

¹³ The Corpus of Early and Classical Latin prose and poetry consists of 2,710,600 words (number of tokens used for creating wordlists in *WordSmith 4*). In the whole corpus, only 272 occurrences of *secundum NP* were found, thus corresponding to a frequency of 100.3 per M words. The Old Italian prose corpus (3,205,175 according to *LIZ*) returned 2,814 items in response to a query for *secondo*. Out of a sample of 322 token, 248 items corresponded to the preposition/conjunction *secondo*, thus allowing me to calculate its frequency in Old Italian at 676.2 per M words. Finally, because of technical limitations of the *CORIS* software, the Contemporary Italian prose corpus (100 M words) allowed me to extract only 300 random occurrences of *secondo* out of a total of 78,783. Out of this sample, only 162 items corresponded to the preposition *secondo*. In response to a separate query for *secondo che S*, only

variation) in semantic change. This is achieved by showing overlaps in meaning between earlier uses and later uses and suggesting a directional path of change.

2 Layering in Latin: Syntactic Observations

The grammaticalisation process leading from the verb *sequor* to the adverb/preposition *secundum* does not seem to be observable in its unfolding by looking at the Latin data available in grammar books, dictionaries and the corpus consulted. In particular, the ‘divergence’ or ‘functional split’ (Heine & Reh, 1984, pp. 57-59; Hopper, 1991, p. 22) between the two forms *sequendum* ‘following’ and *secundum* ‘according to’ is not recorded. Even if there is no clear historical evidence of the grammaticalisation cline FOLLOWING > ACCORDING TO, observing forms belonging to different stages of grammaticalisation that co-exist at a given stage in language can suggest the existence of a pathway of change. Interpreting layering of functions (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 125) can in fact “point to a cline even when no direct documentation exists” since “typical pathways of change identified through cross-linguistic diachronic study can be seen in the synchronic system” (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 109). The presence of cognate forms like Latin *secundum* (adverb, preposition) and *sequendum* (verb) or the Italian *sequendo* (verb), *secondo* (adverb, preposition) and *a seconda di* (preposition) seems to be a case in point. In fact, the “categorical downshifting” (Giacalone Ramat & Hopper, 1998, p. 8) from verb to preposition is considered to be a typical case of grammaticalisation, and is described extensively through a vast number of case studies (see references in Heine & Kuteva, 2002).

As grammaticalisation is a process of language change originating at the semantic level and having repercussions on the form of the expressions involved (see Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer, 1991, p. 27 ff. among others), both the formal and the semantic levels are considered here in order to give a complete representation of the phenomenon. This section focuses on the formal level, presenting some observations relative to the phonology, morphology and syntax of Latin *secundum* (preposition), compared to *sequendum* (verb) and *sequor* ‘follow’ (verb). Particular attention is paid to the clues that might help postulate the existence of a grammaticalisation path of the type V > PREP for Latin *sequor* > *secundum*.

69 instances were found over the whole corpus. These data allowed me to calculate the frequency of *secondo* (NP/S) on CORIS, corresponding to 425.5 per M words.

As mentioned above, the available historical data do not show the moment of functional split between the phase in which *secundum* fulfilled only a predicating function and that in which it came to fulfil a relational function. Data from Old Latin consulted via *The Latin Library* show that both functions are already attested in this phase, thus making it possible to hypothesise that the divergence must have happened in pre-literary Latin (i.e. before the first half of the III century B.C.), when most Latin prepositions are thought to have originated (Hammond, 1976, p. 132). Nevertheless, what follows suggests that the existence of such a functional split can be postulated on the basis of internal and external (i.e. cross-linguistic) grounds.

Internal evidence shows that the gerund is a non-finite form of the verb derived by attaching the suffix **-ndo* to the stem of the present (Vineis, 1998, p. 308) and for this reason it can be considered a later formation. However, by taking a closer look at *secundum*¹⁴ and *sequendum*, it can be noted that they differ in their stems and not in their endings. Out of the two, the former is an older formation and the latter is comparatively more recent. The innovative character of the newer form is shown by its phonetic shape, namely by the thematic vowel *-u* replaced by *-e* “on the analogy of the present participle active” (ib.).

The observations presented so far, however, only allow us to establish a temporal relation of succession between the two forms, which is not equivalent to positing the existence of a grammaticalisation process linking them historically. In this situation, an important role is played by cross-linguistic evidence. On the basis of examples like (6) from Japanese (from Heine & Kuteva, 2007, pp. 71-72), it can be observed that since this type of grammaticalisation path (V > ADP) is attested for other languages of the world, it is not possible to exclude in principle the notion that it might also have operated in Latin (see also Heine & Kuteva, 2007, pp. 82-87).

(6) Japanese

- a. *Taroo wa [kare ni tuite] doko made mo itta*
 Taroo TOP he DAT follow anywhere to even go PST
 ‘Taro went anywhere, following him’
- b. *Taroo wa [sono koto ni tuite] setumee sita*

¹⁴ The relationship between the gerund *secundum* and the gerundive *secundus*, *-a*, *-um* is still quite controversial. In fact, there is a debate on whether “the gerund emerged from the gerundive, or whether the entire functional paradigm of the gerundive developed from original forms of the gerund” (Vineis, 1998, p. 308).

Taroo TOP the matter about (PREP) explain did

'Taro explained about the matter'

Alongside cross-linguistic evidence, other factors internal to Latin syntax suggest the loss of verbal properties characteristic of verbs grammaticalising into prepositions ('decategorialisation'). First of all, it can be noted that the gerund/preposition *secundum* cannot enter the purposive construction ad + gerund/gerundive, whereas *sequendum* can (7).

- (7) *Scipio, ad sequendum/*secundum paratus... equitatum praemisit*
Scipio.M to follow.GER ready-M cavalry sent
'Scipio, ready to pursue (him), sent off the cavalry' (Caesar, De Bello Civili, XXXVIII)

The gerundive *secundum* does not also participate in the passive periphrastic construction (gerundive + *esse* 'be'), where the 'newer' form *sequendum* is attested instead (8).

- (8) *tamen etsi nihil aliud sequendum/*sequendum est,*
yet even though nothing else to.be.followed is
quaerimus quid faciamus
we.wonder what we.do.SUBJV
'yet even though we need think of nothing else, we consider to whom we should do
(the benefits)' (Seneca, De Beneficiis IV, 9)

A similar phenomenon, i.e. the absence of *secundum* from the passive periphrastic construction - having a passive obligative meaning - might, however, be attributed to a different factor rather than grammaticalisation per se. In fact, the "gerundive is a passive adjective that connotes immediate futurity, duty, obligation or necessity" (Hammond, 1976, p. 197), but "occasional gerundives", such as *secundus, -a, -um*, "are active and intransitive in meaning" (ib.). As Vineis notes (1998, p. 308) "the meaning of gerundives was 'involved in the action of ...ing' which clearly accounts for how these participles came to develop also an active use". Therefore in the periphrastic construction where both the gerundive and the gerund have the same form (*secundum*), the contrast in voice between the gerund, which is

usually “a verbal noun with active force” (Hammond, 1976, p.194) and the gerundive, which is a passive adjective, was probably blurred. In the periphrastic construction, thus, another form appeared, *sequendum*¹⁵, possibly emerging in Classical Latin when it is first attested according to *The Latin Library*.¹⁶ Again, no direct evidence of this process is available due to lack of documentation for the period in which these phenomena are thought to have happened. Nevertheless, such a hypothesis is sufficient to suggest that factors other than grammaticalisation per se might have contributed to the characterisation of *secundum* as a preposition, gradually pushing it outside the verbal paradigm of *sequor*. In this specific case, factors that might have facilitated this process relate to the Latin voice system.

Summing up, the absence of *secundum* from both the purposive and the passive periphrastic constructions has been put forward as evidence for decategorialisation. Even if, in the case of the latter, pressure from other mechanisms of language change other than grammaticalisation per se cannot be excluded, the result is still one of decategorialisation that ‘feeds into’ the grammaticalisation process. As *secundum* appears to be phonetically conservative, the following evolution path can be hypothesised.

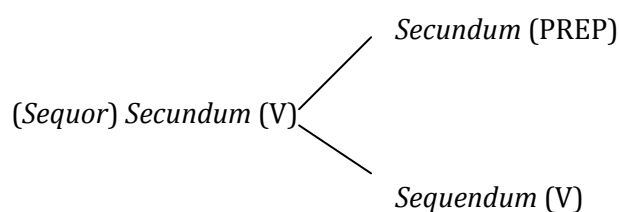


FIGURE 1. FOLLOW > ACCORDING TO in Latin: evolution in form and function.

Finally, frequency consideration within the Early and Classical Latin corpus might lend some support to the grammaticalisation hypothesis. In fact, only 15 instances of *sequendum* (V) vs 272 occurrences of *secundum* (PREP) were retrieved. Despite the fact that the data available do not show an increase in frequency of the grammaticalised form compared to its lexical sources, a clear disproportion in frequency is recorded, which is usually a correlate of grammaticalisation (Bybee, 2003).

¹⁵ It must be noted however that the forms of the gerundive and adjective *secundus*, -a, -um appears to be the only one used in all ages, i.e. there is no form **sequendus*, -a, -um.

¹⁶ In the Early and Classical Latin corpus, only 15 instances of *sequendum* are found, coming from the works of Manilius, Livy, Caesar and Varro.

So far, it has been shown that a grammaticalisation path leading from *sequor* 'follow' to *secundum* 'according to' can be posited in Latin on internal and external grounds, with specific reference to phonological clues and morpho-syntax. However, as was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this section, the grammaticalisation process is thought to have primarily originated via changes at the semantic level.

3 Layering in Latin: Semantic Observations

According to grammaticalisation theory, modifications in the syntactic behaviour are tightly linked to semantic modifications. One well-known pattern of evolution is that by which concrete categories (which include person, object, and process) come to express more abstract categories (including space, time and quality) (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer, 1991, p. 157). Similarly, the so-called 'localist hypothesis' (Anderson, 1971, 1987), states that concrete spatial meanings are interpreted as more basic and central than more abstract, non-spatial meanings, even when the two co-exist in time (layering). One such example is (9), showing that in Old Latin traces of the central meaning of the verb *sequor* 'follow' persist in the adverb¹⁷ *secundum*.

(9)	AMPHITRUO	<i>age</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>secundum</i> ¹⁸
		HORT ?	you	following/after	
		'come on, come after me / come following!'			
	SOSIA	<i>sequor, subsequor</i>		<i>te</i>	
		I.follow, I.follow.right.behind you.			
		'yes, I'll follow, I'll come right after you.'			
		(Plautus, <i>Amphitruo</i> , act II, I, 1-2)			

In addition to the residual meaning of 'following' shown in (9), and the spatial meanings in (10)-(11), already in Latin the preposition *secundum* had a range of meanings that can be thought of as less concrete, i.e. more schematic and abstract ((12)-(16), all examples and translations from Hewitt Key, 1864, pp. 334-335, but (13) from Lewis & Short, 1879):

¹⁷ *Secundum* in (9) can also be interpreted as a PREP if the pronoun *me* 'me' is understood as supplied by context. Thus the status of *secundum* as an adverb or preposition at this stage is not clear, but this is not surprising as many items in various languages show a pattern of polyfunctionality of the type adposition/adverb, and the Latin prepositions are believed to have originated from adverbs (Hammond, 1976, p. 131).

¹⁸ It is clear here that this is an adverb/preposition and not a subject complement, because otherwise it would be *second-us*, agreeing with the subject in gender, number and case.

- (10) 'Along'
Legiones iter secundum mare superum faciunt
 'The legions are marching along the upper sea'
- (11) 'Behind without motion'
Volnus accipit secundum aurem
 'He received a wound behind the ear'
- (12) 'After, of time'
Spem ostendi secundum comitia
 'You hold out a hope of improvement after the elections'
- (13) 'During'
Secundum quietem
 'in the course of a dream'
- (14) 'Second, in order'
Secundum te nihil est mihi amior solitudine
 'Next to you, I have no better friend than solitude'
- (15) 'In accordance with'
Omnia quae secundum naturam fiunt sunt habenda in bonis
 'Everything that happens in accordance with nature is to be reckoned among blessings'
- (16) 'In favour of'
Pontifices secundum eum decreverunt
 'The pontifical college decreed in his favour'

Examples (11) and (12) still belong to the domain of spatial relations, but (12) differs from (11) because the dimension of physical motion typical of the basic semantic scenario of 'following', i.e. 'going behind', is lost. Examples (13) and (14) are a further step removed from the central meaning of 'going behind' because they express a relation in the temporal domain, in line with a general evolution pattern *space > time*. Examples (14)-(16) belong to the logical domain, expressing a relationship of order/hierarchy between two entities (14), a relationship of conformity (15) between a process and an entity and a relation concerning the force-dynamics sphere (Talmy, 1988, 2000), even if Lewis and Short (1879), by suggesting the gloss "according to the will of somebody", seem to relate it directly to the meaning of conformity (16).

Some of these meanings appear to be preserved in Old Italian, while some are lost and new ones appear.

4 *Secondo* in Old Italian: Syntactic Observations

A sample of 132 occurrences of *secondo*¹⁹ NP for Old Italian taken from the *LIZ* corpus (XIII and XIV century prose) has been interpreted with reference to the *GDLI* dictionary, considering both the semantic and the syntactic level.

Regarding the latter, it can be observed that Latin is predominantly²⁰ a prepositional language, thus favouring a construction having the form *secundum NP*. At the same time, word order in Latin is quite free, thus allowing both VO and OV. A similar degree of flexibility is maintained in Old Italian, where both the constructions *O seguendo* (17) and *seguendo O* (18) are found.

(17) *l'ordine quale ancora servano i marinari nel navigare, quel segno seguendo*
the order which still serve the mariners in.the sail.INF that sign following
'the order which sailors still obey today, following that sign'
(Boccaccio, G., *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia*, Canto 4, Esposiz. litterale)

(18) *valicaro seguendo il marchese nel Piemonte*
they.passed following the marquis in.the Piedmont
'they passed [the Alps] following the marquis in Piedmont'
(Villani M. e F., *Cronica*, Libro 10, 43)

Old Italian, thus, still behaves very much like Latin: word-order fixation – one of the features of decategorialisation (Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 106 ff.) – is not a phenomenon emerging in Old Italian but one that has already appeared in Latin *secundum NP* and carried on to Italian *secondo NP*. In Italian the loss of case simply made the original VO relationship linking the former verb – then preposition - and its complement more opaque. However, it must be pointed out that a more general trend towards VO order in Modern Italian seems to blur the effects of word-order fixation in the grammaticalisation process OV/VO > PREP NP.

¹⁹ Further investigation could be carried out using alternative spellings such as *seconno*, *secundo*, *secunno*, *segondo*, *sicondo*.

²⁰ Notable exceptions are forms like *mecum* 'with me', *tecum* 'with you' etc.

Whereas word-order fixation appears to be a weak indicator of decategorialisation for *secondo NP*, a more indicative feature of decategorialisation is the inability of the former verbal expression to take a subject. *Seguendo* can enter constructions of the type *NP₁ seguendo NP₂*, where the two NPs work as the subject (*il conte* ‘the count’) and the object (*suo viaggio* ‘his journey’) of the verb (19).

- (19) *e seguendo²¹ il conte suo viaggio per tornare in Proenza*
 and following the count his journey to come.back to
 Provence
 and going on with his journey to come back to Provence, the count
 (Villani M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 1, 96)

On the other hand, *secondo* enters only in one construction, *V secondo NP*, opening only one nominal slot, corresponding to the object slot of the *segundo* construction. The inability of *secondo* to take a subject can be considered as evidence of the fact that it is no longer a verb, but a preposition.

One further indicator of the fact that *secondo*, as already *secundum*, has lost verbal properties consists in the fact that, unlike *segundo* (20), it cannot be modified by manner adverbials.

- (20) *animosamente seguendo(/*secondo) il consiglio di messer Bonifazio Lupo da Parma*
 bravely following the suggestion of Sir Bonifazio Lupo from Parma
 ‘bravely following Sir B.’s advice’ (Villani M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 11, 2)

Finally, other typical verbal properties, such as the ability to inflect for tense and person and to be passivised do not hold for the gerund, which is a non-finite nominal form of the verb.

5. *Secondo* in Old Italian: Semantic Observations

Leaving the territory of syntax to focus on the semantics of Old Italian *secondo* versus Latin *secundum*, it can be observed that the original meaning of ‘going behind someone/something’ survives only in very limited contexts such as the following example from Dante (21):

- (21) *io sarò primo e tu sarai secondo*
 I will.be first and you will.be second/after/behind
 'I will go first and you will come behind me'
 (Dante, *Commedia*, Inferno, IV, 15)

As the line is pronounced by Vergil, one can legitimately suspect that it is an intentional Latinism²² to characterise the speech of the Latin poet for stylistic purposes, thus not truly reflecting the use of XIV century Florentine. Not only does it seem that the 'going behind' meaning is thus heavily marginalised in Old Italian, but also the 'being behind' meaning and some other more abstract meanings are not attested in the *LIZ* sample, such as the benefactive use 'in favour of'. Instead, the spatial relational meaning '(going, being) along' is still present in Old Italian (22):

- (22) *adonqua secondo questa via trovamo lo cielo montuoso e valloso*
 thus following this way we.find the sky mountainous and
 rich.of.valleys
 'Thus, following this way (or 'along this way', we find a territory rich of mountains and valleys' (Restoro d'Arezzo, *La composizione del mondo*, II, 5.3)

While some meanings that were present in Old Latin disappear and only some are maintained, new meanings emerge, like the limitative use illustrated in (23)-(25).

- (23) *io ti saprò bene secondo donna fare un poco d'onore*
 I you.DAT will.be.able.to (lit. will.know) well within.the.limits.of woman
 of do a bit of honour
 'I will be able to honour you as far as my being a woman allows'
 (Boccaccio, G., *Decameron*, Giornata 2, Novella 5)
- (24) *è fratello della mia cognata secondo la carne, ma sorella in Cristo*
 is brother of.the my sister.in-law within.the.limits.of the flesh, but sister in Christ
 'he is my sister-in-law's brother as far as the flesh is concerned, but sister in Christ'
 (Caterina da Siena, *Lettere*, Lettera 15)

²¹ Here *seguendo* means *proseguendo* 'continuing', thus expressing duration in time.

²² Alternatively, as the co-occurrence with the adjective *primus* 'first' may suggest, *secondo* 'second' is an adjective entering a nominal predicate as a subject complement. The convergence of both the ending *-us*, via Late Latin *-u(m)*, and *-um* in *-o* does not allow one to distinguish between the adverb and the adjective form.

- (25) *quivi, secondo cena sproveduta, furono assai bene e ordinatamente here, serviti*

within.the.limits.of dinner unprepared they.were very well and in.an.orderly.way served

'here they were served very well and in an orderly fashion, as far as the fact that the dinner had not been prepared in advance allowed'

(Boccaccio, G., *Decameron*, Giornata 10, Novella 9)

While *secondo NP* seems to lose the temporal meaning²³ of Latin *secundum* (cf examples (12) and (13) above), *seguendo* shows a tendency to evolve in the direction of a temporal/causal connective, similar to *poiché* 'as, since', (26) and towards a temporal preposition, similar to *dopo, poi* 'after' when used as an adverb (27) or to a purposive conjunction similar to *affinché* (15). It must be noted that *seguendo* in (28) and (29) enters into constructions other than *seguendo NP*, namely *seguendo* (ADV) and *seguendo di + infinitive*.

- (26) *parando la mano al colpo li fu tagliata: e seguendo*

putting.forward the hand to.the strike to.him was cut and following

i colpi contro a lui, fu morto

the strikes against him was dead (i.e. killed)

'while stopping the strike with his hand, [his hand] got cut off: and as a consequence of the strikes given to him, he died' (Villani, M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 1, 55)

- (27) *secondo che seguendo dimostreremo*

according.to what following/later we.will.demonstrate

'in line with what we will demonstrate later'

(Villani, M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 3,100)

(28) *Il legato del papa avendo fatto guastare intorno a Viterbo, seguendo d'abattere il prefetto*

the delegate of.the Pope having had damage.INF around Viterbo following/aiming.to of kill.INF the prefect

²³ A residual of this use remains in a nonce example of the *secondo che S* construction.

- (i) *il giovane si cominciò a confessare, e secondo che procedeva la confessione, così a poco a poco*
the youngster REFL started to confess and as/while that.was.going.on the confession,
so little by little
'The young man started to confess, and as the confession went on, thus little by little...'

'after having the territory around Viterbo damaged, the Pope's ambassador,
aiming at killing the prefect' (Villani M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 4, 10)

As mentioned above, thus, some of the meanings that were typical of *secundum* in Latin seem to be lost in Old Italian. On the other hand, some of the meanings that were already present in Latin are preserved and new meanings emerge. The meaning of conformity that had already appeared in Latin (15) is still present in Old Italian *secondo* (29).

(29) *neuno possa buono avvocato essere né perfetto se non favella secondo
l'arte di rettorica*

nobody can.SUBJV good lawyer be nor perfect if not speaks
according.to the art of rhetoric

'No one could be a good or complete lawyer if s/he cannot speak according to the
art of rhetoric' (Latini, B., *La rettorica*, Argom. 76.4)

Alongside the meaning of conformity, a meaning of co-variation appears (30). The meaning of conformity and that of co-variation are close to one another, and could perhaps be considered expression of a more general meaning of 'functional dependency'. In fact, the former indicates that a certain process obtains in a certain way in line with a given variable that is conceptualised as given and stable, while the latter indicates that one process or alternative processes obtain in relationship to a variable that is conceptualised as varying between values.

(30) *a volere secondo i meriti mordere e premiare*
to want in.proportion.to the merits bite (i.e. punish) and
reward
'to want to punish and reward according to the merits'
(Boccaccio, G., *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, 66)

Sharing similarities both with the meaning of conformity and co-variation is the meaning of proportion, illustrated in (31).

(31) *quando di laurea corona secondo i meriti precedenti onoravano i valorosi*
when of laurel crown in.proportion.to the merits preceding they.honoured the
valiant
'when they honoured the valiant with bay-leaves crowns according to their merits'
(Boccaccio, G., *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, 2)

The meanings of co-variation and proportion can be thought of as representing extensions of the meaning of conformity already present in Latin. Alongside these meanings, a new one emerges, i.e. the reportative meaning. A reportative expression is a linguistic item signalling that a message uttered by the speaker has actually been previously uttered by someone else and may or may not indicate reference to the source of the original utterance (Aikhenvald, 2004; Frawley, 1992; Squartini, 2001; van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998; Willett, 1988). Overtones of non-commitment by the speaker to the message s/he utters can be understood, but are not an inherent part of the meaning of the reportative expression headed by *secondo*.

A nonce example of such a use can already be found in Latin, where it can be interpreted as having scope over a constituent either below the clause level (a.) or the whole clause (b.).

(32) *militum milia LXXX occisa colonum et lixarum XL (secundum Antiatem) apud Arausionem*

of.soldiers thousands 80 killed of.servants and camp.followers 40
according.to Antias near Aurasio

a. '80,000 soldiers and 40,000 servants and camp followers, according to Antias, were killed near Aurasio'

b. 'according to Antias, 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 servants and camp followers were killed near Aurasio' (Livy, *Periochae*, 67, 2)

Nevertheless, this nonce example can still be interpreted with reference to the more established meaning of conformity, in this case 'in accordance with what Antias said/wrote'. Albeit isolated, this instance is important as it suggests a possible overlap in meaning between the conformity and the reportative use, thus providing the context for the context-induced reinterpretation (Heine, 2003) triggering the semantic change at the basis of grammaticalisation.

In Old Italian, the NP headed by reportative *secondo* can encode both the original speaker (or writer) (33), as in the Latin example mentioned above, or an expression referring to the product of speaking and writing (34) or again an expression referring to a generic, underspecified, original speaker (hearsay use) (35).

(33) *bugia, secondo Cain, è di celare la verità delle cose issute.*

lie, according to Caino, is to hide the truth of.the things.F.PL been-F.PL

'A lie, according to Caino, is to hide the truth of the things that have been'

(Pucci, A., *Libro di varie storie*, 36.56)

(34) *la qual cosa, secondo il detto de' savi astrologi, è segno di grandi novitadi*
 the such thing, according.to the said of.the wise astrologers is sign of great news
 'which, according to what is said by the wise astrologers, is a sign of great news'
 (Villani, G., *Nuova Cronica*, 6, 2)

(35) *guerreggiava le terre del detto duca, secondo la comune boce*
 he.was.waging.war.on the lands of.the said duke according.to the common voice
 'he was waging war on the lands of the above mentioned duke, according to rumours'
 (Villani, M. & F., *Cronica*, Libro 3, 20)

The scope of the *secondo NP* expression with reportative meaning can either be over constituents below the sentence level, or over the whole sentence, as in (32)-(34). An increase in scope can be understood as a feature of a higher degree of grammaticalisation (Traugott & Dasher, 2002).

The switch in scope has probably not been sudden, but instead it might have originated from situations in which there was an ambiguity in scope. It was presumably in contexts like (36) that an ambiguity was perceived regarding the scope of the adverbial and its meaning.

(36) *il secondo è da fuggire, secondo la sentenza di Sofoldeo e di Senocrate,*
 the second is to avoid, according.to the saying of Sopholdeus and Xenocrates
dicenti che è la lussuria da fuggire come furiosa signora
 saying that is the lust to flee.INF as violent lady
 'the second is to avoid, according to the saying of Sopholdeus and Xenocrates, who say that lust is to be avoided as if she were a raging woman' (Boccaccio, G., *Filocolo*, 4,32)

In fact, under the conformity interpretation, the *secondo* adverbial may be thought of as indicating the principles in conformity to which it is necessary to avoid the element referred to as *il secondo* 'the second'. A reportative interpretation is facilitated by the subordinate clause modifying the NPs referring to the philosophers whose words are supposed to be followed and containing a verb of saying (*dicenti* 'saying.M.PL'). In the latter interpretation, the adverbial may be understood as having scope over the whole proposition, and the message *il secondo è da fuggire* may be ascribed to Sopholdeus and Xenocrates instead of the speaker. The presence of the lexeme *la sententia* 'the aphorism' highlights the reportative meaning component over the more general attribution of thoughts. There are contexts,

however, in which the reportative meaning seems to be the only one available (see example (34) above).

Besides the reportative construction, *secondo* enters another expression with sentential scope, which emerged as the Latin case system collapsed and functions expressed by case came to be expressed by PPs. Whereas in Early and Classical Latin²⁴ the speaker can use expressions like the ablative *mea sententia, meo iudicio* ‘in my opinion’ to reinforce the fact that what s/he utters corresponds to his/her own thought, and is not regarded as general truth or a report of someone else’s words, Old Italian uses PPs headed by *secondo* where the complement is a word like *oppinione* (37), *parere* (38), *avviso* (all ‘opinion’), *iudicio, giudizio* (both ‘judgment’).

(37) *maggior festa fare dee di te, nè essere, secondo la mia oppinione più allegro*

greater feast do.INF s/he.must than you, nor to.be, according.to the my opinion, more happy

‘s/he has to celebrate more than you and should not be, in my opinion, happier’

(Boccaccio, G., *Filocolo*, 3,5)

(38) *le quali cose con ciò sia cosa che, secondo il mio parere, sieno in me*

the such things despite.that according.to the my opinion, be.SUBJV in me

‘despite the fact that I think that such things are in me’

(Boccaccio, G., *Decameron*, Giornata 2, Novella 8)

In spite of the similarities between the *secondo NP* expression with reportative meaning and the signalling of personal opinion, it seems that the former is more related to the meaning of conformity at the logical level, while the latter seems to refer more to the interpersonal level, and is possibly linked to the limitative use of the *secondo NP* construction.

6 From Old Italian to Contemporary Italian

Research on contemporary Italian conducted on a sample from the *CORIS* corpus suggests that the uses of *secondo NP* are quite stable, while the innovative uses of *seguendo* (purposive, after (in time), after (consequence), after (in text)) seem to be lost. Among the physical domain, *secondo* has a very similar function to the preposition *lungo* ‘along’ (39):

(39) *procedi secondo il canale*
move.along following the canal

Moving on to the logical domain, both the meaning of conformity²⁵ (40) and co-variation (dependency and proportion) (41) are present, plus an ‘intermediate’ meaning of ‘co-ordination of movement’ between two entities (42), which can be treated as ‘co-variation of position’.

(40) *agii secondo il piano previsto*
I.acted according.to the plan foreseen
‘I acted in line with the pre-defined plan’ (*CORIS*)

(41) *il ritmo con cui si dimagrisce varia da individuo a individuo,*
the rhythm with which REFL.3P loses.weight varies from individual to individual
a seconda di quanto peso dovete perdere
depending.on how.much weight you.PL.must lose
‘the speed with which one loses weight varies from person to person, depending on how much weight one has to lose’ (*CORIS*)

(42) *il girasole ruota secondo il sole*
the sunflower turns.around according.to the sun (*CORIS*)

In the reportative use, the NP can be either a person’s name, or an institution’s (*la Corte* ‘the Court’) or nouns meaning ‘data’, ‘information’, ‘sources’ and similar (*i dati del Censis* ‘the Census data’, *recenti informazioni* ‘recent information’, *indiscrezioni* ‘rumours’, *alcune fonti* ‘some sources’, *un rapporto dell’Istat* ‘an Istat report’ etc.). The adverbial can be followed either by a direct quote or a re-elaboration/reinterpretation of the reported message.

²⁴ With reference to this, it would be interesting to explore both Late Latin and Medieval Latin data.

²⁵ Unlike French *selon* ‘according to’ (i), which also occurs as an adverb with the meaning ‘accordingly’, Italian *secondo* is only a preposition.

Il faudra agir selon
It will.have.to to.act accordingly
‘one will have to act accordingly’, ‘it will be necessary to act accordingly’

- (43) *a trarne vantaggio, secondo gli analisti, saranno i mercati emergenti*
 to take.from.it advantage according.to the analysts will.be the market emerging
 'to turn the situation to profit, according to the analysts, will be the emerging markets' (CORIS)

Considering the corpora consulted so far²⁶, it can be tentatively suggested that the main innovation of Contemporary Italian seems to consist of the construction *secondo* + first/second person pronouns (*secondo me/noi, secondo te/voi*), co-existing with the more 'Latinated' forms *secondo il mio parere, secondo la mia opinione* 'in my opinion, in my view, for me'.

- (44) *secondo te, perché molti giocatori italiani riescono comunque a piazzarsi ai primi?*
 according.to you, why many players Italian succeed anyway to come at.the first
 'For you, why do many Italian players succeed in coming among the first classified anyway?' (CORIS)

- (45) *"secondo me le due mancanze si compensano a vicenda" disse Masson*
 according.to me the two shortages REFL.3P compensate one.another said Masson
 "In my opinion, the two shortages compensate each other" said Masson' (CORIS)

It is not possible to carry out a detailed investigation of this construction's values on the basis of CORIS because of the extremely restricted context it allows to be recovered (160 character max.). A preliminary hypothesis is that such a construction fulfils a modal function (expressing opinion), and an evidential/inferential function (Giacalone Ramat & Topadze, 2007; Pietrandrea, 2007). On the basis of a preliminary exploration of a corpus of spoken Italian (CORAL) and examples similar to (44), it seems to be plausible to put forward the tentative observation that the *secondo* + first/second personal pronoun construction has also developed some functions typical of discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987; Traugott & Dasher, 2002). However, more systematic analysis needs to be carried out in this area.

So far, the analysis has concentrated only on diachronic considerations on *secondo* and *segundo* by considering data from Latin, Old Italian and Contemporary Italian, leaving aside *a seconda di/che*. The development of this construction is described in section 7 below.

²⁶ More information about Late Latin and Italian texts (1400- 1900) would be needed to support this claim.

7 The History of *A Seconda* (di/che)

Based on an exploration of *LIZ* encompassing the period XIII century – XXI century, it seems that the complex preposition *a seconda di* is first attested only in the XVI century. In the vast majority of cases identified in the 1500-1600 section, the expressions *a seconda (di/che)* appear to be mostly used in nautical contexts, where they indicate the movement of a vessel, either downstream on a river (46) or transported by the tide, or of people alongside elongated objects, such as a river, a shore, a road (47).

- (46) *la maggior parte dei vescovi italiani si mise in barca a seconda del fiume Adice per recarsi a Verona*
the bigger part of.the bishops Italian REFL.3P put in boat following
the river Adige to get to Verona
'the majority of Italian bishops set off on a boat along the river Adige to get to Verona'
(Sarpi, P., *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, 4,41.1)

- (47) *non potendo dar notizia di sé a quelli di Cevola, a seconda del fiume fan ritorno alle navi*
not being.able.to give.INF news of REFL.3P to those of Cevola following the river
they.do return to.the ships
'given that they could not let Cevola's people know that they were there, they went back to the ships walking along the river bank'
(Ramusio, G.B., *Relazione di Fernando Alarcon*, cap. 7)

In other cases, an object is described as being moved by the wind, as if it were transported by the flow of air.

- (48) *mi abbandonavo con tutto il corpo dondolante a seconda del vento*
REFL.1P was.abandoning with all my body swinging following the wind
'I let myself drop hanging down with all my body swinging along with the wind'
(Boito, A., *Le novelle*, Il Trapezio 75)

Already at this time, extensions were produced of the specific nautical situation involving objects moving along the flow of water and wind. These extensions are far from homogeneous, but they seem to cluster around two ideas, depending on the volitionality and degree of control of the item to which they apply:

(i) volitional interpretation: an object or an individual moves²⁷ in the same direction of another, as the vessel moves in the same direction of water (49).

(49) *Saffo aveva sempre ... guardato a seconda della prora*
Sapphus had always looked towards the prow
'Sapphus had always ... looked in the direction of the prow'
(Verri, A., *Le avventure di Saffo*, 2, 7)

(ii) non-volitional interpretation: something obtains as the result of the individual being determined by abstract forces (e.g. sin, vice, passions, thoughts etc.) in the same way as vessels are dragged by the flow of water (50).

(50) *Omero dovette andare a seconda de' sensi tutti volgari*
Homer must.PAST go.INF along.with sense-M.PL all vulgar-M.PL
'Homer must have gone along with 'common' senses'
(Vico, G.B., *Principi di scienza nuova*, 3, 1, 1)

Indeed, the very first instances of this meaning in the *LIZ* corpus, dating back to 1642²⁸, are found in the extreme context of sexual intercourse, in which individuals usually exhibit little rational control.

(51) *è facile l'andar a seconda di qualunque più stravagante capriccio*
is easy the go.INF along.with any most eccentric whim
'it's easy to go along with any eccentric whim'
(Pallavicino, F., *La retorica delle puttane*, Conclusion)

²⁷ The verb *guardare* 'to look' shares some similarities with motion verbs.

²⁸ Three out of the four instances of *a seconda (di/che)* found in the 1600 section of *LIZ* belong to Pallavicino's *La retorica delle puttane* (1642). All three examples can be considered as either expressing a meaning of 'being dragged by' or a meaning of co-variation.

The situation in (i) cannot really be considered metaphorical insofar as it still involves physical movement, and is not conceptually very different from the original ‘water and wind’ examples. On the other hand, the situation in (ii) seems to require a major leap, moving from the physical domain into the mental domain. In this context the meaning component of ‘movement’ is not in focus, to the advantage of the idea of conformity/dependency. Such a meaning becomes stronger with the use of volitional mental verbs, as in (52) and (53):

- (52) *ella spesso e a seconda de' suoi pensieri apertamente ragionava*
 she often and following her thoughts openly used.to.reason
 ‘she used to talk openly and often, going along with her thoughts/in conformity with her thoughts, i.e. speaking her mind’
 (Verri, A., *Le avventure di Saffo*, 3, 5)
- (53) *giudica... a seconda delle sue passioni*
 judges following his passions
 ‘he judges... according to his passions’ (Tasso, T., *Lettere*, G1561)

Taking a closer look at the data, it seems that while more abstract meanings appear later and consolidate over time, other more concrete meanings disappear.²⁹

TABLE 1. Shift in meaning of the *a seconda (di/che)* adverbials.

Period (LIZ)	1500-1600		1700		1800		1900	
Meaning	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Nautical	42	91	4	19	5	5	0	0
Be transported or dragged	3	7	3	14	2	2	0	0
Dependency/Conformity	1	2	9	43	86	85	20	83
Incomplete	0	0	5	24	8	8	4	17
Total	46	100	21	100	101	100	24	100

raw figures, % percentage over the total number of instances retrieved within each subcorpus.

As for the two closely related meanings ‘in accordance with’ and ‘depending on’, statistical data on such restricted figures would only allow very tentative statements. However, these data mildly support the native speaker intuitions that *a seconda (di/che)* is a marker of

relations of co-variation or dependency in contemporary Italian. Historical data shown in Table 2 seem to suggest such a trend: in 1700 the two meanings are almost equally attested, while *a seconda (di/che)* came to code the relation of dependency more and more often during 1800 and 1900.

TABLE 2. Conformity and dependency expressed by *a seconda(che/di)*.

Period (LIZ)	1500-1600		1700		1800		1900	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Conformity	0	0	4	19	15	15	1	4
Dependency	1	2	5	24	71	70	19	79
Others	45	98	12	57	15	15	4	17
Total	46	100	21	100	101	100	24	100

raw figures, % percentage over the total number of instances retrieved within each subcorpus.

In the XIX century, *a seconda* came to codify a relationship of dependency appearing as a holophrase in response to yes/no questions in a way that parallels the more common *dipende* 'it depends' (54).

(54) - *Senti freddo d'inverno? - A seconda... - rispose egli indifferente*

You.feel cold in winter depending replied he indifferent

'- Do you feel cold in winter? - It depends... - he replied with an air of indifference'

(Pirandello, L., *Appendice alle novelle*, La signorina, 5)

This adverbial use of *a seconda* shows that the only meaning attached to the construction is purely abstract, indicating only a relation of dependency, whose participants can be inferred in context.

²⁹ It cannot be excluded that the original meaning of *a seconda di* is retained in Contemporary Italian, at least in specialised nautical jargon. However, an initial exploration of the Internet did not support such a view.

8 Concluding Remarks

This paper aimed at providing an insight into the grammaticalisation path FOLLOW (V) > ACCORDING TO (PREP) by looking at data from Latin and Italian.

Firstly, morpho-syntactic considerations were put forward showing evidence of decategorialisation, one of the concurrent phenomena connected to grammaticalisation. Secondly, at the phonetic level, no evidence of erosion was found, but looking at the root vowels in Latin *secundum* vs *sequendum* allowed a relative chronology to be established between the two. Thirdly, semantic bleaching and meaning extension were identified through a semantic analysis, revealing three clusters of meaning, namely a spatial-temporal area ('behind', 'along', 'after', 'during'), a logical area (co-variation and conformity) and a modal-evidential-interpersonal area (reportative use, inferential use, expression of uncertainty, discourse marker). Bridging contexts were also pointed out, promoting context-induced reinterpretation. Finally, cross-linguistic evidence relative to the grammaticalisation chain V > PREP and the hypothesis of localism helped postulate the V > PREP functional split and establish a chronological order of appearance between the spatio-temporal meanings on the one hand and the logical, modal, evidential and interpersonal uses on the other.

Despite the fact that these initial results may sound promising, the analysis carried out here also shows some limitations. In fact, this study is based on three corpora, two of which contain only literary language. The periods considered for *secundum/secondo* are also very far apart from one another (about 700-1000 years), and the emergence of some phenomena might have been completely overlooked. In particular, it would be very interesting to take a closer look at Late Latin, to see whether some of the meanings that are found in Old Italian can actually be backdated.

Furthermore, it would be necessary to go beyond the sentence level in order to disentangle the modal and evidential values of *secondo me*, and better understand its functions as a discourse marker.

Finally, cross-linguistic investigation would show whether other languages exhibit a similar evolution pattern or point out alternative possible paths. Although on the basis of Italian it was possible to identify clusters of meanings, only cross-linguistic analysis would allow preferred multifunctionality patterns and directions of change to be outlined.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1P = first person, 3P = third person, ADP = adposition, ADV = adverb, DAT = dative, F = feminine, GER = gerund, HORT = hortative particle, INF = infinitive, M = masculine, NP = noun phrase, O = Object, PL = plural, PP = prepositional phrase, PREP = preposition, PST= past, REFL = reflexive, S = sentence, SUBJV= subjunctive, TOP = topic, V = verb

Identifying Viewpoint in an Extract from John le Carré's *A Perfect Spy*

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Abstract

This paper presents findings from an analysis of point of view in an extract from John le Carré's *A Perfect Spy*. A range of analytical frameworks has been put forward to account for the realisation of point of view in prose fiction, a common approach involving the categorisation of different types of narration as a means of distinguishing the perspectives being presented. This approach is taken by Fowler (1986/1996), who introduces a taxonomy of narration based on the two general categories of internal and external narration. In my analysis I focus firstly on identifying the different viewpoints evident in the extract; the scene concentrates on two characters, and I argue that each character's viewpoint, as well as that of the narrator, is indicated to differing degrees. I then assess the extent to which this extract can be classified using Fowler's taxonomy of narration, arguing that whilst this framework may be useful on a more general level of analysis, when applied to more specific extracts demonstrating a complex style of viewpoint presentation, the account provided can be seen as lacking in precision.

1 Introduction

Point of view in fiction has been widely studied as it is this aspect of a work that shapes a reader's understanding of the story world. The position from which events are presented as being experienced contributes to how different characters and events are perceived and understood by the reader. If, for example, a story is presented from within the consciousness of a first-person narrator who is also a participating character, the reader is more likely to feel 'close' to this character as they have access to his or her thoughts, feelings, and perceptions, and as a result are more likely to sympathise with this particular character's experience.

A range of analytical frameworks have been developed to account for the realisation of point of view in prose fiction and the resulting effects. One common approach has been to categorise types of narration as a means of identifying the perspective(s) being presented, the main distinction made being that between narrator and character point of view. Examples of such approaches are (a) Uspensky's taxonomy of point of view (1973), which also formed the basis of Fowler's (1986/1996) and Simpson's (1993) models, and (b) Genette's taxonomy of focalization (1980).

Identifying the viewpoint presented in a text can range from being relatively straightforward, such as in the case of a first-person character-narrator, to being more complex, where, for example, frequent shifts in perspective occur, or ambiguities as to whose point of view is being presented arise. One such example of complex viewpoint presentation is the novel *A Perfect Spy* by John le Carré, where often the weaving together of different viewpoints occurs, making it difficult at times to distinguish exactly whose viewpoint is being presented.

In this paper, I analyse in detail an extract from the novel to show the linguistic and stylistic features that lead to this weaving together of viewpoints. Due to the limited size and scope of this paper, as a method of analysis, I focus on just one of the frameworks mentioned above, Fowler's taxonomy of narration, and show that although this gives a broad account of viewpoint presentation in the extract, it is unable to account precisely for more subtle shifts and combinations of viewpoint presentation.

The two research questions I address are as follows:

1. How useful is Fowler's taxonomy of narration in accounting for more complex styles of viewpoint presentation?

2. What linguistic and stylistic features does le Carré employ in *A Perfect Spy* to create the weaving together of different viewpoints and what are the effects of this style of viewpoint presentation?

2. Fowler's Taxonomy of Narration

Fowler's work on point of view is a development of Uspensky's (1973) work, and involves the initial distinction of three planes; spatio-temporal, psychological and ideological point of view. It is within the plane of psychological point of view that Fowler outlines his taxonomy of narration. McIntyre defines psychological point of view as related to, "the choices an author makes with regard to the various ways in which a story might be narrated" (2006, p. 41). It is concerned with *whose* perspective events are presented from, whether character(s) or narrator(s) and the linguistic indicators that can be used to identify this point of view. For Fowler, psychological point of view concerns,

...the question of who is presented as the observer of the events of a narrative, whether the narrator or a participating character; and the various kinds of discourse associated with different relationships between narrator and character (1996, pp. 169-170).

He therefore uses the term to refer to the viewpoint presenting the story, whether character or narrator, whereas it was used more specifically by Uspensky to refer to a narrative presented through the consciousness of a particular character. The two main categories of narration established by Uspensky and forming the basis of Fowler's taxonomy are termed "internal" and "external" narration.

2.1 Internal Narration

Fowler uses the term "internal narration" to refer to the narration of events from within a particular character's consciousness, either with that character taking on the role of narrator, or by a narrator assuming an omniscient viewpoint, able to access the internal states of the character. This category is characterised by what Uspensky (1973, p. 85) terms *verba sentiendi* - verbs of thought, feeling and cognition. Fowler distinguishes two sub-categories based on these variants, which he labels type A and type B. He defines them as follows:

Internal narration is, then, narration from a point of view within a character's consciousness, manifesting his or her feelings about, and evaluations of, the events and characters of the story (which I shall call Type A); or from the point of view of someone who is not a participating character

but who has knowledge of the feelings of the characters-a narrator, or the so-called 'omniscient author' (Type B). (Fowler, 1996, p. 170)

Fowler (1996, pp. 170-171) describes internal narration type A as being written either in the first person or in the third person with clear indicators of the character's "world-view" or presentation of their thoughts being evident. Type B takes the form of third-person omniscient narration rather than the third-person character-based viewpoint of type A. For Fowler, internal narration type A is the most subjective form of narration; he views it as being, "internal and wholly subjective" (1996, p. 174). There are problems with this view, however, as some type A narratives (particularly those written in the first person), may be less subjective and more "external" than some type B narratives, for example the novel *L'Étranger* by Albert Camus (see Simpson, 1993, pp. 56-62 for a discussion of this).

A further issue that arises with the categorisation of internal narration in this way is that the same general sub-category is used to account for the varying degrees of "subjectivity" (closeness to character) that will be present within it. Despite Fowler saying that in type B narration "to a greater or lesser degree, the author gives an account of the mental processes, feelings and perceptions of the characters..." (1996, p. 173), it can be argued that his framework does not focus on accounting for this "greater or lesser degree".

2.2 External Narration

External narration occurs when the events of a story are presented from a position outside any particular character's consciousness, therefore excluding any thoughts or feelings that character may experience, and is further divided into two types by Uspensky. The first of these is the "objective" presentation of events as they happened, without comment or evaluation from the narrator - Fowler's corresponding category is external narration type C.

There are problems however, with finding examples of pure external type C narration; Fowler himself says that it is, "virtually impossible to remove all modal and psychological indicators from a text" (1986, p. 178), and this issue is discussed further by McIntyre (2006, p. 28). He sees it as having implications for the framework as a whole, again raising the more general problem with categorising whole texts or whole sections of text as one type of narration. He expresses his concerns through the following question:

if an otherwise purely externally focalized narrative contains just one instance of the presentation of a character's internal state, does this mean that the whole narrative should not be considered an example of external focalization?' (McIntyre, 2006, p. 35)

The second type of external narration (Fowler's type D) differs from the first in that it does take into account the opinion and the impressions of the narrator. It is characterised through the use of non-factive expressions (words of estrangement), metaphors and comparisons (see Fowler, 1996, p. 178). However, these indicators can also be features of internal narration, when one character is focussing on another, speculating as to the internal state of that character, for example. They can therefore also more generally be seen as indicators of a limited viewpoint, whether of character or narrator.

3 Analysis of Viewpoint Presentation in an Extract from *A Perfect Spy*

3.1 The Extract Selected for Analysis

In this section, I analyse an extended extract from *A Perfect Spy* in order to exemplify some of the issues raised in the discussion of Fowler's taxonomy of narration above, as well as to address the second research question as outlined in the introduction. The extract is included below and sentences have been numbered for ease of reference. It has also been tagged for speech and thought presentation categories, as reference is made to these in section 3.2.2 below. The categories used are those from Leech and Short's clines of speech and thought presentation (1981/2007), which were further added to by Semino and Short (2004).

The extract I have selected for analysis takes place near the beginning of the novel. The protagonist, Magnus Pym, has arrived at a boarding house in Devon after leaving his home and work in Vienna. Pym has stayed at the boarding house several times before and therefore knows the owner, an elderly lady called Miss Dubber, quite well. The scene takes place on the day of Pym's arrival at the house after he has been to a funeral in London, something that Miss Dubber asks about because she sees he is wearing a black tie. It traces the conversation between the two characters before Pym goes up to his room.

Although the scene is reported by a third-person omniscient narrator, the viewpoint through which events are presented is quite complex as the same perspective is not portrayed throughout. Instead, different elements of the text can be attributed to different viewpoints; some to the narrator alone and others to the narrator presenting one of the two character's points of view. It can be argued therefore that, at times, the narrator chooses to present the limited viewpoint of Miss Dubber, having knowledge of Pym only in the context of such visits and being unaware of his real identity and reasons for his visit, whilst at others, Pym's own attitude towards the elderly lady, one of fondness but also of amusement towards her character and way of life, can be seen. The extract reads as follows:

Pym drank tea for Miss Dubber [N], Pym appeased her [N-NRSA], Pym ate a piece of her shortbread [N] and praised it to the skies [NRSAp] although she told him [NRS] it was burned [IS] (1). Pym promised [NRS] to mend the sink plug for her [IS] and unblock the waste-pipe and take a look at the cistern on the first floor while he was about it [IS-FIS] (2). Pym was swift and over-attentive [N] and the brightness she had shrewdly remarked on [eNRSAp] did not leave him [Nli] (3). He lifted Toby on to his lap and stroked him, a thing he had never done before, and which gave Toby no discernible pleasure [N] (4). He received the latest news of Miss Dubber's ancient Aunt Al [NRSAp], when normally the mention of Aunt Al [NVp] was enough to hurry him off to bed [N] (5). He questioned her, as he always did, about the local goings-on since his last visit, and listened approvingly to the catalogue of Miss Dubber's complaints [NRSAp] (6). And quite often, as he nodded her through her answers, he either smiled to himself for no clear reason or became drowsy and yawned behind his hand (7). Till suddenly he put down his teacup and stood up as if he had another train to catch [N] (8).

'I'll be staying a decent length of time if it's all right with you, Miss D. I've a bit of heavy writing to do [eNWh] [DS] (9).'

'That's what you always say. [eNRSait] (10) You were going to live here for ever last time [eNRSAp] (11). Then it's up first thing and back to Whitehall without your egg. (12) [DS]'

'Maybe as much as two weeks. (13) I've taken some leave of absence so that I can work in peace (14). [DS]'

Miss Dubber pretended to be appalled [NI] (15). 'But whatever will happen to the country? (16) How shall Toby and I stay safe, with no Mr Canterbury at the helm to steer us? [DS] (17)'

'So what are Miss D's plans? [DS]' he asked winningly [NRS], reaching for his briefcase, which by the effort he needed to lift it looked as heavy as a chunk of lead [N] (18).

'Plans? [DS]' Miss Dubber echoed [NRS], smiling rather beautifully in her mystification [NI] (19). 'I don't make plans at my age, Mr. Canterbury (20). I let God make them (21). He's better at them than I am, isn't he, Toby? (22) More reliable [DS] (23).'

'What about that cruise you're always talking about? [eNRSApit] (24) It's time you gave yourself a treat, Miss D [DS] (25).'

'Don't be daft. That was years ago (26). I've lost the urge. [DS] (27)'

'I'll still pay. [DS] (28)'

'I know you will, bless you. [DS] (29)'

'I'll do the phoning [eNVh] if you want (30). We'll go to the travel agent together (31). I looked one out for you as a matter of fact (32). There's the Orient Explorer leaves Southampton just a week away (33). They've got a cancellation (34). I asked. (35) [eNRSAp] [DS]'

'Are you trying to get rid of me, Mr. Canterbury? [DS] (36)'

Pym took a moment to laugh [N-NI] (37). 'God and me together couldn't dislodge you, Miss D, [DS]' he said [NRS] (38).

As a result of the weaving together of three perspectives, often with ambiguity as to exactly whose perspective is being shown, a constant and subtle changing of viewpoint can be seen as occurring throughout the extract. This poses problems with using Fowler's taxonomy of narration to account for the viewpoints presented and the resulting effects, as the style of narration in the extract does not correspond fully to any of the categories employed. In this analysis I look at indicators of the different viewpoints presented and discuss the resulting effects.

Section 3.2 addresses the sections of the extract that could be attributed to a narratorial point of view alone, focusing initially on choices made in relation to the narration of events, before turning to the choices made regarding speech presentation. In 3.2.3 and 3.2.4, the sections of narration that provide comments on the behaviour and reactions of the characters are analysed, as well as the degree of omniscience presented by the narrator. Section 3.3 is concerned with the identification of indicators of the presentation of Miss Dubber's point of view and section 3.4 then focuses on the indicators of Pym's point of view.

3.2 Narration and Point of View in the Extract

Using Fowler's categories of internal and external narration, because the scene in question is presented by a third-person narrator who describes what is happening but does not state explicitly the characters' thoughts or feelings, this extract appears to be an example of

external narration. However, despite this lack of reference to the thoughts and feelings of the character - there are no instances of *verba sentiendi* - other more subtle indicators of the characters' internal points of view can be identified, highlighting again the problem with making a definite distinction between internal and external narration. The style of narration in this extract can be contrasted with the scene immediately after, where over a page is taken up with events presented from within the consciousness of Miss Dubber, with internal narration (NI), free indirect thought (FIT) and direct thought (DT) predominating. In comparison with the extract in question, it is clear that the subsequent scene displays more evidently the type of internal narration as outlined by Fowler.

3.2.1 Narration of Events

It can be argued that the actions of the scene are described by the narrator and not from the perspective of either of the two characters. It is possible, however, for the reader to make inferences from the vocabulary used and from the style of narration about their internal points of view.

The first paragraph is structured around the narration of actions carried out by Pym and expressed through a sequence of past simple verb phrases. There are 24 past simple verbs in this paragraph, 19 of which have Pym as the subject, and 16 of these denote an action rather than a state. These actions are separated either by descriptions/observations connected to them, or comparisons to Pym's "usual" habits on such occasions. This listing in quick succession of Pym's actions, along with the inclusion of some value-laden expressions at the start of the paragraph reflect how he is behaving and give some indication of why he is behaving in this way. In the first sentence we read:

Pym drank tea for Miss Dubber, Pym appeased her, Pym ate a piece of her shortbread and praised it to the skies although she told him it was burned (1).

The choice of the preposition 'for' rather than 'with' in the first clause makes it immediately clear that Pym's actions are for the benefit of Miss Dubber, that he wants to please her. This attitude towards her is further reinforced by the use of the verb 'appeased' in the subsequent clause, which serves as a value-laden expression, as it does not simply describe an action undertaken by Pym, but evaluates his behaviour towards Miss Dubber as well as allowing inferences to be made regarding her character. The term implicates that she needs placating and Pym is aware of how he should behave to achieve this.

The impression given in the first sentence of Pym being keen to please Miss Dubber (by complimenting enthusiastically her burnt shortbread, for example) is built on through the style of narration of Pym's actions in the remainder of the paragraph. The predominance of references to him as subject of a sentence or clause, made either by name or using the third person pronoun, (15 references compared with only 2 for Miss Dubber) show him to be the more active character, reflecting his eagerness to do as much as possible to keep Miss Dubber happy. Even in clauses introducing Miss Dubber's speech Pym remains the subject of the verb, he 'receives' or 'listens' to what she says rather than Miss Dubber being the active participant and speaking to Pym. This has the effect of reflecting Pym's attentiveness to what she is saying, and again it is clear that he is behaving in this way for Miss Dubber's rather than his own benefit.

3.2.2 Speech Presentation as an Indicator of Narratorial Viewpoint

Speech in the first paragraph is either reported indirectly or summarized by the narrator. As with the narration of actions, this again leads to the point of view of the characters not being as apparent in the presentation of speech. In the first paragraph there are four instances of NRSA, one of these embedded within narration, two instances of NRS followed by IS, and one instance of FIS. Consequently, all speech is mediated by the narrator, who is therefore more evident here than in the sections of FDS and DS in the subsequent paragraph. Of the relationship between narratorial point of view and method of speech presentation, Leech and Short say that,

When a novelist reports the occurrence of some act or speech act we are apparently seeing the event entirely from his perspective. But as we move along the cline of speech presentation from the more bound to the more free end, his interference seems to become less and less noticeable until, in the most extreme version of FDS, he apparently leaves the characters to speak entirely on their own. (2007, p. 206)

Narratorial point of view is therefore also shown in the choices made regarding which sections of speech to summarize, which to report indirectly, and which to report directly, and again the reader can make assumptions based on the form of speech presentation selected.

So for example, in the first paragraph some sections of speech are summarized in just a few words, such as Miss Dubber's relating to Pym of her 'latest news' and her 'catalogue of complaints'. Through this summarizing of what can be assumed are quite lengthy periods of speech, the narrator is also showing that the exact content of what Miss Dubber is saying is trivial and instead the relationship between the two characters is foregrounded. The

impression is given of Pym letting Miss Dubber speak at length on topics that are not particularly interesting for him, just to please her, and his encouraging reactions such as nodding her through her answers achieve this. Miss Dubber may not, however, view the things she is talking about as unimportant and were the conversation presented from her point of view, more detail may have been included.

In the sections of direct speech in sentences 9-38, feelings and attitudes can be attributed to each character based on the content of what they are saying, such as Pym's wish for Miss Dubber to go away on a cruise and her unwillingness to leave her home and do so, despite his persistence. It can also be assumed that the content of the direct speech is more important than that of the summarized sections in the first paragraph, so the fact that Pym intends to do some writing during his visit and that he is keen for Miss Dubber to leave him on his own can be regarded as significant information.

3.2.3 Narratorial Comment on the Behaviour and Reactions of the Characters

Narratorial point of view can also be seen through the use of some adverbs in the reporting clauses of speech (see McIntyre, 2006, pp. 32-33). The use of these adverbs allows the narrator to add comments on how things were said/received or, in one case, perceived by the characters. The four examples of adverbs used in this way are as follows:

the brightness she had *shrewdly* remarked on did not leave him (3)

listened *approvingly* (6)

he asked *winningly* (18)

smiling rather *beautifully* in her mystification (19)

The first three adverbs here again enable the reader to make inferences regarding the perceptions and attitudes of the characters. The fourth is slightly different as it shows something about the appearance of Miss Dubber when reacting to something Pym has said and could also therefore be interpreted as indicating Pym's point of view, as it can be viewed as more external than the other adverbs used.

In the first example, the adverb 'shrewdly' provides a comment from the narrator's point of view on what Miss Dubber had noticed on Pym's arrival. The adverb confirms for the reader that Miss Dubber was indeed correct in her observation and gives her earlier remark credibility, as the point of view of the narrator can be accepted as more reliable. It also shows

Miss Dubber and the narrator sharing the same impression of how Pym is behaving, and therefore the remainder of the sentence could be interpreted either as narratorial comment on Pym's behaviour, or as Miss Dubber's continued awareness of Pym's bright mood.

The second example can be interpreted in different ways. Firstly, it could be the narrator's point of view, evaluating Pym's attitude to what Miss Dubber is saying and thereby enabling the reader to make inferences about Pym's internal point of view. It can be assumed that Miss Dubber's report to Pym about the 'local goings-on' includes nothing of any importance or that would cause him concern, and that he is therefore pleased with what she is saying. In addition, the narrator could be using the adverbs 'approvingly' and 'winningly' to build on the impression created of Pym 'appeasing' Miss Dubber, encouraging her as she is speaking.

However, the narrator could also be presenting Miss Dubber's point of view, seeing Pym's reaction and understanding it as him being interested in what she is saying, thereby encouraging her to continue talking. Because of the other indicators discussed, such as the summarizing and trivialising of her speech by the narrator, the reader is unlikely to view this reaction in the same way Miss Dubber does, and the adjective could be seen as highlighting her limited viewpoint. This in turn can lead to inferences about Pym's viewpoint being made – he is purposefully responding in an 'approving' way as he wants Miss Dubber to form the impression that he is interested in what she is saying. This ties in again with his behaviour throughout the scene in terms of being eager to please Miss Dubber.

The adverb 'winningly' can be interpreted along the same lines as 'approvingly'. It can be seen as the narrator evaluating Pym's external behaviour, or as Miss Dubber's point of view, seeing Pym's encouraging manner towards her. This again could lead to the inference being made that Pym is purposefully giving this impression, and the subsequent conversation gives a reason for this – he is trying to convince Miss Dubber to go on a cruise. The use of these adverbs therefore results in complex viewpoint effects, indicating all three perspectives on some level.

This highlights a further problem with using Fowler's taxonomy to account for more complex styles of viewpoint presentation, as they tend to rely on more direct indicators of point of view, yet inferences play an important part in the identification of the point(s) of view presented. In addition, because the same linguistic feature here could be interpreted as representative of all three viewpoints, the categorisation of these sentences according to the taxonomy would not be possible.

3.2.4 Narrator Omniscience

As mentioned in section 3.1, the narrator in general seems to be presenting an “external” view of the scene, without attributing any verbs of perception, cognition or emotion to either character. Despite this, however, there are some less explicit indications of the internal state of the characters, such as the use of the adverbs above, allowing for inferences to be made regarding Pym’s intentions as well as his attitude towards what Miss Dubber is reporting. A further example of the narrator having access to the internal states of the characters can be seen in sentence 15 where we read, “Miss Dubber pretended to be appalled”. As a result, it can be argued that there are indicators of the omniscience of the narrator in the extract as some access to the internal states of the characters is given.

In contrast to this, however, there are other features that denote the presentation of a more limited viewpoint at times, demonstrating explicitly a lack of access to the internal states of the characters. One example of this is the phrase “for no clear reason” in sentence 7, showing that the viewpoint presented cannot work out why Pym is smiling. Indicators such as this suggest that the perspective presented does alternate within the extract, at times representing a more omniscient viewpoint and at others a more limited one. This point is discussed further in the next section as the changes in the degree of omniscience shown can be seen as the narrator choosing to present the more limited viewpoint of Miss Dubber.

3.3 Indicators of Miss Dubber’s Viewpoint

In section 3.2.1 the argument was put forward that the focus placed on Pym in the narration of actions in the first paragraph could be seen as indicative of narratorial point of view. However, it could also be argued that Miss Dubber’s perspective can be seen through this pattern in the narrative. This focus on Pym made evident through the significantly higher number of references to him than to Miss Dubber, could be seen as representative of Miss Dubber’s point of view, observing Pym’s behaviour and trying to determine his frame of mind. There is explicit mention of her noticing his mood, referred to in sentence 3 as follows,

Pym was swift and over-attentive and the brightness she had shrewdly remarked on did not leave him.

Miss Dubber’s observation of Pym’s “brightness” is linked to his behaviour towards her – complimenting enthusiastically her shortbread, and making promises about all the jobs he will do around the house, for example. Conclusions cannot be drawn, however, as to whether Pym’s externally cheerful demeanour is reflective of a similar internal state, although Miss Dubber does come to this conclusion after Pym has gone upstairs and she has more time to

think about it. On page 14 of the novel we read, “His loss has not affected him, she decided in relief”.

Even within conversation between the two characters, requiring active participation from both sides, Pym still remains the main focus, despite the impression given from expressions such as “the latest news” and her “catalogue of complaints”, that Miss Dubber actually says more. As discussed in section 3.2.2, the speech of both characters is reported indirectly or summarized in this paragraph, yet 7 of the 9 reporting verbs included refer to Pym. As a result, when Miss Dubber is speaking, more emphasis is placed on the receiving of what was said, rather than the content or manner in which it was said. The effect of this can be seen as one of watching Pym and observing his behaviour and reactions, and could therefore also be consistent with the viewpoint of Miss Dubber.

A further indicator of Miss Dubber’s observation of Pym and therefore the presentation of elements of the scene from her point of view is the frequent comparisons made between this current visit and previous visits. A context for Pym’s behaviour is provided based on the knowledge and experience Miss Dubber has of him in this situation. Such comparisons can be seen in the following sentences,

He lifted Toby on to his lap and stroked him, a thing he had never done before
(4)

...normally the mention of Aunt Al was enough to hurry him off to bed (5)

He questioned her, as he always did... (6)

Through the adverbs of frequency employed, “never”, “normally” and “always”, Miss Dubber’s awareness of similarities and differences to Pym’s “usual” behaviour can be seen. So for example, it is clear that Pym is not normally interested in hearing about her aunt and it can therefore be inferred that on this occasion, his interest is still not likely to be there, but instead he is making an effort to be more patient than usual.

Although the instances of adverbs of frequency in sentences 4-6 are not explicitly attributed to Miss Dubber’s viewpoint in the text, the content of the direct speech following this first paragraph reinforces this element of narration as being representative of her perspective, as adverbs of frequency continue to be included. When Pym tells her he will be staying for a while her reply for example is, “That’s what you always say” (10).

Also indicative of the presentation of Miss Dubber’s point of view is the explicit inability shown at points in the extract to make inferences about Pym based on visual aspects of the

scene. The use of a non-factive verb, an “as if” clause and adjectives of perception can be seen to denote this limited viewpoint, where sense is trying to be made of some of Pym’s reactions but no definite conclusions can be drawn. Sentence 18 reads, for example,

‘So what are Miss D’s plans?’ he asked winningly, reaching for his briefcase, which by the effort he needed to lift it looked as heavy as a chunk of lead.

The non-factive verb, “looked as” shows that the viewpoint presented is limited, there is a lack of certainty as to how heavy the briefcase actually is, despite the visual evidence leading to the inference being made. It is likely then, that the narrator here is presenting Miss Dubber’s viewpoint rather than a narratorial viewpoint alone, as a third-person omniscient narrator would not need to make such inferences and demonstrate uncertainty. A further example in which a limited viewpoint is presented is in sentence 6:

And quite often, as he nodded her through her answers, he either smiled to himself for no clear reason or became drowsy and yawned behind his hand.
(6)

The phrase “for no clear reason” shows that the viewpoint presented is again trying to account for Pym’s reactions but is not able to do so and is therefore indicative of the presentation of Miss Dubber’s viewpoint rather than a narratorial viewpoint. However, whilst it remains unobvious to Miss Dubber why Pym is smiling to himself, it is possible for the reader to infer here that Pym is actually smiling to himself as he is amused by Miss Dubber and what she is saying.

3.4 Pym’s Point of View

As discussed above, there are instances in the extract where Pym’s internal point of view is shown to a certain extent by the narrator. It is clear, for example, through the use of “for” and “appeased” in sentence 1 that Pym is intentionally behaving in a charming way towards Miss Dubber in an attempt to humour her. However, a distinction needs to be made between the narrator describing or indicating the point of view of a character and elements of the scene being presented from that character’s point of view. Those examples of Pym’s internal state being indicated as mentioned so far are done so through narratorial comment on his behaviour, or style of narration depicting his behaviour, but not through presentation of the scene from his perspective.

Evidence in the text of the presentation of events from Pym’s point of view can be seen but is perhaps less obvious and more ambiguous than those features described above as being presented from Miss Dubber’s perspective. There are nevertheless some lexical items

employed in the narrative that are not explicitly attributed to Pym but which can be interpreted as coming from his point of view. These are used in reference to Miss Dubber's topics of conversation and are consistent with the impression given by the narrator of the way Pym sees Miss Dubber.

For example, the summary of her speech in sentence 6 as a "catalogue of complaints" trivializes what is going on in her life and reinforces the view of her as needing "appeasing". Therefore, as well as being able to attribute this phrase to narrative description, it is also possible to interpret it as the presentation of Pym's point of view. Similarly, the reference in sentence 5 to Miss Dubber's "ancient Aunt Al" could also be understood in the same way. Here it is clear that we are not experiencing Miss Dubber's viewpoint, as she would be unlikely to refer to her aunt in this way. The phrase could therefore either be interpreted as narratorial comment alone or equally could be seen as Pym's characterisation of the old aunt that Miss Dubber often talks about and that he usually tries to avoid hearing about.

4 Conclusion

In this analysis I have looked at the linguistic and stylistic features in the extract that could be seen to demonstrate the presentation of different viewpoints at different points in the scene. Because these indicators at times involve individual lexical items or clauses, rather than prolonged sections of text, combinations of, or changes in viewpoint often occur within the same sentence and, as a result, it is sometimes difficult to make clear distinctions concerning whose perspective is being presented.

Some aspects of the scene can be interpreted as representative of more than one point of view and an example of this is the focus in the narrative on Pym in the first paragraph. This could be viewed as the narrator describing the actions of the scene in a way that highlights Pym's behaviour towards Miss Dubber, or it could be viewed as reflective of Miss Dubber's point of view, noticing how Pym is behaving and comparing this with his "usual" behaviour.

Another aspect of the scene that could be attributed to either the narrator's or Miss Dubber's point of view, reflecting the limited understanding of Miss Dubber but, whilst doing so, showing the reader that there is more to be inferred from the situation than Miss Dubber is able to see, is shown in sentence 7 in the expression, "for no clear reason" and in a further example, "Pym took a moment to laugh" (37). By showing Miss Dubber's viewpoint to be limited through the use of the negated adjective in the first example, and in the second by observing that Pym paused in his reaction but without giving a reason for this, the reader could be led to make assumptions about the reasons for this behaviour. So in the first

example, the connection between Pym smiling and Miss Dubber talking, can lead to the inference that he is amused by her. The second, which comes after Miss Dubber has joked that Pym wants to “get rid” of her because he is keen for her to take a cruise, leads the reader to infer that she has discovered Pym’s real motivation without actually realising it. By presenting Miss Dubber’s view as limited, the narrator allows the reader to see that there is more to what is being said than is explicitly presented.

The complexity of the style of viewpoint presentation in this extract has highlighted some of the problems raised in the discussion in section 2 of the taxonomy of narration developed by Fowler. Making a distinction between internal and external narration may lead this extract to be classed as the latter, as there are few explicit indicators of the characters’ internal points of view. However, this would result in a more simplistic account of the viewpoint effects in the extract being provided, overlooking the effects brought about through the less direct indicators of character viewpoint. In addition, using such broad categories to classify types of narrators would not allow for a precise account of the different possible interpretations of the same linguistic indicators.

The analysis has also demonstrated that along with more direct features, such as the pattern of pronouns in the first paragraph, or the repeated instances of adverbs of frequency, inferences also contribute significantly to the point of view effects in the extract. However, Fowler does not seem to place importance on this feature as an indicator of viewpoint in his framework. These inferences can be drawn from the actual content reported, such as the example discussed above, “Pym took a moment to laugh” (37), or from choices made by the narrator regarding how something is presented – such as the summarizing of Miss Dubber’s speech as her “latest news”, leading to the inference that the exact content is not important.

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The Pragmatics of Literary Interaction in James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*

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Abstract

Hogg's *Confessions* was fiercely criticised by the Edinburgh post-Enlightenment literati who considered his writing unsophisticated. A literary-pragmatic investigation, however, reveals Hogg's strategic use of conversational principles through which he conveys additional, subversive meanings. Politeness theories, in fact, demonstrate that Hogg's *Confessions* may have been perceived as a Face Threatening Act against the positive face of bourgeois women. A cognitive approach based on relevance theory, on the other hand, admits the simultaneous validity of both the psychological and supernatural interpretations of the character Gil-Martin. Indeed, Hogg consistently flouts the maxim of Manner as described in Grice's Cooperative Principle, thus creating areas of ambiguity which readers interpret in accordance with their personal cognitive environment.

1 Introduction

During James Hogg's lifetime (1770-1835), Edinburgh was a centre of sophisticated literature and empirical philosophy, dominated by the upper classes, among them Sir Walter Scott. In *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824) Hogg, self-educated and working-class, opposes this elitism and insists upon the greater value of marginal voices. This opposition contributed greatly to the novel's unenthusiastic reception within the post-Enlightenment Edinburgh literary scene at the time of its publication while, by contrast, it is judged by recent postmodern and postcolonial scholars to be one of the most significant Scottish novels of any period.

Preoccupied with the negative reception of his previous two novels, *The Three Perils of Man* (1822) and *The Three Perils of Woman* (1823), and possibly also influenced by the success of The Great Unknown's (that is, Walter Scott's) series of *Waverley* novels, Hogg published the *Confessions* anonymously in 1824. Notwithstanding these precautions, the novel was negatively reviewed. As argued by Hughes (1982), the negative reception of the *Confessions* "could not have been for the want of Hogg's name" (Hughes, 1982, p. 11), as six out of the ten anonymous reviewers attributed the novel to him, using as evidence his style, "an incongruous mixture of the strongest powers with the strongest absurdities" (Hughes, 1982, p. 12). With the only exception of the *Monthly Critical Gazette* (1824), which praised highly Hogg's satire of extremist Calvinism, the main objections "were made to what are now taken to be the deliberate ambiguities of the novel" (Hughes, 1982, p. 12). Some reviewers criticised Hogg's inconsistent representation of the devil as either real or a product of the Justified Sinner's imagination, arguing that this uncertainty caused great confusion in the reader as to who was responsible for the crimes committed in the novel. One reviewer admitted his "ignorance of Mr. Hogg's precise drift ... as regards his incoherent machinery" (*The London Literary Gazette*, 1824, p. 451); while another claimed that "if an author will introduce supernatural beings, he is at least bound to invent plausible motives for their interference in human concerns" (*Westminster Review*, 1824, p. 561). The double narrative also raised some concerns as "the author has managed the tale very clumsily, having made two distinct narratives of the same events" (*Westminster Review*, 1824, pp. 560-561); while a further reviewer argued that "it is altogether unfair to treat the reader with two versions of such extraordinary trash" (*New Monthly Magazine*, 1824, p. 506). In general, Hogg's "tremendous power over the human imagination" (Hughes, 1982, p. 13) was acknowledged, although not always in positive terms, and the *Confessions* was viewed as exhibiting "the characteristic ingenuity and extravagance of the highly-gifted, but eccentric writer" (*The Ladies' Monthly Museum*, 1824, p. 106).

The *Confessions*' negative reception continued up to 1947, when André Gide wrote an enthusiastic introduction to the Cresset edition, claiming that "the personification of the Demon in Hogg's book is among the most ingenious ever invented, for the power that sets him in action is always of a psychological nature; in other words—always admissible, even by unbelievers" (Gide, 1947, p. xv). Garside (2002) claims that the eminent French novelist stimulated the interest of a modernist audience by highlighting the psychological intensity of Hogg's novel; while later, the conflicting narratives of the *Confessions*, which Hogg's contemporary critics saw as inconsistencies, have also attracted the attention of poststructuralist critics (Garside, 2002).

Postmodern scholars have found appealing the fact that in Hogg's *Confessions* no voice is given prime status of reliability, and much responsibility for the construction of textual meaning is left to the reader. According to Garside (2001), post-colonial critics have been fascinated by the novel's challenge, mounted by marginal voices in Scots language against the dominant English culture. Indeed, as suggested by Mack (2006), Hogg's message in the novel is that "well-educated people might sometimes be in error" while people from the margins might have "a valuable story to tell" (Mack, 2006, p. 57). Through a debate that admits multiple voices, Hogg anticipated a postmodern approach to discourse, raising doubts regarding the validity of contemporary official knowledge. This subversive quality resulted in censorship of Hogg's texts and therefore his artistic value was little recognised until recently, as his works are being re-published in their unbawdlerised version. Garside (2001) points out that until the end of the nineteenth century, the *Confessions* was known in the 1837 expurgated version of *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Fanatic*, which has delayed enormously the appreciation of Hogg's novel. A subsequent unbawdlerised edition entitled *The Suicide's Grave* and published in 1895 further complicated the reception of the *Confessions*; it carried a publisher's note stating that the novel had not totally been written by Hogg, but that J. G. Lockhart, Walter Scott's son-in-law, had greatly contributed to it (Garside, 2001).

Keeping in mind the contentious reception of Hogg's novel, this essay will argue that a literary-pragmatic analysis can reveal Hogg's masterly management of voices in the *Confessions* through which he communicates additional, subversive meanings that, in early-nineteenth-century Britain, were perceived as challenging the stability of the dominant discourse. By drawing on Mey's (2000) and Sell's (2000) theories, the present paper will view literary activity as a triangular interaction, where the writer and the reader are 'social individuals' who communicate about a third entity, the literary text, and who, as Sell (2000) argues, are affected by their different historical positions, but not totally determined by them.

The analysis will also draw on pragmatic theories of politeness, in order to demonstrate theoretically that Hogg's lack of inhibition in giving prominence to a prostitute may have been one of the reasons for the *Confessions*' negative reception. Concerning Hogg's treatment of prostitution in *Perils of Woman* (1823), Groves (1987) argues that, at a time when in literary texts even the theme of pregnancy was considered indelicate, Hogg pushed the limits of literary decorum by introducing a social issue concerned with women's contemporary urban life, thus provoking great aversion among the bourgeoisie of the period.

The issue of prostitution was not the only cause for the *Confessions*' cold reception. One of Hogg's main idiosyncrasies in the novel is his consistent flouting of Grice's (1989) maxim of Manner, which determines the ambiguity peculiar to Gil-Martin's nature. The investigation will hence draw on Grice's Cooperative Principle, arguing that Hogg's inconsistencies were perceived as being uncooperative by his contemporary readers.³⁰

Finally, negotiating Sperber and Wilson's (1995 [1986]) theory of relevance, according to which new information provided by speakers is interpreted by hearers only when relevant to their cognitive environment, namely their personal representation of the world, the paper will examine why the psychological intensity of Hogg's *Confessions* has raised so much interest among postmodern and postcolonial readers. It will claim that the extra-literary context to which a reader of the *Confessions* belongs greatly conditions the process of textual reception by viewing both acts of "writing and reading as at once historically positioned, voluntaristic and interpersonal" (Sell, 2000, p. 22).

2 Literary Pragmatics

The linguistic field of pragmatics is concerned with the spoken aspect of language and with the study of how words are interpreted in a real conversation. Its basic assumption is that to understand people's words, we must infer their intentions (Mey, 2001a). In order to clarify how utterance meaning is generated, pragmatics takes into account the language system, the particular situational context where a string of words occurs, and the personal knowledge that language users bring with them (Christie, 2000).

By analogy, literary pragmatics considers the processes of writing and reading as ruled by communicative strategies, and literary texts as characterised by a mutual agreement between authors and readers. The characters, the author, and the readers have voices that blend in a dialogue, contributing to the communicative process of the text. The analogy between oral

³⁰ See later "The Double Interpretation of Gil-Martin's Nature."

and literary communication enables the activities of writing and reading to be viewed as pragmatic acts. Three aspects contribute to a pragmatic view of text production and consumption. The first is the cooperative aspect, according to which the cultural conditions that an author exploits to capture the readership determine specific linguistic choices; however, the author's effects can only be achieved if the reader actively collaborates in the re-creation of textual meaning. The second pragmatic aspect is context, as a literary text needs to be "anchored" to a historico-cultural context in order to be properly produced and consumed. The third is multivocality, namely the various textual voices competing for dominance and sometimes even clashing (Mey, 2000, 2001b).

Sell (2000) regards literary activity as a pragmatic phenomenon which further entails an act of human agency on the part of both the author and the reader, thus arguing that "a historical yet non-historicist pragmatics ... will view human beings as profoundly affected by their different situationalities, yet as having the psychological endowments necessary to negotiate such differences through communication" (Sell, 2000, p. 7). The author's co-adaptation between his or her individuality and historical position might be communicated to the readers either by a strategic use of voice, deixis, and free indirect discourse; or by looking outward, at the cultural influence on text production and consumption (Sell, 1991a). Literary pragmatics can thus provide a detailed textual analysis of the *Confessions* as it can encompass considerations about its linguistic features, the users of the text, and the socio-historical position of Hogg and its readers. This "text-author-reader" interface will be important for the discussion of how Hogg co-adapted imaginatively his cultural position in early-nineteenth-century Edinburgh within the novel, even though such co-adaptation did not raise much empathetic response at its time of publication. A "historical-yet-non-historicist" literary pragmatics may help to reveal why the *Confessions*' readers' "positionality" may influence their reaction both to the ambiguity of Gil-Martin's origin and to the relevance that Hogg assigns to prostitution.

3 The Cooperative Principle

The philosopher of language Grice (1989) argues that in order to understand meaning in communication, we need to ask what speakers intend by their linguistic choices rather than what a chain of words literally means. Communication, in fact, is a complex process. A speaker's meaning involves an attribution of intention on the part of the hearer, since speakers usually imply more than what they actually say by relying on shared knowledge in a given context. According to Grice's theory, the distinction between what is said and what is actually meant is due to the implications of conversational principles. Distinguishing between

“conventional implicature”, an additional level of meaning conveyed by the speaker’s linguistic choices, and “conversational implicature”, elicited by expectations of rational linguistic behaviour in interaction, Grice theorises the Cooperative Principle of communication, which he bases upon four maxims. According to him, conversational behaviour is constrained by expectations of quantity (make your contribution as informative as is required, neither more nor less); of quality (make your contribution true); of relation (be relevant to the topic); and of manner (avoid ambiguity), thus allowing hearers to get from what is said to what is actually meant. Grice’s maxims are not prescriptive, but rather represent expectations about rational communicative behaviour, which a speaker might flout in order to generate indirect meaning (Grice, 1989).

Sell (2000) argues that Grice’s Cooperative Principle might be very productive for “a historical yet non-historicist literary pragmatics” (Sell, 2000, p. 52). As speakers might flout a maxim “in order to make a conversational implicature, perhaps for some special and striking effect” (Sell, 2000, p. 52), so also an author might exploit the same strategy when interacting with “real readers” (Sell, 2000, p. 58). Drawing on Pratt (1977), Sell views the literary text as performing a speech act under certain felicitous conditions, where the cooperative principle is always “in operation”. Although an author may flout a maxim, readers go on assuming that there might be “some element of implicature ... and tolerantly interpret the difficulties away” (Sell, 2000, p. 59). Sell, however, adds that although readers may be patient with a writer flouting the maxim of quality, “when it comes to flouting the maxims of quantity, relevance and manner, readers [...] may well dislike being steamrollered by authors they experience as impolite” (Sell, 2000, p. 59).

The present essay will show that Hogg strategically flouts Grice’s maxim of manner in order to create areas of ambiguity in relation to Gil-Martin’s nature, and that such flouting may have been perceived as impolite by Hogg’s contemporary readers, thus determining the negative criticism of the novel.

4 Politeness

Starting from Grice’s cooperative principle, Brown and Levinson (1987, [1978]) have developed politeness theory, which, they argue, further clarifies Grice’s model of conversation. They wonder why speakers do not just say what they mean, exploiting instead conversational implicatures (what an utterance may suggest), and sometimes even flouting Grice’s maxims. All languages recognise a need for saving face, an important pragmatic concept in human interaction deriving from Far-Eastern notions of deference and politeness (Mey, 2001a). Linguistic interaction, however, threatens interlocutors’ face, and this is why

speakers use linguistic strategies that express solidarity and minimise potential threats both for themselves and the hearers. In order to theorise a set of universal principles shared by all languages in communication, Brown and Levinson hypothesise a Model Person endowed with rationality and face. They distinguish between negative face (interlocutors' need of not being impeded in whatever they want to do) and positive face (the need of social approval). Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) against positive face criticise, ridicule, or show irreverence towards the hearer; while requests and orders may threaten the hearer's negative face. There are two further strategies in politeness: going "off record", when the speaker drops a hint rather than making a direct request, leaving the hearer free to choose whether or not to help; and going "bald", when the speaker is not concerned about offending because of being in a more powerful position than the hearer, or when there is such urgency, as in case of fire, that face threats are not considered (Brown & Levinson, 1987, [1978]).

Christie (2000) claims that the problem with Brown and Levinson's theory is its abstraction from a socio-cultural context of a Model Person assumed to be sharing the same rationality and face with all human beings, irrespective of their class, gender, and culture. In addition, Mills (2003), in her subsequent study on the relation between gender and politeness, observes that people have to negotiate continuously not only with the gendered stereotypes that circulate within their particular social groups, but also with other variables such as race, class, and age, which influence both their production and interpretation of politeness. Mills' re-elaboration of politeness theories may be relevant to an evaluation of the failure of empathetic response to Hogg's *Confessions* at its time of publication. The Edinburgh literati had already established a notion of literary decorum, and the issue of prostitution raised by Hogg may have been viewed as a FTA against the positive face of bourgeois women, as it showed irreverence towards their moral values. Regarding Hogg's well-received collection of *Winter Evening Tales* (1820), two anonymous reviewers judged *Basil Lee* the worst story because its grappling with prostitution offended "the best regulated modesty" (*The Monthly Review*, 1820, p. 264) and "would make the faces of young ladies in ballrooms ... blush blue as their stockings" (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1820, p. 154).

Sell (1991b) claims that although Brown and Levinson's theory has been criticised for being too abstract, their notion of FTAs and their distinction between positive and negative face suggest productive lines of investigation into the politeness of literary texts. Concerning written communication, Sell (2000) distinguishes between *selectional* politeness and *presentational* politeness, arguing that while the former deals with the choice of words in order to appear more polite, the latter evaluates whether the author is observing Grice's maxims and thus being cooperative with the reader. Sell argues that discussions of both selectional and presentational politeness must be "culture specific and historical" because

what might be experienced as impolite in one period may not appear so “to readers reading in some other milieu” (Sell, 2000, pp. 225-226). The present paper will show that in the specific case of the *Confessions*, Hogg’s flouting of the maxim of manner in relation to Gil-Martin’s double nature may have been experienced by his contemporary readers as violating the principle of presentational politeness.

5 Relevance Theory

One of the most insightful theories in the linguistic field of pragmatics is Sperber and Wilson’s (1995 [1986]) relevance theory. Reducing Grice’s four maxims to the principle of relation, they argue that hearers interpret speakers’ new information only when relevant to improving their cognitive environment, namely their personal system of values, and only when such interpretation requires the minimum processing effort. Most importantly, Sperber and Wilson counter the “mutual knowledge hypothesis”, arguing that although two communicants can share a similar system of beliefs, their respective contexts may not be totally shared. Conceiving of context as the hearer’s psychological construct activated at the very moment of utterance interpretation (rather than as already given before such construal takes place) may explain why there can be as many reactions to the same utterance as the numbers of hearers who hear it (Sperber & Wilson, (1995 [1986])). This is also why, as Sell (2000) claims, “communication can be seen as a process by which ... contextual disparities are negotiated” (Sell, 2000, p. 120). Previous linguistic theories have been based upon the “unitary context assumption”, namely a context which is identical for all the people involved in interaction. Concerning literary communication, such hypothesis is “unhistorical and dehumanizing” as it suggests that “any given text can only be taken in just some single way: either according to the putative intention of its author, or according to the understanding of the current commentator” (Sell, 2000, p. 133). Notwithstanding the “mental distance” between sender and receiver, communication, whether spoken, written, literary or non-literary, is triangular as it also includes the context of “the real, hypothetical or fictional people, events and things under discussion” which, however, are always “reconstructed by the current communicants” (Sell, 2000, pp. 121-122). Sell (2000) views the context of reading as a cognitive environment which goes “beyond the writer’s control” as it also depends on both the historical position and individuality of the reader who, during the process of inferencing may experience different cognitive environments “jostl[ing] against each other” (Sell, 2000, p. 132). Undeniably, a historically purist analysis of authorial intention would not capture the depth and the breadth of the “empathetic movement”, as Sell would call it, between the context of the writing of Hogg’s *Confessions* and its multiple contexts of reading, as will be later discussed.

6 The Confessions

Hogg's *Confessions* is divided into two main narratives. The first part is told by the post-Enlightenment Editor, a contemporary of Hogg, who offers a third-person account of Robert Wringhim's life; the Justified Sinner, a religious fanatic who lived between 1687 and 1712. The second part is Robert Wringhim's autobiography, which is interrupted by an embedded supernatural tale; the novel is then concluded by the Editor's account of how he and his friends found Robert's manuscript in a grave in Etrick Forest more than one hundred years after the narrated events. The plot shows the negative consequences of Robert's religious fanaticism and his adherence to antinomianism, a distorted version of Calvinism. According to Calvinism, God has already predestined the elect, and their strong faith is evidence of such election. Antinomianism, conversely, releases the elect from the obligation of observing moral law, diminishing the importance of integrity. Robert thus thinks that in order to destroy God's enemies, he is justified in committing any crime. Such religious zeal, however, will bring him to damnation; he is either evil or psychotic, depending on how the reader wants to interpret this particular aspect of the novel, which Hogg leaves unanswered. In the *Confessions*, Hogg investigates the negative consequences of relying on authoritative discourses by opposing the value of moderation to both the Editor's biased rationality and the Justified Sinner's antinomian enthusiasm. Hogg criticises their feelings of superiority by using the voices of subaltern classes, which question the authority of British discourse. Hogg's attitude is similar to that of French philosopher Michel Foucault (1990), who claims that any society is characterised by its particular system of values, which is spread by institutions at the expense of other knowledge. In 1820s Edinburgh one of the hidden problems was prostitution, which Hogg sought to expose in the *Confessions*. Although Wringhim's narrative is set more than one hundred years before the 1820s, it mirrors Hogg's social issues since, as argued by Sell's (2000) and Medvedev and Bakhtin's (1978) studies, the fictional events under discussion have been constructed according to Hogg's socio-historical conditions.

7 The Double Interpretation of Gil-Martin's Nature

One of the major disputes that has divided Hogg's critics is the origin of Gil-Martin, who first appears in the novel soon after Robert's antinomian election. Is Gil-Martin the devil in disguise who gains Robert Wringhim's soul by exploiting his antinomian extremism? Or is Robert the victim of a split personality and Gil-Martin his alter-ego? Glance (1993) claims that the tension experienced by the reader in relation to this point mirrors an early nineteenth-century Scottish cultural division: although in Hogg's time, Edinburgh was an

important intellectual centre, a popular belief in supernatural phenomena was still common. Mack (1999) suggests that Hogg's *Confessions* confronts merits and faults of both rational philosophy and old Ettrick tradition without allowing an empirical explanation to diminish the mystery of both beliefs. Oost (1999) focuses on the great demand placed upon the readers of Hogg's *Confessions* who, since no authoritative voice is provided to guide them, must be alert and 'work actively to make their own sense of the tale' (Oost, 1999, p. 105). Garside (2001) observes that Hogg exploits the Gothic motif of the *doppelgänger* as it appears in T. A. Hoffmann's *The Devil's Elixir* (1815), where the protagonist Medardus is haunted by a double who is later revealed to be his half-brother. Hogg, however,

takes the motif of the doppelgänger into a new dimension, creating a work where the reader is left in a continual state of uncertainty as to whether Gil-Martin is an external presence or the product of Robert Wringham's psychosis, yet where ultimately both levels of interpretation might relate to aspects of a single incomprehensible truth. (Garside, 2001, pp. 120-21)

Campbell (2000) states that Robert's crimes can be explained as cases of either evil possession or mental psychosis, and that although Mrs. Logan's and Mrs. Calvert's seeing of Gil-Martin can be motivated by hysteria, Blanchard's witness of him 'is hard to contradict' (Campbell, 2000, p. 186). However, it must be added that this part of the novel is narrated by the Justified Sinner, while the two women's testimony appears in the Editor's account, and both narrators are presented by Hogg as unreliable. Campbell holds that the *Confessions*' resistance to "single readings and single interpretations" has attracted a great deal of post-modern criticism (Campbell, 2000, p. 186). Most importantly, Duncan (1994) claims that Hogg is one amongst very few authors of his time to have sensed that a written text "can be reanimated by the act of reading" (Duncan, 1994, p. 48).

Taking into account the interaction between Hogg and the reader of the *Confessions*, and considering the pragmatic aspect of extra-literary context, and Grice's maxim of manner, it is likely that Hogg created areas of ambiguity in relation to Gil-Martin's character out of fear of negative criticism. In *Perils of Man* (1822), Hogg had "decided to join a loose historical background with his deep knowledge of Border legend and tradition, and to place both within the perspective of his fantastic imagination" (Gifford, 1996, p. xvi). Walter Scott's response, however, was not particularly positive as he argued that Hogg "had ruined 'one of the best tales in the world' with his 'extravagance in demonology'" (Gifford, 1996, p. xvi). This may explain why in the *Confessions* Hogg leaves to the reader the final task of inferring Gil-Martin's origins. Gifford observes that in the *Confessions*,

...always there is the possibility that the devil and other supernatural apparitions exist only in the mind of Wringhim. Thus to the critic who would attack the novel for its 'diablerie and nonsense', Hogg could reply that the story was a psychological study of a religious fanatic. Conversely, if the novel were attacked as the distasteful study of a lunatic, Hogg could reply that his work was in fact a supernatural tale [...] Hogg thus hoped to ride with the hares and hounds of contemporary criticism. (Gifford, 1996, p. xix)

Indeed by flouting Grice's maxim of manner, Hogg appears to have employed himself in a negotiating process between two different cognitive environments: the rational post-Enlightened Edinburgh literary circle and his own cultural background of Borders legendary tradition. The following passage is an extract of Robert's monologue which shows Hogg's ambiguity:

I generally conceived myself to be two people. When I lay in bed, I deemed there were two of us in it; when I sat up, I always beheld another person [...] over the singular delusion that I was two persons, my reasoning faculties had no power. (The Confessions, p. 106)

A literary-pragmatic analysis of this passage admits both Robert's split personality and Gil-Martin's evil nature. Mey (2000) holds that both author and reader are involved in a dialogical interaction for the duration of the text. However, they are also creatures of the society surrounding them, which govern their co-operative process of text production and consumption. If we add to Mey's (2000) considerations Sell's (2000) adaptation of Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory, it may be possible to elucidate why at Hogg's time, the *Confessions* was not appreciated. As Benedict (1983) and Smith (1993) have argued, Hogg combined supernatural and psychological motifs in a manner totally alien to the readers of his time who viewed the psychological treatment of Robert and the conflicting duality of his personality as inconsistencies. Hogg's flouting of Grice's maxim of manner may have been experienced as violating presentational politeness by his contemporary readers who, perceiving Hogg as uncooperative, determined the negative reception of the novel. The same inconsistencies, however, are viewed as relevant by postmodern critics, whose cognitive environment is more informed concerning the psychological implications of human nature, and who might be more fascinated by the conflicting narratives of the *Confessions*.

On the other hand, Hogg's consistent violation of Grice's maxim of manner provides passages that support the daemonic thesis. The following extract, where Robert's voice muses over the nature of Gil-Martin, well shows this point:

I began to have secret terrors that the great enemy of man's salvation was exercising powers over me, that might eventually lead to my ruin [...] the presence of my illustrious and devoted friend was becoming irksome to me. When I was by myself, I breathed freer, and my step was lighter; but when he approached, a pang went to my heart, and, in his company, I moved and acted as if under a load that I could hardly endure. (The Confessions, p. 126)

Shortly afterwards, however, Robert adds a remark that may lead the reader to infer the schizophrenic interpretation: "And yet to shake him was impossible – we were incorporated together – identified with one another [...] and the power was not in me to separate myself from him. I still knew nothing who he [Gil-Martin] was" (The Confessions, p. 126). Indeed, the last sentence, "I still knew nothing who he was", may be interpreted as a case of split personality by a modern reader, due to the different cognitive environment.

The Justified Sinner is accused of having killed his mother and raped a girl. He, however, does not recall having committed these crimes and experiences a void of memory that Hogg never explains, exploiting the fact that, being Robert the narrative voice, he cannot know what happened. When speaking to the girl's mother, Robert provides the following explanation:

This is unaccountable [...] It is impossible that I can have been doing a thing, and not doing it at the same time. But indeed, honest woman, there have several incidents occurred to me in the course of my life which persuade me I have a second self; or that there is some other being who appears in my likeness. (The Confessions, pp. 121-122, emphasis mine)

The above passage gives space to the daemonic interpretation, by suggesting in the last line the chameleon nature of Gil-Martin, which he himself explains a few pages earlier: "By looking at a person attentively, I by degrees assume his likeness, and by assuming his likeness I attain to the possession of his most secret thoughts" (The Confessions, p. 86).

As Campbell (2000) argues, Hogg's *Confessions* resists any single interpretation, and the imposition of just one reading would limit its power (Campbell, 2000). Through a deliberate technique of imprecision, Hogg guides the reader towards Robert's fall into damnation, whether of the mind or of the soul, requiring that Gil-Martin's nature be devised through a pragmatic act of reading. Gil-Martin's sinister presence in Robert's life can be seen both as the devil being attracted by Robert's spiritual pride and as an extreme case of schizophrenia. A literary-pragmatic investigation gives space to both interpretations by arguing that the choice depends on how the readers, according to their cognitive environments, prefer to fill in the blanks left by Hogg. Pilkington (1991) observes that from a relevance perspective,

reactions to a poetic work will never be the same because cognitive environments differ according to the reader. The same principle may be applied more broadly to Hogg's *Confessions*, where the double interpretation of Gil-Martin's nature has received both empathetic and negative response, depending on the historical position of its reader.

8 Bell Calvert and the Question of Literary Politeness

Mack (1999) holds that the most amazing subversion of Hogg's *Confessions* is set against the Editor's assumptions, in the voice of a woman with a very different background: Bell Calvert, a poor prostitute. Bell recounts an episode already narrated by the Editor, but provides an eye-witness description of the killing of young George, the Justified Sinner's brother. The Editor assumes that George has been murdered by his friend Drummond, basing his account on the general impression of George's friends who, at the moment of the homicide, were in a brothel. Although unable to work out what she saw on the night of the crime, Bell does know that Drummond cannot be guilty. In addition, her tale makes the reader reconsider the Editor's jovial depiction of George's friends as she describes a group of drunken men who, on the night of the murder, were contracting sexual favours with her, while she was perishing with famine (Mack, 1999).

The industrial revolution had caused a rapid growth of population in early-nineteenth-century Edinburgh, contributing to the degradation of urban life and to an increase in the number of prostitutes, as described in detail by William Tait, a surgeon of the period (Tait, 1842). Hogg saw prostitution as a social plague, and wanted to make the public more aware of it, highlighting its negative consequences "on the prostitutes themselves, their clients, and society at large" (Groves, 1987, p. 131). Levine (2004) and Wilson (2004) remark that nineteenth-century bourgeois women represented the moral authority of the imperial project, acting as Christian guides of British society. The cult of domesticity within marriage shaped the distinction between private and public space, while the stigmatisation of prostitutes as fallen women contributed to the construction of middle-class identity. Giving relevance to prostitutes in his texts, Hogg exposed the ideology behind bourgeois marriage in early-nineteenth-century Britain. Mack (1990) argues that Hogg's lack of inhibition in dealing with these matters, however, provoked great aversion among the Edinburgh literati who, for this reason, censored his texts. Sell claims that nineteenth-century fiction greatly mirrors the "interweaving of politeness with class and power" (Sell, 1991b, p. 210). In the specific case of Hogg's *Confessions*, giving voice to a prostitute may have been perceived as a FTA against the positive face of British bourgeois women. Hogg, a self-educated shepherd who refused to

conform, could not be considered a serious writer, and his lack of inhibition in dealing with such “indelicacies” was viewed as inappropriate for a bourgeois lady.

In his discussion of politeness in Dickens’s *Dombey and Son* (1846-48), Sell (2001) points out that the novel’s success at its time of publication was due to Dickens’s skilfully balanced “endorsement and subversion of a homogenizing bourgeois decorum” (Sell, 2001, p. 165). Dickens’s fluctuation between traditional values and their subversion mirrors a “tension between the social and the individual” which Dickens “powerfully” co-adapted (Sell, 2001, pp. 168-169). A total deconstruction, in fact, may have been “too intoxicating for a middle-of-the-road Victorian reader” (Sell, 2001, p. 181). This is probably the balance that Hogg was unable to strike in the *Confessions* as, instead of placing Bell Calvert in the background, he made her one of the most relevant characters of the novel. The dialogic contraposition between the Editor’s and Bell’s voices, however, represents Hogg’s basic message in the *Confessions*, namely as argued by Mack (2006), that people from the margins may also have a worthwhile story to tell. According to relevance theory, hearers generate inferences from information only when they judge it relevant to improving their representation of the world. As claimed by Christie (2000), a speaker’s class, gender, and ethnicity, greatly conditions the hearer’s assumptions about how relevant that speaker’s information will be considered. Giving voice to a prostitute was thus not only against nineteenth-century conventions of literary politeness, but it may also have been perceived as irrelevant to the cognitive environment of the bourgeoisie. Conferring dignity to Bell Calvert seemingly worked to subvert the discursive justification of the dichotomy between bourgeois “Madonna” and prostitute, upon which the middle-class identity was constructed.

9 Conclusion

A literary-pragmatic analysis of the *Confessions* reveals how Hogg questioned the authority of early-nineteenth-century British discourse by giving literary dignity to Bell Calvert, a prostitute from the margins. Hogg’s tactic, however, threatened bourgeois conventions of literary politeness as he raised doubts concerning the manipulative strategies adopted by more conventional literature, thereby anticipating a post-modern approach to fiction. Relevance theory, on the other hand, admits the simultaneous possibility of both the evil and the schizophrenic interpretation of Gil-Martin’s nature since, perhaps motivated by fears of negative criticism, Hogg flouted Grice’s maxim of manner, leaving the question of Gil-Martin’s origin unanswered.

One of the major concerns about using literary pragmatics for textual analysis is that applying communicative principles to the study of literary texts is abstract, since writing and

reading are non-simultaneous processes; hence an author cannot enjoy immediate feedback from the reader as in a real conversation (Sell, 2000). Notwithstanding the absence of immediate reaction, however, “most linguists [...] nowadays recognize that an act of writing is inherently dialogic” (Sell, 2000, p. 20). Indeed, a literary-pragmatic framework may open very productive lines for investigating Hogg’s handling of gender issues in his work by evaluating how the early-nineteenth-century British context contributed to shaping Hogg’s work, and how Hogg himself tried to co-adapt his own individuality to bourgeois literary conventions.

10 References

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Fur Coat, No Knickers: Semantic Potentiality in Alternative Identity Negotiation

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Abstract

My contribution discusses the semantic aspects of the negotiation of personal/social identity as they appear in the language used by the protagonists of three British novels (see *Sources* below). In my use of the term, *identity* is a process that is manifested within an ongoing communicative event. Herein, I argue that *denotational correctness* and *interactional success* are two discrete phenomena whose co-occurrence in any language sample is realised through the dynamism of differing degrees of *accuracy* and *effectiveness*.

I outline a semiotically mediated model of identity negotiation using a quantitative and qualitative analytical approach focusing on (a) two types of dialogue (internal and external), (b) depth of context-embeddedness and (c) the degree of implicitness, as the key linguistic factors correlating with the occurrence of selected social variables. I propose an application of Jakobson's concept of language functions and compare it to more recent theories. My results serve to demonstrate the impact of alter-identity negotiation as opposed to identity negotiation on syntactic structure and semantic complexity.

1 Introduction

One of the most established notions of social class and social membership conceives of class as a phenomenon of the distribution of power within a community and further defines it as consisting of a “specific causal component of their life chances” that “a number of people have in common” (Weber, 1995, p. 31). Thus, *shared life chances* are arguably the most opaque aspect of social class membership.

It would seem that the main difficulty in trying to define social class in England is that most of the characteristics are rather “indefinable”, however, very distinctly perceived by most of society.³¹ The evasiveness of description can be perceived from two distinct viewpoints. From the individual perspective, genuine group membership is typically rather automatised, thus making it difficult for the member to describe. The extract LB 14 that follows is taken from *The Line of Beauty* (2004), one of the novels that I analyse, and it illustrates the conversational style of one of the upper-class figures (Rachel) that the aspiring protagonist (Nick) *longs* to adopt (emphasis mine):

[LB 14] Nick loved the **upper-class economy** of her [Rachel's] talk, her way of saying nothing except by **hinted shades** of agreement and disagreement; he longed to master it himself.

[...]

It had been **her** [Rachel's] **fortune not to describe** but to **enjoy**. She said, ‘You know of course there’s modern art, as well as the Rembrandts,’ with a brief smile at having retrieved a notable detail. (47)

Here, we also witness Rachel’s inability to describe the château she grew up in, thus indirectly denying Nick the benefit of *sharing* her *life chances*. Hence, the vagueness of the upper-class description aggravates the poignancy of Nick’s unattainable desire for inclusion.

From the societal perspective, another significant factor contributing to the difficulty of description is the fact that identity is not a culturally transmitted heritage, but rather a representation of the nation’s view of and attitudes towards the future (Colls, 2002). Colls (2002) also remarks that since the British imperial project seems to have come to an end, the formerly shared aims that gave the British their sense of identity are now being replaced by multiculturalism and local identities, necessarily fragmenting any unitary concept of identity

³¹ A MORI poll (Mortimore & Robinson, 2003) states that 65% of the British population do not feel they belong to any particular class, while 76% disagree that Britain is a classless society.

(cf. Fox, 2005, pp. 1-2; Paxman, 1999). Thus the social system in late modernity might be best characterised by self-identification processes whose actual outcomes seem to have gained more relevance than the traditional social indexical values of class and membership (cf. Coupland, 2003, p. 428).

Concerning the material under scrutiny, I am aware that the language of fiction is generally not viewed as equal to the so-called 'authentic' language of every-day use. One of the principal observed differences is in the degree of stylisation (Mathesius, 1982, pp. 45-49). I should, therefore, emphasise that in the framework of the current analysis the concepts of *reality* and *fiction* are understood as a continuum where both the 'authentic' and fictional elements are constantly present either latently or patently.

Moreover, stylisation should be more easily discernible in the samples of the language of fiction than in the language of spoken conversation for two main reasons. First, the occurrence of stylisation in fiction can be *a priori* presupposed, while in the case of spoken conversation we tend to expect, rather illogically, a *designless* discourse (cf. Jakobson, 1960) and consistent observance of *the Cooperative Principle* (Grice, 1975, pp. 45-6). Second, the fact that the written medium is typically more easily accessible to analysis also plays a significant role. However, I agree with Fowler (1996) that literature should not be viewed as a *special* and *autonomous* form of discourse, since "to propose some special essence for literature, not found in "other uses of language", is to erect an obstacle in the way of properly understanding literature as language" (Fowler, 1996, p. 10).

The proposed paper draws on extensive research I have conducted for the purposes of my dissertation that focuses on the role of language functions in identity negotiation. Herein, I present a stylistic analysis of the semantic roles of sample key words (i.e. loci) in identity construction in a selected fiction discourse from the perspective of social class. The applied research method draws on the domains of semantics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics. In terms of the structuralist view of the language system, I focus on the intersection of the lexical and the discourse levels. Principally, this paper aims to determine whether there is a correlation between the negotiation of alter-identity (i.e. consciously constructed, non-authentic identity) as opposed to identity and the particular lexico-syntactic means the protagonists opt to use.

In the present analysis the *functional-textual* approach to language (originated in 1930s by the Prague School, see Mathesius, 1982) is adopted in order "to understand why [...] particular linguistic patterns are found, in terms of the social and communicative needs which the text is called on to serve" (Fowler, 1996, p. 11).

2 Material under Investigation

To begin with, the three novels I analyse are *Room at the Top*, *The Stars' Tennis Balls*, and *The Line of Beauty* (henceforward RT, SB and LB, respectively; see *Sources* below). The reason for this choice was firstly my long-term interest in the topic of upward social mobility and its linguistic manifestation and secondly the striking similarity of the storylines concerning the lives of the protagonists, their motivations and the outcomes of their social endeavours.

To introduce the aforementioned protagonists from a standpoint presented in the respective novels, *Joe Lampton* (RT) is originally a working-class civil servant, who later gets married into the upper middle-class family of a factory owner. *Ashley Barson-Garland* (SB) is a lower middle-class college student and a political researcher, who later becomes an MP, and *Nick Guest* (LB), who is also a lower middle-class college student who later becomes a magazine editor and lover of an upper-class partner. As has already been mentioned, the motivation for these characters is their upward social mobility. Thus, their identity is constructed and negotiated in a period when their original identity is being suppressed and their new desired identity assumed. The strategy they all adopt is based on becoming lodgers with the more socially privileged.

Consequently, the *non-aligned status* that best characterises their class membership is inherent in all their self-presentations. As these are motivated by the protagonist's intention to attain a particular *semiotic effect* rather than present identity that is actually felt to be true, most of the self-presentations can be expected to be acts of *alterity* rather than identity. This term is originally used by Hastings and Manning (2004), however, in the context of negotiating mock identities. The difference between the original and my use of this concept is the degree of recipient awareness.

Alterity as mock identity is usually perceived by both the producer and the recipient as a form of acting out, whereas an act of alterity in the context of my current analysis should be understood within the dichotomy desired – actual, i.e. alterity as an expression of a desired identity disguised and, more importantly, perceived as an actual identity. Thus the reflexive aspect of these identity construals is brought to the forefront, as the responsibility for meaning is 'delegated' to the recipient and the fulfilment of the original communicative intention is contingent on its recognition and acknowledgement by the interlocutor (see also *negotiability* in Leech, 1983, p. 23).

The original discourse of the novels was first sampled into basic information units that were labelled *messages* and manually copied from the original novels to form an electronic version of the analysed corpus. A message is a particular extract of text related to the topic of identity

negotiation always including the protagonist as a participant of a particular form of a dialogue (see Tab. 2 below). Thus, one of the main criteria for the delimitation of the text unit relevant for the current analysis is the retrievability of the *macroTheme* (Martin & Rose, 2003) of identity based on key words explicitly or, for that matter, implicitly present.

Hence, key words/loci³² play the role of “items of special interest” (Firbas, 1992, p. 29) determining the adequate level of content specificity that singles out the messages from the surrounding context. The extract RT 25 below demonstrates the method of message selection. Only the central section in bold is delimited as a *message*, i.e. pertaining to ‘identity’ discourse, with the locus underlined. The initial section provides general reference, while the closing section provides situational background:

[RT 25] Then I rejected it. Not on moral grounds; but because I felt then, and still do, that envy’s a small and squalid vice – the convict sulking because a fellow-prisoner’s been given a bigger helping of skilly. This didn’t abate the fierceness of my longing.

I wanted an Aston-Martin, I wanted a three-guinea linen shirt, I wanted a girl with a Riviera suntan – these were my rights, I felt, a signed and sealed legacy.

As I watched the tail-end of the Aston-Martin with its shiny new G.B. plate go out of sight I remembered the second-hand Austin Seven which the Efficient Zombie, ..., had just treated himself to. (29)

Moreover, the *message* can be specifically delimited within the *process model of language* (Leech, 1983, pp. 58-61) as an element of a three-part hierarchy of discourse – message – text. The model draws from Halliday’s (1980, pp. 66-70) *hierarchy of instrumentality* and describes the act of communication ‘as constituting a transaction on three different planes’ (Leech, 1983, p. 59):

- I. an interpersonal transaction (Discourse)
- II. an ideational transaction (Message)
- III. a textual transaction (Text).

³² Locus represents the syntactico-semantic focal point of the information structure of each message and is typically represented by a single key word, i.e. a noun/noun phrase.

The three planes are related hierarchically in such a manner that “the discourse includes the message, and the message includes the text” (*ibid.*).

The following table (see Tab. 1) summarises the quantitative results of the application of the elementary categories which structure the complete identity discourse³³.

TABLE 1: Overview of quantitative data for RT, SB and LB

	RT	SB	LB
Overall Word Total	84,600	96,800	157,800
'Identity' Word Total	6,996 (8%)	4,658 (5%)	5,024 (3%)
Total No. of Messages	98	66	81
Words per Message	71	71	62

Next, the messages were further classified according to the social variables they specifically refer to into five sets. Based on the presence of pertinent loci the sets are the *Presentation*, *Origin*, *Accent*, *Social System* and the *Setting* set (see Tab. 2 below). Since the latter is statistically the least significant set, it is not included in the table below.

As to the variables, *the Presentation Set* includes those of age, education, occupation and family, *the Origin Set* comprises family and geographical background, *the Accent Set* represents dispreferred and preferred types of pronunciation, *the Social System Set* class membership and relevant attitudes and, lastly, *the Setting Set* refers to all the significant spatial relations in the analysed discourse.

TABLE 2: Representation of Variable Sets in Room at the Top

Variable Set	Internal Dialogue (80%)	External Dialogue (20%)
Presentation	24%	47%
Origin	15%	18%
Accent	15%	23%
Social System	46%	12%

³³ The values presented in this table serve as indicators of the general statistical properties of the analysed texts. The overall word totals above are based on a rough estimate, as the complete original texts were available to me only in the printed form at the time of writing. The other totals are based on computer word counts of the identity discourse in an electronic version. The given percentages for each novel refer to the overall total highlighted in grey that is listed in the left column.

Another significant distinction (*cf.* Tab. 2) is between the occurrence of **internal** dialogue (on average 80% of the analysed discourse), and **external dialogue** (on average 20% of the analysed discourse), which has a considerable impact on the retrieved data. As this is a highly general distinction, it includes all categories of speech and thought presentation. The difference is mainly constituted by the explicit presence or absence of an interlocutor. The internal dialogue (extract RT 24 below) is characterised as an interaction of the protagonist with himself³⁴, or directly with the *implied reader* (*cf. receiver vs. addressee* in Leech, 1983, p. 13), while the external dialogue (extract LB 21 below) takes place between the protagonist and another explicitly present interlocutor, i.e. including direct speech.

[RT 24] *He [Jack Wales] hadn't ever had to work for anything he wanted; it had all been given to him. The salary which I'd been so pleased about, [...], would seem a pittance to him. The suit in which I fancied myself so much – my best suit – would seem cheap and nasty to him. He wouldn't have a best suit; all his clothes would be the best. (28-29)*

[LB 21] *'You know about furniture,' he [Lord Kessler] said.*

'A bit,' Nick said. 'My father's in the antiques business.'

'Yes, that's right, jolly good,' said Gerald, as if he'd confessed to being the son of a dustman. (51)

Moreover, the values in Table 2 above illustrate the interdependence of the dialogic structure and the types of conveyed messages (see highlighting in grey). The external dialogue typically displays a dominant occurrence of *the Presentation Set*, while the internal dialogue predominantly deals with the issues of the social system. Most of the internal dialogue messages of *the Social System Set* would be rather detrimental to the protagonist's (in this case Joe's, RT) social rise had they been uttered publically. An example of an internal dialogue message from *the Social System set* follows:

[RT 13] *I knew that they [items of a coffee set] were expensive because of their lack of ornament and the deep glow of enamel. I've an instinct like a water-diviner's where money's concerned; I was certain that I was in the*

³⁴ Certain ambiguities occurred in the internal dialogue distinction. Unlike RT and SB, where we are presented predominantly with Free Direct Thought in the internal dialogue, LB uses mostly the 3rd person narration, therefore (Free) Indirect Thought presentation. For the purpose of easier comparison between these three texts, the internal dialogue distinction is applied even when the protagonist is referred to in the 3rd person and it is objectively impossible to tell "whether one is reading the thoughts of the character or the views of the narrator/author" (Leech & Short, 1981, p. 338).

presence of at least a thousand a year. When I noticed the matter-of-fact way in which Mrs Thompson handled the coffee-set, without a trace of that expression of mingled pride and anxiety which most women assume on bringing out good china, I increased the amount by five hundred. (16)

3 Theoretical Framework

From the broad perspective of semiotic relationships in identity negotiation the proposed discussion is based on three theoretical concepts, namely Jakobson's (1960) theory of the six basic functions of verbal communication, Holmes' (2001) concept of referential and affective function scales and Agha's (2007) discussion of reflexivity in human communication and reported speech.

Jakobson (1960) delimits six constitutive factors that determine six different functions of language: addresser, message, addressee, context, code, and contact³⁵. Verbal messages can rarely serve only one of these functions. Therefore there is a discernible hierarchy of functions in each language sample that is governed by the predominant function. Jakobson (1960) calls the "division of labour" between the individual functions participation. Following the logic of hierarchy, a certain function displays *leading* participation in each message, while other functions display *accessory* participation.

Correspondingly, in her discussion of social factors influencing communication, Holmes (2001) describes four different social dimensions that are represented by four scales out of which the last one holds the greatest relevance for the current analysis: solidarity-social distance scale, status scale, formality scale and referential and affective function scale. In accordance with Jakobson's approach, she points out that both these functions occur in communicative language use at the same time; however, one function will be dominant depending on the particular constellation of the above-mentioned four factors.

Agha's (2007) work on language and social relations indirectly exploits the above-mentioned concepts, but takes a considerably broader and more innovative perspective. He emphasises that "the social effects mediated by speech are highly context-bound or indexical in character" (Agha, 2007, p. 14). As a result, the relevance of reflexive activity lies in the fact that it is an activity in which we can typify perceivable signs (extra-linguistic and linguistic) by using communication (ibid.). The communicative process thus grants speakers the

³⁵ To illustrate, the addresser is the focus of the so-called emotive function of language. If the emotive function takes on a leading participation role, its purest expression will be presented by the

potential to re-signify particular social indexical values in a specific context through reflexivity, a notion of crucial descriptive importance when discussing the construction of identity. In Marková's view (1997), reflexivity is an "ability to comprehend the effect of one's own language on others, to interpret the other person's language and the effect of language of both (all) interlocutors on the process of communication" (Marková, 1997: 227). Moreover, there is also the "reflexive relationship between text and its interpreter" (ibid.; cf. Bakhtin, 2008).

Below is a schematic representation of this communicative model, which expounds my application of it in this analysis. The arrows in the graph represent the dynamic orientation of the elements of a communicative event towards a certain goal, in other words it shows how the information potential of the message is realized by dominant and accessory language functions in a given situation. The vertical axis of denotation (y) represents the semiotic relationship between a language sign and the extra-linguistic reality. The horizontal axis of interaction (x) represents the semiotic relationship between the author of a message and the recipient. The third important element is the axis of time (z), which represents communication unfolding in time. It is along this axis that the information structure of our messages oscillates. The overall amount of expressive and factual content will be dependent on our communicative aim and on how effectively we are able to attain it.

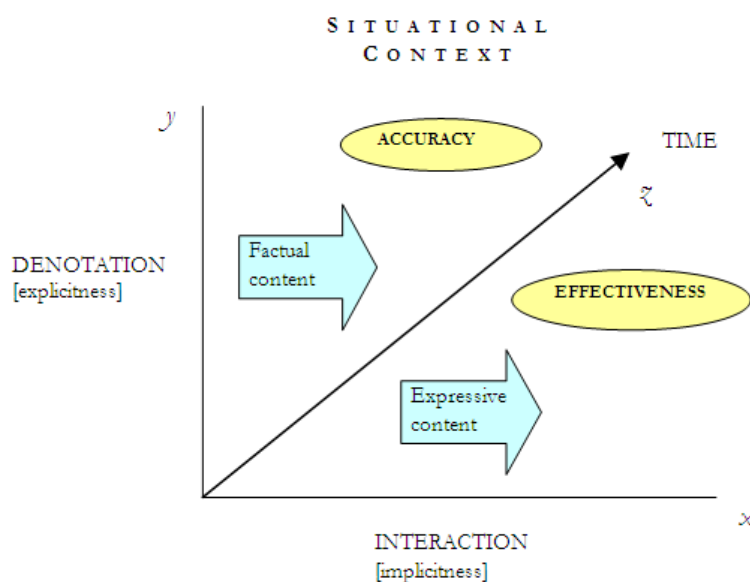


FIGURE 1: Semiotic Relationships in Identity Negotiation (based on Agha, 2007)

interjections that "differ from the means of referential language both by their sound pattern [...] and by their syntactic role" (Jakobson, 1960, p. 354).

From a more narrowly delimited perspective of semantic analysis, herein my focus is on the level of specificity that the aforementioned loci display. As Cruse (2004) says, one level of specificity has a special status and it is called “the basic or generic level of specificity” (Cruse, 2004, p. 133). The basic level categories are, then, characterised as being at the “most inclusive level for which a clear visual image can be formed” and they are habitually used for “neutral, everyday reference” (ibid.). For these reasons, the basic level categories are typically processed faster than super- or subordinate level categories. Rosch asserts that “objects may be first seen or recognised as members of their basic categories”, and only then they are “identified as members of their superordinate or subordinate category” (Rosch, 1978, p. 10).

Therefore, I am interested in the potential differences between the levels of loci specificity in relation to a particular level of the language hierarchy (i.e. mainly lexical and syntactic), since they can offer insight into the specific aspects of alterity negotiation, particularly concerning the degree of implicitness and semantic indeterminacy (cf. Lyons, 1996, p. 49).

4 Hypothesis

Relating to the above-mentioned concept of the dynamic balance between effective (i.e. communicatively successful) and accurate (i.e. denotationally correct) content in communication, it should be emphasised that the effectiveness discussed herein can be understood as a form of effective interpersonal domination. Thus, the external dialogue effectiveness lies in the fact that it stays unrecognised by the explicit interlocutor. In the case of the internal dialogue, the recipient is either the protagonist himself (in the act of self-persuasion) or the implied reader. As an overt reaction of the recipient is absent, the effectiveness is judged by the employed linguistic means. Typically, these are evaluative utterances using *verba sentiendi* in predication, or their nominalised equivalents in the form of copulative predication that defy a truth test (see the following extract RT 27).

[RT 27] Suddenly, I had an intuition that I could sleep with Eva. It was a genuine intuition, not simply a rationalization of my desires. I've always found that intuitions are rarely wrong. Mine work very well because I'm not very fond of abstract thinking and I never expect anyone to be morally superior to myself. (33)

Therefore, principally, I argue that the more accurate, the less effective an act of communication will be (cf. Fig. 1 above, the oscillation of message content). Consequently,

the more effective the content, the more implicit and indirect its expression will be, which should lead to deeper embeddedness of the loci in context.

Specifically, my hypothesis concerns the correspondence between the homo/heterogeneity of grammatical meaning and the homo/heterogeneity of lexical meaning as represented by the different types of information structure in messages:

The negotiation of identity (occurring in accuracy-oriented messages) should display a prevalence of syntactico-semantically homogenous events, and the negotiation of alterity (occurring in effectiveness-oriented messages) should be represented by the prevalence of heterogenous events.

An example of the homogenous type of event is represented by the extract RT 1 below, while the extract RT 94 illustrates the heterogenous type of event (emphasis mine). Grammatically, an event is homogeneous “if it is construed as unchanging”, and heterogeneous “if it is construed as changing” (Cruse, 2004, p. 286). Semantically, I view heterogeneity as represented by contrast, while homogeneity as represented by similarity. RT 1 displays an affirmative, i.e. homogenous, sense relation structure via the use of hypero-/hyponymy (*clothes, shoes, coat, hat*), whereas RT 94 displays contrastive, i.e. heterogenous, structure via the use of contextual opposition (*suit vs. skin*).

Grammatically speaking, in the first extract there is a striking prevalence of copulative predication (see emphasis below) that is characterised by expressing static entities, herein made even more prominent by the occurring qualifying type of predication with the nominal part expressed by adjectives that are by definition atemporal (cf. Cruse, 2004).

In the second extract, the predications express mainly dynamic aspects (see emphasis below) construing a changing reality. Consequently, RT 1 is identified as a message predominantly displaying accuracy and negotiating identity, whereas RT 94 is identified as a message predominantly displaying effectiveness and negotiating alterity. It should also be noted that the first extract occurs at the very beginning of the analysed discourse, i.e. *Room at the Top*, while the second extract occurs at the end.

*[RT 1]My **clothes** were my Sunday best: a light grey suit that had cost fourteen guineas, a plain grey tie, plain grey socks, and brown shoes. **The shoes** were the most expensive I'd ever possessed, with a deep, rich, nearly black lustre. My trench-coat and my hat, though, weren't up to the same standard; **the coat**, after only three months, was badly wrinkled and smelled*

of rubber, and **the hat** was faintly discoloured with hair-oil and pinched to a sharp point in front. (7)

[RT 94] 'I expected it,' Joe Lampton said soberly. 'She [Alice] drove like a maniac. It doesn't make it any less tragic, though.' I didn't like Joe Lampton. He was a sensible young accountant with **a neatly-pressed blue suit** and a stiff white collar. He always said and did the correct thing and never embarrassed anyone with an unseemly display of emotion. ... I hated Joe Lampton, but he looked and sounded very sure of himself sitting at my desk in **my skin**; he'd come to stay, this was no flying visit. (219)

5 Applied Method

It follows from what has been stated above that the elementary units I focus on are messages in general (for their delimitation see *Material under Investigation*, extract RT 25 above) and the message loci in particular. These are analytically approached via the concept of semantic fields. For the purposes of the current analysis, I find it most useful to adopt the taxonomical distinction of categories at different levels of abstraction and inclusiveness (see Cruse, 2004; Rosch, 1973, 1978). The data are thus organised into tables that classify loci from each separate variable set of each fiction discourse³⁶ (e.g. Tab. 3 below presents the semantic fields of the *System Set in RT*).

In order to render the Overviews of Semantic Fields informative, I have limited my description to only two levels. The 'shelter terms' I use for the semantic fields represent broad superordinate categories, whereas the loci themselves represent the subordinate members that display shared semantic features outlined by the name of the pertinent semantic field (see Tab. 3 below - *Hierarchy, Membership, Location, Tendency and Status Symbol*).

As this categorisation is heavily contextualised, the membership of some of the loci might appear unfounded when assessed in isolation. Equally, the degree of membership of the individual loci differs based on discourse and dialogue type. The results of the semantic analysis are highlighted in the table below by bold print for the basic level categories and asterisks for external dialogue loci. The colour coding signals the accuracy-effectiveness

³⁶ For reasons of practicality and space limitations I do not present the overviews of semantic fields in the text of the article. All the analysed loci are listed in the Appendices below. Moreover, the relevant data are illustrated by Fig. 2, 3 and 4 below summarising the loci levels of specificity.

ratio, i.e. the loci in red display accuracy orientation, the loci in blue display effectiveness orientation in their respective messages.

TABLE 3: System Set Semantic Fields (RT)

SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview – System Set (A/E ratio 16:17)				
HIERARCHY	MEMBERSHIP	LOCATION	TENDENCY	STATUS SYMBOL
2x CLASS*	CLUB	PLACE	FAULTS	DRESSING GOWN
2x POWER	KINSHIP	POSITION	INSTINCT	SHIRT
3x GRADE	PROTOCOL	WORLD		COFFEE
OWNERSHIP	GAME			PRICE
LABOUR	KEY			2x SUIT
SHOPKEEPER				UNIFORM
2x LEVEL				
2x INCOME GROUP				
ROYALTY				
RIGHT*				

To illustrate the pertinent context, the two extracts below (RT 10 and RT 24) display two basic-level category loci represented in the Status Symbol field (see Tab. 3 above); the accuracy oriented locus DRESSING GOWN (see Tab. 3 above) and the effectiveness oriented locus SUIT (see Tab. 3 above), respectively:

[RT 10] *‘There’ll be some coffee in half an hour, by the way. Or would you prefer tea?’ I said that coffee would suit me splendidly (I would much rather have had tea but I had an instinctive feeling that it wasn’t quite correct at that hour). When she’d left the room I opened my suitcase and unfolded my **my dressing-gown**. I’d never had one before [...]. (13)*

[RT 24] *He [Jack Wales] hadn’t ever had to work for anything he wanted; it had all been given to him. The salary which I’d been so pleased about, [...], would seem a pittance to him. **The suit** in which I fancied myself so much – my best suit – would seem cheap and nasty to him. He wouldn’t have a best suit; all his clothes would be the best. (28-29)*

6 Results and Discussion

In the following discussion, the results obtained from each fiction discourse (RT, SB, LB) are outlined and compared to demonstrate how the conclusions were arrived at. All the results below refer to the data presented in the Appendices (see Appendix A, B, C below).

As illustrated below, the distribution of accuracy (15%) and effectiveness (9%) within the basic level categories (see Fig. 2 *RT Semantic Fields – Proportion of Levels of Specificity*) represents a significant result, as the loci in the RT variable sets display a higher proportion of effectiveness in 3 out of 5 sets. Therefore, an opposite result was hypothesised. One more distinction (not represented in Fig. 2) is the ratio of internal (83%) and external (17%) dialogue basic level loci. This result positively correlates with the ratio of all the occurring loci and the generally low number of external dialogue messages.

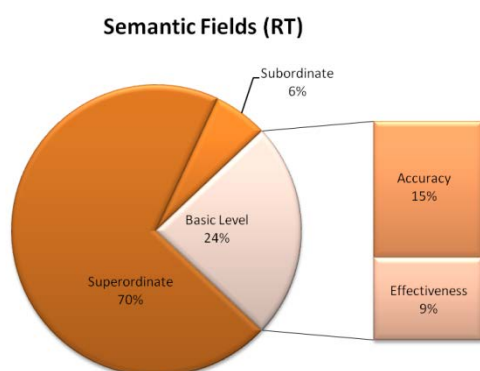


FIGURE 2: *RT Semantic Fields – Proportion of Levels of Specificity*

Here, I find it particularly useful to refer to the basic principles for the formation of categories. In her definition, Rosch (1978) asserts that “the task of category systems is to provide maximum information with the least cognitive effort”, and that “the perceived world comes as structured information rather than as arbitrary or unpredictable attributes”, therefore, “maximum information with least cognitive effort is achieved if categories map the perceived world structure as closely as possible” (Rosch, 1978, p. 2). It follows that the processing of basic level categories should be faster than of the categories with higher or lower level of specificity.

To exemplify, the locus (**bolded**) of the extract RT 20 below is categorised as a basic-level category, while the locus of RT 1 is categorised as an under-specification, i.e. the locus CLOTHES being a hyperonym of a potential basic-level category item in this semantic field such as e.g. shirt.

*[RT 20] **The kitchen** was large and clean and bright with an electric oven which had a control panel like a bomber's. [...] And yet the room was as gay as Mrs Thompson's flowered apron, it would, just as it was, have served as a film set for any middle-class comedy. It didn't make one feel an intruder;*

there were no squalid little secrets like stopped-up sinks and dirty dishcloths.
(23)

[RT 1] *My clothes* were my Sunday best: a light grey suit that had cost fourteen guineas, a plain grey tie, plain grey socks, and brown shoes. The shoes were the most expensive I'd ever possessed, with a deep, rich, nearly black lustre. My trench-coat and my hat, though, weren't up to the same standard; the coat, after only three months, was badly wrinkled and smelled of rubber, and the hat was faintly discoloured with hair-oil and pinched to a sharp point in front. (7)

Thus, the occurrence of basic level category loci in a particular discourse should positively correlate with the level of accuracy therein, as accuracy (denotational correctness) is represented by explicitness of expression. Also the overall results for RT indicate a similar tendency, particularly in the direct proportion of the degree of accuracy in the whole discourse and the sum total of the occurring basic level categories when compared to the other two discourses.

Nevertheless, when the occurring semantic fields are examined more closely, the aforementioned correlations become problematic. As was described above, basic level categories should provide maximum information, while applying minimum cognitive effort. However, if we consider the principal characteristics of alterity negotiation as an expression of a *desired* identity perceived as an *actual* identity, the speaker can be expected to intend to achieve the opposite counterbalance, i.e. limited information with considerable cognitive effort. This strategy should grant the speaker greater control over the ongoing communication.

As remarked above, the sub- or superordinate category loci should require longer processing time and thus might provide an opportunity for the speaker to exert more influence and control over the semantic commitment (cf. Frazier & Rayner, 1990) the recipient makes in the process of interpreting a given message.

To illustrate this notion, below is an example of the above described results in alterity negotiation that are semantically marked by the negative correlation between the message level of accuracy and the occurrence of basic-level category loci. In the SB 33 extract, the speakers opt for a syntactically accurate expression, yet neither of the sentence elements can be considered a member of a basic level category.

'**My mother** teaches, sir,' I said [...]. (66)

To achieve a higher level of accuracy and specificity, the second speaker (Ashley) could have chosen to formulate identical content using a basic level category (e.g. *My mother is a teacher, Sir...* [therefore she cannot take holiday at free will].), as this is his first mention of his mother. If the profession is referred to by the verb *teach*, the semantic range to be interpreted is potentially broader. Ashley's mother could teach at elementary school but also at college. Had Ashley used the noun *teacher*, the latter interpretation is significantly backgrounded.

Generally speaking, the *Presentation* sets occurring in the three analysed discourses can be perceived as the most relevant sets from the perspective of the content of identity negotiation as they most readily describe the personal identity of the protagonists. Moreover, in all three discourses the *Presentation* set consistently displays the highest degree of accuracy, while containing the lowest (LB) or the second lowest (RT, SB) number of basic level categories.

Therefore, the aforementioned discrepancy caused by the high degree of accuracy and a low number of basic level loci is particularly noticeable in the *Presentation* set (61% of accuracy loci overall). Interestingly, the only other set that displays a higher accuracy loci ratio than the effectiveness ratio is the *Origin* set (54% of accuracy loci overall) that can be considered representing the most relevant aspects of personal identity together with *Presentation*. The other three RT sets loci (*System*, *Setting* and *Accent*) display a lower accuracy ratio and a higher number of basic level loci than the first two sets.

As shown in the following chart (see Fig. 3), the distribution of accuracy (8%) and effectiveness (9%) within the basic level categories in SB represents a less significant result than in RT, however, given that *Presentation* and *Accent* are the only sets that display a higher proportion of *accuracy*, a less balanced result was hypothesised prior to the analysis. Nevertheless, this proportion might be influenced by the average utterance length in internal and external dialogue. Unlike RT and LB, where the internal average values tend to be twice as high as the external values, in SB the average utterance length displays similar values for both the internal and external dialogue.

Semantic Fields (SB)

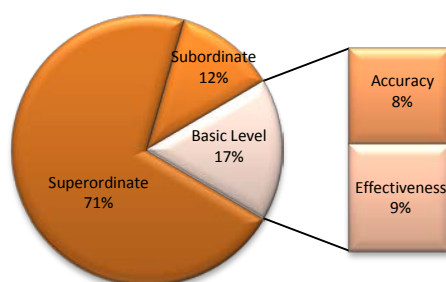


FIGURE 3: SB Semantic Fields – Proportion of Levels of Specificity

The dominance of superordinate categories is again clearly demonstrated, herein only 1% higher than in RT. However, concerning the higher level of specificity, in SB the basic level and subordinate categories display a more balanced ratio than in RT. This difference could be caused not only by the authors' style but also by the predominantly written form of Ashley's identity negotiation. The written channel of communication as compared to the spoken typically grants the language user more time for encoding and decoding and thus might allow for a higher level of specificity.

A diary entry extract follows:

*[SB 22] She [mother] brought some of her deaf kids home for tea this afternoon. After they have gone you said that good God, they even signed in a Mancunian accent. You thought it a good joke. Mum bridled and called you a snob. That was the first time the word was ever said openly. [...] And I came up and started to write this and ... ah. I've gone into **the first person**. I have said 'I'. (31)*

As in RT, the SB *Presentation* set displays the highest degree of accuracy (identically to RT 61% of accuracy loci), while containing the second lowest number of basic level categories, i.e. 11%. Similarly to RT, only one more set (*Accent*) displays a higher ratio of accuracy loci (57%) together with the lowest number of basic level categories (8%).

Concerning the LB results, it should be emphasised that the LB loci display a proportion of basic level categories similar to SB (13 and 11 loci, respectively), which is 50% lower than RT (24 loci). Moreover, in LB the basic level loci are more unevenly distributed than in the previous two discourses, since in three sets out of five only one basic level locus occurs,

which makes comparisons with RT and SB less statistically reliable. Nevertheless, this fact seems to be in accordance with the different styles of the discussed authors, the particular topics of their novels and the type of lexis they frequently employ.

As shown in the chart below (see Fig. 4), the distribution of accuracy (12%) and effectiveness (3%) within the basic level categories represents a highly significant result, given that *Presentation* and *Setting* are the only sets that display a higher proportion of *accuracy* loci and the overall ratio of accuracy vs. effectiveness loci is almost perfectly balanced (54% vs. 46%).

A possible explanation can be found in the uneven distribution of basic level loci within the individual sets. Since 77% of these loci occur in the *System* and *Setting* set that particularly focus on the description of physical objects, the high frequency of basic level categories that are accuracy-oriented is an expected result as is also demonstrated by the extract LB 69 below:

[LB 69] He seemed to tread there for a moment, [...], in the archway that led from the outside world to the inner garden: Toby who was born to use the gateway, the loggia, the stairs without looking at them or thinking about them. (295)

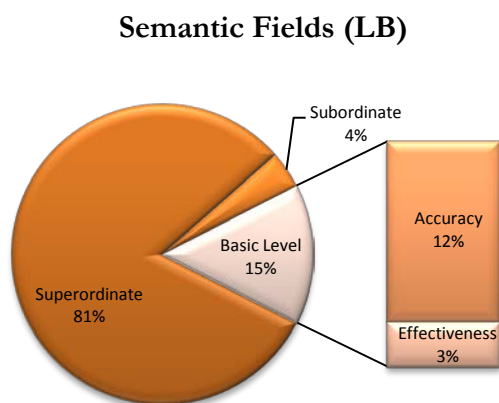


FIGURE 4: LB Semantic Fields – Proportion of Levels of Specificity

The dominance of *superordinate* categories is 10% higher than in RT and SB, resulting in a lower frequency of subordinate and basic level categories. Considering the SB proportion of levels of specificity (see Fig. 3 above), this result confirms the principle manifested in both RT and SB as it positively correlates with the significantly high proportion of external dialogue loci.

As was mentioned above, in SB the basic level and subordinate categories display a more balanced ratio than in RT, with the SB subordinate loci displaying the highest proportion in all three discourses. In the framework of my analysis, this difference might be caused by Ashley's (SB) predominant use of the written channel of communication that allows for higher specificity of expression (see extract SB 22 above).

Concerning the LB *levels of specificity*, we can observe the lowest subordinate and basic level loci proportion in the three analysed discourses. Moreover, the proportion of the external dialogue loci is considerably higher than in RT and SB. As the spoken communication allows the interlocutors a relatively shorter encoding and decoding time when compared to written communication, a higher degree of vagueness can be expected to occur. This is confirmed by the highest frequency of superordinate categories in LB and also by an average utterance length that is the shortest within the analysed discourses.

To continue the comparison of results from the three analysed discourses, in LB the *Presentation* set displays the highest degree of accuracy as in the previous two discourses (77% of accuracy loci as compared to 61% in RT and SB), while containing the lowest number of basic level categories, i.e. 6%. Similarly to RT and SB, only one more set (*Setting*) displays a higher ratio of accuracy loci (69%), however, the number of basic level categories is the second highest (19%).

7 Conclusions

In relation to the analysed semantic fields, the principle finding concerns the correlation between the frequency of the basic level category loci and the proportion of message accuracy. I indirectly hypothesised that in a semantically unmarked discourse, i.e. *identity* negotiation in the current framework, the occurrence of basic level category loci should positively correlate with the level of message accuracy (*cf. homo-/heterogeneity* above). Accuracy is represented by explicitness that also characterises the basic level categories.

However, in the light of the overall semantic results, a discrepancy between the degree of accuracy and the frequency of occurrence of basic level categories is manifested. This indirect proportion is caused by the contextual framework of *alterity* negotiation, which is manifested by *patent* accuracy at the sentence level and *latent* under- or over-specification at the lexical level (see Fig. 2, 3 and 4 on *Semantic Fields – Proportion of Levels of Specificity* above).

Thus it can be concluded that a significant proportion of the analysed messages manifests a tendency for *alterity* negotiation to be expressed in accordance with the principle of

accuracy-effectiveness dynamism. In terms of Leech's *process model of language* (1983, p. 59), these results indicate that *alterity* negotiation is expressed accurately at the level of discourse and messages, whereas at the textual level, the negotiation tends to be predominantly effective.

As regards the levels of specificity, based on the obtained results it can be concluded that the analysed data demonstrate a tendency to display higher levels of specificity (i.e. basic level and subordinate semantic categories) in the internal dialogue negotiation, whereas the external dialogue negotiation is more typically characterised by lower levels of specificity (i.e. superordinate semantic categories). A similar phenomenon is referred to by Urbanová (2003, p. 75) as the *manifestation of intentional illocutionary opacity in spoken discourse* (cf. Crystal & Davy, 1997, pp. 102-103).

The proposed hypothesis that identity and alterity negotiation is manifested by using different linguistic means is proven only indirectly. My expectations were based on the different psychological and linguistic characteristics of these two concepts. However, my hypothesis failed to incorporate the fact that such difference would be clearly discernible in its linguistic expression only under the condition that the producer considered it desirable to be disclosed to the recipient.

Since the successful (i.e. persuasive) negotiation of *alterity* is fundamentally contingent on its credibility as *identity*, the hypothesis has to be reformulated including this factor. Therefore, the conclusive version asserts that *identity* and *alterity* negotiation is manifested drawing on identical discrete syntactic and semantic means. However, their contextual use and their distributional patterns differ considerably in relation to the contrasting communicative intentions.

To summarise, within the framework of *alterity* negotiation the guiding principle of *accuracy-effectiveness dynamism* indicates semantic potentiality that is manifested dialectically, i.e. in such a manner as to make thorough use of the occurring contrasts. These contrasts are observable at three particular levels:

- at discourse level in the form of identity vs. alterity
- at message level in the form of paradigmatic relationships of affirmative vs. contrastive structure
- at textual level in the form of accuracy vs. effectiveness (syntactically) and in the form of basic level vs. super- or subordinate categories (lexically).

In order to maintain the validity of my analytical claims and to arrive at more universal conclusions, my data would have to be supported by more extensive research, particularly focusing on *identity negotiation* in direct interaction and spoken discourse. As my analysis is based on a single type of discourse, it is essential that the protagonists are not perceived as mere fictional characters but as sets of social personae that reflect the social attitudes, beliefs and projections of the authors and of the audiences for which they were created.

It is plausible to expect that a different analytical approach would have brought different phenomena to the forefront and offered alternative solutions. However, as Taylor asserts, “the making and sustaining of our identity [...] remains dialogical throughout our lives” (Taylor, 1991, p. 35). Thus identity can never be complete without the interpretation of others.

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APPENDIX A: Overview of Semantic Fields in RT

SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview – System Set (A/E ratio 16:17)				
HIERARCHY	MEMBERSHIP	LOCATION	TENDENCY	STATUS SYMBOL
2x CLASS*	CLUB	PLACE	FAULTS	DRESSING GOWN
2x POWER	KINSHIP	POSITION	INSTINCT	SHIRT
3x GRADE	PROTOCOL	WORLD		COFFEE
OWNERSHIP	GAME			PRICE
LABOUR	KEY			2x SUIT
SHOPKEEPER				UNIFORM
2x LEVEL				
2x INCOME GROUP				
ROYALTY				
RIGHT*				
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - Presentation Set (A/E ratio 14:9)				
BODY	PERSONALITY	ROLE	POSITION	
HAIR	PART	LODGER	POSITION	
SKIN	TYPE	LOVER*	POWER	
CLOTHES	MENTALITY	OLDER*	TOWN HALL*	
FACE		MINOR*	LEGACY	
FACE		JACK WALES*	HABITS*	
PERSON		NAME*	BARRIER	
MODEL				
GRIMACE*				
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview – Setting Set (A/E ratio 9:11)				
TOPOGRAPHY	BUILDING	ATTIRE	BORDER	
TOP	2X ROOM	2x SUIT	PASSPORT	
AVENUE	BATHROOM	EVENING-SUIT	TASTE	
LANGDON	DRAWING ROOM			
ROAD*	KITCHEN			
HILL*	3X HOUSE			
WORLD	PIECES			
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - Origin set (A/E ratio 7:6)				
ABILITY	FAMILY	TOPOGRAPHY	MEMBERSHIP	
CHARM	HOME	2X DUFTON	INTELLIGENT PEOPLE	
INTUITION	BIRTH	WARLEY	CIVILIZED PEOPLE*	
MIND	PLACE			
	FATHER*			
	WORKING-CLASS*			
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - Accent Set (A/E ratio 5:8)				
PRONUNCIATION		LANGUAGE		
4x ACCENT**		WORDS		
LANGUAGE		LOVE		
2X ACCENT*		TEA		
VOICE				
STANDARD ENGLISH				
'A'				

APPENDIX B: Overview of Semantic Fields in SB

SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview – Presentation Set (A/E ratio 17:11)			
BODY	PERSONALITY	ROLE	ATTRIBUTE
FEATURES	SOUL	2X RESEARCHER**	PERSON
HAND*	CONFIDENCE	MAN	IDENTITY
HEART	OPPOSITE*	POWER*	SENILE LABILITY
	INTUITION	SERVANT	VICTORY
	PRUDE	OPRAH	ASHLEY
	ANGER*	PERFORMER	THEM
	TOP DRAWER*		KNIVES
	SERIOUSNESS		ASHLEY
			QUALITY
			NAME
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - Origin Set (A/E ratio 5:7)			
ATTRIBUTE	FAMILY	TOPOGRAPHY	
OIK	2x MOTHER*	MOVE	
CURRENCY	PARENTS	'SHIRE'*	
PIN STRIPES	2X MISTAKE		
HAT*	CLASS		
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview – System Set (A/E ratio 4:8)			
HIERARCHY	TENDENCY	STATUS SYMBOL	
STATUS	MANNERS	SUIT*	
SEATS*	TASTE		
'POSH'			
3X NAME			
LOOKS			
WORLD			
MAJORITY			
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview – Setting Set (A/E ratio 2:7)			
ATTRIBUTE	ATTIRE	BUILDING	
SYMBOLS	HEAD	QUADRANGLE	
NAME	2x UNIFORM*		
HAT	SKIN		
	CLASS		
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview – Accent Set (A/E ratio 4:3)			
PRONUNCIATION	LANGUAGE		
EMPHASIS	DELIVERY		
'FROTHING'*	PLACE		
INTONATION*	MUD		
	VESPERTINE*		

APPENDIX C: Overview of Semantic Fields in LB

SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - System Set (A/E ratio 14:14)				
HIERARCHY	MEMBERSHIP	LOCATION	TENDENCY	STATUS SYMBOL
ARISTOCRACY*	MEMBER*	DISPLACEMENT	EXPECTATIONS*	PRICE
GROCER*	KEYHOLDER	VIEW	INSTINCT*	SUITS
PARASITES*	THEM*	GATEWAY	BENEVOLENCE*	MONEY
	ALIENATION	PARK*	SMILE*	'PRICES'
	FRIENDS	CHAIR*	RELIEF	SUIT
	SORT*	CASTLE*		WEALTH
	ROUTINE	PLACE x		
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - Setting Set (A/E ratio 11:5)				
TOPOGRAPHY	BUILDING	ATTITUDE		
NAME	2X ROOM	SUBMISSION		
	HABITAT	PRESUMPTION		
	KEYHOLDER	NEGLIGENCE*		
	BUTLER			
	2X HOUSE			
	KEY			
	CHILDREN*			
	CAR			
	FURNITURE			
	STILL LIFE			
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - Origin Set (A/E ratio 5:8)				
ATTITUDE	FAMILY	ROLE		
CONFIDENCE*	HOME	SON*		
FEELING*	HOUSEHOLD	LODGER*		
BOASTS*	ROOM*	STAIN		
	ANTICLIMAX	TWIT		
	BACKGROUND*	FIGURE		
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - Presentation Set (A/E ratio 13:4)				
PERSONALITY	ROLE	POSITION		
STANDARDS	LODGER	WORLD x		
THROB	OUTSIDER	COINAGE		
SHOCK	BOY	FRIENDS*		
	PUZZLE	NAME		
	AESTHETE			
	WHATSIT			
	WE *			
	ELEMENT			
	PART*			
	AESTHETE*			
SEMANTIC FIELDS Overview - Accent Set (A/E ratio 2:8)				
PRONUNCIATION	LANGUAGE			
PRONUNCIATION*	IMPLICATION			
BURBLE	STYLE*			
IMITATION*	ECONOMY*			
SOUND*	AGREEMENTS*			
VOWELS				
ASSENTS*				

Differences in Perceived Fluency and Utterance Fluency across Speech Elicitation Tasks: A Pilot Study

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Abstract

This pilot study focuses on whether analysis of perceived fluency and utterance fluency inform and provide support for the workability of three speech elicitation tasks designed to assess second language fluency. Nine intermediate-level French students aged 26 to 68 were asked to respond to three different speaking tasks. Temporal variables of utterance fluency were extracted using PRAAT speech analysis software and examined against holistic ratings of perceived fluency. Utterance fluency was operationalized as speech rate, phonation-time ratio and mean length of runs. Linguistic analysis featured quantitative and qualitative comparisons of ordinal and interval data. The results of this small-scale pilot study indicate that task difficulty impacts speech perception in terms of intra-rater reliability, and speech production with regard to pausing, speaking duration, and number of syllables produced. The findings also provide preliminary evidence indicating a link between PRAAT temporal fluency measurements and rater interpretation of holistic descriptors. Extracting temporal variables automatically and comparing them to holistic ratings across tasks elucidates the intricacy of the dynamics between perceived fluency and utterance fluency. For fluency assessment, it also underscores the importance of exploring perceived fluency and utterance fluency together rather than in isolation.

1. Introduction

Designing meaningful speech elicitation tasks that engage, elicit and enable second language (L2) learners to access and retrieve all the language in their repertoire is challenging. If the focus of using tasks is to inform L2 speech performance for fluency assessment purposes, then issues of task design must play a prominent role in the language test development process.

This paper begins with justifications for more research in task design for fluency assessment and reviews some of the existing research in L2 fluency. It is then followed by the methodology of a pilot research study and the conceptualization of tasks designed to trigger L2 speech production. The data analyses and results are presented with the two methods of investigation, namely holistic rating scores on the basis of established fluency criteria and measuring temporal variables of fluency using the PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2010) speech analysis software program. Finally, the contributions of the present research within the context of the pilot study are discussed.

Over the last two decades, empirical research has focused on pedagogical speech elicitation tasks as a major strand in second language acquisition research (e.g. Bygate & Samuda, 2005; Bygate, Skehan, & Swain, 2001; Ellis, 2001; Skehan & Foster, 1997). Research on the impact of speech tasks on L2 language use, processing and development has led to issues of task design.

Spoken task types can leave learners at a disadvantage because their L2 speech production skills are not always primed to face these assessment items in real-life or testing situations. With the growing use of spoken task types in classroom assessments and high-stakes language tests, research is needed into the design of pedagogical tasks that enhance rather than hinder, L2 fluency.

Research to date on L2 fluency has been plagued by a lack of precision. It is often used to convey global oral proficiency to refer to a speaker who has a high command of the L2 (Kormos, 2006; Lennon, 1990; Riggensbach, 1991; Schmidt, 1992). Lennon (2000) distinguishes between two senses of fluency: a broad sense, referring to all-round oral proficiency, and a narrow sense, referring to the speed and smoothness of delivery. Although fluency in the broad sense is probably the most generic way to refer to overall L2 competency, the term is problematic because it is nonetheless vague (Fulcher, 2003). The lack of precision associated with defining fluency is therefore inherently reflected in the difficulty of assessing it. Despite the absence of widespread agreement in the research literature about the exact definition of fluency (see Segalowitz, 2010 for a comprehensive

review), fluency assessment based on spoken task types remains a primary defining criterion in many L2 language tests.

In light of the issues raised, the pilot study explained in the remainder of this paper explores the effect of three elicitation tasks on L2 speech production and perception. The current research was multi-pronged and attempted to determine:

1. The differences in perceived fluency and utterance fluency across speech elicitation task types.
2. The workability of the speech elicitation tasks designed to assess L2 fluency.
3. The feasibility of using a PRAAT software script (De Jong & Wempe, 2009) to automatically measure temporal variables of utterance fluency for practical language assessment purposes.
4. For these purposes, the pilot study aimed to address this main research question:
5. How do perceived fluency and utterance fluency differ on the three speech elicitation tasks designed to assess L2 fluency?

2 Definitions

While there are a range of meanings for pedagogical task, in this paper, it is defined as “a holistic activity which engages language use in order to achieve some non-linguistic outcome while meeting a linguistic challenge, with the overall aim of promoting language learning, through process or product or both” (Samuda & Bygate, 2008, p. 69). Fluency, in terms of L2 skill performance, refers to “the rapid, smooth, accurate, lucid, and efficient translation of thought or communicative intention under the temporal constraints of on-line processing”(Lennon, 1990; 2000, p. 26) . The notion of utterance fluency refers to the temporal values of speech or the “oral features of utterances that reflect the operation of underlying cognitive processes” (Segalowitz, 2010, p. 48). Finally, the concept of perceived fluency refers to the “inferences listeners make about a speaker’s cognitive fluency based on their perception of utterance fluency” (Segalowitz, 2010, p. 48).

3 Literature Review

Fluency has been identified as an important skill to assess in second language testing. Closely tied to fluency assessment, however, is the issue of task design and the development of speech tasks that sufficiently trigger L2 speaking performance. Several empirical studies have investigated L2 speech perception and production using varying elicitation tasks and scopes of measurement (De Jong, Steinel, Florijn, Schoonen, & Hulstijn, 2007; Derwing, Munro, Thomson, & Rossiter, 2009; Derwing, Rossiter, Munro, & Thomson, 2004; Kormos & Dénes, 2004; Rossiter, 2009; Skehan & Foster, 1997). In common with all these studies are methods of rating speech samples against holistic rating scales for perceived fluency, measuring temporal variables for utterance fluency and investigating correlations. However, they employed a mixture of task types, planning time conditions, measurement methods and temporal variables to investigate L2 fluency. Because fluency is multi-dimensional, the findings of the studies mentioned above are not systematically comparable due to a lack of consistency in applying a common set of objective fluency variables and operationalization methods (Kormos, 2006; Segalowitz, 2010).

Albeit with differences in operationalization, empirical research findings have revealed particular aspects of how tasks and conditions impact L2 speech performance. In general, speech rate is identified as one of the most salient temporal variables of L2 fluency (Derwing, et al., 2004; Freed, 1995; Kormos & Dénes, 2004; Lennon, 1990; O'Brien, Segalowitz, Freed, & Collentine, 2007; Riggensbach, 1991; Rossiter, 2009; Towell, Hawkins, & Bazergui, 1996). Kormos and Dénes (2004) explored variables which predict perceptions of fluency. They investigated the distinguishing fluency features of 16 Hungarian English language learners at two proficiency levels using a narrative task allowing for two minutes of planning time. The speech samples were rated for fluency using a scale that ranged from 1 to 5. Speech rate, mean length of runs, phonation time ratio and the number of stressed words produced per minute (pace) were reported as the best predictors of fluency. While Lennon (1990) and Foster and Skehan (1999) found filled pauses and unfilled pauses correlated with fluency, these speech phenomenon did not impact perceptions of fluency.

However, as Chambers (1997, p. 540) points out “becoming fluent therefore is not about speaking faster (articulation rate), but about pausing less often and pausing at the appropriate junctures in an utterance.” Given the debate in the research literature about the side effects of pause phenomenon on perceived fluency (e.g., Kormos & Dénes, 2004; Riggensbach, 1991; Towell, et al., 1996), this conclusion seems particularly relevant for speech processing in the L1 and L2 alike. Recently, this same conclusion has been echoed further by Ginther, Dimova and Yang (2010, p. 393) , “the contribution of silent pausing

deserves careful attention". The examination of how pause phenomena vary at different fluency levels is worthy of further empirical research.

Along these same lines but using more contemporary methods, De Jong et al. (2007) reported an experiment which aimed to investigate the impact of task complexity on L1 and L2 Dutch speaking performance. In this study, 267 participants responded to four simple and four complex role-play monologue tasks with a 30-second planning time per task. Fluency judgements were evaluated using a six-part scale. Fluency was measured with PRAAT solely in regard to phonation time ratio and syllables per second. For L1 speakers fluency increased when tasks were complex as reported by phonation-time ratio measurements. For L2 speakers however, results showed that fluency decreased on complex tasks as reported by syllables per second. This finding is particularly salient for future research in L2 cognition and how attention capacity - albeit limited in L2 processing - is selected and distributed in speech production.

More recently, Rossiter (2009) examined perceptions of speaking fluency of 24 adult ESL students using a picture description task in a pretest and posttest format with one minute of planning time. The speech samples were rated for fluency using a Likert scale. Temporal measurements such as speech rate, unfilled pauses and mean length of run were made using SoundEdit 16. Fluency judgments correlated with the temporal measures of total pause per second and pruned syllables per second. Pausing, self-repetition, speech rate, and fillers were reported as negative features for perceived fluency. This study raises important pedagogical issues concerning the need to provide the sufficient oral practice critical to L2 skill development. While classroom practice often promotes a communicative approach, fluency building activities are often missing from instruction (Gatbonton & Segalowitz, 2005; Rossiter, Derwing, Manimtim, & Thomson, 2010).

Although these studies had different research aims, they all empirically investigated L2 fluency by employing monologue narrative elicitation tasks under time constraints, judged fluency according to rating scales, and measured temporal values of fluency. Until a well-defined holistic rubric and operationalization criteria to reliably measure L2 fluency are standardized, research will continue to vary and impact fluency performance assessment.

In response to the lack of consistency, this pilot study follows the work of Kormos and Dénes (2004) by employing monologue task types to elicit speech as well as speech rate, mean length of utterance and phonation time ratio as fluency predictors. This research also follows the work of De Jong et al. (2007) in that it will automatically measure temporal variables of fluency using PRAAT software. Finally, in response to the Rossiter et al. (2010) study, pedagogical implications of the pilot research will be discussed.

4 Methods

4.1 Participants

The pilot study investigated a small population of students ($n = 9$) enrolled in an intermediate French class at an Alliance Française in Denver, Colorado. With the exception of one L1 Spanish speaker (a thirty year resident of the USA) and one British English speaker, the participants were all speakers of American English. Three of the participants were retired and six were professionals. In exchange for their contributions, a 90-minute private lesson focusing on an area of difficulty was offered.

One rater took part in the pilot study: a PhD student with 12 years of ESL and French teaching experience and normal hearing. She rated the nine speech performances using an adapted version of the CEF (Common European Framework) fluency scale. The scale descriptors ranged from zero to six, with zero indicating no fluency and six indicating a high level of fluency. The rater has been involved in several language test development and fluency rating projects for large-scale testing organizations.

4.2 Sampling

The students represented in the sample were chosen for their intermediate CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference) B1/B2 French proficiency as reported by the Alliance Française placement test. Given the geographic location and the small number of students at the B1/B2 level, it was not possible to have random assignment of students. This restricted the researcher in her sampling procedure.

4.3 General Procedures

Participants were asked to respond to three different narrative speech elicitation tasks including a picture description, a story retell and an opinion question. These tasks were administered at the Alliance Française according to a standard set of procedures. A 3-minute allotment for planning preceded each speech task but participants typically started to speak after approximately 30 seconds. All speech samples were recorded using GarageBand. In order to ensure precise audio files for analysis, the speech samples were edited to remove unrelated speech and pauses at the beginning and end of each recording. The speech samples were also transcribed manually by hand. Syllables were extracted automatically using the PRAAT script from De Jong and Wempe (2009) and pauses were processed using the *TextGrid (to silences)* function.

4.4 Speaking Task Design and Development

This section provides an overview of the design procedures involved in conceptualizing and organizing the speaking tasks used in the pilot study.

To begin, a test specification document was created to describe the L2 speaking component of the pilot study and guide the overall task design and development process. In particular, the criteria specified details *on the assessment purpose, audience, domain, proficiency level, method, assessment criteria, score use and speaking construct*. Following Bygate (2005), this stage focused on the proper conceptualization and comprehension of task goals to avoid random trial and error.

Stage 2 involved reviewing the literature on task models (Robinson, 2001; Skehan & Foster, 2001), task types and the different methods to assess L2 speaking. Rather than commenting on the pros and cons of each, this section highlights the overall L2 speech-enhancing properties of the tasks designed for this pilot study. Being cognizant that L2 fluency varies according to task type and planning time, the tasks were conceptualized to emphasize fluency, or general facility and latency, in spoken French by responding to tasks about everyday life. The tasks aimed to elicit ability to formulate and produce intelligible utterances at a conversational pace. Following Skehan's (1998) model, the task design implemented the dimensions of perspective, immediacy and planning time.

To measure L2 fluency, the overall design sought to cover several task types in order to encourage a range of skills and a more complete representation of learner abilities (Luoma, 2004). As the pilot project was only concerned with L2 speaking skills, the tasks did not involve evaluating any listening or interactional aspects. Based on the literature consulted, narrative monologues including a picture description, a story retell and an open question were chosen as tasks. The picture description task depicted people working in an internet café, the story retell task described a horseback riding accident, and the open question pertained to organic farming and government intervention. Table 1 below summarizes the main features of the three speech tasks.

The task content was designed to be interesting and purposeful, but also simple and intuitive. Special care was taken to design task content targeting themes common to the geographic area to provide a Colorado flavour. The tasks did not require any particular world knowledge, special insight, or memory capability and were in the realm of familiarity of typical adult life. Building on Levelt's (1989) model of speech production, the tasks were conceptualized as activities to support L2 skill performance in that they were goal oriented, attempting to support a link from *intention to articulation*.

The final stage involved pilot testing the tasks and performing the perceived fluency and utterance fluency analysis. This portion of the project is described in the remainder of this paper. It should be noted that the tasks and administration procedures were also pre piloted on a 21-year-old non-native French major from the University of Colorado at Boulder and a 44-year-old native French speaking Aerospace engineer.

TABLE 1: *Speech Task Synopsis*

Task type	Targeted functions and discourse features	Dimension	Planning time	Input	Format
1. Picture description	Express factual/conceptual information/describe/comment	Immediacy/perspective	3 minutes	Visual/written prompt	Monologue
2. Story retell	Explain/describe/recount	Immediacy/perspective	3 minutes	Visual/written prompt	Monologue
3. Open question	Express an opinion/comment with a personal focus	Immediacy/perspective	3 minutes	Written prompt	Monologue

4.5 Analysis

Given the small number of participants in the pilot, ordinal data (holistic ratings), interval data (temporal measures), and non-parametric statistical techniques were selected to analyze the data. Using the following methods, the study explored the pilot test results from the perspective of utterance and perceived fluency and examined how they differed across tasks at a single point in time as pertinent for language assessment.

First, to analyze the first dependent variable, utterance fluency, two types of quantitative analyses were performed on the linguistic data collected for each task. Using a PRAAT script (See Appendices B and C) specifically designed to measure speech rate automatically by finding syllable nuclei with intensity (dB), voicedness and pauses, the dependent variable of L2 utterance fluency was operationalized as follows:

1. Speech rate 1 = total number of syllables / total duration (with pauses) in seconds
2. Speech rate 2 = number of syllables / total duration (without pauses) in seconds
3. Mean length of run = average number of syllabus in utterances between pauses of .25

PRAAT was configured to detect pauses of 0.25 seconds and above as recommended by Towell et al. (1996)

4. Phonation time ratio = total talk time / total duration

“Calculated as the percentage of the time spent speaking as percentage of the time taken to produce the speech sample” as recommended by Towell et al. (1996, p. 91)

Second, the temporal values and holistic ratings were entered as variables in SPSS. Next, the descriptive statistics and the Friedman test were calculated to measure the same subjects under the three different task conditions. Finally, the Wilcoxon Signed Rank test was computed to find out where the differences lie.

To analyze the second dependent variable, perceived fluency, I rated the three tasks at the onset of the 12-week French class using an adapted version of the CEFR. At week 6, these same three tasks were rerated again, blind (not having looked at the original ratings). Next, the intra-rater reliability figures for each task were calculated. Finally, using the quantitative analysis extracted from PRAAT, I link temporal variable measurements to rating scores and discuss intra-rater reliability and rater interpretation of holistic descriptors from a perceived fluency perspective.

5. Results

The research examined how L2 utterance fluency and perceived fluency differ on three speech tasks. Given the small data set (N=9), it was difficult to perform meaningful statistical analysis. Nonetheless, the following conclusions were inferred from the data.

To facilitate comprehension and provide context to the summary below, Task 1 refers to the picture description task, Task 2 to the horseback riding story retell task, and Task 3 to the open question about organic farming task.

5.1 Main analyses for utterance fluency

Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics for temporal variables by task, listed as t1, t2 and t3. The table includes Speech rate 1, Speech rate 2, mean length of runs (MLR), phonation-time ratio (PTR) and rating.

TABLE 2: Descriptive Statistics for Temporal Variables

Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Sd
Spechrates1t1	9	2.53	3.65	3.02	0.33
Spechrates1t2	9	2.49	3.18	2.80	0.22
Spechrates1t3	9	2.46	3.34	2.98	0.25
Spechrates2t1	9	5.02	6.39	5.61	0.60

Speechrate2t2	9	4.52	6.92	6.09	0.72
Speechrate2t3	9	4.69	7.11	5.67	0.73
PTRt1	9	0.43	0.69	0.54	0.08
PTRt2	9	0.38	0.56	0.47	0.06
PTRt3	9	0.41	0.62	0.53	0.07
MLRt1	9	4.41	8.32	5.46	1.24
MLRt2	9	3.71	7.35	5.09	1.03
MLRt3	9	4.45	6.45	5.51	0.77
Ratingt1	9	3.00	4.00	3.44	0.53
Ratingt2	9	3.00	4.00	3.56	0.53
Ratingt3	9	3.00	4.00	3.33	0.50

5.2 Speech rate observations

Examination of the mean for Speech rate 1 reveals a difference in syllables produced per minute across tasks. The most substantial difference is associated with a comparison of mean measures between Task 1 and Task 2, a variation of 13.2 syllables per minute. Further analyses computed by the Wilcoxon test confirm the two sets of Speech rate 1 measures are significantly different ($p < 0.021$). Speech rate 2 represents greater variation between Tasks 1 and 2, a difference of 28.8 syllables per minute. However, this larger difference is expected as Speech rate 2 is measured without pauses. Because Speech rate 1 is higher for Task 1 than Task 2, and Speech rate 2 is lower for Task 1 than Task 2, this indicates that pausing is greater in Task 2. This greater pausing is also revealed by the large difference between Speech rate 1 and Speech rate 2 for Task 2.

5.3 Phonation-time ratio or (PTR) observations

The Wilcoxon test also reports a significant difference ($p < 0.038$) in phonation-time ratio between Tasks 1 and 2. The values associated with PTR for Task 1 are 54% compared to 47% for Task 2, indicating a difference of 7%. The PTR of Task 1 (54%) and Task 3 (53%) are similar, possibly suggesting congruent features and difficulty.

5.4 Mean length of runs (or MLR) observations

The mean for MLR is similar for Task 1 and Task 3. This is also observed with speech rates and PTR. However, the standard deviation of the MLR in Task 1 is much greater than in Task 3. This is due to the maximum MLR value measurement of 8.32 for participant 2, increasing not only the standard deviation, but also the mean. The speech pattern of participant 2 is

characterized by free flowing utterances followed by long pauses before starting again. If this result were to be removed from the set, the mean and standard deviation would be lower and therefore more similar to the two other tasks.

The descriptive statistics (see table 2) reveal a general trend indicating the influence of task difficulty on L2 speech production. To get a more scientific view of this phenomenon, further examination of the production data would need to be carried out with a larger data set. In general, Task 2 represented a more cognitively demanding task and likely required more processing. Task 2 had the lowest mean for Speech rate 1, PTR and MLR. Accordingly, it also had the highest Speech rate 2. Although the participants were not asked to formally rate the difficulty of the tasks, their informal feedback reported Task 2 as being the most taxing. Furthermore, the Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Signed Rank test was computed for all the remaining production variables and did not report any other significant differences.

TABLE 2: Descriptive Statistics for Temporal Variables

Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Sd
Speechrate1t1	9	2.53	3.65	3.02	0.33
Speechrate1t2	9	2.49	3.18	2.80	0.22
Speechrate1t3	9	2.46	3.34	2.98	0.25
Speechrate2t1	9	5.02	6.39	5.61	0.60
Speechrate2t2	9	4.52	6.92	6.09	0.72
Speechrate2t3	9	4.69	7.11	5.67	0.73
PTRt1	9	0.43	0.69	0.54	0.08
PTRt2	9	0.38	0.56	0.47	0.06
PTRt3	9	0.41	0.62	0.53	0.07
MLRt1	9	4.41	8.32	5.46	1.24
MLRt2	9	3.71	7.35	5.09	1.03
MLRt3	9	4.45	6.45	5.51	0.77
Ratingt1	9	3.00	4.00	3.44	0.53
Ratingt2	9	3.00	4.00	3.56	0.53
Ratingt3	9	3.00	4.00	3.33	0.50

Table 3 represents the number of syllables per participant per task. The mean value for the entire duration was 314 syllables for Task 1, 506 syllables for Task 2 and 394 syllables for Task 3. This data shows that participants are producing more speech in Task 2 compared to Task 1 and Task 3. Examination of differences in standard deviation across tasks once again

suggests spread similarities between Task 1 and Task 3, and indicates more centered values in Task 2.

TABLE 3: Number of Syllables per Task

Student	Number of Syllables		
	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3
1	172	338	179
2	208	519	259
3	607	549	579
4	387	411	420
5	272	587	319
6	420	595	406
7	177	471	284
8	406	677	633
9	174	410	467
MEAN	313.67	506.33	394.00
MIN	172	338	179
MAX	607	677	633
Sd	151.00	108.07	149.86

5.5 Summary of analyses for utterance fluency

1. Tasks 1 and 2 are significantly different in regard to Speech rate 1 and phonation- time ratio as reported by the Wilcoxon test.
2. Task 2 is more cognitively demanding. Task 2 provokes more pausing than Tasks 1 or 3.
3. Task type impacts speaking duration. Task 2 provokes the most speech production with the longest speaking duration rate of 181 seconds (see Table 4).
4. Task type impacts the number of syllables produced per speech sample. The average number of syllables for Task 2 was 506, which is the highest mean.
5. Tasks 1 and 3 are consistently similar in regard to Speech rate 1, Speech rate 2, PTR and MLR.

5.6 Main analyses for perceived fluency

Speaking performances by all nine participants were rated against the CEFR fluency criteria. Using the rank order correlation formula, I calculated my first and second set of marks.

5.7 Intra-rater reliability observations

The intra-rater reliability figures are 85% for Task 1, 74% for Task 2, and 100% for Task 3, which indicate acceptable internal consistency. There was a difference in performance rating opinion between the two sets of speech samples when re-marked blind at 6 weeks. Interestingly the lowest intra-rater reliability figure of 74% was for Task 2, the most cognitively demanding task. This observation signals that task difficulty and rating difficulty may be related. Task difficulty may exert more stress on the rater resulting in more overall difficulty rating the fluency of the speech sample.

The intra-rater reliability figure of 85% for Task 1 is also worthy of comment. In the second set of ratings, the mark for participant number 9 was upgraded to a 4 on the fluency scale. Judging from the breakdown of temporal measurements per rating level, as explained in the next section, this upgrade was warranted in terms of Speech rate 2, PTR, MLR, but not Speech rate 1. This observation may have important repercussions on fluency perception as pausing in speech production occurs naturally. In other words, pause phenomenon, included in the calculation of Speech rate 1, may exert a greater influence in speech perception than Speech rate 2, PTR or MLR temporal variables.

Table 4 presents the temporal measurements for each participant by task. The table includes Speech rate 1, Speech rate 2, mean length of runs (MLR), phonation-time ratio (PTR), first pass CEFR rating and task speaking duration.

TABLE 4: Temporal Value Measurements by Student and Task

Student	Task1					Speaking Duration
	Sp Rate # 1	Sp Rate #2	PTR	MLR	Rating	
1	2.82	5.18	0.54	4.41	4.00	61.02
2	3.65	5.28	0.69	8.32	4.00	57.05
3	3.00	6.39	0.47	4.43	3.00	202.20
4	3.03	5.02	0.60	6.34	4.00	127.68
5	2.69	6.28	0.43	4.69	3.00	101.35
6	3.13	5.04	0.62	5.75	3.00	72.28
7	3.03	6.05	0.50	5.06	3.00	58.46
8	3.31	6.21	0.53	5.27	4.00	122.57
9	2.53	5.06	0.50	4.83	3.00	68.71
MEAN	3.02	5.61	0.54	5.46	3.44	96.81
MIN	2.53	5.02	0.43	4.41	3.00	57.05
MAX	3.65	6.39	0.69	8.32	4.00	202.20
Sd	0.33	0.60	0.08	1.25	0.53	48.05

Student	Task2					Speaking
	Sp Rate # 1	Sp Rate #2	PTR	MLR	Rating	Duration
1	2.86	6.39	0.45	4.39	4.00	118.01
2	3.18	5.69	0.56	5.40	4.00	162.97
3	2.73	5.90	0.48	3.71	3.00	201.17
4	2.96	6.12	0.48	4.78	4.00	138.90
5	2.72	6.69	0.41	5.15	3.00	215.88
6	2.86	6.92	0.41	7.35	4.00	208.01
7	2.51	6.61	0.38	5.54	3.00	188.00
8	2.93	5.93	0.49	5.13	4.00	231.11
9	2.49	4.52	0.55	4.32	3.00	164.93
MEAN	2.80	6.09	0.47	5.08	3.56	181.00
MIN	2.49	4.52	0.38	3.71	3.00	118.01
MAX	3.18	6.92	0.56	7.35	4.00	231.11
Sd	0.22	0.72	0.06	1.03	0.53	37.48
Student	Task3					Speaking
	Sp Rate # 1	Sp Rate #2	PTR	MLR	Rating	Duration
1	3.20	5.24	0.61	5.11	4.00	55.92
2	2.91	7.11	0.41	5.9	3.00	89.00
3	2.89	6.12	0.46	4.45	3.00	204.70
4	3.13	5.04	0.62	5.75	4.00	134.08
5	2.96	5.48	0.54	6.25	3.00	107.76
6	3.34	6.27	0.53	6.34	3.00	121.45
7	2.93	5.56	0.53	6.45	3.00	96.99
8	3.04	5.43	0.56	5.55	4.00	207.97
9	2.46	4.69	0.52	4.45	3.00	189.72
MEAN	2.98	5.66	0.53	5.52	3.33	134.18
MIN	2.46	4.69	0.41	4.45	3.00	55.92
MAX	3.34	7.11	0.62	6.45	4.00	207.97
Sd	0.25	0.73	0.07	0.76	0.50	54.67

5.8 Fluency rating compared to temporal variable measurement observations

These data were analyzed by comparing the fluency ratings against the temporal variables extracted from PRAAT. One important finding is that holistic perception ratings of 4 typically correspond to the highest temporal measurements. In other words, the greater the temporal variable, the higher the rating on the fluency scale. As can be seen from the data presented in Table 5, ratings of 4 and 3 generally fall into the following ranges across tasks:

TABLE 5: Temporal Value Ranges by Rating Level

Rating 4	Range
Speech rate #1:	3.00 - 3.65
Speech rate #2:	5.02 - 6.92
PTR:	45% - 69%
MLR:	4.38 - 7.34
Rating 3	Range
Speech rate #1:	2.46 - 3.34
Speech rate #2:	4.51 - 6.04
PTR:	38% - 54%
MLR:	3.71 - 5.54

With the exception of students 1 and 6 (see Table 4), these ranges tend to be relatively static across tasks. However, for Tasks 1 and 3, students 3 and 6 are interesting exceptions for two reasons. First, I hesitated between a rating assignment of 3 or 4. I settled on a 3 in accordance with the fluency rating training received, which specified when in doubt between two scores, give the lower one. Second, as can be observed from the data, the temporal values extracted for these students actually fall into the range of 4 in both tasks. Although these students were assigned a 3 from my holistic perception rating, their speech samples defy the range of a 3.

Two other observations also worth noting across tasks are the higher temporal measurements associated with students 5 and 7, whom each were assigned a 3 rating. It is possible that PRAAT software may be counting English hesitation phenomenon (um, uh, ah) as syllables, which are very prominent in student 7's speech sample. The same phenomenon may also apply for student 5, who makes use of "bon, euh, donc, alors" to fill gaps in processing. If so, the apparent use of communication strategies seems to be working in student 5's favour in terms of automatic temporal appraisal. However, to the human rater, it remains to be determined whether the use of communication strategies in L2 speech production are perceived as empty content or as fluency enhancing (for a comprehensive review on communication strategies see Dörnyei and Kormos (1998) and Færch and Kasper (1983)). More research using PRAAT software is needed to decipher whether such communication strategies and fillers are elevating the syllable counts and how communication strategies such as paraphrasing and restructuring impact fluency.

Lastly, student 2 in Task 3 has an abnormally high Speech rate 2 measurement of 7.11. One explanation for this may be the excessive pausing that followed the participant getting flustered and tongue-tied. Given the short sample (89 seconds) and because Speech rate 2 is calculated without pauses, this figure is considerably inflated.

It should be duly noted that fluency research using the PRAAT script to detect pauses and syllables automatically is relatively new. The analysis in Table 5 presents a fair amount of overlap between levels but provides some reasons to account for discrepancies in the speech rate PRAAT script. Further analyses and validation procedures using this PRAAT script are required to narrow down and close existing gaps. However, the preliminary findings reveal that quantitative temporal variables of fluency can be related to overall criteria of the speaking rubric. This result supports the validity of using the rating scale and automatic speech rate procedures for language assessment purposes.

5.9 Summary of analyses for perceived fluency

Task difficulty and perceived fluency rating difficulty are related. Task difficulty affects rating difficulty. The lowest intra-reliability figure (74%) is associated with Task 2, the most difficult task.

Task difficulty and perceived ratings are related. Task difficulty affects speech perception. Tasks 1 and 3 are less cognitively demanding and have a higher amount of level 3 ratings. Task 2 is the most cognitively demanding and has the greatest amount of level 4 ratings.

Ranges of quantitative measurements as determined by PRAAT correspond to holistic perception rating levels across score levels and tasks. This finding highlights an underlying consistency between temporal measurement and perceived abilities.

The intra-rater reliability variation is 86% across tasks.

6. Conclusion

The present pilot study aimed to determine the extent to which analysis of perceived fluency and utterance fluency inform and provide support for the workability of three speech elicitation tasks designed to assess L2 fluency. The results reveal how task design and difficulty impact perceived fluency and utterance fluency differently, and thus influence overall speech production and perception. I argue that Task 2 and either Tasks 1 or 3 show distinguishing measurable features and are therefore workable for L2 fluency assessment. In sum, while all tasks trigger speech performance, the data reveals that Task 2 is the most difficult and prompts more speech output than Tasks 1 and 3. This observation may lend support to Robinson's (2001) cognitive processing model, which stipulates that cognitively demanding tasks provoke more speech production "by making additional functional demands and therefore increases lexical variety and grammatical accuracy" (p.39). This pilot study also provides some preliminary evidence indicating a link between temporal fluency measurements and intra-rater reliability, and rater interpretation of the fluency scale descriptors.

As explained in the literature review, fluency is a multi-dimensional construct. Clearly, the full extent of task variation cannot be validated at this stage given the small data set. Nor, when that data set is attained, will task variation be reduced to any one factor or dimension of fluency. However, I have attempted to make a case for depth and rigor in designing task types for language assessment. For data collection purposes, it is therefore essential to

rigorously pilot test tasks to determine their fluency provoking properties before they are included on a test.

The pilot study has a number of limitations that should be acknowledged. Factors contributing to task difficulty, such as speaking anxiety and motivation are also related to the quality of performance. The research did not control for individual differences in processing. The research was solely focused on perceived fluency and utterance fluency. It did not account for the relatively unexplored construct of cognitive fluency, which is a speaker's ability to mobilize and efficiently coordinate mechanisms to produce speech. Lastly, the link between the findings and task models is missing.

There is a need for valid, precise, and reliable speech rate measurement procedures. Although the idea behind this pilot study is not original, it represents one of the first attempts to use automatic speech rate procedures to validate tasks designed for practical language assessment. Like any new software, new users should expect to devote a fair amount of time to learning PRAAT. The quantitative analyses of temporal variables presented in this paper were extracted based on version 1 of the automatic speech rate script by De Jong and Wempe (2009). Version 2, released in September 2010, greatly simplifies the procedures and calculations. Future L2 fluency research would benefit from further experimentation with the PRAAT speech analysis program. Learning to use this technology will provide new insights and opportunities for research in utterance fluency. However, in order to make future studies systematically comparable, settings in the PRAAT script will need to be standardized for optimal results.

Given the vague nature of fluency, the implications for pedagogical and language testing research are enormous. In many cases, the language learning environment does not always allow learners to capitalize on acquired vocabulary and grammatical structures by providing the sufficient oral practice critical to L2 skill development. The teaching of natural oral communication skills is paramount if learners are to be successful in achieving language goals and cope with real-life speaking needs of the spoken components of exams such as the TOEFL or the PTE. When the stakes are high, test scores have the power to grant access to an entirely new life. Since the use of these tests are not likely to diminish in the near future, research needs to look at ways to enhance, not hinder, L2 fluency performance on tests of spoken language.

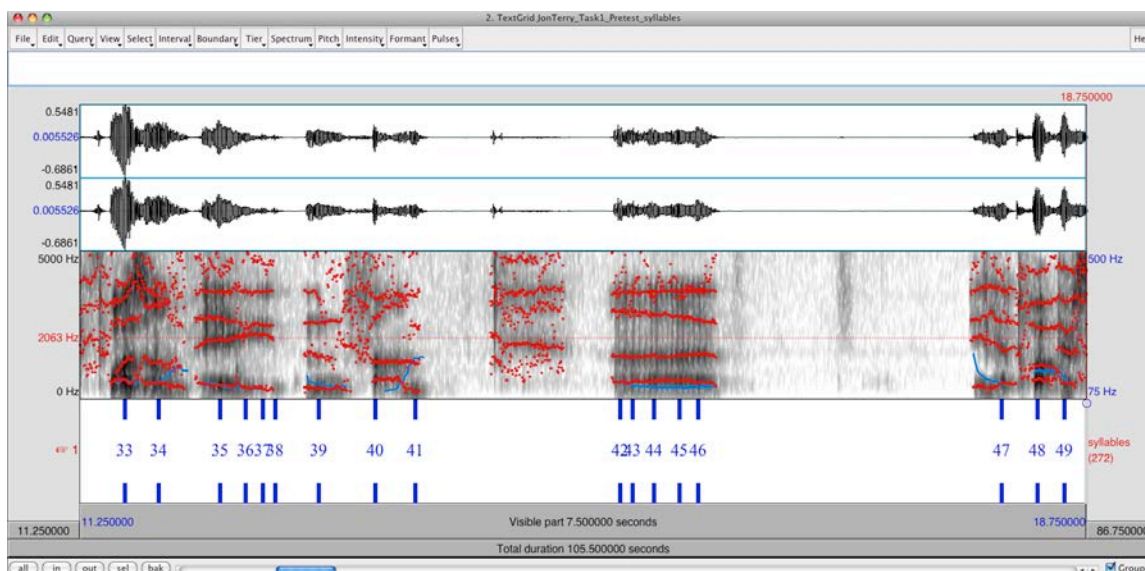
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APPENDIX A: Automatic extraction by means of PRAAT



APPENDIX B: PRAAT settings used to calculate silences and syllable measurements

The screenshot shows the 'Sound: To TextGrid (silences)' dialog box. It contains the following settings:

- Parameters for the intensity analysis
 - Minimum pitch (Hz): 100
 - Time step (s): 0.0 (= auto)
- Silent intervals detection
 - Silence threshold (dB): -25.0
 - Minimum silent interval duration (s): 0.25
 - Minimum sounding interval duration: 0.1
 - Silent interval label: silent
 - Sounding interval label: sounding

Buttons at the bottom include Help, Standards, Cancel, Apply, and OK.

Conceptual Metaphors of War in News Reports Covering the 2003 Invasion of Iraq by *The New York Times* and *The Daily Star*

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Abstract

This study aims to demonstrate how politically conflicting parties cognitively perceive war through the use of conceptual metaphors of [WAR] which are in turn adopted by journalists in their reporting of a conflict. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) introduced conceptual metaphors as cognitive processes that are commonplace, inescapable and rooted deep into our cognitive unconscious. Unlike our traditional understanding of metaphors, a conceptual metaphor is cognitive, not linguistic. This study analyzes and compares the use of conceptual metaphors of war found in 90 news reports taken from two English Language newspapers, *The New York Times*, which is published in the United States of America, and *The Daily Star*, which is published in Lebanon. The news reports are analyzed using conceptual metaphors of war and more specifically their metaphorical entailment identified by Lakoff as [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR]. This study concludes that though the two newspapers are reporting the same events, there are discrepancies in the way the participants in this war (the coalition, Saddam Hussein's government, and the Iraqi people) are conceptualized across the prewar, war, and postwar period.

1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to illustrate how cognition shapes the way we express our understanding of the goings-on in the world around us via language. A massive volume of studies from various disciplines demonstrates that, due to human nature and the nature of news itself, the mass media simply cannot provide a perspective that is totally free from subjective interpretations of events (Curren, 2002; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Hartley, 1990; Stocking & Gross, 1989; Willis, 2003). In fact, Fairclough (1995) argues that news is seen as operating within a social system. Parts of our cognition interact with our social environment, allowing us to understand and express events through language (Lakoff, 1992, 1995; Lakoff, 2002; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In this study, 90 news reports appearing in two English language newspapers, *The New York Times*, published in The United States of America, and *The Daily Star*, published in Lebanon are selected and analyzed in order to identify the conceptual metaphors used for constructions of events and its participants in news reports covering the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

Many linguists, including critical discourse analysts, have been particularly interested in metaphor as a powerful rhetorical strategy in political media discourse (Billig & Macmillan, 2005; Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton, 2004; Chilton & Schäffner, 2002; Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Lakoff, 1992, 1995, 2002; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Scheithauer, 2007; Semino, 2008; Semino & Masci, 1996). Chilton (2005) argues that in order for critical discourse analysis (CDA) to take a more explanatory stance rather than a solely descriptive one, it should be best to introduce the cognitive dimension. This study illustrates how one of the research components within the cognitive framework, conceptual metaphor theory, can at least partially explain why reported events are constructed in a particular manner. In order to do so, this study uses conceptual metaphors, which deal with the categories and concepts that fill our mental space and provide a mental representation of our experience (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002; Lakoff, 1992, 1995, 2002; van Dijk, 2006). Conceptual metaphors as presented by Lakoff (1992, 1995, 2002) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are based on the premise that cognitive abilities are not completely reliant on language. Instead, language reflects the way we understand and experience the world through understanding a particular concept in terms of another, hence the term “metaphor” (Croft & Cruse, 2004).

The significance of the study is that it aims to analyze and compare the news reports of two newspapers which are published in geographically, culturally, and socially different parts of the world. Furthermore, the study analyzes the coverage of the same international event, which allows us to identify the similarities and differences between newspapers across the

world. The present study also contributes to the growing literature on metaphor in the construction of events and their participants in the news media.

This paper is organized as follows: section II will define conceptual metaphors and present the narratives that result from the use of certain WAR metaphors. These are the metaphors of WAR that emerge from this text analysis of news reports. Section III will present the collection of news reports that are analyzed. This is followed by section IV which presents and compares the findings of the analysis in addition to discussing the use of [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] metaphor in these news reports. Finally, I conclude with a general summary of the major findings of this study.

2 Conceptual Metaphors of War

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) introduced 'metaphors' as cognitive processes that are commonplace, inescapable, and rooted deep in our cognitive unconscious. As Lakoff (1992) states in his article *Metaphor and War*, "indeed, there is an extensive, and mostly unconscious, system of metaphor that we use automatically and unreflectively to understand complexities and abstractions". Unlike our traditional understanding of metaphors, a conceptual metaphor is cognitive, not linguistic. The mind allows us to understand a concept such as [LOVE], [TIME], and [ARGUMENT] by relating it to certain characteristics of another concept. For example, [ARGUMENT] is mapped onto [WAR] where such a conceptual mapping makes some potential entailments, e.g.: **speakers** correspond to **soldiers**, **evidence** corresponds to **weapons**, and **convincing/not convincing** corresponds to **victory/defeat** in battle. This conceptual mapping leads us to produce linguistic utterances like: "he **defended** his point of view", "he **laid down** his evidence", "he **cornered** him", and "he **won** the debate". This study uses metaphors suggested by Lakoff (1991) which pertain to war because the news reports cover the events of the war against Iraq in 2003. The conceptual metaphors pertaining to war will provide an understanding of how journalists of *The New York Times* (NYT) and *The Daily Star* (DS) construct the events of the war against Iraq in 2003 based on these shared conceptual metaphors.

The research question that this study discusses in terms of conceptual metaphors is: how do The New York Times and The Daily Star categorize the participants in the war according to [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR]?

3 The Data

This study analyzes 45 news reports from each newspaper, which makes a total of 90 news reports that cover the war in three stages: the period representing the preparations and negotiations for war (August 2002-February 2003), the events during the war (March 2003-April 2003), and the aftermath beginning from the fall of Saddam until his capture (May 2003- December 15³⁷, 2003). The news reports from *The New York Times* (NYT) were retrieved from the Lexis-Nexis online database, and the news reports from *The Daily Star* (DS) were stored in the archives of the Jafet library at the American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon in the form of microfilm. The news reports were collected in two phases: first, the keywords "Iraq" and "war" with the dates between August 2002 and December 15, 2003 were used to retrieve all the reports that cover the Iraqi war in 2003 from *The New York Times*. Similarly, all the news reports covering the Iraqi war of 2003 from *The Daily Star* were collected from the same time period based on the same keywords³⁸. The second phase was to select the reports from both newspapers which covered exactly the same event, to make sure that each report from *The New York Times* had an equivalent report published in *The Daily Star*. The total number of reports was 45 reports for each newspaper. Of course, this selection left out the news reports published by *The Daily Star* which reported events that *The New York Times* did not and vice versa.

4 [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR]: Settling the Moral Account

In principle, a war usually needs to be morally justified. Therefore, a definition of morality according to Lakoff (2002) is required to understand the way people define what is morally good and what is morally bad. According to Lakoff (1992), one of the ways morality is conceptualized is by considering it a matter of keeping the moral books balanced. A wrongdoer, 'criminal', or 'sinner' must settle the moral books by giving back what has been taken, recompensing, or being punished. Justice, therefore, is the balancing of books.

³⁷ December 15, 2003 is the day Saddam Hussein was captured. I decided to consider this date the end point of the period that this data covers.

³⁸ *The Daily Star* did not have correspondents reporting the events in Iraq. It relied on agencies such as Reuters for information and then compiled the information from various agencies to prepare its news story. That was not the case with *The New York Times* which had journalists who were embedded in the army. That is why the news reports published by *The New York Times* had more coverage about military operations and combat.

The West usually presents the wrongdoer as someone who must “pay for his/her debt to society” to settle moral accounts (Lakoff, 1992). If the wrongdoer refuses to settle his moral account, then a [HERO] must step up and go after the criminal to give back to the affected party what has been taken from them. Whether this conceptualization of morality is universal or not remains an area that requires further investigation. To investigate whether a conceptual metaphor is universal or not, a researcher will need to see whether or not it exists in other typologically unrelated languages (Kövecses, 2010). Since this study only analyzes news reports in English, the issue of universality is not very relevant to the research question that this study addresses.

In the context of war, the moral accounting metaphor entails what is referred to as [THE CLASSIC FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR]. After analyzing statements made by American officials (most notably the President) regarding the Gulf War in 1991, Lakoff (1992) identifies the characters of the fairy tale. The metaphor [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] has a cast of characters that include: a [VILLAIN], a [VICTIM], and a [HERO]. Each of these characters has certain attributes. For example, the [HERO] is moral, courageous, rational, unwilling to negotiate with villains, and compelled to defend the [VICTIM]. The [VICTIM] is the innocent character who is living in the shadow of the evil [VILLAIN], enduring his/her cruel treatment. In Lakoff's analysis of the Gulf war, The United States is supposedly the one who fits the profile of the [HERO]. The [VILLAIN], in this case Iraq, on the other hand, is amoral, vicious, irrational, and may be cunning and calculating; therefore, one cannot negotiate with the [VILLAIN].

Lakoff (1992) then narrates the typical scenario of [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] which begins with the villain who has committed a crime against an innocent victim. This crime creates an imbalance of power and a moral imbalance. That is when a hero comes along to face the villain either alone or by bringing in some help. Typically, the journey to reach the villain is difficult and requires much sacrifice, yet the hero finally reaches the inherently evil villain and they fight. The hero defeats the villain and rescues the victim. That is when the moral balance is restored and victory is achieved, proving that the hero's sacrifices were worthwhile. The victim and the community honor and thank the hero.

To find out how the NYT and DS categorize the main parties involved in the war in addition to the relationship between them, the texts are analyzed to see how the United States, Saddam Hussein, and the Iraqi people are cast in the scenarios presented by *The New York Times* and *The Daily Star*. I read the articles to follow the events of the war and see if what is being reported in *The New York Times* and *The Daily Star* conforms to [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR]. Then, I selected statements and quotes present in the news report that

signal the kind of relationships that the American-led coalition, Saddam Hussein and his government, and Iraqi citizens have.

The news reports of *The New York Times* mainly show that this war is necessary because it is a matter of good versus evil:

(1) "Those who have lived through a struggle of good against evil are never neutral between them," Mr. Bush said (November 21, 2002, The New York Times).

In *The Daily Star's* news report covering the same event and published on the same day, Bush was not quoted as describing the conflict between the coalition forces and Iraq as a matter of good and evil, but only inserted quotes by Bush that accuse Saddam Hussein of being dangerous and deceiving:

(2) He [Bush] said "Should he again deny that this arsenal exists, he will have entered his final stage with a lie, and deception this time will not be tolerated. Delay and defiance will invite the severest consequences" (November 21, 2002, The Daily Star).

In reporting this event, *The New York Times* seems to do a better job than *The Daily Star* in activating [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] since it included a quote that not only portrays Saddam in a negative light but also describes the whole nature of the conflict as being good against evil.

After identifying [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] in the news reports, the following questions ought to be answered:

1. Who is the hero?
2. Who is the villain?
3. Who is the victim?
4. What is the crime?
5. What counts as victory?

The characters in this fairy tale are asymmetrical. The [HERO] is moral and courageous, while the [VILLAIN] is amoral and vicious. The [HERO] in these news reports is the coalition forces led by the United States and Britain, whereas the [VILLAIN] is Saddam Hussein and his Baathist party. I found it inappropriate to label Iraq as the [VILLAIN] as was done in previous

studies (Bates, 2004; Lakoff, 1992). Instead, it would be more accurate in this context (i.e. the Iraqi War of 2003) to label Saddam Hussein as the [VILLAIN] because one of the arguments that were used to justify the war was that the coalition forces were rescuing the innocent Iraqi people from the dictator Saddam Hussein and his “regime”. However, Iraq, as a state, is sometimes used to refer to Saddam Hussein due to the [STATE-AS-PERSON] metaphor. Therefore, it was crucial to recognize the instances when the word ‘Iraq’ is used to refer to the Iraqi people and when the word refers to the Iraqi *government* and ultimately Saddam Hussein.

In-depth qualitative analyses of the news reports suggests that President George W. Bush used two scenarios for justifying the war:

(3) *At the end of the meeting, the official said, Mr. Bush gave the go-ahead to the commanders to begin the war at the time they judged best, saying, “For the peace of the world and benefit and freedom of the Iraqi people, I hereby give the order to execute Operation Iraqi Freedom. May God bless the troops.” (March 21, 2003, The New York Times).*

This war is justified as being for the sake of both the world (self-defense) and the Iraqi people (saving the victims) who have been tortured and segregated by the “evil tyrant” that is Saddam Hussein. The ‘Operation Iraqi Freedom’ (example 3) reflects what this war is all about: freeing Iraq of the terrorizing dictator. In order to convince the American public of the necessity of sending troops to Iraq, President Bush had to use the self-defense scenario embodied in the search for the weapons of mass destruction.

After justifying the war, each party involved, that is, the coalition led by the United States, Saddam Hussein and his government, and Iraq were labeled as the typical fairy tale characters in the just war.

[HERO]

The [HERO] character is a moral, courageous and rational character who believes in justice and liberty. He/she exists in asymmetry to the [VILLAIN]’s characteristics. Therefore, because the [VILLAIN] is immoral and irrational, the [HERO] finds that it is his/her responsibility to rescue the victim from the atrocities laid upon by the [VILLAIN]. In an attempt to draw more allies that can further strengthen the [HERO], President Bush asserted that Europe had an obligation to protect its people from imminent threat. When France expressed its hesitation to give its consent to the resolution that allowed war to be waged

against Iraq, President Bush mentioned some of the characteristics of the [HERO] in this scenario:

(4) *"If they're unable to do so, the United States and our friends will act because we believe in peace, we want to keep the peace, we don't trust this man and that's what the Blair report showed today" Bush said (September 25, 2002, The Daily Star).*

(5) *"We have an urgent duty to prevent the worst from occurring" (October 8, 2002, The New York Times).*

The European countries (except for France and Russia) and The United States represent what Lakoff (1992) referred to as the [HERO] who is supposed to fight the evil [VILLAIN].

Eventually, after much pressure on the United States to seek alternatives other than war to resolve this problem, President Bush found that there was no other option but to disarm the Iraqi Baathist government by force for it is the [HERO]'s duty to do what is in the best interest of his nation and the victim:

(6) *"So far I haven't seen any evidence that he is disarming. Time is running out on Saddam Hussein; he must disarm," said the US leader, who has vowed to lead a "coalition of the willing" to disarm Baghdad by force if necessary (January 15, 2003, The Daily Star).*

The Bush administration argued that they could not elide the imminent threat that was approaching them. They had the power to turn things around:

(7) *Now, he said, "we do have the power to write a different story for our time." (November 21, 2002, The New York Times).*

That is why on March 21 2003, NYT and DS reported Mr. Bush's decision to launch the war against Iraq. Coalition forces, led by the United States, launched Operation Iraqi Freedom in order to rescue the Iraqi people from this villain. During the war, both newspapers, especially the NYT mentioned the reactions of the Iraqi people.

There were statements quoted in the reports that reflected a positive perception of the coalition as being the Iraqi people's saviors:

(8) *To be asked your nationality, and to answer American or British, is to hear the same response again and again: "America good," "Britain good,"*

often accompanied by raised thumbs, a broad smile and a wrist-wrenching handshake (October 15 2002, The New York Times).

In April, President Bush made a statement that declared the coalition forces victorious for they had successfully ousted the Baathist "regime" and set the victims free:

(9) In his television address to Iraqis, Bush said: "A long era of fear and cruelty is ending...You deserve better than tyranny and corruption and torture chambers. You deserve to live as free people" (April 11, 2003, The Daily Star).

The capturing and killing of Oday and Qusay, Saddam Hussein's sons, is another example of the reported events that give the coalition a 'heroic' image. The display of their bodies was a reminder and reassurance to Iraqis that the Hussein family was no longer a threat. As US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld announced:

(10) "The brutal careers of Odai and Qusai Hussein came to an end, sending a very clear signal to the Iraqis that the Hussein family is finished and will not be returning to terrorize them again" (July 26, 2003, The Daily Star).

A comparison of example (10) with the lead sentences that were published in NYT for the same story shows that the NYT emphasizes the negative results of the war during the postwar period:

(11) American officials displayed the corpses of Uday and Qusay Hussein for a group of journalists today, acknowledging that American morticians had reconstructed their faces with putty and cosmetically repaired wounds the men had sustained in a shootout on Tuesday.

The purpose of displaying the cleaned-up bodies, which were shown on Iraqi television, was to help convince a skeptical Iraqi public that the men killed were indeed the Hussein brothers. The release of photographs on Thursday showing the bloodied faces of the men was met by widespread suspicion across Iraq (July 26, 2003, The New York Times).

(12) The US-led coalition in Iraq showed off the bullet-riddled corpses of Saddam Hussein's two sons since Friday, anxious to banish any doubt that the notorious brothers had been killed by US forces (July 26, 2003, The Daily Star).

Statements (11) and (12) show that though the metaphor of the [HERO] was maintained all throughout the corpus, in the postwar period, the NYT reports started to emphasize the negative side-effects of the war in addition to being more critical of the coalition forces and especially the US forces. This is revealed in the story of the corpse display of Uday and Qusay, Hussein's two sons, where you have a [HERO] who is trying to reassure the [VICTIM] that the [VILLAIN] has been defeated. In (12), DS personifies "doubt" and describes it metaphorically as being banished for "doubt" in the abilities of the US forces does not fit the characteristics of the [HERO]. In fact, "doubt" as is personified here can be analyzed as being an enemy of the [HERO]. Unlike the DS, however, the NYT do not use words to modify the US forces but to describe the Iraqi people. The Iraqi people in (11) are described as being "skeptical". The *struggle* or *urgency* to maintain the image of the [HERO] in (12) published in DS appears to be stronger than in (11) published in NYT. This example is among several where NYT does not properly adhere to the characteristics of the [HERO] which is embodied in the United States government by highlighting negative characteristics or action taken by them:

(13) In a virtual power vacuum, with the relationship between American military and civilian authority seeming ill defined, new political parties, Kurds and Shiite religious groups are asserting virtual governmental authority in cities and villages across the country, sometimes right under the noses of American soldiers (May 3, 2003, The New York Times).

(14) "The Iraqi people have always been prepared for freedom," he [S.S. Nadir, a prominent art critic in Baghdad] said. "But we need help and we are not sure the Americans can provide that" (May 3, 2003, The New York Times).

As examples (13) and (14) illustrate, the atrocities of the war were very evident to the NYT journalists, and they placed some responsibility for the power vacuum on the coalition forces, who are supposed to be running the country. The reason NYT ceased to use the characteristics of the [HERO] is possibly because in the eyes of the NYT journalists, these characteristics do not fully apply to the United States government during the postwar period. On the other hand, one may argue that the [HERO]'s role ends when he/she defeats the [VILLAIN]. Therefore, the plot of [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] does not really continue after that. Still, portraying the United States government negatively has its implication about what the attitude of the NYT is towards the coalition forces during the postwar period.

As people started raising questions about the postwar plan, many statements from US military officials were nevertheless reported in NYT in their defense:

(15) *"Look, it can't be fun to be occupied," he said. "And it's not very much fun, frankly, being an occupying power. But the fact is, life is much better for the Iraqis today than it was six months and much better than it was a year ago. And they know that."*(October 27, 2003, The New York Times).

Then finally, on December 15, 2003, coalition troops in Iraq finally caught the 'fearsome dictator' Saddam Hussein:

(16) *"Ladies and gentlemen, we got him," senior US administrator Paul Bremer told a news conference in Baghdad. "The tyrant is a prisoner"* (December 15, 2003, The Daily Star).

The capture of Saddam Hussein was certainly a boost for the Bush administration. They proved that they could reach their objectives for they were able to overthrow the [VILLAIN] Saddam Hussein and his Baathist ruling party. The corpus shows that NYT and DS present the [VILLAIN] with certain characteristics that make it evil. So what is the United States standing up against?

[VILLAIN]

Lakoff (1992) describes the [VILLAIN] as an evil character. You cannot negotiate with the villain because, unlike the [HERO], he/she is immoral, vicious, and may be cunning and calculating. Therefore, the [HERO] has no choice but to fight him/her. The qualitative analysis of the news reports of both newspapers identified statements and quotes that show that Saddam Hussein generally fits the profile. News reports from the NYT and DS focus not only on his evil nature, but also on his irrationality which makes him/her even more of a threat.

An evil man. The Bush administration declared after the September 11 attacks that it would lead a war against terrorism in the world. Its first target was Iraq because the coalition forces had reason to believe that the Baathist "regime" was manufacturing or had plans to manufacture weapons of mass destruction. During the prewar period that is analyzed in this corpus (September 2002 to March 2003), Mr. Bush and his allies attempted to convince world leaders of Saddam's evil nature:

(17) *"Facing clear evidence or peril, we cannot wait for the final proof -- the smoking gun -- that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud." He continued, "Understanding the threats of our time, knowing the designs and deceptions of the Iraqi regime, we have every reason to assume the worst, and we have an urgent duty to prevent the worst from occurring"*(October 8, 2002, The New York Times).

When examining the corpus closely, statements made by President Bush and the journalists of NYT and DS illustrate the way the former President of Iraq Saddam Hussein fits the profile of the evil [VILLAIN] well:

(18) *"He has poisoned his people before, he has poisoned his neighborhood. He is willing to use weapons of mass destruction. And the prime minister continued to make the case, and so will I" (September 25, 2002, The Daily Star).*

(19) *"Tens of thousands of political opponents and ordinary citizens have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, and torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation and rape," he said. "Wives are tortured in front of their husbands, children in the presence of their parents -- and all of these horrors concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state" (October 8, 2002, The New York Times).*

(20) *He added, "He blames the suffering of Iraq's people on the United Nations, even as he uses his oil wealth to build lavish palaces for himself, and to buy arms for his country" (October 8, 2002, The New York Times).*

(21) *"We're fighting an enemy that knows no rules of law, that will wear civilian uniforms, that is willing to kill in order to continue the reign of fear of Saddam Hussein, but we're fighting them with bravery and courage," he said at the Pentagon Tuesday (March 26, 2003, The Daily Star).*

Saddam Hussein is described as the man who commits crimes against his own people. He tortures, executes innocent people, and causes starvation, mutilation and rape. His amoral character drives him to be so selfish that he spends a fortune on building palaces and buying arms for his country instead of improving the country's economy. Bush's intention to portray Saddam negatively is straightforwardly stated in NYT:

(22) *He went to great lengths to paint a vivid portrait of Mr. Hussein as an enemy of civilization (October 8, 2002, The New York Times).*

An irrational dictator. The NYT characterize the President as having a "messianic complex". Saddam's ambition to become a historical figure is described a psychological illness or an obsession.

At times, NYT directly characterizes his statements and behavior as "defiant":

(23) Today, he was defiant. "Let these discredited people know that Iraq does not set its course on orders from a foreigner, or choose its leadership in accordance with instructions coming from Washington, London and Tel Aviv, but solely in accord with the wishes of the people of Iraq," an official Iraqi News Agency summary said. "In dealing with Iraq, they should learn to behave with respect, or they will repent" (March 19, 2003, The New York Times).

Former President Saddam continued to be defiant without leaving room to rational discussion. Instead, he vowed that Washington, London and Tel Aviv will regret invading Iraq.

Saddam, therefore, is described as having the qualities of the typical villain. First of all, he is amoral and commits crimes against humanity. Secondly, he is irrational which makes him even more dangerous.

As in *The New York Times*, *The Daily Star* reports included discourse that focused mainly on the brutality, tyranny, and defiance of Saddam Hussein. Unlike *The New York Times*, *The Daily Star* has much less emphasis on irrationality when it comes to the portrayal of Saddam Hussein. This characteristic of the [VILLAIN] was heavily relied on in order to present a solid argument as to why world leaders and the United Nations cannot negotiate with the Baathist ruling party of Iraq by describing Saddam as "defiant", "dictator", "tyrant", and having "messianic complex". *The Daily Star* mostly reported how the US government was becoming impatient with Saddam Hussein's lack of cooperation. This is due to the fact that the anti-war discourse produced by some European leaders (mostly France and Germany) is given almost equal weight as that of the pro-war discourse. In both discourses, the concern is for the well-being of the [VICTIM] of this scenario, the Iraqi people.

[VICTIM]

As has been already mentioned, the Bush administration used the rescue scenario in its speeches urging world leaders to take notice of the helpless victim who were being abused and persecuted, especially the Shiites and the Kurds of Iraq. During the prewar period, the Americans and the British were happy to see that the Arabs were friendly and supportive of their mission to wipe out the Baathist "regime". The Iraqis who were not as welcoming were mainly the supporters of Saddam and members of his government. The Iraqi people are divided into two groups: those who are yearning for American intervention, hoping for a

better tomorrow, and those who are loyal to Saddam Hussein. In addition, I argue that the Iraqi people seem to switch from the role of the [VICTIM] during the prewar and war period to people who took control over their own fate in the postwar by examining the events, reactions, and statements made about the unstable situation during the postwar period. The implications of this change from a passive [VICTIM] to an active character suggests that the perception of the role of the coalition as a [HERO] may be threatened.

The divided Iraqi people. It is apparent from the corpus that the Iraqi people were divided because some supported the coalition and others supported Saddam Hussein.

In addition to the many quotes and descriptions of the Iraqi people's approval of the invasion during the prewar period, the NYT, did not ignore the other opposing reactions on the street especially the reaction of Saddam's loyalists:

(24) *The word among the people never varies: Saddam, Saddam, Saddam, only Saddam can save Iraq, only Saddam can bring Iraqis the proud, independent, prosperous life they crave (October 15, 2002, The New York Times).*

On the same day, journalists reported on two different reactions that not all Iraqi people were against ex-President Saddam Hussein.

In the news reports gathered from *The Daily Star* (DS), there are no testimonies by the victims of Saddam Hussein during the prewar period. In fact, there are statements and expressions of support for the former Iraqi President. Testimonies selected and published by both newspapers are helpful in finding out whether the newspapers conform to the metaphor of [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] thus perceiving the Iraqi people as the [VICTIM]. The [VICTIM] in the [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] must have a favorable view of the [HERO] (the American-led coalition) and feel threatened by the [VILLAIN] (the Baathist party led by Saddam Hussein). Though analysis of the reports shows that the coalition clearly identifies the Iraqi people as [VICTIMS], the Iraqis themselves do not do so consistently.

On October 11, 2002, Iraqis gathered to demonstrate against the American President:

(25) *Demonstrators waved banners reading, "Yes, yes to President Saddam Hussein" and "Death to the US." Some of them raised their rifles, shouting: "Bush, listen carefully, we all love our president"(October 11, 2003, The Daily Star).*

This is the only direct statement made by some Iraqi people in the reports during the prewar period. It clearly reflects the division among the Iraqi people. However, during the war period and beyond, the division of the Iraqi people becomes more apparent.

According to the fairy tale, when the [HERO] wins the war against the evil [VILLAIN], the [HERO] is supposed to be received with a warm welcome and gratitude. However, reports in NYT show mixed feelings:

(26) Protests against the American forces here are rising by the day as Iraqis exercise their new right to complain -- something that often landed them in prison or worse during President Saddam Hussein's rule.

But no one here is in the mood to note that paradox, as Iraqis confront with greater clarity their complicated reactions to the week-old American military presence here: anger at the looting; frustration at the ongoing lack of everything from electricity to a firm sense of order; fear of long-term United States military occupation.

"Down, down U.S.A. -- don't stay, go away!" chanted Ahmed Osman, 30, a teacher among the several hundred Iraqis protesting today in front of the Palestine Hotel downtown, which the marines are both guarding and using as their headquarters to recruit civil servants to reconstruct Iraq's central authority "Bush is the same as Saddam," he said (April 16, 2003, The New York Times).

This example shows that the [HERO] has freed the [VICTIM] from the fear and oppression that they suffered from during the rule of Saddam Hussein. However, the negative reaction towards the Americans strengthens as some Iraqis make statements that make the Americans switch from [HERO] to [VILLAIN] with a powerful quote such as "Bush is the same as Saddam".

As is customary in fairy tales, the tale ends with the [HERO] winning the battle against the evil [VILLAIN]. President George W. Bush declared military operations over, after the fall of the Saddam "regime" and taking over Baghdad, on May 1, 2003. However, the aftermath does not suggest that the Iraqi people lived happily ever after. On the contrary, from the examples discussed, the Iraqi people seem to doubt the American and British troops' good intentions. Nevertheless, fairy tales end when the [HERO] defeats the [VILLAIN]. Both newspapers may have conceptualized this war in terms of [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR]; however, the

analysis of the reports that covered the war and postwar period has shown that the characteristics of the [HERO], the [VILLAIN], and the [VICTIM] did not remain intact.

5 Conclusion

This paper has discussed the conceptual metaphors identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1992, 2001, 2004) pertaining to war. Both newspapers were found to construct the events of the 2003 invasion and its involved participants using [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR]. However, the analysis showed that *The New York Times* and *The Daily Star* did not conceptualize the Iraqi people as [VICTIM] consistently throughout the prewar, war, and postwar periods. A difference between the two newspapers was that the Arab English language newspaper *The Daily Star* did not portray Saddam Hussein as irrational as *The New York Times* did. The reason for this may be political due to the fact that Iraq is a neighboring Arab state. Finally, the choice of quotes that journalists from both newspapers inserted into their reports plays an important role in triggering metaphorical entailments such as [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR]. However, as this study shows, the way Bush, for example, conceptualizes the war may not very accurately reflect what the journalists report about the day to day events of the war and postwar. The reports published by NYT during the postwar period show a gradual abandonment of conceptualizing the American-led coalition as the [HERO]. The reports of the conflicts, protests, and insurgencies may have led the reporters to incorporate more of the quotes recorded on the field in Iraq than statements made by American officials. The DS did not have correspondents reporting from the field in Iraq; therefore, they relied heavily on agencies and statements made by officials. The manner in which they introduced and incorporated quotes in their news reports reveals a tendency on the part of the DS to not fully conceptualize Saddam Hussein according to the [VILLAIN]. Finally, the fact that metaphorical entailments such as [THE FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR] seem to have appeared mostly in the quotes leads to the conclusion that metaphorical entailments pertaining to war will most likely appear in quoted material when reporting an incident. This writing style, however, does not seem to distance the journalist from his/her position on the incident being reported. More research should be done on how events involving conflict are conceptualized by journalists and how these conceptualizations are manifested in the news text.

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Oriya Passives with Ditransitives

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Abstract

This paper aims at finding out if Oriya passives with ditransitives are symmetric or asymmetric passives. This typological schema is based on Woolford's analysis of passives with ditransitives. The next task is to determine whether Oriya ditransitives are Double Object Constructions (DOCs) or Prepositional Dative Constructions (PDCs). Using some syntactic diagnostics like A-bar extraction and Indirect Object (IO) reconstruction, Oriya ditransitives will be identified as DOCs, and then by using agreement and binding facts, and Accusative Case Blocking (ACB) it will be shown that Oriya passives with ditransitives are asymmetric.

1 Introduction

The present paper deals with passives with ditransitives in Oriya. The main objective is to find out if Oriya is typologically closer to languages with symmetric passives (e.g. Kinyarwanda, Swedish, and Norwegian) or those with asymmetric passives (English, Chichewa). Since this typological classification (Woolford, 1993) is based primarily on Double Object Constructions (DOCs), the second objective of the paper is to understand whether Oriya ditransitives are Prepositional Dative Constructions (PDCs) or DOCs. These two tasks become more challenging as Oriya is a free word order language, and due to the presence of a -ku case marker on indirect objects (IOs) that is homophonous with a postposition.

2 Literature Review

Though ditransitives in English and other languages are widely discussed in literature, very little research has been done on Oriya ditransitives. Hence, to study Oriya passives with ditransitives in more detail, the basic concept of structural representation of ditransitives is taken from proposals by Chomsky (1981), Larson (1988), and Kidwai (2000). Cross-linguistically passives are of two kinds: short passives with an explicit argument (1) and long passives with a prepositional phrase (2).

1. The bird was caught.
2. The bird was caught by me.

Passives also follow 1- Advancement Exclusiveness Law (1-AEX law), which suggests that a verb with a derived subject (*John* in (3) below) cannot be re-passivized (Baker, Johnson, & Roberts, 1989).

3. *John was been given a new book.

3 Data and Methods

The present study is qualitative in nature, and based on a theory-driven approach. The data that has been used is based on the intuition of native speakers of Oriya. The questionnaire was close-ended in nature and took into account the dialectal variations in Oriya. The sampling method employed was purposive sampling, which comes under the category of a non-probability sampling technique.

4 Discussion

The objective of this paper is to identify the nature of Oriya passives with ditransitives, based on Woolford's typological schema. As far as passive construction is concerned, Oriya, like English, has long passives with prepositional phrases (4), and short passives (5) with implicit arguments. Passivization with a derived subject is also ruled out for this language as it follows the 1-AEX rule (6).

4. swechhasebimānanka dwāra chhātraTi puraskruta helā.

Volunteers by student award-pass-3rd -past

'The student was awarded by the volunteers.'

5. chhātraTi puraskruta helā.

Student award-pass-3rd -pst

'The student was awarded.'

6. * John dwārā bahi chori kārājibā jāithilā.

John by book steal-pass-pass-3rd -pst

'The book was been stolen by John.'³⁹

In addition, the passive morpheme does not change morphologically with person or number of the derived subject (7a-d). These examples show that Oriya has quite a few passive morphemes such as *-galā/ -helā*, (7a-d) *-jiba*, (8a-b) and *-jae*, (8e-f).

³⁹ In Oriya the PP is generally better at sentence-initial position though sentence-final and sentence-medial positions are also fine.

e.g. 1. John dwārā bahi corikarājāithilā

John by book steal-pass-3rd sg-pst 'The book was stolen by John.'

2. Bahi john dwārā corikarājāithilā

Book john by book steal-pass-3rd sg-pst

'The book was stolen by John.'

3. Bahi corikarājāithilā john dwārā

book steal-pass-3rd sg-pst john by

'The book was stolen by John.'

7. (a) mote khub jor re āghāt karāgalā/helā.
I fiercely hit-1st-sg-pass-pst
'I was hit fiercely.'
- (b) tāku khub jor re āghat karāgalā/helā.
He fiercely hit-3rd-sg-pass-pst
'He was hit fiercely.'
- (c) tumaku khub jor re āghāt karagalā/helā.
You fiercely hit-2nd-sg-pass-pst
'You were hit fiercely.'
- (d) semāmanku khub jor re āghāt karagalā/helā.
They fiercely hit-1st-sg-pass-pst
'They were hit fiercely.'

But the passive morpheme changes according to the tense (8a- f).

8. (a) choraku goiThā marājiba.
Thief kick-pass-3rd PL-future
'The thief will be kicked.'
- (b) āmaku goiThā marājiba.
We kick-pass-1st PL-future
'We will be kicked.'
- (c) choraku goiThā marāgalā.
Thief kick-pass-3rd PL-pst
'The thief was kicked.'
- (d) āmaku goiThā marāgalā.
we kick-pass-1st PL-pst
'We were kicked.'
- (e) choraku goiTthā marājāe.

Thief kick-pass-1stpl-prst

The thief is kicked.'

(f) āmaku goiThā marājāe.

I-pl kick-pass-1st pl-prst

We are kicked.'

Another important feature of Oriya passives is the almost obligatory presence of a *-ku* case morpheme on the derived subject.⁴⁰ They are generally considered ungrammatical when they are not marked morphologically for case (as is also the case with nominative subjects) (Patnaik, 2001). If the subject is *se* and morphologically unmarked for case (as opposed to *taku*) it yields ungrammaticality.

9. ? se dešaru bāhāra karidiāgalā.

He country- out of drive-pass-3rd Psg-pst

'He was driven out of the country.'

Though (9) is rejected outright by many as ungrammatical, such examples do occur, though mostly in written discourse. Patnaik also cites (10) from a written text (*Desha, kala, Patra*, p.159).

10. semāne bešyābruti pāi~n prastuta karāgale.

They-nom prostitute for prepare-pass-3rd Pl-past

'They were prepared to be prostitutes.'

Morphologically unmarked derived subjects, though restricted to mainly written text, are sometimes available in spoken language as well. Below is the structure that my informants found either completely acceptable or odd.

11. mu prašna pacarāgali.

I question ask-1stP-sg-pass-pst

I was asked a question.

⁴⁰ The exact nature of this case morpheme, i.e. whether it is nominative, accusative, dative or a combination of two cases (structural and inherent) is open to discussion. As of now, I assume that *-ku* is a dative case marker.

Most importantly, nominative subjects in passives, unlike the marked subjects, show subject agreement (12a-d). 12(a) has *heli* with a 1st person sg. subject and 12(b) has *hele* with a 3rd person pl subject. 12(d) has a 3rd person sg. subject and shows default 3rd person sg. agreement (which is available also with non-nominative *-ku* marked subjects).

12. (a) *mu parāsta heli.*

I defeat-1st-sg-pass-pst

'I was defeated.'

(b) *semāne parāsta hele.*

They defeat-3rd-pl-pass-pst

'They were defeated.'

(c) *tumemāne parāsta hela.*

You defeat-2nd-pl-pass-pst

'You were defeated.'

(d) *chhātrati parāsta helā*

student defeat-3rd-sg-pass-pst

'The student was defeated.'

Also note that *-ku* is a case marker that is homophonous to the postposition (13) as well.

13. *mu rādhā-ku goTe kalam deli.*

I radha-to a pen give-1st-sg-pst

'I gave a pen to Radha.'

The *-ku* marker in the derived subject will be taken up in more detail later in the discussion of ditransitives and their corresponding passives.

4.1. Oriya Passives with Ditransitives

Oriya also has passives with ditransitives (14a-b).

14. (a) *mary-ku gote bahi diagalā.*

Mary-to a book give-3rd-sg-pass-pst

‘Mary was given a book.’

(b) *Rādhā-ku gote prasna pacharā galā.*

Radha-to a question ask-3rd-sg-pass-pst

‘Radha was asked a question.’

As in 14a-b, the IO occupies the sentence initial position. As Oriya is a free word order language, the Direct Object (DO) can also occupy the sentence initial position (15a-b). As a result, it is difficult to identify which argument is being raised here to the subject position (or in more technical terms, it is difficult to locate the NP that loses its case from the verb and is thereby forced to take subject position for nominative case).

15. (a) *goTe bahi maryku diagalā*

a book mary give-3rd-sg-pass-pst

‘Mary was given a book.’

(b) *gote prašna rādhā-ku pacarāgalā*

a question radha ask-3rd-sg-pass-pst

‘Radha was asked a question.’

Another important thing to notice here is that the active counterpart of 15a-b also has *-ku* marker in the IO (16a-b). This makes it all the more difficult to identify the raised-for-case NP as the IO never appears in the nominative form morphologically, making it constant for the (recipient) role, and it is unaffected by order.

16. (a) *Se mary-ku goTe bahi delā.*

He-nom Mary a book give-3rd-sg-pst

‘He gave Mary a book.’

- (b) mu rādhāku goTe praśna pachāriḷe
 I Radha a question ask-1st-sg-pst
 'I asked Radha a question.'

Hence, Oriya passives with ditransitives can place any one of the two object NPs in the subject-position and have their IOs carry their original *-ku* case-marker. This complicates the process of identifying which of the two object NPs is actually raised to the subject position for case. Therefore, a thorough analysis, rather than a quick scanning, is required to place Oriya ditransitive passives into Woolford's typological classification.

4.2. Woolford's Schema

Ditransitive passives are of two types: Symmetric Passives and Asymmetric Passives (Woolford, 1993). Symmetric passives are produced when either one of the two NPs can be moved to the subject position (17 and 18).

17. Kinyarwanda

- (a) Umugabo y-a-haa-ye umugōre igitabo.
 man he-pst-give-asp woman book
 'The man gave the woman the book.'

- (b) Igitabo cy-a-haa-w-e umugōre n'umugabo.
 book it-pst-give-pass-asp woman by man
 'The book was given to the woman by the man'

- (c) Umugore y-a-haa-w-e igitabo n'uimugabo.
 woman she-pst-give-pass-asp book by man
 'The woman was given the book by the man.' (Kimenyi, 1980)

18. Norwegian

(a) Jon gav Marit ei klokke.

'John gave Mary a watch.'

(b) Jon vart gitt ei klokke.

'John was given a watch.'

(c) Ei klokke vart gitt Jon.

'A watch was given Jon.'

(Afarli, 1987)

17b-c, demonstrates that in Kinyarwanda, both the objects *igitabo* and *n'umugabo*, and in Norwegian 18b-c, both the objects *Marit* and *ei klokke* can move to the subject position producing grammatically correct sentences. Asymmetric passives, on the other hand, are produced when only one NP moves to the subject position. English passives are of this type (19a-c). Here, the English active sentence has two thematically different objects, *new houses* the theme and *hurricane victims*, the benefactive. Only the benefactive is passivized here, not the theme.

19. (a) They built the hurricane victims new houses.

(b) The hurricane victims were built new houses.

(c) *New houses were built the hurricane victims.

Other than English, Chichewa, Swahili, German, Fula and HiBena also show asymmetric passives. Swahili (20), German (21) and English (19) passives are different from Fula (22), HiBena (23) and Chichewa (24) as the former are without applicatives and the latter are with applicative languages.

20. Swahili

- (a) Halima alimpa Fatuma zawadi.

Halima she-pst-her-giveF atumag ift

'Halima gave Fatuma a gift.'

- (b) Halima alimpa zawadi Fatuma.

Halima she-pst-her-giveg ift Fatuma

'Halima gave Fatuma a gift.'

- (c) Fatuma alipewa zawadi na Halima

Fatumas he-pst-give-pass gift by Halima

'Fatuma was given a gift by Halima.'

- (d) *Zawadi ilipewa Fatuma na Halima.

gift it-pst-give-pass Fatuma by Halima

'A gift was given Fatuma by Halima.'

(Vitale, 1981)

21. German

- (a) Sie haben den Jungen das Lied gelehrt.

they have the boy-acc the song-acc taught

'They have taught the boy the song.'

- (b) *dann ist den Jungen das Lied gelehrt worden

then is the boy-acc the song-nom taught been

'Then the song was taught the boy.'

- (c) ?dann ist der Junge das Lied gelehrt worden

then is the boy-nom the song-acc taught been

'Then the boy was taught the song.'

(Czepluch, 1988)

In the Swahili, German and English examples, there are two objects in each active sentence, a goal and a theme. Thematically, the goal is higher than the theme.⁴¹ So, only the goal, not the theme is passivized. In 21c, though, the passive sentence is not ungrammatical but the speakers find it odd.

22. Fula

- (a) Take def-an-ii sukaab'e b'e gertogal.
 Takko cook-Ben-Tns children Det chicken
 'Takko cooked a chicken for the children.'
- (b) Sukaab'e b'e ndef-an-aama gertogal.
 children Det cook-Ben-Tns/Passive chicken
 'The children had a chicken cooked for them.'
- (c) *Gertogal def-an-aama sukaab'e b'e.
 chicken cook-Ben-TnsIPassive children Det
 'The chicken was cooked for the children.' (Sylla, 1979)

23. HiBena

- (a) Umugosi i-hwandih-ila umudala ibaluwa.
 man ag-write-app woman letters
 'The man is writing the woman letters.'
- (b) Umudala a-hwandih-ilil-we ibaluwa n-umugosi.
 woman ag-write-app/ T-passl etters by-man
 'The woman was written letters by the man.'
- (c) *Ibaluwad za-hwandih-ilil-weu mudalan -umugosi.
 letters ag-write-appIT-pass woman by-man
 'Letters were written the woman by the man.' (Hodges & Stucky, 1979)

⁴¹The thematic hierarchy used here is as follows: agent>benefactive>goal>theme>instrument/locative. Jackendoff (1972) and Bresnan and Karneva (1989)

24. Chichewa

- (a) Chitsiru chi-na-guil-ir-a atsikdna mphatso.

7-fool 7S-PST-buy-AP-FV2 -girls 9-gift

'The fool bought a gift for the girls.'

- (b) Atsifkina a-na-gu'l-ir-idw-6 mphatso (ndi chitsiru).

2-girls 2S-PST-buy-AP-PAS-FV9 -gift by 7-fool

'The girls were bought a gift (by the fool).'

- (c) *Mphatso i-na-guil-ir-idw-a dtsfkana (ndi chitsiru).

9gift 9S-PST-buy-AP-PAS-FV2 -girls by 7-fool

'A gift was bought the girls (by the fool).' (Alsina & Mchombo, 1989)

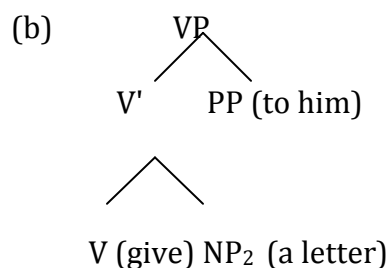
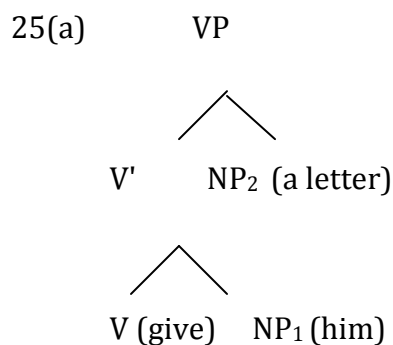
It is important to note here that Woolford's analysis is entirely based on DOCs (rather than PDCs). We are yet to find out if Oriya ditransitives are DOCs or PDCs. The next section deals with this particular problem.

4.3. Reanalyzing Oriya Ditransitives

To recapitulate, there are three problems that we encounter when it comes to analyzing Oriya ditransitives as DOCs or PDCs: (i) free word order, (ii) the *-ku* marker on the IO and, (iii) absence of agreement on the passive morpheme (unless the subject is case-marked nominative). A mere morphological analysis therefore does not suffice for our purposes; syntactic diagnostics must also be deployed. In this section, a sketch of some of the existing analyses on ditransitives is provided before I proceed to reexamine Oriya ditransitives with the help of some new syntactic tools taken mostly from Kidwai (2000).

4.4. Previous Analyses

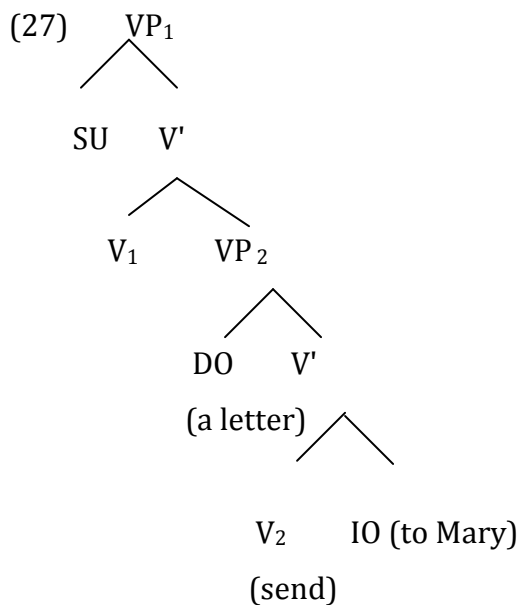
Ditransitives have received a great deal of attention in the literature. The earliest structural representation of ditransitive constructions (25a) suggests that PDCs and DOCs are not derivationally linked with each other (Chomsky, 1981).



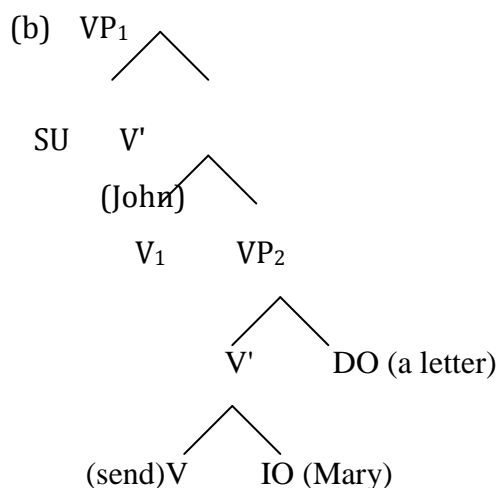
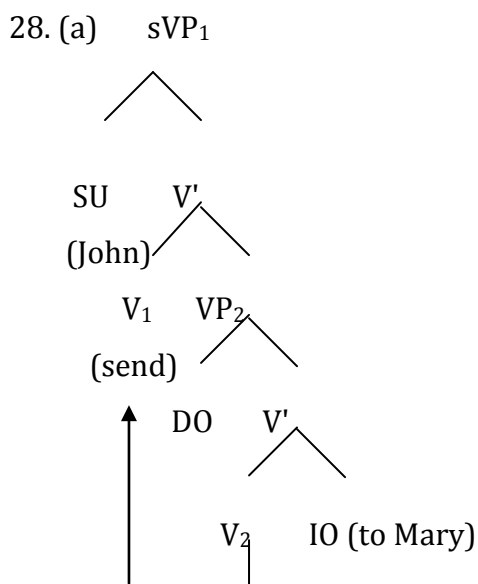
The structure 25a represents a DOC and has the IO c-commanding the DO. Therefore, the IO may license anaphors, bound variables and negative polarity items in the DO. But these structures are sharply contradicted by the empirical facts, as illustrated by 26a-c.

26. (a) *I showed herself_i Mary_i.
 (b) *Whose_i pay did you send his_i mother_{ti}?
 (c) *I gave anyone nothing

To overcome these problems, another structure was suggested which indicates that both the PDCs and the DOCs are derivationally linked with each other (Larson, 1988). According to Larson, the DOC and the PDC have the same underlying structure, and are separately derived through different transformations. The default structure (27) shows that IO attached with a preposition is the complement and the DO is the specifier.



Larson further contends that the PDC is derived from the default structure by head-to-head movement (28a) of the lexical verb V_2 to V_1 position; the movement is being triggered to case-assign the DO.



However, the DOC is derived in a different way. The structure in 28b suggests that VP-passive absorbs the case-assigning property of V_2 and forces the demotion of the external argument DO. It also leaves the IO caseless and the IO moves to the specifier of VP_2 to satisfy the case filter. Case assignment to the IO is then accomplished by the verb being raised to the V_1 position.

It is therefore apparent that though Larson's proposal has a universal appeal, it faces some empirical inadequacies as in 29 (Kidwai, 2000).

29. (a) *Who did Noor give the book?
(b) *The book was given Mary.

29a is Wh-extraction of IO and 29b is the passivization of DO. The DOCs in English forbid both these functions though PDCs have no such restrictions (30a). The Ungrammaticality of 29a shows that Larson's proposal is unable to capture the adjunct status of IO, which disallows extraction of any element internal to it. Cross linguistically it is known that IOs in DOCs do not exhibit prototypical argument properties like scrambling (Kidwai, 2000), and are therefore resistant to Wh-extraction, but the DOs show normal argument properties by allowing A'-extraction.

30. (a) Who_i did you give them [a photo of_i]?
(b) *Who_i did you give [a friend of_i] a present?

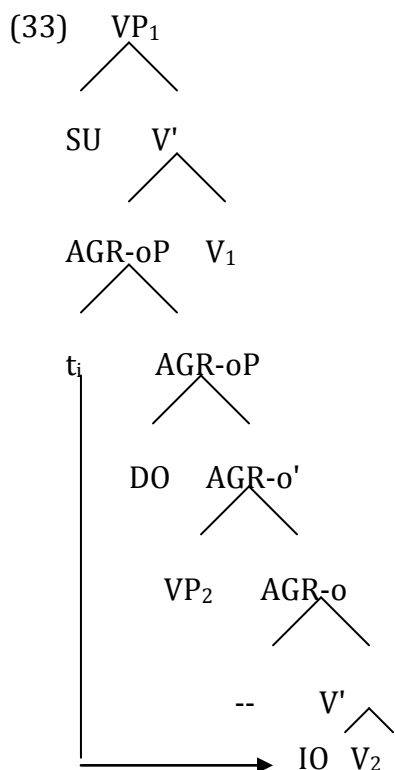
In 30a *a photo of X* is the DO and the sentence is perfectly fine with WH-extraction but in 30b, *a friend of X* is realized as the IO. So WH-extraction produces an ungrammatical sentence. This shows that IO is an adjunct and is resistant to Wh-extraction. Kidwai proposes a different structure for ditransitives, one that can generate both PDCs and DOCs, and can also account for the adjunct status of IOs in DOCs. The structure she proposes shows that the theta domain and the case domain are different (31). The AGR-o head bears the case and the VP_2 assigns theta role. She also proposes that the DOC is the default structure and the PDC is derived by the preposition insertion.

- (b) [mārksvādpar]_i ram-ne use [ti ek kitāb] di
 Marxism-on Ram(S) her(IO) a book gave
 'Ram gave her a book on Marxism.'

(Kidwai, 2000, p. 68)

Here, we see in 32b *mārksvād par ek kitāb* is the DO and we can easily scramble it. However, in 32a *mārksvād par ek kitāb* is the IO and scrambling is impossible. Had it been in a specifier position from which an extraction could have taken place, it would display the same behavior as DO. This shows that the IO in HU ditransitives is confined to the adjunct position and is different from its position in a PDC.

IO-reconstruction is also an important diagnostic to find out if the HU ditransitives are DOCs or PDCs. Cross linguistically the IOs in the DOC undergo full reconstruction in Logical Form (LF) (33) and the effects of the reconstruction can be observed with conditions B and C of binding theory.⁴²



The IO reconstruction in LF shows that the IO has moved from the adjunct position to its base position which is lower than that of the DO. As a result, the DO c-commands the IO and we get the expected results as illustrated below.

⁴² Condition A is not crucial here because in HU all DO reflexives are subject oriented.

34. (a) me-ne ram_i-ko uski kitāb di

I(S) Ram(IO) his book gave

'I gave Ram_i his_i book.'

(b) *me-ne ram_i-ko wo_i diyā.

I(S) Ram(IO) him(DO) gave

'I gave Ram him.'

In 34 (a) the IO reconstructs to its base position and it does not c-command the DO, but it can be antecedent to pronominals inside the DO. Since pronominals must not be c-commanded by co-referring expressions, we get a correct result in 34(b) when the IO co-refers to the pronominal *uski*. Moreover, since the IO reconstructs, if it is an R-expression, it must be free (by Condition C of the Binding Theory). This is exactly what we find in 38b where co-reference between the DO pronoun and the IO R-expression yields ungrammaticality. It reveals that cross linguistically IO is an adjunct and ditransitives in HU are DOCs.

4.5. Oriya Ditransitives: DOCs or PDCs?

In order to find out if Oriya ditransitives are DOCs or PDCs, two diagnostics will be used: (i) A'- extraction and (ii) IO reconstruction. Oriya ditransitives allow no A'- extraction (35) of the IO.

35. (a) [mārksvād-upare_i] rām tāku [_{ti}goTe bahi] delā.

Marxism-on Ram him a book gave

'Ram gave him a book on Marxism.'

(b) *[mārksvād-upare_i] alochak māne [_{ti}goTe bahiku] khub kharāp Tippani dele

Marxism-on critic - s a book very bad review gave

'The critics gave a very bad review to a book on Marxism.'

In 35a *mārksvād upare goTe bahi* is an argument which is realized as the DO and the A'- extraction produces a correct sentence, but in 35b *mārksvād upare goTe bahi* is realized as the IO. Recall that cross-linguistically the IOs in DOCs do not show prototypical argument properties (Kidwai, 2000) and they are resistant to Wh-extraction so the impossibility of A'- extraction, which is a characteristic of an adjunct island, shows that the IO is not in the specifier position; rather it is confined to the adjunct position.

The next diagnostic used here is IO reconstruction. The effect of IO reconstruction is observed in conditions B and C of the binding theory (36).⁴³

36. (a) mu rāma-ku_i tā_i bahi deli

I(S) Ram(IO)_i his_i book(DO) gave

'I gave Ram his book.'

(b) *mu rāma-ku_i tāku_i deli.

I(S) Ram(IO) him gave

'I gave Ram_i him_i.'

In 36a after IO reconstruction the IO cannot c-command the DO but it is free to co-refer to pronominals in the DO. So the condition B of binding theory is obeyed here. On the other hand, if the IO is an R-expression, it must be free (binding condition C). 36b is an ungrammatical sentence as it violates condition C of binding theory. The structural representation of 36b shows that the pronominal DO tāku binds the R-expression Ram which is a violation of condition C. Hence it can be concluded that Oriya ditransitives are DOCs, not PDCs as the IOs in Oriya ditransitives manifest the properties of an adjunct and satisfy properties typically associated with DOCs.

4.6. Oriya Passives: Symmetric or Asymmetric?

I will now address the issue of whether Oriya passives with ditransitives fit into Woolford's typological schema. To identify if Oriya passives are symmetric or asymmetric, two different diagnostics are used: (i) Triggering agreement and case, and (ii) Binding effects.

As mentioned above, when the verb passivizes it loses one of its cases and one of the NPs must move to the specifier of TP to get nominative case (Baker et al., 1989). In Oriya, the nominative subject triggers agreement. 1(a-b) is repeated as 37(a-b) for convenience.

⁴³ In Oriya ditransitives like HU the effect of Condition A of Binding theory is not much relevant since the DO reflexives are subject oriented.

e.g. dāktara rogititiku_i tānijaku_i āina -re dekheile

Doctor patient self mirror-in showed

'The doctor showed patient himself in the mirror.'

37. (a) john āmba khāuchhi.

John(S) mango(O) eat-ing(V)

'John is eating mango.'

(b) mu khabarakāgaja paDhuthili.

I newspaper read-be-1st sg-pst cont

'I was reading newspaper.'

In Oriya passives with ditransitives the objects move to the specifier position of TP to get nominative case. However, the verbal agreement diagnostic cannot work for IOs, as the IOs in Oriya are always overtly case marked with *-ku*, and overtly case marked NPs do not trigger agreement. This diagnostic can nevertheless work for the DOs as they are not overtly case marked (38).

38. (a) tume mary-ku diāgalā

you mary-to give-pass-2sg-pst

'You were given to Mary.'

(b) tumaku mary-ku diāgalā

you mary-to give-pass-2sg-pst

'You were given to Mary.'

Both 38(a) and (b) are semantically similar, but in the former *tume* is without accusative *-ku* and marked with nominative case but in the latter *tumaku* is overtly case marked. The active counterpart of these two sentences is 39.

39. john mary-ku tumaku delā.

John mary-to you gave

'John gave you to Mary.'

In this active sentence, *tumaku* is the DO. When the verb passivizes it loses its accusative case, which is assigned to DO. As a result it moves to the specifier of TP to get nominative case. 38a shows that '*tume*' is without accusative *-ku* and marked with nominative case. This

shows that the derived subject triggers verbal agreement. More data are provided below in 40 and 41 to substantiate the claim.

40. mu mary-ku diāgali
 I mary-to give-pass-1sg-pst
 ‘I was given to Mary.’

41. āme mary-ku diāgalu.
 We mary-to give-pass-1pl-pst
 ‘We were given to Mary.’

In 40 *mu*, the subject is 1st person sg and is associated with the passive morpheme *gali* but in 41 *āme* is 1st person plural and the passive morpheme is *galu*. It can therefore be seen that the nominative subjects of underlying DOs trigger agreement and that DO moves to the specifier of TP to get nominative case in the passives with ditransitives.

As the previous diagnostic is not evidence against the movement of IO to subject position, another diagnostic that is related to binding effects has been deployed. This deals with both kinds of passive structures i.e. DO-IO-V Passive and IO-DO-V Passive.

My predictions for DO-IO-V Passive structure (here the DO has moved to spec-TP and the DO c-commands the IO) are as follows:

- I. DO must co-refer with reflexives in the IO.
- II. DO must not co-refer with a pronominal in the IO.
- III. IO R-Expressions must be free.

I will now analyze the data provided below in 42a-c to verify whether Oriya follows these predictions.

42. (a) mary_i tā-nijaku_i dekheidiāgalā.
 Mary(DO) herself (IO)-to show-pass-3sg-pst
 ‘Mary_i was shown to herself.’

- (b) *mary_i tāku_i dekheidiāgalā.
 Mary_i(DO) her_i (IO)-to show-pass-3sg-pst
 ‘Mary_i was shown to her_i.’
- (c) *se_i john-ku_i dekhāidiāgalā.
 He_i (DO) john_i to (IO) show-pass-3sg-pst
 ‘He_i was shown to John_i.’

In 42a-b *Mary* is the DO and *tānijaku* is the IO but in 42c *se* is the DO and *John* is the IO. 42a shows that the DO c-commands the IO and both are co-referred. Hence the condition A of Binding theory is obeyed. In 42b as the DO c-commands the IO and they are co-referenced it violates condition B. Similarly in 42c we observe the violation of condition C as *John*, an R-expression, is c-commanded and co-referred.

I will now assess the IO-DO-V Passive (here the IO moved to spec-TP and IO c-commands DO). The predictions are:

- I. IO must co-refer reflexives in DO.
- II. IO must not co-refer pronominal in DO.
- III. DO r-expressions must be free.

However Oriya does not provide any distinctive semantic difference between the DO-IO-V Passive and the IO-DO-V Passive. Let us consider the data provided below (43):

43. (a) mary-ku_i tā-nija-ku_i dekheidiāgalā.
 Mary(IO) herself (DO)-to show-pass-3sg-pst
 ‘Mary_i was shown to herself_i.’
- (b) *mary-ku_i tāku_i dekheidiāgalā.
 Mary_i(IO) her_i (DO)-to show-pass-3sg-pst
 ‘Mary_i was shown to her_i.’
- (c) *taku_i john-ku_{i-to} dekheidiāgalā.
 He_i (IO) john_i to (DO) show-pass-3sg-pst
 ‘He_i was shown to John_i.’

As far as 42 and 43 are concerned, the Oriya speakers do not find any relevant difference in meaning when the order of the IO and DO changes. As IO is always marked with *-ku* and Oriya is a free word order language it is not easy to predict whether the IO is moving to the specifier position. So this particular diagnostic is not able to aid much in discovering the movement of IO. Other diagnostics like the effects of binding and reconstruction can be helpful in this regard. To identify the movement of IO let us discuss 44, which is an example of IO-DO-V Passive.

44. mary-ku_i tā-ku_i āinā-re dekhei-diā-galā.
 Mary her-to mirror-in show-pass-3sg-pst
 ‘Mary was shown her in the mirror.’

In 44, the DO, *tāku* is a pronominal and co-referred to IO, *maryku*. The condition B of binding theory must be violated here as IO c-commands DO and DO pronominal and IO are co-indexed. But it is clear that there is no condition B violation, contrary to our predictions. I contend that there are two reasons for this. The first could be that the IO has been successfully reconstructed to a position where it no longer c-commands *tāku*. The second is that the IO is in A-bar position, and it cannot A-bind the DO. It must have come to the sentence initial position as Oriya is a free word order language. This shows that IO in Oriya passives with ditransitives does not acquire subject position at all.

As Oriya passives with ditransitives allow only one argument to move to the specifier position, they seem to fit into the category of asymmetric passives. But in Woolford’s typological schema, asymmetric passives are also of two different kinds, i.e. English type asymmetric and Chichewa type asymmetric. In both categories, only one argument moves to the specifier position, but Chichewa type passive is different from English type due to the presence of an overt applicative morpheme. As Oriya lacks an applicative morpheme it cannot be included in the category of Chichewa type passive. So, the next task is to identify if it can be included in English type passive (45a-c).

45. (a) I sent Pat a letter.
 (b) Pat was sent a letter.
 (c) *A letter was sent Pat.

In the presence of two objects, a goal and a theme, only the goal can passivize as it is higher on the thematic hierarchy. Similarly in constructions involving a benefactive and a theme, the benefactive is higher than the theme. So only the benefactive can passivize (46).

46. (a) They built the hurricane victims the new houses.
(b) The hurricane victims were built new houses.
(c) *New houses were built hurricane victims.

As in English, in Oriya only one argument can passivize the verb. But there is a subtle difference between the two. First, in English we can reliably predict which object will passivize. Second, English never allows transitive or ditransitive impersonal passive, regardless of whether they allow intransitive impersonal passives (Woolford, 1993).⁴⁴

Oriya is a bit different in this regard. The surface word order is not a determining factor in Oriya for the passivization of a verb because Oriya is a free word order language. In addition, it has already been identified that in Oriya passives with ditransitives it is the DO, and not the IO, which always moves to the specifier position to get nominative case.

In English, we observe that the thematic hierarchy regulates passivization. Oriya contrasts sharply in this regard as it does not allow IO passivization at all. But the movement of DOs in passivization of Oriya does not mean that thematic hierarchy is absent in this language. They are equally important. But unlike English, goals in Oriya are not thematically higher than theme. The assumption here is that IOs in Oriya, which are thematically goals, have the lexical case, not the structural case. If the object with the higher thematic role has lexical case, and the object with lower thematic role structural case, only the object with structural case can passivize (Besten, 1981). Woolford suggests that German passives are of this category, as in German only the accusative theme can become nominative in the passive (47a-c).

47. (a) Das Mädchen schenkte dem Jungen ein Buch.
the girl-NOM gave the boy-DAT a book-ACC
'The girl gave the boy a book.'

⁴⁴ An impersonal passive is one in which no object has undergone case change. The present paper does not deal with that property of Oriya passives.

(b) Ein Buch wurde dem Jungen von dem Mädchen geschenkt.

a book-NOM was the boy-DAT by the girl given

'A book was given to the boy by the girl.'

(c) *Der Junge wurde von dem Mädchen ein Buch geschenkt

the boy-NOM was by the girl a book-ACC given

'The boy was given a book by the girl. (Wilkinson, 1983)'

These German data (47a) illustrate that, *dem Jungen*, the goal is the IO and *ein Buch*, the theme is the DO. Passivization of the theme shows that the goal is marked with lexical case and the theme is marked with structural case.

Oriya passives with ditransitives are similar to German in this regard as I assume that IOs in Oriya are marked with lexical case (48a-c).

48. (a) bāpā mote praśna-Tie pachāriḷe

Father (NOM) me (DAT) question- a (ACC) ask-3sg-pst

'Father asked me a question.'

(b) praśnatie mote (bāpānka dwārā) pacarāgalā

Question-a (NOM) me (DAT) father by ask-pass-3sg-pass

A question was asked me by my father.

(c) mote (bapanka dwārā) praśna-Tie pacarāgalā

I (DAT) father by question-a (NOM) ask-pass-1sg-pst

'I was asked a question by my father.'

The contention is that *mote* is marked with lexical case but it has moved over to the sentence initial position in (48c) as Oriya is a free word order language. Hence 48(c) does not yield ungrammaticality.

4.7. How Accusative Case Blocking Produces Oriya Passives with Ditransitives

ACB is a universal rule of case theory which blocks assigning structural case to the highest unmarked argument in its argument structure.⁴⁵ Woolford assumes here that verbs have the capacity to assign accusative case to each of their unmarked arguments simultaneously. According to Woolford, in active ditransitive constructions such as 49, the verb assigns structural accusative case to both objects.

49. They gave Pat the money.

For speakers of dialects with asymmetric passives, the agent has been suppressed in the passive when ACB applies. The suppressed argument is marked \emptyset (Grimshaw, 1990).

(50) give + passive < A, G, T >



\emptyset

The highest unmarked argument from the point of view of ACB is the goal. ACB blocks the passive verb from assigning structural accusative case to the NP, which is assigned the role of goal. This forces this NP to move to the spec-TP. Nothing interferes with the passive verb's ability to assign structural accusative case to the theme. Hence, the passive counterpart of 49 is 51(a), not 51(b).

51. (a) Pat was given the money.

(b) *The money was given Pat.

In Oriya passive with ditransitives, the agent is suppressed before ACB applies (52).

52. (bāpānka dwārā) mote goTe prasna pacharāgalā.

(father by) me a question ask-pass-pst

'I was asked a question by my father.'

⁴⁵ Marked arguments are arguments marked to get lexical case, arguments realized as PPs, and suppressed arguments.

In 52, the agent *bāpā* is already suppressed and at the same time the verb loses one of its cases after it is passivized. Of the two unmarked arguments, *praśna tie* is the highest thematic argument and it is marked with accusative case, as the assumption is that the goal is marked with lexical dative case and is lower than the theme. After ACB applies it blocks assigning structural accusative case to *prashna tie*. Hence it moves to the spec-TP to satisfy the case filter and *mote*, the IO, remains in situ. In short, the theoretical representation of this particular structure is 53. A suppressed argument is marked here with the symbol \emptyset , as in Grimshaw (1990).

53. *pacāribā* + passive <A, T, G>

Ask +passive <A, T, G>



\emptyset

This indicates how Woolford's proposal related to ACB stands true for Oriya passives with ditransitives.

5 Conclusion

Oriya ditransitives are shown to be DOCs and Oriya passives with ditransitives asymmetric. This study unmasks close affinity of Oriya with German on some typological dimension of passivization. Though realization of argument structure sometimes varies with lexical semantics of verbs, the present study has strictly focused on syntactic facts aimed at the identification of ditransitive constructions in Oriya. Further research can clarify intricacies of such constructions based on the lexical semantics of Oriya verbs.

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