A DESCRIPTIVE STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO THE TEACHING OF WRITTEN ENGLISH TO FOREIGN STUDENTS

By
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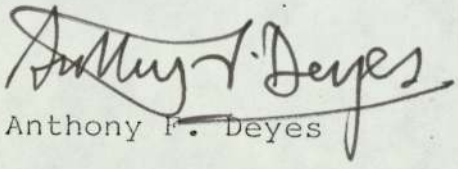
Nihil sit in descriptione quod non ante fuerit in intuitione.

I certify that to the best of my knowledge no part of the work described in this thesis was done in collaboration unless specifically so stated, and that the work has not been submitted for any other award.



Anthony F. Deyes

ERRATA

Page	Line	Instead of:	read:
(ii)	5 from top	..programme, descriptive..	programme, and considers descriptive.....
1	4 from bottom	expalined	explained
2	13 from top	suceptible	susceptible
2	19 from top	this linguistic....	his linguistic knowledge
9	9 from top	writing language texts	writing foreign-language texts.....
17	10from bottom	..at this disposal..	.. at his disposal..
24	16 from top	..sentences. "John told.."	..sentences. The following sentence offers an example: "John told...."
31	8 from top	text-linguistic	text-linguist
41	last line	filed	field
45	15 from top	his work	her work
45	21 from top	Mines	Mine's
46	10 from bottom	..all words..	.. all those long words..
50	4 from bottom	"The bull is more.."	"The 'bull (tonic stress) is more..."
52	3 from bottom	copule	copula
55	17 from top	6)Rhematic transitionals	6)Rhematic verbs
58	3 from bottom	psycholoinguistic	psycholinguistic
60	9 from bottom	Krizkove	Krizkova
78	11 from bottom	benefieciary	beneficiary
95	9 from top	priciple	principle
97	4 from top	"Style of Discourse,.....	"Style of Discourse",....
100	13 from top	Hymes, 1972)	(Hymes, 1972)
103	7 from top	Questionnaires 1&2)	Questionnaires 1 & 2")
103	8 from bottom	modality"	"modality"
106	2 from top	(Joo's)	(Joos's)
107	10 from bottom	signigicant	significant
108	10 from bottom	..of description" "	..categories of description"
112	5 from top	comfirmed	confirmed
115	7 from top	refering	referring
119	31 from top	due to latter's negligible..	is negligible due to latter's presentation
124	11 from bottom	accummulation	accumulation
124	4 from bottom	(in a large number	without bracket
125	19 from top	- Progression	- "Progression

ERRATA (cont'd)

Page	Line	Instead of:	read:
131	10 from top	constitue	constitute
133	25 from top	Astrim Plateau	Antrim Plateau
133	26 from top	The County Down	The Lagan, a much smaller river, rises in the hilly country of County Down...
133	28 from top	the Foyle, and the Erne	the Foyle, draining Northeast to the lake-like expanse of Lough Foyle, and the Erne..
133	13 from bottom	gigantic proportions, when	gigantic proportions, frequently of brick. A generation later under Elizabeth, when.....
134	6 from top	a wide one and from the	a wide one and covers both individual righteousness and social morality, and from the
136	18 from bottom	of it	if it
138	7 from top	paragraph, chapter,	paragraph, chapter)
139	14 from top	motions	notions
140	11 from bottom	study development	steady development
143	2 from top	suceptible	susceptible
147	6 from top	varities	varieties
158	6 from bottom	Joclyn	Jocelyn
162	18 from top	notion	notions
166	8 from bottom	"theme" "transition"	"theme", "transition"
166	3 from bottom	Firbas's work Benes	Firbas's work - Benes
167	13 from top	theme/transition/rheme	theme/transition/rheme/theme
168	13 from top	respondants	respondents
197	8 from bottom	Richard's	Richards'
200	4 from bottom	(i)	(ii)
201	2 from top	"según ello)	según ello"
210	9 from top	"tonicity"(.....)word-order	"tonicity"(.....), word-order
217	5 from top	he	she
246	3 from top	"Where I gave it to was him."	"Where I gave it was to him."
250	7 from bottom	polución	contaminación
254	13 from bottom	an important difference... "....due to	"an impor$ant difference..... .... due to .....
257	8 from bottom	the sense in which	the sense which
274	5 from bottom	immigran	immigrant
275	bottom line	Heldesheim	Hildesheim
281	17 from top	SEBEOK T. et al. (Eds.)	SEBEOK T. et al. (1964)

SUMMARY

The present study investigates the nature of "text" with a view to improving control of text production in composition writing by foreign (Spanish) students of English.

The Introductory Chapter states the reasons for including composition as part of an advanced foreign-language programme, descriptive and discussion writing in that context.

After the examination of a number of linguistic models in Chapter 1, the Prague School theory of Functional Sentence Perspective is adopted as the most suitable descriptive model of "text". Its categories of theme, transition and rheme can be demonstrated to offer an analysis of text surface structure that takes account of syntactic, grammatical, semantic, phonological and contextual features of the discourse. The means by which the speaker recognises well-formed texts (his textual competence) can be explained in terms of these categories.

These categories also allow an analysis of textual structure (texture) from the point of view of "thematic progression" and "rhematic layering". Chapter 2 matches a tentative taxonomy of situational constraints against descriptions of narrative, descriptive and discussion texture.

A close correlation between the extra-linguistic and linguistic variables is found.

On the basis of the data collected in Chapters 1 and 2, Chapter 3 represents a comparative analysis of:

i) texture of English and Spanish variety texts,

ii) texture of student compositions and English variety text

iii) textual features in erroneous English sentences from Spanish student compositions and reconstructions of these sentences in Spanish,

in order to test the hypothesis that errors in composition by foreign learners of English can frequently be attributed to interference from texture and textuality markers of texts in their native language. The hypothesis is verified as regards textuality markers, but not as regards texture.

The research concludes with recommendations for a teaching strategy that controls the student's progress towards free composition through the translation of suitably illustrative texts, and exercises activating the means of FSP in the English sentence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Last, but not least, my thanks to Begoña Ruiz for typing the thesis, helped by Deannie Johnson.

CONTENTS

Introductory Chapter

Since the use of the writing skill beyond the period of formal education is generally limited to trivial form-filling and letter-writing, apart from certain types of "institutional" communication engaged in by a small number of professional people (Davies & Widdowson, 1974:179), the teaching of written composition as part of the English programme at overseas universities seems to require some justification. This will be attempted in the opening paragraphs of this introductory chapter, followed by some consideration of what is implied by the term "composition".

Firstly, the vocational question mentioned above may partly justify a course on written English. The professional spheres in the country concerned will recruit a number of their employees from the foreign language departments of universities; where such employees are required to write reports, articles, letters, etc. in the foreign language (and CCC, 1973, pp.68-69 suggests that a large number of them are), it will be their language degree course, and not their subsequent professional training that is expected to have provided them with the necessary control of the written conventions of that language.

On the linguistic level such control requires, perhaps, a higher degree of fluency than is required in the spoken mode. This is expalined by the fact that, although language errors may be treated with varying degrees of tolerance (Richards, 1971 :21), this is likely to be less where the errors occur in a written document:

> "Conversation tolerates more "noise" and is more flexible than other varieties of English."
> (Crystal, 1971:47)

The absence of a face-to-face encounter in written communication and the consequent "sharper and more lasting..... impressions" (de Saussure, 1966:25) of that mode places a burden on the verbal aspect of communication that makes error less acceptable.

This entirely verbal nature of written communication might be thought to favour the foreign learner, in as far as the motor activities involved in writing a foreign language - even where the native and foreign writing systems differ - are rather more easily controlled and less suceptible to interference than the motor habits of speech. In practice, however, the lack of intonation contours, alongside a deliberate avoidance of repetition, activates a greater variety of sentence structure in the written convention. Assuming that one objective of the university language programme is to prepare the student for an application of this linguistic knowledge beyond the confines of the course, by equipping him with an expressive ability ranging over as many appropriate structures as possible, the inclusion of composition as an essential part of the language course seems well justified.

The above aspects differentiate written texts from spoken texts, but does the student, largely activated in the foreign language at the level of sentence grammar, (1) even know what is required when asked to produce a "text"?:

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(1) See further discussion on grammaticality as opposed to textuality in Section 1.2.7., below.

> "By writing we mean, of course, not the ability to write down a grammatical sentence, but the ability to write a stretch of written language that has some unity and internal organisation, ie. what is sometimes called a "text"."
>
> (Sharwood Smith, 1973:11)

While showing competence in his own language at the textual level (2) this is an intuitive and unconscious ability; in order to achieve satisfactory performance in writing language texts, some textual meta-language must clarify for the student the means by which inter-sentential cohesion, emphasis and other text features are realised; the structure of the sentences themselves within the discourse context will be an important consideration here. The establishment of suitable categories for such a textual meta-language will be our concern in Chapter 1 of this study.

But the conventions of written language require more than just "unity and internal organisation"; texts fulfil a variety of functions and show a variety of appropriate forms, which represent a set of "registers" parallel to those of the spoken mode. The separation of addresser and addressee has made the written registers more difficult to describe, and yet again probably allows less tolerance of inappropriateness.

Phonological features play an important part in distinguishing spoken registers; since it has been suggested that sentence structure in written language compensates for the absence of some part of those phonological features, suitable categories for describing text-sentence structure may provide

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(2) Van Dijk's statement, 1972:3, that "our competence is not sentential, but textual" calls into question teaching based on a sentence grammar.

an account of written varieties. This is a hypothesis investigated in Chapter 2.

The establishment of situational restraints relating to varieties of written English cannot be regarded as irrelevant to the teaching of these varieties, even if they are, for the present, "ill-defined":

> "Much of the work one sees now is in very open situations - almost, one explodes the stimulus then stands back to see what happens. ..... Perhaps success or failure in...these much-valued activities has a great deal to do with the writer's ability to respond to the very ill-defined set of situational restraints that characterise them."
>
> (Brazil, 1969:87)

They form another aspect of the student's meta-language, since it is to be hoped that he will become more conscious of what is required of him, not only as regards the notion of "text", but also as regards the roles of himself and his (real or imagined) addressee in the communication in which he is involved. The teaching may also benefit from these situational definitions, since they enable the teacher to select texts and topics more accurately related to the needs of the learner. In the present study we deal with narrative, descriptive and discussion (3) uses of language.

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(3) This latter term is somewhat unsatisfactory in that it has no adjectival form readily contrastive with the other two; it will alternate with "argument", whose adjective "argumentative" will also appear; see also note under Table B Chap. 2

The writing activities engaged in by most members of Major Category O/1 in CCC (1973) would seem to involve three principal "language operations" as defined by the same report: (33, 38, 54):

> 2. Explaining or describing something (a fact, action or event.)
> 3. Expounding ideas or opinions for purposes of persuasion.
> 5. Recounting or relating something (an event, fact or feeling)
>
> (p.54)

and these equate well with varieties demanded or encouraged by influential examining bodies:

> "The choice of topics (in the essay section) encourages considerable freedom of treatment, and the work submitted is discursive, descriptive or argumentative, with some narrative elements and even dialogue."
>
> (Cambridge, 1969:10)

While the inclusion of fictional narrative among the varieties taught in a university composition course might appear surprising, this is largely justified by our findings in Chapter 3. Narrative is a variety that represents a "cultural overlap" (Lyons, 1968:434); it provides a type of discourse whose content is sufficiently similar over a large number of cultures to allow textuality markers to be explored within a familiar context. This variety therefore forms the starting point of the first stage of controlled receptive analysis. Control is also essential at the expressive stage, but the gradual relaxation of such controls has been one of the points that has presented the greatest problem to course designers. We believe this can be most effectively achieved through the translation of selected variety texts, combined with exercises

which complement the translation by dictating form rather than content. This approach avoids the demands made on content and expression together by an exhortation to follow the exessively ambitious models that characterise some courses, or the oversimplified prescriptive statements on sentence and paragraph structure that characterise others.

The present study, then, aims to bring the teaching of the writing skill more in line with the demands for descriptiv and situational criteria that characterise modern language-teaching methodology.

Chapter 1

In this first chapter, various approaches to text description are examined in a search for categories of description that can account for textual well-formedness in terms of the formal and meaningful relations between the sentences. The concepts of "theme" and "rheme" as developed by the linguists of the Prague School appear most suitable, although they have been criticised as not being sufficiently well-defined categories. We therefore test Firbas's hypothesis that a co-operation of means ensures a clear indication of the degrees of communicative dynamism forming the perspective of a sentence. The means examined here are: word-order; grammatical means, semantic indications; phonological means; contextual means. These are found to render the themes, transitional elements and rhemes of any sentence sufficiently clear, not only to provide explanations of "textuality" (textual well-formedness), but also to facilitate descriptions of "texture" (textual structure).

> "The (discoursal function) meets the basic requirement of every language that it should be able to create texts. The speaker of a language can recognize a text; his ability to discriminate between a random string of sentences and one forming a discourse is due to the inherent texture in the language and to his awareness of it."
> (Halliday, 1967-68,3:210)

AIMS

1.0. In this first chapter we search for a description of text in terms that account for intuitions as to whether a text is well-formed, and that will provide a basis for distinguishing text-varieties. As any other semiotic act, a text has meaning and expression (Doležel, 1971), and our description should determine the semantic and formal characteristics which distinguish a text from a non-text, and account for the fact that any one sentence may form a text but not any two sentences may do so. An integrated text description would account for the supra-sentential interrelationship in terms of form and content. First, however, studies concentrating on only one of these aspects are examined, since, though less integrated in the sense given above, they may prove more rigorously applicable. The first section deals with lexical approaches to textual content.

DATA

1.1. Since the word, a traditional unit of meaning, is a readily identifiable linguistic unit, it provides a workable basis for the analysis of textual content, or, more usually, for comparative studies on the content of separate texts.

One of the greatest problems facing the "lexicometrist", however, is the vast corpus of material generally believed necessary to obtain results of any significance; thus Keil (1965) recommends a corpus of ten million words, with single texts of no less than 10,000. The advent of the computer, has furthered the possibility of such large scale analysis. Another approach which avoids this problem to some extent is to make the analysis in terms of semantic fields, rather than the recurrence of an individual word; with movement from token to type, however, some of the primary advantage inherent in the word as an isolatable analytical unit is lost, since a satisfactory classification of words by their meaning still relies heavily on the intuitions of the investigator, aided, perhaps, by a Thesaurus or a computer "tag-dictionary" (see for example Stone, 1966 - pp.169-206). Nevertheless, within limited and well-defined contexts, hypotheses and intuitions about content may be confirmed, or norms establishe on the basis of counts of this nature (See, for example, Smith 1966, in Stone et al. pp. 359-400, Guiraud's studies of French poets in 1969 pp. 95 - 135, etc.)

Owing to the difficulties of semantic classification a number of textual studies at the lexical level have produced comparative studies with lexical items taken as representative of word-classes rather than meaning, and where such classes are formally definable, objective results can again be obtained from a relatively small corpus. Thus Moerk (1970) was able to differentiate significantly between a number of authors using such variables as connecting pronouns, nominative and other cases of nouns (the samples were in

Latin and Greek), subordinating conjunctions, etc., as well as counting longer stretches of utterance, such as the number of sub-ordinate and principal clauses, etc. (1). Zemb (1966) makes comparative statements to determine language types, by comparing the frequency of word-classes in the same text translated into various languages. Zemb's "stylogrammes" present an immediate visual account of inter-language or inter-author differences in the form of irregular polygons, the number of sides depending on the number of features being investigated comparatively. The irregularity of the figures is derived from the ratios of features in the text reflected in the lengths of the radii. The regular polygon which forms the basis of such diagrams must be established on the basis or norms of the features in the language, or mean scores of the features in the writers investigated, since, clearly, the word-classes do not actually figure in equal proportions. Alternatively, one diagram may represent the comparison of two authors, one of them being taken as "norm".

It will be observed that the above mentioned studies have employed lexical criteria as a means of generating, or confirming, hypotheses about situations, authors or languages, not about texts. Wells (1960) shows how such analyses may also lead to reflection on the analytical categories used, in this case, noun and verb:

> "Thus, not only noun and verb, but also nominal style and verbal style, would be distinguished differently in different languages."
>
> (220)

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(1) Numerous studies of this nature are reported in works such as Leed (1966).

The structural properties of the "object" providing the information, the text, are, and must be, in such cases, taken for granted. The investigator's interest is merely in the lexical content of what must be assumed to be a well-formed text. Lexical investigation of this type tells us nothing about the nature of such "well-formedness".

1.2. The notion of word-class or category is derived from grammar, and, as mentioned above, quantitative analysis of other grammatical features has occupied the grammarians in similar statistical approaches to the text. At this more generalised level, however, some attempts have been made to relate the concept of text, or some aspect of that concept, to grammatical features. Both the principal schools of thought on sentence structure, - the structuralist "surface" approach and the Transformational Generative Grammarians - have applied their descriptions to text analysis. We consider first the work of the "Transformational Generative" linguists, since the theory itself owes something to the work of Harris in discourse analysis; following that, the work of what may broadly be termed the "London School" under Halliday will be considered.

1.2.1. Harris (1952a), "unequalled in his dedication to formalism" (Pak, 1971:70), establishes a formal analytical method that can point to patterns of distribution of morphemes and other formal elements within a text. While indicating the environments in which textual content appears, Harris's analysis says nothing about the development of that content, and indeed, by his distributional definition, frequently

neutralizes content. Grammatical structure in the surface text is also frequently "neutralised" with the result that Harris's final analysis may tell us little or nothing about either the formal or semantic characteristics of the textual constituents, it merely represents a formalised description of distributional structure. This may be of interest in the "Millions can't be wrong....." advertising text which Harris considers in his paper, since publicity makes extensive use of repetition or transformations of equivalent structures; the approach is notably less successful in the analysis of "natural" texts, such as the text on "Economic Reconstruction" which forms a supplement to the same work (1952b. p.493). Despite Harris's claim that his categories resemble Noun and Verb, they are noticeably less powerful: new categories are required for the description of each text; minus forms are necessary in the construction of patterns.

1.2.2. Nevertheless, the "reduction" process employed by Harris to discover structurally equivalent segments provided style analysts with a formal tool for defining such hitherto elusive notions as "freedom beyond the established regularities" (Ohmann 1964 : 426), or sentence "complexity" (Hayes, 1966). The basis of these studies and others like them, is that the kernel sentence underlying the surface structure of a text can be seen as the most simplified form of the proposition the writer wished to express - that is, the minimum "established regularity" so to speak. The transformations performed on the kernel, where these are not obligatory, represent the author's treatment of those propositions, and the nature of those transformations enables

the analyst to make statements about the degree and types of complexity in that treatment. It is probably best, in such circumstances, however, to regard complexity merely as a comparative notion, and not an absolute concept, since apparently complex transformations do not necessarily make for complex sentence structures. When Faulkner and Hemingway are "denatured" (Ohman, op.cit.):

> ".... the reduced passage still sounds very much like Hemingway....."
> (435)

Hayes is more interested in the types of operation which it is necessary to perform in order to reduce the "textual sentences" of Gibbon and Hemingway to the underlying source sentences (whether these are "the types of transformations which Gibbon and Hemingway employ" (291) will depend on the accuracy of the theory and the analysis). The findings are presented in statistical tables which supercede traditional evaluative approaches to style, in that:

> "Instead of basing our analysis on subjective impressions and using opaque terminology to describe these impressions, we may say exactly how two styles differ."
> (293)

What Hayes presents, therefore, is an account of the grammatical features of "institutionalised sentences" (281) in terms of the rules involved in their generation. The fact that these sentences form a text is incidental to the study, in much the same way as was observed in the lexical studies. While those are concerned with the nature and degree of content recurrence, Ohmann, Hayes and others involved in the same work are concerned with the type and quantity of supposed grammatical operations.

1.2.3. One further concept from Transformational Grammar that has been applied in text studies, is that of "deviance". Thorne's paper (1970) on the occurrence of this phenomenon, particularly in poetry, (such deviance is particularly characteristic of poetic "foregrounding" - Mukařovský, 1964 : 19) was written after a formal semantic component had been written in to Transformational Grammar by the "projection rules" of Katz and Postal (1964) modified in the Standard Theory by Chomsky (1965; see pp. 148-164). With the aid of semantic descriptions, the grammar should be able to account not only for formal deviances such as "mee..... who am x" from Donne's "A Nocturnall Upon S. Lucies Day", but also the apparent deviance in the selection of "Epitaph" at x . Normally in this structure one would find a noun showing the selection feature (+animate); this would be similarly true of the example "The pencils are sad" quoted from Roethke. There are two ways in which a description to account for these deviant sentences can be effected; firstly, one may write a new, specific grammar for the poem or text, whereby selection rules at variance with those of the Standard Language become "standard" for that particular text. Alternatively, the selection and sub-categorisation rules of the Standard language itself may be altered or extended, so that the understanding of such texts can be accounted for within the native speaker's "competence". Whichever solution is adopted, and this is really a theoretical question, it is clear that "deviance" is a function of "competence":

> "...das Sprachgefühl....., voll, ausgebildet ein gewisses Mass freier Verfügung über das analogisch Automatisierte entwickelt, d.h. auch Disposition zur Abweichung vom Standard

> funktioniert.....denn dass die Abweichung selbst regulär erfolgt, erhellt gerade daraus, dass, zum Beispiel, poetische Lizenzen nur dann positiv berurteilt werden, wenn sie sich analogisch zurückführen lassen, obgleich sie als solche einmalig sein mögen....."
> (Baumgärtner PLS , quoted in Sandig 1970:188)

But by what "analogy" is one able to relate a deviant text to a "standard" text? The examples cited by Thorne are deviant texts, but by virtue of the existence within them of grammatically deviant elements; texts such as those instanced by Enkvist (1973:112), Lux (1974:22) are composed of grammatically acceptable sentences, but as Oomen (1971:15) observes:

> "Aneinanderreihungen von isolierten Sätzen werden nicht als Verstösse gegen die Textbildungsregeln empfunden, sondern eben überhaupt nicht als Texte."

The native speaker's ability to recognise (though clearly, not necessarily to be able to analogise) a "nicht-Text" suggests that "textual competence" (Van Dijk, 1972:3), explicable in broader terms than the "linguistic competence" as this is defined by Chomsky (1965:3ff.), should replace the latter notion.

1.2.4. The sentence is also the unit or "pattern-carrier" (Halliday, 1961:254) on which the works of the London School linguists, such as Halliday (1964a & 1964b), Leech (1965,1966), Sinclair (1966, 1968) are based. The terms used by the above mentioned linguists largely derive from Halliday's (1961) descriptive paper, although Halliday there observes:

> "Statistical work on grammar may yield a further unit above the sentence; it will then be possible to set up sentence classes, and account for sequences of them, by reference to this higher unit."
> (Halliday, 1961:253, fn.30)

Although Halliday's description is not specifically at the level of the linear manifestation of the language substance on the page, but describes those stretches of language that carry the patterns, irrespective of their variable sequence (250), his analysis is certainly "closer to the surface" than that level of abstraction adopted in the mentalist approach of the Generative grammarians (and than in some of Halliday's own later work, eg. 1966, 1967-68, on which see below Sec. 1.5.1.1.). The formal criteria on which definitions of "units" and "classes" are reached has made this, too, an apt means of replacing the traditionally evaluative analysis of literary texts by a more objective one:

> "A literary text has meaning against the background of the language as a whole, in all its uses; how can its language be understood except as the selection by the individual writer from the total resources at this disposal?"
> (1964a:68)

Thus, Sinclair (1968) helps the reader of his paper towards "understanding the meaning of a literary text" by appeal to formal criteria such as sentence, clause and group structure and their relationship to the stanza and line arrangement of a poem. These units are, of course, meaning-carrying units in the sense that they have reference, can be paraphrased, substituted by pro-forms, etc., but it is in terms of their formal properties that Sinclair reveals the intentions of the poet. Thus, the most common type of

noun-group in the poem is "the+noun" despite the fact that the poem is about parts of the writer's and other people's bodies; further, there is little use of pronominal forms to avoid repeated use of the same noun; this is particularly true as regards the central noun of the poem, "legs". Both these facts produce the effect of the poet being separated, detached. A minimal use of transitive verbs and the shortening of "paragraphs" - a feature determined by cohesive devices such as "and", "then", or changes of subject and "topics" - both contribute to a feeling of "acceleration" (220) during the reading, and movement towards increasing chaos (230). The first and last stanzas show a number of structural differences from the central section of the poem (235), and all these observations combine to create what may be described as the "formal meaning" (Halliday, 1961:245) of the work.

1.2.5. Halliday's study of a poem and three prose texts (1964a) is more statistically and more referentially centred, presenting comparative data on the constituents and contents of the noun-groups in three prose passages about the same topic, a room, and comparing the "cline of verbality" (a notion we shall have cause to return to below, Sec. 1.5.1.3.) in a poem by Yeats ("Leda and the Swan") and some lines from Tennyson. Emerging from both the studies of Sinclair and Halliday is a need to take into account the "cohesive" nature of certain elements of structure or their constituents. This was observed in Sinclair's notion of paragraphs in a poem. Halliday (1964a:68) recognises the "new alignment of established categories" required to take account of functions not immediately evident in an analysis of language at single-

sentence level. The function of certain formal features is found to extend beyond the sentence. In 1964a, attention is focussed on the cohesive function of the definite article. (Halliday, in the descriptive section of this paper seems to include the definite article's cohesive role within the word class of "deictics" - "the contextual function of the deictics is to identify" (59) - although this term is used by other writers (and see below) with reference to one particular type of cohesive function, namely reference to extra-textual items). Halliday determines three uses of the definite article in the poem under consideration: anaphoric, cataphoric, homophoric. He reports on the proportions of each within the poem, although, unlike Sinclair, does not attempt to draw conclusions about the meaning of the poem from the grammatical facts observed. He seems more intent on accounting for the notion of "text-ness" or "textuality", and is the first of the writers so far discussed, therefore, who has not taken the cohesive nature of the text for granted.

The principles of cohesion are developed in greater detail in 1964b, which re-presents, and develops upon, the table that figures at the conclusion of the previous work (p.72). Curiously, in these tables and in the second paper, deixis is seen to be a sub-category of anaphora. Three means of cohesion are identified in the second paper: structural, non-structural and lexical. While structural cohesion is a syntagmatic relation between two clauses within one sentence, non-structural cohesion, by means of anaphora or substitution, and lexical cohesion are more likely to operate above the level of the single sentence,

and as features, therefore, of a "grammaire interphrastique" (Kassai, forthcoming) are of greater interest and importance to text-linguistics.

Leech (1965) focusses on the last of Halliday's three cohesive means, the lexical, in the analysis of a poem by Thomas:

> "In studying cohesion, we pick out the patterns of meaning running through the text, and arrive at some sort of linguistic account of what the poem is "about". In this case, we notice how tightly organised the relationships are."
>
> (121)

Poetry is a more fruitful source for investigation of this feature than referential prose, since:

> "The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination."
>
> (Jakobson, 1960:358)

although lexical cohesion will be a feature of any text to a greater or lesser degree. If, however, lexical cohesion is merely studied from the point of view of "topics" and their exponents, the result will tell us little more about textuality than the lexical statistical studies described in section 1.1.(2). It figures, and should be studied, as one option in the cohesive system described by Halliday (ops. cit.) Furthermore, an account of the syntagmatic functions of the cohesive items, ie. the "horizontal" relationships within the sentence, as well as the "vertical" references within the text, would account for both the formal and semantic characteristics of the text unit and provide the

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(2) We do not suggest by this remark that this is a failing in Leech's paper.

integrated description mentioned in the opening paragraph. To these two axes can be added one further one mentioned in Leech's paper - that of the relationships between the text and the extra-linguistic situation in which it functions. This will be further discussed below, and exemplified in Chap.2.

1.2.7. For the present, it now seems possible to make some summary remarks concerning the notions of style, grammaticality and "text".

Style is a comparative notion, and the comparison of texts can be made at any linguistic level which the analyst decides best meets his aims. Those studies by Ohmann and Hayes described above were concerned with formal relations between surface and underlying sentences; Bally (1951) and the neo-idealist school were concerned with semantic similarities between "faits d'expression" and "faits de pensée" (op. cit.:29); lexical studies are concerned with the comparison of content. In all cases the well-formedness of the texts being compared must be taken as given.

Grammaticality is a formal property of sentences; the categories in terms of which such formal properties are described will depend on the particular grammatical theory. The greater objectivity and rigour achieved in recent years in this area of linguistics has demonstrated that the notional approach to grammar was hindered by its concern with content, which can only be admitted where it, too, can be formally described. The inability of formal sentence grammars to account for textual unity in terms of its semantic as well

as grammatical characteristics is thus not surprising; nor can they be criticised for not doing so. Halliday's terms for a cohesive system represent the limits of a sentence grammar in this direction if:

> "The formal meaning of an item is its operation in the network of formal relations."
>
> (1961:245)

In addition to these formal indicators of a reccurrent reference, text grammars will, it seems, have to account for the nature of that recurrence in terms of its initial occurrence, intensity of recurrence, syntactic and semantic functions of the various reference items etc.

It is due to this need to define "text" in wider terms than those offered by formal linguistics that other researchers have worked recently with the broader terms of reference of such disciplines as sociolinguistics, logic and psychology. Linguistics, as the most developed branch of the semiotic sciences (see Sebeok et al., 1964: esp. pp. 277-287) has, naturally enough, lent some of its concepts to these other areas. The mutual influence is evident in such terms as "Communicative Competence" (Hymes, 1971), "Behavioureme" (Pike, 1967) etc. With such pragmatic aspects we shall be particularly concerned in Chap. 2. The introduction of the principles of logic and philosophy into linguistics has not only contributed extensively to work on texts, however, but, in the principles of "Generative Semantics" (Lakoff, 1971a), to further explication of the well-formedness of the single sentence. As this represents a semantic approach to sentence description, the work of some Generative Semanticists will be briefly reviewed before passing on to specifically text-grammars.

1.3. The principles of "Generative Semantics" grew out of a certain dissatisfaction with the explanations of the semantic component of Generative Grammar offered by Chomsky's Standard Theory (1965). As noted above (Sec. 1.2.3.), in that version of the theory, Chomsky already doubted the validity of Katz and Postal's projection rule system as a viable semantic component, and considered:

> "...whether the functions of the semantic component should not be taken over, in toto, by the generative syntactic rules." (158)

owing to the fact that such "higher level" lexical features such as (HUMAN) have an obvious syntactic role. Some further modification is proposed in Chomsky (1971) where it is shown that the semantic component can operate on both deep and surface structure.

In the same work Chomsky discusses presupposition as a feature of sentence semantics, but sees no need to modify the standard theory in this respect. Fillmore (1971), however, argues that the grammar must account for how the speaker understands the difference between the phrases, "a good pilot" and "a good knife"; Katz (1966) provided one solution to the problem by including "evaluation markers" within the selection restrictions of the projection rules. Fillmore suggests that the different values must be accounted for in terms of predication types underlying the lexical items; to speak of "a good pilot" is to presuppose the semantic value of "pilot" as "agent" in the formula, Process : navigate / Agent : pilot ; Object : aeroplane. "Pilot" and "knife" are agents of different processes, and it is in this respect that they are evaluated. More

challenging to Katz's (op. cit.) projection rule explanations is the case of the negative sentence, "He is not a bachelor". The semantic component of Generative Grammar, cannot account for the negation of some semantic feature, namely, "unmarried" without the negation of the "adult" "male" aspects, but these must remain as presuppositions of the negative utterance. In this way, certain presuppositions must be considered to account for sentence structure possibilities and well-formedness, and as such can be counted as grammatical features. (Lakoff, 1971b:332).

Presuppositions connected with double-base transformations particularly conjunction transformations, will clearly have relevance to consideration of sentence sequences in a fuller text. In these cases, the choice of logical connector is a surface feature reflecting the presuppositions of the base sentences. The following sentences offer an example:

"John told Mary she was ugly and then she insulted 'him".

"Telling somebody they are ugly" entails insulting them, and thus, with stress on the final item the sentence would be considered non-deviant.

(2)"John told Mary she was beautiful and then she insulted 'him"

with the same stress pattern, would, on the contrary not be considered acceptable in our own culture. If, however, the sentence stress pattern is changed to place the main stress on "insult" as contrastive, then the sentence becomes non-deviant, although such a relationship might be better indicated by the logical connector "but" in place of the "and then" of the original sentence. Stress and conjunctions

are, however, performance features; given the presupposition, telling somebody they are beautiful ⊃ insult, (2) could be considered well-formed. It is simply that such a presupposition does not "accord with (our) factual knowledge, cultural background and beliefs". Evidently, such considerations lead to discussion of complex philosophical problems, which at deep structure level are often, in the present state of knowledge, unresolved:

> "The question whether a sentence with "but" is grammatical relative to a given set of presuppositions depends on the question of whether EXP ($S_1 \supset \sim S_2$) can be deduced from these propositions. If this is undecidable in natural logic, as would be a good bet, the question as to whether a given sentence containing "but" is grammatical is undecidable in natural logic. In general, the notion of grammaticality relations to some given set of presuppositions would then be an undecidable property of sentences."
>
> Lakoff (1971c : 70)

Lakoff, in the same paragraph, goes on to warn researchers into text-linguistics of the difficulties of establishing appropriateness of a text on logical grounds. Such theoretical and deep-structure considerations aside, however, at the level of formal surface structure, stress and conjunctions may be added to the anaphoric items noted by Halliday, as manifestating inter-sentence or extra-linguistic (cultural) relationships; they are dependent on items already known from the context, or previously mentioned in the utterance - two evidently important semantic aspects of

textual structure. The following sentences from Garner (1971:40):

"The (present) King of France is bald"

(our bracketing, since the adjective is not germane to the argument)

"Soon Claude will become the king of France"

prompt the following observation by the same author:

> "When we place the definite description else-where in the sentence, the conditions that govern the use of the definite article no longer seem to apply."

What Garner points out is that the presuppositions of the above two sentences are clearly different owing to sentence position of the article; the first sentence presupposes the existence of a king of France, the second does not; the existence of the referent of the head noun is not presupposed when the definite noun-group appears in the predicating section of the sentence. Word-order thus becomes a further surface feature related to underlying presuppositions.

1.4. We now turn to the consideration of specific text theories where context is an a priori of the description.

1.4.1. In the textual situation, as Bellert (1970) points out, the presuppositions underlying an S, may now be seen as presuppositions of an S_i (where $i \geq 2$) that are recoverable from S_{i-1} or at least from an S_{i-n}. The text coheres on the basis of such inter-sentential relationships

realised through linguistic indices of the types we have already had occasion to collect. Such internal coherence is a minimal requirement, before further inferences can be drawn about the author's meaning or intentions; unless, therefore, this minimal condition of coherence is met, the text cannot be considered to "mean" anything, and cannot be considered a text. Coherence is thus an essential part of the "non-deviance" of texts discussed above (Sec. 1.2.3.).

This does not mean, of course, that a text must be referentially self-contained:

> "A speaker or author normally assumes that the receiver possesses, in addition to knowledge about the language, knowledge also of extra-linguistic facts, and he delivers a coherent text on the basis of these assumptions."
>
> (Bellert, op-cit.,p.354)

The inter-sentential indices referred to above may lead the reader back to the initial sentences of the text, and thereby into the extra-linguistic world, where we are again faced with the problems of presuppositions and truth conditions that face the Generative Semanticists and philosophers.

1.4.2.1. Bellert is prepared to leave this as an acknowledged assumption on the part of the text-writer. Van Dijk (1972) offers an explanation of the presuppositional problem as regards the initial sentence, and rejects the S_1 , S_2.....S_n concept of text for a more "holistic" definition which must account for such aspects of our textual competence as the ability to plan and paraphrase. Van Dijk's text-grammar therefore consists of an underlying semantic "macro-structure".

The analogy between generative sentence grammar and this generative text-grammar has certain empirical justifications, similar to those alluded to in the opening paragraph of the present chapter:

> "...theoretically - and also practically (as often occurs in daily discourse) - a text can consist of only one sentence. If a text grammar would assign to such a one-sentence-text, a structure which would be entirely different from that assigned by its S-grammar component, the grammar could not be considered consistent. This trivial fact suggests that macro-structures in principle, are not different from abstract structures at the sentence level. If this is true, text surface structures can become gradually and linearly more complex, while their deep structure will roughly keep the form of a sentential proposition".
>
> (op. cit., 140)

We could expect that the surface structure component of the text might be lost sight of in Van Dijk's evidently "deep" semantic approach. This is not true, although it is certainly treated as somewhat incidental to the deep structure.

The variables in the macro- and micro- semantic components are represented by propositional formulae with arguments now familiar in linguistic analysis; such as Pat(ient), Instr(ument), Goal, etc. The underlying proposition will be modified by further categories, essential to the description of natural language, such as "Modality" (in this connection, see FACT and FICTION in his narrative "tree". (Section 2.1.5.2.))

Time, Place, etc., the whole providing at the deepest level (pp. 149-151):

$$T \longrightarrow Tql \quad Prop$$

where the "Text Qualifier" (Tql) contains the categories mentioned above: the proposition is then rewritten as:

$$\longrightarrow Pred\ (Arg)^n$$

By further expansion rules these formulae are developed to account for the fact that underlying arguments must themselves allow for predication:

$$Arg \rightarrow (Pred^2((Arg), Pred, (Arg)))$$

leading thus to the structures underlying sentence constants. The five sets of rules needed to achieve this progression are summarised thus (19):

- (R_1) semantic formation rules for macro-structures.
- (R_2) transformation rules of macro-structures (so-called macro-transformations) having macro-structures as input and transformed macro-structures as output.
- (R_3) transformation rules mapping transformed macro-structures onto sequences of underlying semantic representations of sentences.
- (R_4) transformation rules mapping semantic representations of sequences onto syntactic representations; this set includes a set of lexicalisation rules.
- (R_5) rules pairing lexico-syntactic surface structures with morpho-phonological representations.

The last three subsets are now familiar from Generative Grammar, but it is of some interest to note Van Dijk's approach to the phenomena of presupposition and topic and comment in R_4.

1.4.2.2. As regards presupposition, Van Dijk is able to demonstrate here, not only, as Bellert (op. cit.) claimed, that the presuppositions of S_i will be found in S_{i-n}, but also that certain constraints on ordering may be imposed by presuppositional relations. He also offers a solution to the problem of presuppositions underlying the initial sentence of a text when, as stated above, the presuppositions of the subsequent sentences "lead the reader back" to that point and to the extra-linguistic situation.

As an indication of ordering, Van Dijk compares the sentences: (103).

"Peter is ill. John knows that."

with the unacceptable:

"Peter is ill. John pretends that.

The reason why the first order is acceptable but not the second is, suggests Van Dijk, because, in the second case, "Peter is ill" is not a presupposition of the second sentence of the pair; the presuppositional proposition would, in fact, be:

"Peter is not ill"

Thus, the only order acceptable for the second pair above would be:

"John pretends this. Peter is ill."

This requires different pronominal marking in the surface structure of the sentence, as can be seen; we may therefore add this to the forms of definitivization mentioned by Van Dijk as "manifestations of the same basic phenomenon of ordering relations between SR's (Semantic Representations) in a text." (103)

As to the second point concerning initial sentences, where, as stated above, the text-linguistic faces the same problems of explication as the Generative Semanticist, Van Dijk's clarification serves equally for both sentence and text grammars. Clearly, the question of truth value, which has been the main preoccupation of Philosophers and Logicians as regards such sentences as:

"The king of France is bald"

should not be a factor relevant to the well-formedness of sentences or texts. Linguistic concern with presupposition, concludes Van Dijk, cannot be expected to formalise this sort of value within the grammar. Those presuppositions which have to be accounted for as features of initial or single sentences are explicable by the fact that the text is an utterance, and, as such, the object of a performative matrix sentence such as, "I tell you that....", "I say that....." (see tree-diagram in Chap. 2, Sec. 2.1.5.2.). Performative sentences involve no presuppositions other than the existence of the speaker, and therefore any text may be considered well-formed, even if it begins:

"The king of France is wise and he lives in a golden castle and has a hundred wives."
(Strawson, 1950:331)

Strawson attempts to demonstrate the difference between a "significant" and a "true" assertion; Van Dijk's clarification makes this superfluous to the linguistic concept of presupposition.

1.4.2.3. It was observed that the subject of definite descriptions such as "The king of France....." or proper nouns such as "Claude" in the sentences in Sec. 1.3.) require some presuppositional explanation. As text-medial sentences, their references might be present somewhere in the preceding text. It is the nature of this "being present" that Van Dijk examines in his analysis of topic and comment (109-120), often equated with what is "given" - as "The King of France...." and "Claude...." in some sense are - and what is "new". Here again, he first demonstrates that explanations in terms of propositional logic, whereby topic and comment would be regarded as two arguments of a single proposition showing implicational relationships, has no application to the problem in natural language, since truth value rules operating on the logical terms (see op. cit. pp.112-113) make nonsense of the semantics of the sentence. Thus a textual solution is again called for.

In this connection Van Dijk provides a definition of topic in terms of the semantic identity between items in adjacent or sequential sentences. The definition is expressed with reference to the sub-trees of the items concerned in the semantic phrase-markers of the sentences in which they occur. The definition runs into two main difficulties. Firstly, the identity condition of the sub-trees may not be met, as Van Dijk himself exemplifies in:

Peter has found a pretty secretary.
The girl has just left college.
(115)

or

A hitch-hiker was walking along a highway.
His feet were swollen and painful.
(117-118)

Secondly, in initial or isolated sentences, there may be no preceding sub-tree with which the items may be identified. In this case, Van Dijk would term the whole sentence"comment", although he later goes on to add:

> "Topics, then, will normally be identified with the leftmost definite NP, although transformations (eg. topicalization) and particular stress assignments may change the place of the topic." (118)

Apart from the inconsistency between these two solutions, neither seems very satisfactory. The opening sentence of a text, which Van Dijk proposes to designate as "comment" has the same propositional structure as the other sentences of the text, in that it predicates something about a subject; it contributes equally to the "informational expansion of the text" (119). Secondly, to identify the topic with the leftmost definite NP is clearly wrong in such cases as:

"It was the girl who broke the vase"

(cf. Kassai, forthcoming, and Firbas 1971 on a similar solution apparently proposed by Dahl, 1969); so Van Dijk's appeal to surface phenomena, such as stress, which would clearly operate in this case, seems to offer a more reliable identification , if not definition of, this relationship between different parts of the sentence, and between sentence and text.

The formal approaches to text description were found unsatisfactory, due to their failure to account for semantic development; with semantic descriptions, particularly where these are concerned with deep structure, the formal means through which that structure and its development are realised tend to be obscured.

1.4.3. The work of Petöfi (1974a, 1974b) has become concerned with the "Text-Structure World-Structure (TeSWeST as an abbreviation from the German term) Theory of Texts," whose position, relative to other text theories, he defines thus:

> "Thus, the TeSWeST occupies an intermediate place among the different (traditional, philological, structural-linguistic) theories aiming at the description of texts, and the logically based sentence-centred theories. For the first mentioned theories it might seem to be too technical, while for the second ones it is not exact (enough), however, its status cannot be else in the present state of research."
>
> (1974b:21)

As the name suggests, the main concerns of this theory are with referential problems as regards the semantics of the text items (sense - Sinn - intension) and the interpretation of the text in relation to its particular "subworld" (1974b:23). Lexical units are thus basic to the description, and are involved both in the grammatical component dealing with the internal form of the text, and in the "extensional semantic component" (op. cit.:22) which examines complex philosophical problems of intensional and extensional relationships. It is here that the "present state of research" causes the lack of exactness referred to above, but the first component is extensively worked out and illustrated with respect to a short natural text in (1971).

A surface text-sentence ("first-grade composition unit" -op. cit. p.278) consists of base components in the form of a proposition (or propositions in the case of compound or complex surface sentences) involving similar predicate constituents to those seen in Van Dijk and elsewhere; that is, tempus, modus and performative items, as well as c connectives, where more than one proposition is present in the surface structure. Petöfi gives in detail (op. cit., pp.286-288) the rules for the formation of these base propositions.

Unlike Van Dijk, however, Petöfi builds up the semantic macro-strcture of the text specifically from these base propositions. This is done through the construction of "thematic nets" (281) showing the occurrences of the arguments of the underlying propositional predicates, and the inter-relations between these arguments in the text. These interrelations can be established on the basis of "points of view"; thus, in connection with the three text-sentences (pp.279-280) from Thurber's story "The Moth and the Star" consisting of 13 base predicates, he indicates 5 thematic nets on the bases:

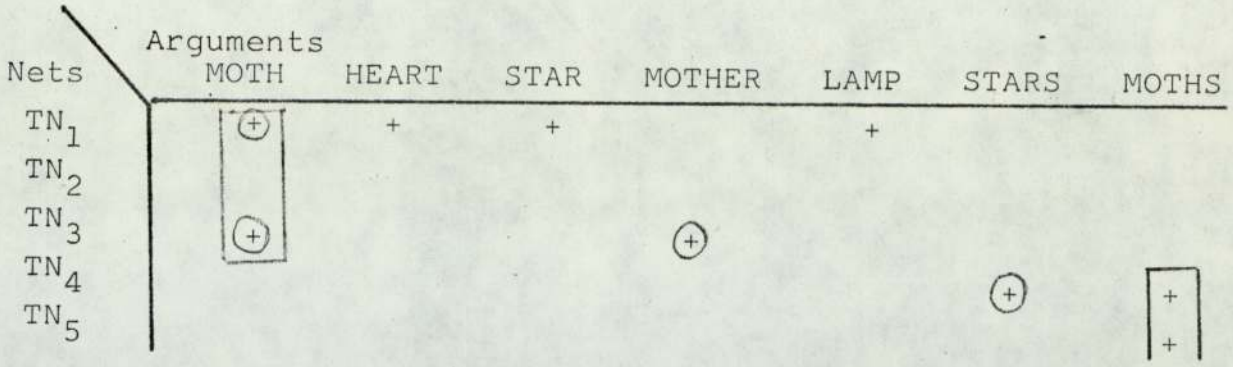
a) predicates concerning the moth but not his mother;

b) predicates concerned with the mother but not the moth;

c) predicates in which both moth and mother figure as arguments, etc. Petöfi produces a relation diagram of the following form (3):

---

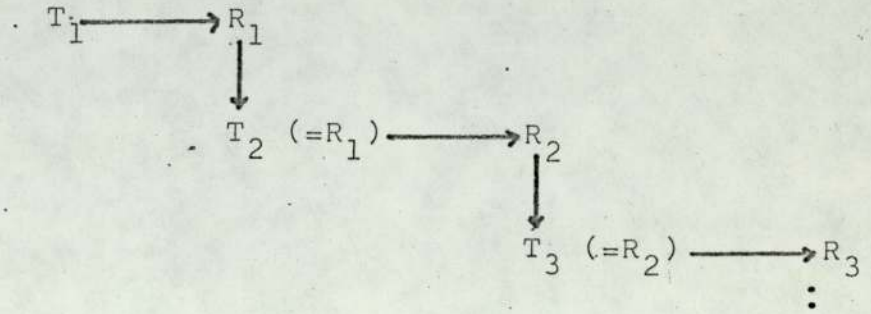
(3) The diagram produced in the paper referred to was obscured by an unfortunate mis-alignment of the columns; it is to be hoped that the one reproduced here is a correct version.



The circles indicate the arguments on which the net is based; the oblongs connect arguments recurring in a number of nets. When applied to a full text, relations may become extremely complex and require a complicated system of reference indices, as illustrated by a more extensive application of the same principles later in the same paper. These reference indices allow the analyst to reach a semantic description of the text based on semantic relationships entered into by the major lexical items.

1.4.4. Another "networking" approach, but based on the networking of items in the surface structure, is proposed in Daneš (1970a). The networking in this case concerns that of sentence constituents related in terms of their "communicative dynamism" (Firbas, 1959a:39, and elsewhere). Daneš also uses the term "Thematic" for this network view of the text - "Thematische Progression" - but the thematicity here refers to the communicative status of the items and is not derived from their actual occurrence in the nets, owing to their recurrence in the text, as is the case with Petöfi's "themes". The term "Progression" reflects the dynamism of the text; the text is seen as a process rather than a (deep) semantic "fact".

A sample diagram from Daneš's examples of types of thematic progression, such as that of "die einfache lineare Progression" (op. cit. 75) makes clear both the horizontal and vertical relationships which the categories "theme" and "rheme" may enter:



"Theme" and "Rheme" are realised by sentence constituents varying in the degree to which they "push the communication forward" (Firbas, 1965:170). They are, in other words, categories representing degrees of information carried by lexical items of varying syntactic function in their respective sentences. A description of discourse in terms of these categories and "progressions" would provide: i) an account of the form and content of the text, integrating the (formal) cohesive devices noted by Halliday, with the "thematic (content) devices of the lexicometrists and Petöfi etc., and ii) a networking which would establish the "macro-structure" in terms of the "communicative micro-structure" of the text. (these terms now borrowed from Daneš, 1970b:11)

1.5. Whether such Progressions are determinable will depend in the first instance on the degree to which the categories of "theme" and "rheme" are objectively identifiable; Daneš claims in the conclusion to the first-mentioned paper:

> "Es ist klar, dass das Verwenden der abstrakten Modelle von den Eigenschaften der gegebenen Sprache abhängig ist, und dass verschiedenen Sprachen unterschiedliche Mittel für die Realisation der thematischen Progressionen zu Verfügung stehen."
> (1970a:78)

It is of significance that the theory of the informational perspective of a sentence (Functional Sentence Perspective, FSP) has developed among speakers of Czech, where the "free" word-order organised according to the communicative needs of the speaker is an obvious "means of realisation". Outside that country, however, the lack of rigour in theme / rheme analysis has been one of the chief criticisms against it. Thus, Enkvist, on the precise subject of identifying the theme in order to establish the progression of references through a text ("Theme Dynamics" is the object of his research - 1973:116) writes:

> "At present there is no sufficiently rigorous semantic theory of synonymy, and in practical stylistic analysis we must therefore content ourselves with some very rough-and-ready systems of theme identification."
> (117)

among which he lists repetition, reference, synonymy, antonymy and hyponomy (though these would seem to be more applicable to rheme identification - see our use of these concepts for that purpose, Chap. 2. Sec. 2.5.2.1.) - than theme identification, where substitution and other grammatical devices are used.

HYPOTHESIS

1.5.1. The present discussion will refute this claim of rough-and-readiness by showing as verifiable, Firbas's hypothesis that:

> "Regarding FSP as the outcome of a highly organised co-operation of means, we cannot consider English to be less susceptible to FSP than Czech."
>
> (1966b:253)

Further criticisms will be mentioned and discussed in the course of our examination of the means which do co-operate in the perspective of the English sentence; we shall consider these means in five sections: word-order; grammatical means; semantics in FSP; phonological means; contextual means, although the fact of their "co-operation" will necessitate continual cross-reference.

TESTS

1.5.1.1. As the origins of the theory of FSP were in the principle of word-order, we shall consider the significance of word-order in the English sentence first, particularly as it was this feature which caused Mathesius (1943, cited in Firbas, 1969b:239) to doubt the susceptibility of English to FSP; as a consequence, the treatment of this factor in the first instance allows some introduction to some of the features that will be considered in later sections.

The problem to be discussed first may now be framed thus: in our desire to define "text" in terms of a progression of "themes" and "rhemes", how far can the word-order of an English sentence be said to pass from what is known or least important to elements having a high degree of communicative importance in the context, and thus facilitate the identification of "theme" and "rheme" within each sentence?

There would seem to be three factors which may be regarded as determining word-order in a language; the grammatical principle, by which the sentence structure correlates with one particular ordering of grammatical relationships, such as SVO, VSO, SOV etc. (see Greenberg 1963 for a classification of types and their dependent variables); secondly, transitivity relationships (see Halliday, 1967-68, and Lyons, 1968:341 ff.); or the communicative dynamism of the elements, as in Czech. Such principles of ordering are not mutually exclusive; the subject of the sentence may be both actor and theme. "Subject" is particularly distinct from the other two categories, since it expresses a grammatical relationship of an item to a following verb, although in traditional grammars notional definitions are frequent. The test of the controlling word-order principle is to be found in those instances when, for example, subject, theme and actor do not coincide in the same constituent, since it is then possible to observe which, if any, occupies a constant sentence position.

Halliday's (1967-68) examination of transitivity relations in the English sentence shows numerous semantic roles fulfilling the subject function. Thus the subject may represent the initiator (1:42), actor (1:39), goal (1:41), attribuant (1:39) or, in the more general "ergative" type of clause (Part 3:189) the "affected". This study complements that of Fillmore (1968) in that both conclude that while subject is normally filled by an animate "initiator", numerous other roles may also appear in subject relationship with the verb when "initiator" is to be found elsewhere in the sentence.

Whichever role is chosen, however, the grammatical order of English will generally remain SV; that the sentence follows a prescribed grammatical order seems, therefore, to be a more pervading rule that that some transitivity function will appear in a fixed position whatever its grammatical relationship to the verb.

Similarly, we may examine how far FSP controls the order of the English sentence by asking whether there are cases in which thematic items occupy initial sentence position at the expense of the SV order, and here indeed we do find two types in particular:

(1a) "In the S.E. are the mountains of Armagh" (Variety Text 4:7)

(1b) "Round the square walked a policeman" (VT.3:27 adapted) (4)

(2) "There are some trees (in the garden)"

In 1a and 1b an AVS order obtains, following the "gamut" of theme-rheme (as can be demonstrated by the presence of other indicators such as the articles); the fact that the sentences can equally well (if not preferably) be reversed shows that neither SV nor TR seem to be controlling principles in this instance.

Sentence 2, like 1a and 1b, shows a context independent subject moved to post-verbal position. The impossibility of:

(2′) "Some trees are"

---

(4) When referring to variety texts we give two figures; the first indicates the text number, the second the communicative filed. (See Sec. 2.5.)

might be taken as indicative of T - R predominating over R - T, but this impossibility could be ascribed to some principle of end-weight (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973:410-11) rather than because it is contrary to T - R.

The question arises, then, as to whether "there" in the existential construction is to be conceived as a "dummy subject", or a "dummy theme"; in other words, is it present in order to maintain a favourite S-V order (despite the fact that grammatically it does not show concord with the verb) or is it to maintain a favourite T-R order? Or finally, is it a means whereby an apparent coincidence of Subject and Theme can be achieved? Sentences which separate the grammatical and communicative functions can again be used to solve the issue; both the following forms are acceptable, though prosodically marked:

(3a)	"These apples a 'friend stole"	T O	R S	Tr V
(3b)	"A 'friend stole these apples"	R S	Tr V	T O

Also acceptable, and prosodically unmarked, is the sentence:

(3c)	"These apples were stolen by a 'friend"	T S	Tr V	R A

This unmarked sentence would seem to be the "favourite" form of the three given. Passivization and existential "there" are devices of the language which allow "theme" and "subject" to coincide and produce an unmarked "favourite" sentence pattern. This can be further demonstrated by the fact that contextually neutral sentences like (4)

(4) a) The handsome prince loved the queen
b) A girl broke a vase

will be read as showing increasing communicative dynamism from left to right. Neither S - V nor T - R can be regarded as dominant principles of the English word-order system, but sufficient devices exist to allow them to coincide.

Sentences like (2) or:

(5) "A girl came into the room"

which do not so readily allow of a "there" construction in English, and thus more frequently show a rhematic subject, have been the subject of a special study by Firbas (1966b), where it is demonstrated that the verbs of such sentences all belong to one semantically identifiable class with the meaning of "appearance on the scene" (op. cit. 244). These verbs will be dealt with in Section 1.5.1.3. below; suffice it to say for the present, that where subject and theme do not coincide, other means will make clear the communicative dynamism of the elements. The fact that i) such a group of verbs is identifiable; ii) A-S-V orders exist alongside S-V-A in (5), (1a) and (1b); iii) English is equipped with special devices to maintain a correlation of subject and theme, would all seem to indicate that communicative dynamism of the constituents cannot be discounted as a factor in determining the predominant word-order of English sentences.

The observation by Francis (1963) in his review of Brno Studies in English 1-3, to the effect that there is no evidence of a universal thought process passing from known to unknown,

is somewhat circumstantial, and must be left to investigation by psychologists; as far as language itself is concerned, the Prague linguists, along with Bolinger (1952) and others, have demonstrated that this certainly seems to be one of the basic organisational criteria, even in language apparently as "grammatically" ordered as English.

1.5.1.2. By grammatical means of indicating communicative dynamism of sentence elements is meant the use of items that belong to "closed sets" (Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens - 1964:22-23), and that have "grammatical" rather than "lexical" meaning (Lyons, 1968:435). Because of their "specific semantic character" they are classed by Firbas (1959a:43) among the "semantic-contextual means of FSP". We, however, further divide this category in Sections 1.5.1.3. , 1.5.1.5.

Such closed-set grammatical items are very largely a means of indicating thematic rather than rhematic status, since they include such cohesive features as pronouns, deictics, pro- and substitute verbs, though also articles, where the indefinite form may, along with other means, indicate a rheme.

An extensive examination of cohesive devices in English was carried out by Hasan (1968). The analysis is a grammatical one in that it is based on structural units of sentence grammar. Hasan makes the following distinction, however, in the nature of the antecedents that such devices may show:

> "The distinction between "substitution" and "reference" is that substitution is more a

> purely verbal relation, a relation between linguistic items such as words or phrases as such, whereas reference involves the semantic interpretation of the items concerned.....it follows that, as a general rule, a substitute item has the same structural function as that for which it substitutes: "one" and "pen" are both head in the nominal group.
>
> (82-83)

Despite the apparent contextual dependence of such items, however, their communicative status cuts across this classification, as may be seen from the commentary that follows. Where our examples are taken from Hasan (op. cit.), as the majority are, page no. in his work is followed by his example number in the right hand margin. The number on the left is the one used in the ensuing discussion; the list is divided into reference and substituition functions.

Reference:

(1) A. Oh, he's left?
B. Yes, he left about an hour ago. 35(18)

(2) ˇMines from the 'library. Firbas,1968:21(19)

(3) That must have cost a lot of money. 36(19)

(4) Oh, that came up. AFD

(5) They broke Mary's Chinese vase.
That was careless. 56(39)

(6) There was this man. 53

(7) This is what worries me. I can't get any news of them. 60(44)

(8) I can't get any news of them.
This is what worries me. 60(45)

(9) I am confronted with a similar problem to the one you had last year. 69(58a)

(10) I never thought he was so strong. 77(71a)

(11) I never thought he was as strong as that. 77(71b)

(12) I never knew he cared so. 81(75b)

(13) The bull is more serious. Deyes,1976:4

Substitution: (14) A. I'll have a poached egg on toast, please.
B. I'll have the same. 111(108)

(15) John sounded rather regretful.
Mary sounded the same.
Mary sounded so (too).
He looked the same.
He looked so (too).
116(119a-d)

(16) This applicant's manner didn't impress me.
I rather favour the first one. 86(81)

(17) I need a new dress. Shall I buy that blue one? 89(87)

(18) A. Do you think you can finish it?
B. I think so. 118(121)

(19) A. John is intelligent.
B. a. Yes, he is.
b. Yes, he seems so.

(20) (a) You say John is intelligent.
So he is.
(b) You say John is intelligent.
So is Mary. 122(126)

(21) A. Does she sing? 130(136a)
B. Yes, she does.

(22) A. Does she sing?
B. No, but Mary does. 130(136b)

A. Why do you smile?
(23) B. I didn't know I was. AFD
(24) B′ I didn't know I was doing. AFD
(25) B′′ I didn't know I was doing so. 138(145)

(26) Isn't he going to pass his exam?
I fear not. 124(129)

(27) "I don't know the meaning of all words, and, what's more, I don't believe you do either." 126(131b)

(28) He never really succeeded in his ambitions.
He might have done, one felt, had it not been for the restlessness of his nature. 126(132)

This is not, of course, an exhaustive list of reference and substitution items in English, and further examples can be

found in Hasan (op. cit.) The above are selected to show that, under certain conditions, even cohesive items may function as rhemes, as in the following instances:

(4) (6) (7) (10) (11) (13) (14) (15a) (16) (17) (19) (20a) (21) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28)

(6) (9) (10) (11) (16) (17) show a reference or a substitute item as part of a nominal group. If the nominal group itself were considered as a field over which the distribution of CD operates (see Svoboda, 1968 for analysis of communicative sub-fields; and below, Chap. 2, Sec.2.5.) the cohesive items would clearly be seen to be subordinate to the communicative dynamism of the head items in (6) (10) (11) or, themselves being heads in (9) (16) (17), subordinate to the dynamism of the modifier which they carry. But the status of the noun-group as a whole is rhematic in these sentences due to subject complementation (10) (11), contrast (16), a verb of appearance on the scene rendering the subject group rhematic (6), and the greater contextual dependence of the other items in the field, particularly in (9) & (17).

If, as would seem normal, and as indicated in (7) cataphoric demonstrative "this" carries the stress, it may be considered as the rhematic element of the sentence, "worry" being context dependent, either as understood in the circumstances or previously mentioned. Anaphoric "this" (8), cannot achieve this degree of dynamism unless selectively contrastive. Demonstrative "that" cannot function cataphorically (Hasan op. cit:59), but when functioning "exophorically" (op. cit. 36 - the term, "deictically" in

its normally accepted sense of referring to the situation could be used here) and with a verb of "appearance on the scene" it may become a rhematic subject, as in (4).

In examples (19)-(25) the verbs "be" and "do" are found variously functioning as verbal operator (21), pro-verbs (19a) (20a) (25) and verbal substitute (20b) (22) (23) (24) (27) (28) The distinction drawn here between these last two functions does not correspond exactly to that arrived at by Hasan, 131; (for fuller discussion of these functions see our comparative treatment of English "do" and Spanish "hacer" in Chap. 3, Sec. 3.3.2.2. below.) - briefly, we identify the first as a verb standing in for part or whole of a preceding predicate, while to qualify as the second, a verb must not only act as a substitute but also carry some contrast with a former predicate. In (20b) and (22) the contrastive item is "Mary" and it is this, therefore, that represents the rheme of the sentence; in (23) and (24) the rheme is realised by the verb itself, or more particularly the tense element of the verbal group, although clearly the notional component of the verb is also present as part of what is known. (see Firbas, 1968, and below, Section 1.5.1.3. on Transition.). In (28) the modality of probability is the predominant semantic contrast in the rheme, while in (27) we revert to a situation similar to that of (20b) where the verb is not the rheme, but does, nevertheless in this case, carry another cohesive feature - pronominal "you" - as the contrasting element, and hence the rheme.

The pro-verb use of "do" is normally followed by the further cohesive item "so", the two elements together performing the substitution. Thus it is both of these that must be considered as the rheme of (25); this is to suggest that the notional content of the verb is more to the fore in this example than in (23) and (24) noted above. The pro-verb "be" does not require the form "so" (this, is fact, would change the nature of the substitution- Hasan, op. cit.:121) and functions therefore as the single rhematic element in (19) and (20a). The verbal operator as rheme in (21) may be said to represent the modality of "affirmative" , although this is a further case of a unit of very low communicative value achieving rhematic statue, simply relative to the other items of the field, which are also known, but precede it in order and do not receive the stress.

Although (2) shows heavy stress and pitch change on the possessive pronoun functioning as subject, this item will still be considered thematic due to the fact that it is in the final item of the sentence that carries the heavier, nuclear stress; phonological, grammatical and semantic means all follow, therefore, the degrees of communicative dynamism in this instance. With (15a) the situation might appear more problematic, since there is an evident contrast between "Mary" and "John" of the antecedent sentence, and here the cohesive item appears in sentence-final position. Nevertheless, FSP is not concerned with unresolvable philosophical problems such as whether "John" as opposed to "Mary" is more contrastive than things being "the same"; the writer chooses a sentence whose word-order and prosody give a perspective indicating

that it is the specification of sameness that is of concern to the writer, and this therefore constitutes the rheme (cf. 14). (13) represents the ultimate degree on the same cline of meanings, since in this case there are contrasting items in both post-verbal and preverbal position -"more serious" contrasts with a degree of seriousness already mentioned, while "bull" contrasts with the toreador mentioned also in the previous context. The writer's concern is clearly with the "ascription of quality" (Firbas, 1975:329) in this case, since had he wished to draw attention to the "Bearer of quality" (op. cit.) the alternative:

"More serious is the bull"

offers itself. (5)

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(5) The sentence, "The bull is more serious" first appeared in a paper of mine (1976:4) where I offered it as a translation of the Spanish sentence "Más serio está el toro" with the comment that "English, with its more fixed word-order, relies on the context to provide the perspective of an utterance"; Spanish here shows the rhematic subject by word-order. Professor Firbas pointed out to me implications of the two versions, according to whether the writer wishes (I quote his letter) "to announce the result of the selection" (ie. "More serious is the bull"); or "the bull may be interpreted as derivable from the notion of "una corrida" (which appeared in the previous context, AFD) and presented as the bearer of the quality of being more serious" ("The bull is more serious"). Ascription of quality being a common sentence type in English, it seems reasonable to assume that they will follow the subject = animate = theme principle unless there are good reasons for thinking otherwise. Now, knowing the Spanish original is a good reason for thinking otherwise, we may adopt the prosodically marked "The bull is more serious" or the OVS order. But in the neutral context in which Hasan's examples occur, T - R can be adopted for (2) (13) and (15). I am indebted to Professor Firbas for this clarificatory point.

Example (26) is to be compared with (19b). Cohesive "so" with copula verbs (apart from "be" with which it usually substitutes for a clause) substitutes for a previously mentioned complement, and is therefore thematic, the principal information being the apparentness of the ascribed quality; "so" after "fear", "think", "so", etc. is also thematic, substituting here for a previously mentioned clause, and thus highlighting the performative verb. Negation, however, must be considered a rhematising feature ("Negative focus" is the term used by Firbas, 1975:325, with the negative particle as the "negative focus anticipator"; see also the "Special Instance Levels" described in 1959a:53, which include negation.) In the present instance the substitute item is now contradicted. As "not" stands alone after "fear", "hope" etc., it is itself both substitute and negative, and therefore the rhematic item.

In this section it has been demonstrated that cohesion per se, while evidently a useful notion in the description of "text", needs to be considered not only as a paradigmatic relationship between substitution or reference items and their antecedents, but an abstraction whose linguistic realisations may participate in the full gamut of the communicative dynamism of a text, according to their clause function, the status of other items etc. Grammatical means of indicating CD will normally show contextual dependence; appeal must then be made to the otherFSP means to translate this contextual relationship into terms of communicative dynamism within the text. That this can be done has demonstrated by our discussion of the above sentence examples.

1.5.1.3. In considering the role of semantics in FSP we shall concentrate on two main issues in that area; firstly we shall define a further contextual category - "Transition"; secondly, and in the light of the definition, one particular type of transitional element will be discussed - the notion of "existence or appearance on the scene".

Although the concept of a transitional sentence element occurs early in the Prague literature (eg. in a work by Mathesius, 1942, quoted in Firbas, 1965:172), its recent development as a sphere of FSP seems to arise from a number of studies concerned with the "Communicative Function" (Firbas 1959a, 1959b) and the "Communicative Value" (Firbas, 1961) of the verb, supported in turn by further prosodic studies (Firbas, 1968, 1972a). These studies showed that the verbal element of the English sentence is considerably "weaker", semantically, than its German and Czech counterparts.

> "If the rhematic layer contains the real conveyors of communication, then the elements occurring within it are of paramount importance in regard to the communicative needs of the speaker. As the rhematic layer of an English utterance unmistakably tends to be pre-eminently nominal, the English verb loses considerably in its communicative value in favour of the nominal elements."
> (1961:95) (6)

Such nominal elements are described as semantically "amplifying" the verb (Firbas, 1959a:41, 46ff.). Grammatically they may stand in object, adverbial or even subject (see below) relationship to it, and this semantic "weakness" is thus not only a characteristic of the copule verbs, as might be

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(6) See our definition of rhematic layer, Sec. 2.5.2.1. below, or Firbas's definition in the same paper, p.93.

expected, but also full transitives, such as "have", "compare", "give"; such verbs can achieve the status of rheme proper, that is, the most "dynamic" element in the rhematic section of the sentence,

> "....only under conditions that are rather external than dependent on the character of the verb itself."
> (1959a:55)

eg. in the absence of further amplification, or by the use of a process-orientated passive form:

> "June blushed and lied" (VT 2:21)
> "In the lost childhood of Judas Christ was betrayed" (VT 3:15) .

In the earlier paper, Firbas designates the semantically weak verb, "non-thematic" rather than using the term "transitional", but the justification for a third term is clear at all three levels of communicative analysis with which the theory of FSP is concerned (see Daneš, 1964). Semantically, as has been noted, the English verb is weak, performing little more than a joining function between other major categories; as far as its place in the communicative perspective of the sentence is concerned, it clearly falls between theme and rheme in its dynamism, since,

> "...an unknown goal of an action appears to be more important than the action aimed at reaching that goal."
> (Firbas, 1971:94)

and, in Mathesius's terms, transition therefore lies in the "periphery" of the rhematic sphere (op. cit. quoted in Firbas, 1965:172). Thirdly, the grammatical function of the trans-

itional section is, for English at least, its most important aspect, since it carries the marker of tense and mood, and those of person and number. In a compound tense form such as "would have taken.." the separation of the grammatical from the notional component is practically complete and Firbas (1959:47) regards this relationship as another type of amplification:

> "....we should like to point out that within the verbal form itself, an FRA ... is the notional part of a verbal form, which acts as an FRA partner of its non-thematic auxiliaries."

but it is as true of the form "take" - s" as of the compound illustration above. The "Time and Modal Elements" (TME's) of the verbal group are considered as exponents of "Transition Proper" (see Firbas, 1965), the notional component varying between transitional and rhematic status. Svoboda (1968:61) also suggests that the "Person and Number Elements" (PNE's) of the verbal group be designated transitional, since these, in line with Firbas's claim that "even a morpheme has to be considered a carrier of CD" (1959a:42), represent meaning-bearing elements of the sentence. This could well be of some importance in the description of a language where such elements are inflectional affixes of the verb, rather than explicit separate pronominal elements as is usually the case in English. An analysis of English texts at the level of zero-rank communicative fields, such as that reported in Chapter 2 of the present study, takes the dynamism of the verbal PNE's to be accounted for in the communicative status given to the subject. We do, however, acknowledge the heterogeneity of CD in the verbal group by considering separately the notional part of

the verb, the modal auxiliaries, and the time element, as this allows us to investigate a hypothesis specific to one of the varieties, namely, that the recurrence of the same time element in the narrative text will distinguish it from the other varieties to an extent that allows time in this case, to be considered thematic (Firbas, forthcoming).

Deyes (1976) attempts an ad hoc classification of dynamisms within the verbal group according to the semantic "weight" of the various components. Six possible divisions representing a "cline of verbality" (see above, Sec. 1.2.5.) are postulated:

1) Time and modal transitionals	(will combine with any other)
2) Copula transitionals	
3) Transitionals of existence/ appearance	(FRA = subject; see below)
4) Pleonastic transitionals	(eg. sing a song)
5) Amplified transitionals	(accounts for majority of verbs
6) Rhematic transitionals	(either rheme proper, or, while superceded by an amplifier, partakes in a sufficiently unusual collocation to give vb. importance)

This is not intended as a fully operative classification, but an indication of the type of FSP relationships which the verbal group may show with its adjoining communicative units; some measure of collocational probabilities might provide a more objective definition of whether the notional verb element can be considered as transition or rheme in a particular case. (7)

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(7) Professor Firbas, in a personal communication regarding this analysis states: "The difficulty arises from the fact that at the present state of research we are not in a position to draw a line of demarcation between a notional core still not communicatively important enough to be assigned to the rheme, and a notional core fully qualifying for it. But in the presence of elements surpassing it in CD, the notional core of high informational value will in any case remain transitional". While sharing his uncertainty, we do, however, feel it important to make some distinction along the lines made by Firbas himself in examples (1, 16, 23, 25) in (1959a), since the rhematic layering of a text will be affected by the inclusion or exclusion of verbal notions.

It is a special semantic property of verbs expressing the notion of existence or appearance on the scene of a context independent subject which allows the non-thematic subject sentences noted in Section 1.5.1.1. above (see Firbas, 1966b). In such fields, the subject is the element which functions as the "amplifier" of the verb, thus, of the following examples from Galsworthy and Mansfield:

> "A wave of azalea scent drifted into June's face..."
> "...a dusky orange dyed his cheeks....."
> "A golfinch flew over the shepherd's head."

Firbas remarks (op. cit. 244):

> "It will be easily noted that all the above quoted instances display an evident semantic affinity between the subjects and the verbs. Thus, to a certain extent the noun "wave" expresses the same notion as the verb "drift"..... In this way, the verb adds little information to that conveyed by the subject, except for the meaning of appearance on the scene."

It will be noted that the adverbial or object elements in the above examples represent contextually dependent items; but even if adverbs are contextually independent they cannot achieve higher CD than the item whose existence is being predicated (see below Sec. 3.3.3.4. item II in Dvořáková's rules for adverb CD; 1964:134).

Where no post-verbal form is present, the order S-V is unusual though not impossible with verbs of appearance on the scene, provided the "scene" is understood, as in (VT 3:20) "Emmy came!" Verbs such as "be" and others expressing "existence" cannot appear in sentence final position in a contextually neutral situation, but require some rewording allowing the new item to appear as object, thus:

(1) "A friend exists" "I have a friend"

Where the existence of a known item is predicated, the verb itself takes on "weight"and becomes rhematic by contrast, or other contextual means, thus:

(2) "God exists"

They may even become comparable to action verbs, thus:

(3) "Jesus lives" is like (4) "Jesus saves"

in the degree of communicative dynamism and semantic weight; (3) may be contrasted with the same verb predicating existence + an unknown adverb, as in Dvorakova (1964:134, ex.18):

(5) "Jo (Th) lived (Tr) in St. John's Wood (Rh)"

but with a non-thematic subject:

(6) "A friend (Rh) lived (Tr) in St. John's Wood (Th)"

As an alternative to the rewording of (1) above, the use of "there" offers itself in some cases and has already been discussed in connection with the word-order question. As regards the semantic nature of the verb in such cases, Hatcher (1956b:21-22), in a list that doesn't claim to be exhaustive, notes some 50 verbs that can function with "there" as "dummy subject" although most of these would require an adverbial element following the post-verbal nominal. Some languages offer ways of dealing with rhematic subjects that allow such items to retain their subject relationships with a much wider range of verbs of "existence" or "appearance", inversion being one of the commonest devices (see below Sec. 3.1.2.). The A-V-S-order in English, however, frequently has a somewhat emotive or specialised application, as in:

"Down came the rain"

or

"In a wood lived a....."

the latter being most typical of children's narrative texts, as, indeed would a similar sentence with "there".

The advantage gained from the Prague analysis has been some insight into the raison d'être of such variant forms, and a description of the semantic restrictions on non-thematic subjects in English . To the verbal group as transitional, we add (see Chap. 2, Sec. 2.4.3.) certain conjoining elements of coordinating sentences; pending further investigation of their FSP status, they seem, in the light of the above discussion on presuppositions to indicate, like the TME's:

> "....the relation between the language event and the reported extralinguistic event."
> (Firbas, 1965:174)

1.5.1.4. One reason why spoken modes of language allow "freer" word-order, inter-sentence relationships, etc. is the presence of an added indicator of FSP - prosody. As far as the written language is concerned, it is not clear to what extent:

> "...both the writer and the reader are as conscious of the intonational features of the composition as they are of its other linguistic features."
> (Discussion following Firbas 1972b, p.94)

Psycholoinguistic research into visual processing of written material has largely concentrated on the syntactic and semantic aspects of visual linearity (Kornfeld, 1975) and not

taken account of intonation to such an extent as has naturally been the case in investigations of aural perception (eg. Lieberman P., 1967).

Correspondence between the tone-group and the clause, as regards their extent and the placement of the nuclear stress in unmarked cases has been noted by, among others, Halliday (1967-68;2:201) and Quirk (1964); since:

> "for every grammatical structure there is a prosodically unmarked mode of utterance with a point at which a tonal nucleus would be normal"
>
> (Crystal and Quirk, 1964:61)

it can be assumed that the writer will exploit this normality so that his clauses may be most readily understood (see quotation from Leech, 1966, Sec. 2.2.2. below). Furthermore, Halliday's unmarked tone-group extending over "one non-embedded clause together with all clauses embedded within it", (1967-68; 2:201) is co-extensive with the communicative field of zero-rank, which forms the basis of our and other Prague analysis; thus the nuclear stress will, in such cases, generally fall in the rhematic section of the sentence. Prosody is thus another means of indicating FSP.

Even where thematic elements receive heavy stress, as in example (2) under section 1.5.1.2. above, they will continue to show that greater contextual dependence typical of their communicative role indicated by other means, including a heavier stress at some other point in the field. As for verbal prosody, Firbas's detailed studies (1968,1972a) further justify the separation of the TME's from the notional core, as discussed in the preceding section, since either of these elements may receive the tonic stress independently

of the other:

"That 'does sound nice"

In type V of the latter paper, even where the whole verbal unit may receive the stress, as in:

"We 'missed the news last night"

it is evidently only the notional core that is rhematic, the TME "past" being echoed in the final adverbial element.

This interplay of means of indicating communicative dynamism as exemplified in the latter example, frequently solves the problem of "domain" of focus (Halliday 1967-68; 2:207-208). While, by prosodic means alone:

> "An item with unmarked focus may thus be represented as being ambiguous, as having the structure either given-new or simply new."
>
> (Halliday, op. cit., p.208)

the interplay of prosody with grammatical, semantic and contextual considerations will help to decide the CD of the various sentence elements, as in fact, they must do for written language to be understood.

On the matter of questions Deyes (forthcoming) and Krizkove (1968 - reported in Firbas, forthcoming) both regarded the fields as anomalous in respect of their intonation, since Wh- is the rheme but not the nucleus. Firbas argues that the nuclear stress does coincide with the rheme, since Wh- items and finite verbs:

> ".....can hardly be interpreted as rhematic in regard to the first function. i.e. that of indicating the desire for knowledge on the part of the speaker. For this is a modal function and in

> unmarked use has to be looked upon as a concomitant phenomenon. In regard to the explanatory function, the WH- element and the TME's merely participate in indicating the angle from which the question is to be approached."
>
> (Firbas, forthcoming)

The present writer's argument rests, however, on the point of view that the rheme of the answer provides the contextually independent item in the answering field, and thus, retrospectively, as it were, the representative unit of that item in the question field must also be rhematic. It represents not merely "the desire for knowledge", but the very knowledge itself. It seems inconsistent to argue, as Firbas does (op. cit., after Daneš, 1949) that,

"When are you 'going there?"

shows a rhematic question word, since all the other items are textually recoverable, while,

"When are you going to 'Brno?"

shows "Brno" as rheme. This also must be in some sense, contextually recoverable. A compromise position is possible by recognising, as Firbas does, two rhemes, a "listener's rheme" - which receives the tonic stress", and a "speaker's rheme" "indicating the angle from which the question is to be approached", ie. the question-word. Under this analysis, the informative part of the question for the reader or listener is the latter part, and we shall therefore recognise this as the rheme proper in our ensuing text analysis; in this way, nuclear stress and rhematic dynamism are reconciled. We shall, however, term the WH- item "rheme" also; it seems too

"meaningful" - its reference is immediately identifiable in the following linguistic, not extra-linguistic context, - to receive no more than transitional status, as Firbas finally decides.

As regards the polar question, however, his final decision is probably in keeping with the syntactic and semantic role of the verbal operator, since this item indicates no more than the modality "interrogative". In echo questions, intonation does place the nuclear stress on the WH- element or the verbal operator, but these are marked, "second instance" patterns of intonation, which we now briefly introduce as a further illustration of meaningful co-operation under FSP.

'Second instance", a term borrowed from Bolinger (1952:1123) means, as the term suggests, repetition of a sentence apart from one item, which, being contrastive with some item in the original sentence, receives stress. In cases of second instance sentences, only context and prosodic means co-operate to indicate FSP. The sentence "imitates", apart from the item being contrasted, some previous sentence in the context (explicit or implicit). Repetition being the thematiser "par excellence", every imitated or repeated item shows the status of theme, while the new item is contrastively rhematic, and may be realised by any morpheme identifiable as a bearer of CD. There are thus no transitional elements in second instance sentences, only theme proper and rheme proper.

It has been observed in the above discussion of phonological means co-operating in the system of FSP that the numerous indicators of CD make "theme" and "rheme" more

sensitive categories of analysis than the rather vague notions of "given" and "new". Halliday separates his information system from the thematic system (1967-68) on the basis of the distinction:

> "while 'given' means 'what you were talking about', theme means 'what I am talking about".
>
> (1967-68; 2:212)

Van Dijk also found it difficult to remain consistent to the notions of "topic" and "comment" while these were defined in terms of "givenness" and "newness". Clearly on these grounds text-initial sentences present a difficult explanatory problem. In FSP, however, "theme" is defined as:

> ".....the sentence element (or elements) carrying the lowest degree(s) of CD within the sentence. It follows from this definition that the theme need not necessarily convey known information or such as can be gathered from the verbal or situational context. It can convey even new, unknown information. The essential feature of the theme is the lowest degree of CD, not the conveyance of known information."
>
> (Firbas 1966a:272)

This presents a linguistically defined category which, along with transition and rheme, accounts for the grammar, semantics and dynamism of discourse, making a separation of "thematic" and information systems unnecessary, and explicating initial sentences.

1.5.1.5. In the description of "second instance" appeal was made to the notion of context as a marker of FSP. Normally, of course, it is some aspect of the context that is reflected in the means of FSP examined in these pages. The theory of

FSP, however, distinguishes two types of context: the "narrow, ad hoc scene" (1966b:246; and elsewhere) meaning the verbal context of the discourse; and the "wide" or extra-linguistic scene in which the discourse takes place. The relationship and the different importance of the textual and the pragmatic has already been noted in our discussion of Bellert's view above (p. 19); the same priority is echoed in Firbas (1975: 318):

> "In deciding context dependence or independence, the last court of appeal is the communicative purpose imposed upon the utterance by the immediate communicative concern of the speaker. Hierarchicall speaking, the context of immediate situation can come fully into play only in the absence of the preceding verbal context."

Degrees of contextual dependence may be ascertained through an adaptation of the "question test" as described in Deyes (forthcoming). The original question test illustrated in Daneš (1970b), Uhlířová (1972), Sgall (1975), is a means whereby,

> "it is possible to assign to any sentence a set of wh- questions, representing all possible types of context in which the given utterance is applicable, and consequently revealing all possible FSP-structures which it can acquire. In this way we are able to find out, indirectly, also the theme of the given utterance."
>
> (Daneš, op. cit.:11)

This test is illustrated in Sgall (1975) with reference to the sentence,

"Father reads a BOOK" (302)

The sentence as it stands with stress on the final item answers the question, "What does father read?", "What does father do?", but not, "Who reads a book". "Father", being present in all the "appropriate" questions, is the theme; similarly, as "book" cannot figure in any of the questions, it is the unknown item in the situation, and represents the rheme, while the verb, "read" may either appear in the question or be replaced by the pro-verb "do", making it transitional in the first, and on the periphery of the rheme in the second. Any simple sentence will thus prompt only a few of the 7 questions possible for S-V-O sentences (see Hatcher, 1956a:244), although the situation becomes more complicated when adverbial elements are included (21 questions - Hatcher, op. cit. 245) and a wide gamut of degrees of CD are involved. (Sgall 303). Such an exercise is not (as Deyes, 1976:3 and perhaps Enkvist, 1973:120 misunderstood it to be) a means of determining the CD of the various sentence constituents; this is already given by the intonation, grammatical and other means. The question test is, on the contrary, a method of describing the situation underlying any given sentence. Hence the use of the word "appropriate" above, and "properly" below:

> "If we say that an element must be present in a properly chosen question, we have in mind such a use of the question test where no elements are understood as "given by the situation", the whole situation being represented by the question."
>
> (Sgall, op. cit.:302, our underlining)

The present writer's adaptation of this test, (op. cit.) has a different purpose. The sentence is taken to be in isolation from the text, with no intonation given, and degrees of CD are assigned according to where answers to

questions elicited by the constituents may be found. Thus, taking Sgall's sentence as a simple example, the communicative units (constituents) elicit identity questions: "whose father?" "which book?" Those questions which cannot be answered from the preceding verbal context or situation obviously relate to new items whose lexical representation receives rhematic status in the text. If the question is answerable from either the verbal context or the situation, then such items are evidently thematic when an item of rhematic status is present, and potentially thematic when this is not the case. Those identifiable in the text are more likely to be thematic than those identified by reference to the situation. Word-order and grammatical marking will then decide this issue.

Dahl (1969, quoted in Firbas, 1971:95) apparently criticises the Prague approach to analysis of sentences into theme and rheme as impressionistic, being "restricted to a mere labelling of its elements into "thematic" and "rhematic". In assigning these labels, however, it has been observed that the theory of FSP takes account of context, in both the wide and the narrow sense that we have seen to be of importance in any complete contextual theory. Such labels can therefore be regarded as meaningful indications of textual function.

CONCLUSION

1.6. The preceding pages lead to the following two conclusions in relation to Firbas's hypothesis, and the description of texts.

i) The theory of FSP, rather than being inapplicable to English is supported by the characteristics of that language. These ensure that a combination of means in any sentence will make clear the communicative importance of the elements in

relation to the context of utterance.

ii) Theme, transition and rheme represent categories of textual description that can be defined in contextual and formal terms, and express relationships within and beyond the textual sentences.

The Prague approach to textual progression, with which the present discussion began, will, if it is applicable in analysis, as now seems more probable, again provide a more dynamic account of textual structure than other models have been able to achieve.

In contrast to the markers of inter-sentential relationships which we have examined in Sections 1.5.1.1.-5 above, and which will be referred to subsequently as "textuality markers", the development of a text as a whole will be said to characterise its "texture". Textuality markers are essential to the well-formedness of any text and such well-formedness - or its absence - can be explained by reference to the themes and rhemes of the sentence sequence. On the other hand, the topic of the text, the nature of its development, the interaction of the participants during the sending and receiving of the message and other pragmatic aspects are likely to cause "texture" to vary according to the nature of the extra-linguistic context. This is a hypothesis we examine in the following chapter.

Chapter 2

The present chapter explores data relating to the notion of situational context and establishes a taxonomy of contextual variables which provide parameters of values for three functional varieties of written English. The hypothesis that theme and rheme relate to terms in the extra-linguistic context is tested by matching the theme/rheme configurations ("texture") of the variety texts against the extra-linguistic variables. The hypothesis is shown to be verified.

2.0 THE PROBLEM

2.1. THEORIES OF NARRATIVE STRUCTURE
2.1.1. Propp
2.1.2. Brémond
2.1.3. Greimas
2.1.4. Other aspects of narrative
2.1.4.1. Place
2.1.4.2. Dialogue
2.1.4.3. Descriptive passages
2.1.5. Pragmatic aspects of narrative
2.1.5.1. Barthes
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2.2. DESCRIPTIONS OF REGISTER
2.2.1. Firth
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2.3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND OTHER APPROACHES TO 'SITUATION"
2.3.1. Nature of the values
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2.3.4. Participant relationships
2.3.5. Summary (Summary tables, 2.3.6.)

2.4. HYPOTHESES
2.4.1. Narrative texture
2.4.2. Descriptive texture
2.4.3. Argument texture

2.5. TESTS AND RESULTS

2.5.1. Thematic Progression

> "Linguistics is principally concerned with the nature of the rules of the code; it has not yet developed a well articulated theory about the use of the code."
>
> (Corder, 1974, p.123)

> "The sentence is an elementary verbal act of taking a stand-point towards some reality."
>
> (Vachek: Lingvistická Charakteristika, page 92)

THE PROBLEM

2.0. Chapter 1 was concerned with the definition of "text" as a dynamic unit, and attention was devoted to text-internal features related to the "given" and "new" of the verbal context. In the present chapter we attempt to establish a textual typology for three functional varieties of English. Since the concept of "functional" is not only:

> ".....concerned with the utterance as an instrument for conveying comments about topics...."

but also:

> ".....why the comments about the topics were conveyed to begin with".
>
> (Thorpe, 1966:142)

the answer to this "why?" must be given in terms of the extra-linguistic reality; our first problem will be to define this reality as relevant to our varieties. Aware of the difficulties indicated in the quotation by Corder at the head of the chapter, and of the complexity of the concept, we shall, inevitably, show some eclecticism in reaching this definition. On the basis of the definition arrived at, the hypothesis expressed by Vachek in the second epigraph will be tested, regarding the text as a dynamic series of such sentences. If it is found that a description of the texts in terms of the Prague model gives a satisfactory account of those extra-linguistic variables and values, then it can be considered an integral textual model, in as far as it combines a text internal and text external definition of "text".

THE DATA

2.1. Of the three functional varieties of written language we wish to describe here - discussion, description, narration - a good deal of attention has already been devoted to the latter in both traditional, and more recent anthropological and other studies, many of these latter representing developments of Propp (1928).

2.1.1. Propp conceives of narrative structure as a conventionally determined sequence of actions entailing particular consequences. The writer is limited by tradition as far as the ordering of these actions ("fonctions des personnages") is concerned, and since they are defined by their outcome

(this is an element of the "Morphology" to which the title of the work refers) there is little room for surprise development. Thus, the accomplishment of a difficult task may be followed, either by receipt of some magic object giving the hero special powers - which determines the task as "hero put to the test by the donator" - or by marriage, which equates it with those final tasks in other tales whereby the hero achieves his desire and reward.

The liberty of the writer is more or less restricted to the fact that certain of the 31 "fonctions" listed by Propp mainly as substantives of action (absence, departure, liberation, etc.) may be omitted, and this provides a broad basis for classification of certain story types, such as those including "Combat - Victoire" or those with "Tache dificile - Accomplissement" (and presumably those including both); the conjunction or embedding of two typical story sequences may also lend originality, as may such superficial differences as the names of the characters, their particular attributes etc. Propp is more concerned, however, to emphasise the similarity between the various Russian folktales and the determinism within which the author works, lending support to the epigraph quoted by Greimas (1970:135) from Destutt de Tracy:

> "Il faut bien se garder de croire que
> l'esprit qui invente marche au hasard."

Within our own terms of contextual modification it may be

said that the Russian folktale, as Propp describes it, fills not a contextual void existing before discourse is initiated, but satisfies an expectancy as a foreseen development is fulfilled. The forward movement of the narrative does not create but "obeys" an extra-linguistic reality.

In comparison with the formalism of Powlison's (1965) paragraph analysis, Propp's approach might be described as "functional" (Powlison himself does so, p.109) in the same way as a subject of a sentence may be defined in terms of its grammatical features or its semantic relationship with other parts of the sentence; Propp's definition of one "fonction" by the entailing of another is such a relationship. Although Propp lists (pp.146-154) the variants that may figure in the functional slots, his primary interest is in the "constants":

> "Les éléments constants, permanents du conte sont les fontions des personnages, quels que soient ces personnages et quelle que soit la manière dont ces fonctions sont remplies" (p. 31)

As a description of a cultural stereotype, however, both the constants and their variables are limited to one particular type of narrative. If, as stated above, one of the purposes of this chapter is to establish context or extra-linguistic reality in terms applicable to texts from a variety of language and cultural communities, some more universal categories are required, such as those provided

by Brémond's (1966, 1973) and Greimas'(1966a, 1966b, 1970) "semantic" approach (to continue the comparison to linguistic analyses made above).

2.1.2. Brémond's (1973) analysis of each "fonction" thus pays more attention to the relationships existing within each "role" (his term for "fonction") and admits of a wider range of logical relationships both within each role itself and between them, including causality, implication as well as temporal relations alongside Propp's entailment:

> "nous définirons donc la fonction, non seulement par une action, mais par la mise en relation d'un personnage sujet et d'un processus prédicat."
>
> (1973:133)

The allusion to relationships "within each role" indicates another important difference between Propp's and Brémond's analyses. Brémond (1973) criticises Propp for failing to take account in his description of what gives the narrative its dramatic interest and suspense, since, even in Russian folk-tales heroes are occasionally, if only temporarily, defeated; this he provides for in his division of each "role" into a triadic development: "eventualité", "passage a l'acte", and "résultats" (succès ou échec); these represent stages of the"processus prédicat". Clearly each of these stages need not be made explicit in the discourse, since the two preceding stages will be implied if, for example, the act is brought to a conclusion. But such a division allows for the possibility of failure at any stage and for the important transformation of the hero's role from that of "agent" to "patient", a "patient" position which, at the

end of the "processus d'amélioration" (1966) which the narrative development normally represents, may leave the hero as "bénéficiaire d'une amelioration de son sort" (1973:335).

Brémond's analysis of narrative is thus a good deal more "anthropomorphique" than that of Propp, and more universal therefore in its applications. Indeed, it may be regarded as a model of other action sequences in the real world, as well as in the development of a fictional narrative. Brémond shows (1973) its suitability to the description of scientific investigation, for example, where three "roles" are in an "enclave" (type of embedded) relationship in the sequence illustrated in figure 1. (overleaf). The difference between the types of discourse will lie, in this case, in the different nature of the relationships linking the propositions of the processi, those of the narrative being largely chronological while those of investigation will be logical. The investigation may not succeed in solving the problem (if, for example, the hypothesis was not verified by the tests) while narrative will normally show the "amélioration" there represented. Some sort of modification is a necessary charact ristic of narrative.

As Brémond's description is expressed in terms of propositions involving actors, processi and patients, it is possible to relate his view of narrative development to the development of themes and rhemes in the text itself.

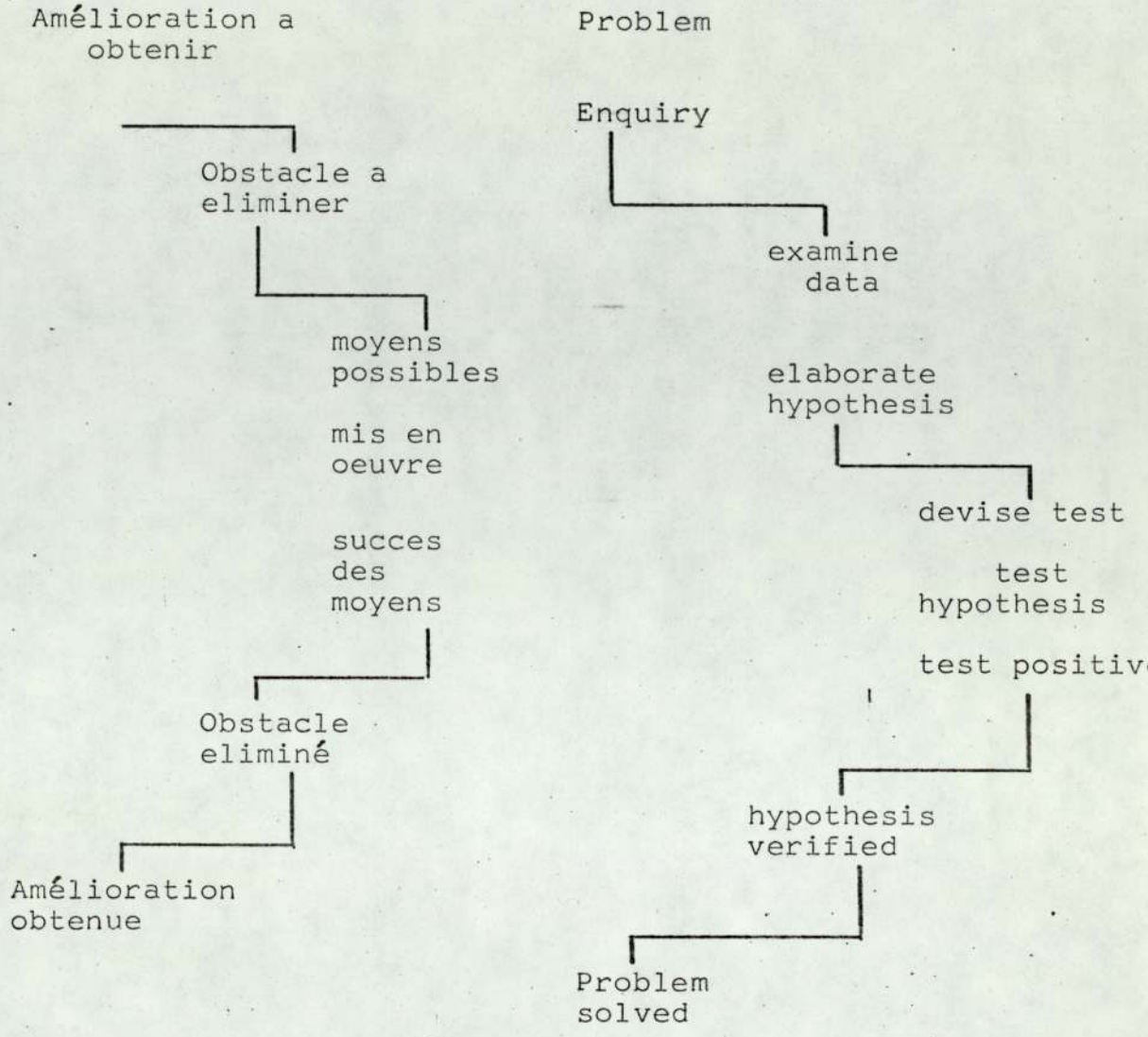

Fig.1 Comparison of narrative structure as a series of embedded "roles" (Brémond 1966) with scientific investigation represented in the same terms (Brémond 1973)

Basic to this relationship is Bremond's conception of narrative as concerned with the "devenir" of a subject (1973) and with the change already mentioned above from agent to patient. Now the role of agent in English frequently coincides with the thematic element of the sentence while the patient is, likewise, generally rhematic. The passage from thematic to rhematic status is evidently less usual

than that from rhematic to thematic if these terms are taken as roughly synonymous with "given" (thematic) and "new" (rhematic). If it is from thematic to rhematic that the hero develops in the narrative, then the extra-linguistic context can be described as a series of actions performed largely by the same actor, who, in the performing of them becomes ("devient") in some way a new person; the interest of the development lies in this change rather than in the actions themselves, which was what Propp's analysis emphasised. On a more speculative level this would explain why even narratives based on unlikely or unexperienced events continue to interest; what the reader learns about (ie. the accumulated new information in the context) is human nature - something he shares with the hero. In this sense the narrative is essentially anthropomorphic.

The status of "beneficiary" achieved by the character performing the action of the narrative is also of interest. Agent and benefieciary are roles that frequently coincide with the subject function and known element of the English clause, as in

I am washing

or even with some "patient"

He bought (himself) a hat

This indicates more clearly that it is through his own actions that the hero brings about the change in himself and that these benefits accrue to him while he continues to act; thus, the man as subject of the second sentence above will, become, implicitly at least, man + hat.

Sentences where the subject also indicates the role of beneficiary but not agentive are frequently passive, but these are less frequent in narrative than agent and beneficiary combined in subject function. The "givenness" of the theme is thus changing as the narrative progresses.(1)

2.1.3. As observed in our comments on figure 1., the chronology of narrative for Brémond is not inherent in the "roles" or processi themselves, but arises from the relations between them and in this way contributes to narrative unity. Greimas' analysis of narrative structure, however, (notably 1966a & 1970) postulates a "deeper" level of narrative features derived from the findings of anthropologists such as Lévi-Strauss and leading to a possibly universal validity, not only for action sequences such as the growth of the Communist Revolution (1966a : 181) but for any semiotic sequence such as the changing of traffic lights (1970:142). In fact, the sequential nature of these events is irrelevant in the latter case where Greimas is concerned with achronic but immanent features of contraries and contradictions. His short interpretative work (1966b) makes a useful starting point for the analysis of his approach, often expressed elsewhere in complex terminology.

---

(1) Consideration of the hero as beneficiary as well as agent and patient prompts reflection on the semantic relations between French "devenir", German "bekommen" and English "become".

What Greimas does here is to show that the "surface" narrative has a significant underlying cultural "isotopy" present in all myth:

> "Le problème qui se pose a la description est celui de l'équivalence a établir entre les lexèmes et les énoncés constituifs des séquences narratives et les articulations structurelles des contenus qui leur correspondent..."
> (p. 31)

The structure of the content is, in this particular paper, related to features of Bororo culture, but his "modèle actantiel" in the longer work of the same date, although applicable to myth is generalised to any situation or "micro-univers" where there is a conflict of "désir", and represents a semantic description of the role relationships within such a situation, diagrammed in the following way:

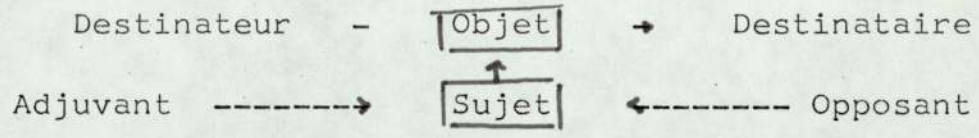

Fig. 2 The "modele actantiel" after Greimas (1966a) p.180

The principal categories of Subject and Object relate this model, like that of Brémond, to linguistic description, but there is an important difference in the approach of the two authors deriving from Greimas' entire interest in the study of "actants" to the exclusion of predicates.

This, of course, differentiates him from Propp, also, whose analyses were made in terms of predicates of action rather than actors or actants, the latter being defined merely by the "spheres of action" (p.96) in which they occur. The result of Greimas's work is thus a more abstract analysis than either Propp's roles of "hero", "villain", "donor" etc. or Brémond's "transitivity" relations of "agent", "patient", "beneficiary". It is from this higher level of abstraction that Greimas's model receives the wider applicability indicated above but which in turn requires sub-classification to account for different "genres" of action:

> "Le premier critère typologique de ce genre pourrait bien être le syncrétisme, souvent enregistré, des actants; on pourrait ainsi subdiviser les modèles en genres, selon la nature des actants qui se laissent syncrétiser: dans le conte populaire on l'a vu, ce sont le sujet et le destinataire qui se constituent en archi-actant; dans le modèle d'investissement économique, en revanche, l'archi-actant est réalisé par le syncrétisme de l'objet et du destinataire."
>
> (184)

From this it is evident that the narrative model is just one instance of actantial situations, an instance where the subject of the action coincides with the receiver. Since this is a relationship which we have already seen described in Brémond's model specifically focussing on narrative, Brémond's is clearly more suitable as an account of the development of the narrative context than Greimas's more "powerful" analysis, particularly as Brémond

deals also with types of action and the time factor. We shall, however, return to Greimas's actantial model below, since a more powerful model of this type may, in fact, be necessary to account for the context in which our other two varieties develop.

Greimas's later work (1970) formalises the relationships of the "micro-univers semantique" in the shape of a table of contraries forming the "caractere logique propre aux catégories de la grammaire fondamentale" (p.167) which contrasts with the "caractere anthropomorphe" (idem) of the surface grammar of the narrative. Related as it is to a whole theory of meaning, this work in fact takes us even further away from a development of the specifically narrative context. When Greimas does apply the contradicting and contrary variables to the analysis of performance, however (176-178), the values given to them seem at best tenuously related. S_1 , for example, is "society" whose contradictory variable, $\bar{S}_1$, the traitor, carries the princess off to a certain locality, S_2, (according to the table of contraries of predicate calculus, S_2 implies $\bar{S}_1$, and is contrary to S_1, but Greimas's analysis would seem not to conform to this relationship) from where she is rescued by the hero ($\bar{S}_2$). Clearly there are contraries and contradictions in the content of narrative, as Brémond's opposition between "amélioration" and "dégradation" shows:

> "Bénéficiaire d'amélioration s'oppose a victime de dégradation" (1973:335)

but these, as Brémond observes in his own criticism of Greimas (1973, pp.81-103) must be related in similar conceptual terms, for example, in terms of place for the case cited above.

At the "surface" level the syntagma of the narrative are termed "performances" in Greimas's description, and bear certain resemblances to the "roles" of Brémond's taxonomy; further, there appears an anthropomorphic element in Greimas's description of the "énoncés narratifs" (p.168 ff.) which, like Brémond's "processi" are the constituents of the "performances". Greimas's definition of this narrative constituent, however, is expressed in terms closer to linguistic analysis - modality, attribution - than Brémond's "éventualité", "passage a l'acte", "resultat" (see Sec. 2.1.2.) and reveals a difference between the analyses at this point which, interestingly enough, clarifies the epithets "volontaire" and "involontaire" figuring in Brémond's analysis.

Firstly, the desire or wish to do something, may be expressed in terms of an act as predicate of a modal verb, represented by the semantic transcription:

(1) Process: want / Agent: x; Goal (process: leave / Agent:x). ie: "x wants to leave"

where x is the actor in both predicates; but it can also be represented as one modal predicate as goal of the other:

(2) P: want / A:x; G: (P:know; / A:x; G:(P:ability / A:x;G (P:do): that is:" x wants to know how to do something"

(These formulae are adapted from Greimas, 1970, 180 - 182)

Thus Bremond's "agent volontaire" may not simply wish to achieve an action or an object, but knowledge and/or ability as well. And where it is the former, it is possible to distinguish if it was achieved through "savoir-faire" or pouvoir-faire":

> "Aussi distinguera-t-on les performances modalisées par le savoir-faire - selon que le sujet performateur agira, au niveau de la manifestation, par ruse et tromperie - des performances accomplies grace au pouvoir-faire, ou le sujet performateur n'utilise que son énergie et sa puissance, réelle ou magique."
>
> (1970:175)

"Volontaire" thus receives sub-semes besides merely wishing to act, and the notion may be further extended when the wish is not for oneself to act (know, be able to) but for a third person:

(3) P: want/A:x; G: (P:leave / A : z)

The "énoncé attributif" may also be a function of the notion of desire, since an object is given value through someone 's desire for it, which therefore now allows a more objective evaluation of "satisfaction" than Brémond's "satisfaction hédonique", "pragamatique", and "ethique" (p.343). Not only may we classify what is acquired as external or internal to the subject, as does Greimas (170),

but also by whether it receives value simply because it is sought after or obtained by one subject, or whether it is sought after and desired generally. In other words, is the beneficiary merely so in his own (subjective) terms, or in more general terms as well?

The semantic, achronological description of narrative content offered by Greimas may seem to have brought us far from an investigation of how the contextual situation changes during the unfolding of the action, but it offers explanations in an area briefly treated by Propp and Brémond- the question of motivation which initiates the action in the first instance. Motivation in Propp is typically characterised by nominals "méfait" and "manque", very often implicit in a story rather than expressed. Brémond's concept of motivation, equally typical, views the "agent eventuel" as the patient of such forces as "espoir" ("mobile incitant a entreprendre une tache" (1973:338), "influence", "confirmation" etc. It may seem a merely chicken-and-egg problem as to whether the initiating force is some circumstance of the environment in which the first agent finds himself or whether it is to be found (or at least expressed) as his own will. To adopt the formula (1) above, however as an explanation of how action is initiated concurs more closely with an anthropomorphic view of narrative. Any features of the situation which may induce the hero to act (or any other agent, clearly) are insignificant until the decision to

act is taken. Indeed, such a decision may take place in circumstances spatially, temporally and even logically removed from any identifiable cause. In fact, since an agent is a necessary feature of the narrative context, while some motivating circumstance external to that agent is not, embodying the motivation in the agent's own will enables us to resolve the issue without having to resort to philosophical discussion. Such an explanation would also be rather more appropriate to Greimas's designation of Brémond's work as "logique décisionelle" (Greimas, 1970:157) than the "victim of circumstance" approach which Brémond offers.

If formula (1) above is adopted as the position of the agent prior to acting, it allows us to maintain the actor-centred view of the narrative context introduced above (Sec. 2.1.2.) The agent-patient roles combine at the beginning of the development in the same way as agent and beneficiary combine during the action, and in the final state of equilibrium. The changes that are brought about, both in the actors themselves and the circumstances, are brought about by the fact that somebody acts; the initial theme of the narrative context is of the category "animate", or perhaps more accurately, "volitional", as is the "hypertheme" of the whole narrative development.

2.1.4. Brief mention will now be made of three other aspects of narrative structure in the light of what has been said so far, and of the conclusions drawn above; the aspects to be considered are place, dialogue, and the descriptive elements of narrative.

2.1.4.1. Place, unlike time, is not an issue central to narrative description and receives little or no attention in the works studied. Time is clearly of interest, since it is an inherent quality of the events themselves and the relationships between them; Virginia Woolf's term "the flux" captures this continuum more successfully (though of course less suitably for analysis) than Brémond's triadic division of each event, the number of divisions being, in point of fact completely arbitrary. Place, however, is circumstantial to the events themselves, and as such is included by Dubois (1970) among the "informants" of the narrative, a term whose significance Dubois goes on to explain (p.194):

> "Des lieux, la norme voudrait qu'ils fussent neutres. Simples informants qui inscriraient le récit dans l'univers diégétique" (2)

Those involved in the action largely take "place" for granted and its inclusion is merely for the benefit of the reader (diégétique), although, alternatively it may have some symbolic mythical significance, as for example, the water in the Bororo legend analysed by Greimas (1966b: 56). In any case, it is either a surface feature; or a semiological "deep" aspect; it is not part of that intermediate level of narrative predicates realising the semantic contextual development.

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(2) Further use of Dubois' views has not been made in the present section, due to his principal interest in the more literary aspects of texts such as rhetorical figures and deviations from a norm, as the quotation indicates.

2.1.4.2. Dialogue, in the framework of the theories of narrative considered above is clearly a feature of the text only when this is realised in its surface linguistic form, and it figures there as an exponent of some of the narrative constituents postulated by the above authors. It might, for instance, be one type of "conseil" in Brémond's taxonomy:

> "Influence conseillant a l'agent volontaire en acte de persévérer dans l'emploi du meme moyen" (1973:333)

although such a process may just as well be realised by some result achieved, some "feedback" arising from the situation itself. Or let it be supposed that Greimas's business executive (1966a: 182-183) has to persuade his bank manager to give him a loan. In such a situation the dialogue might be considered his "adjuvant".

2.1.4.3. Descriptive statements, to turn to the third aspect mentioned above, are part of the "enclaves non-narratives" discussed most fully by Brémond (1973: 322-329), which is precisely what enables us to regard their extended forms as a separate variety. The consideration of them at this point, therefore allows a direct contrast with the findings related to narrative we have seen so far, and a preview of some of the difficulties of discussing descriptive and argumentative writing. As descriptions are often concerned with place elements, their status in the

narrative will be in some ways similar to what has been said of place in a preceding paragraph, but descriptions may also be made of the actors themselves, or their situation at one particular point. In other words, description is a different type of representation than that of actors performing events. The latter, as typical of "pure" narrative, may be termed "mimetic", while the self-conscious entry of the writer in the development of the text introduces a pragmatic or "diegetic" dimension into the context. The context can no longer be considered in terms of a sequence of events, as we have done so far, of which the reader is merely a passive observer; in description, an explicit sender-receiver relationship is established in which the reader is a participant. There are, in fact, two levels of extra-linguistic context in "natural" narrative, since these normally include description. Propp, Brémond, Greimas, and our previous pages have been concerned only with the context created by narrative in its imitation of action in the real world, which was clearly why some models are applicable to any sequence of events. For the analysis of "non-evenemential" situations a pragmatic model will be required.

2.1.5. Now it might be thought that Greimas's actantial model would provide a suitable scheme for pragmatic analysis of narrative and the other varieties, consisting as it does of sender-receiver-object relations. However, the description of such inter-relations becomes an extremely complex matter since all three elements are in

continual mutual modification of each other if one of them is a language event. The relationship between the bank-manager, the executive and the text itself will be continuously modified if, for example, Greimas's executive tells a hard luck story with one eye continually on the bank-manager's expression; or to put it in more linguistic terms, from Lyons (1968):

> ".....in the course of a conversation..... the context is constantly developing in the sense that it "takes into itself" from what is said and what is happening all that is relevant to the production and understanding of further utterances" (419)

Description and argument are elements of such an ongoing context in a way which events within the world of a narrative are not.

2.1.5.1. Theories of narrative have not, of course, neglected the sender-receiver relationship of the narrative context; thus, Barthes:

> ".....le problème ... est de décrire le code a travers lequel narrateur et lecteur sont signifiés le long du récit." (1966:19)

Barthes' approach to the problem is to consider the implications of the first person in the narrative text. Thus the narrator's participation in the narrative context may vary from "je" outside the action intervening occasionally, to a "Dieu" all-seeing and all-knowing both within his

characters and without. The first is possibly best exemplified by the factual narrative or report where the writer intervenes as a commentator on events outside his own control; many fictional narratives do, of course, employ the same technique to render the events themselves more convincing. Conrad's "Lord Jim" might be cited as an example. In the second case the narrator is in a privileged position inside one or more of his characters, and able to report what they see and know as they undergo events apparently external to the narrator's control. Our variety text from Hemingway's "For Whom the Bell Tolls" (see below, Sec. 2.5.) is representative of this relationship. Barthes is careful to make the distinction between author and narrator; it is only the signs of the narrator that are accessible, not those of the author; Conrad's Marlow is again a case in point. Van Dijk's diagram (1972:301) reproduced overleaf as Fig. 3) is clarificatory on this point, as it represents the difference between the two roles, or the absence of the author through a series of deletion transformations.

2.1.5.2. In Van Dijk's diagram the narrator and author are separated as he_j and I_i (+FACT) respectively; thus I_i would be Conrad in the example already given, who repeats what Marlow he_j has supposedly said to him, though this stage, ie, $Prop_1$, is normally deleted. Where this is so the author participates in his narrative either as one of the actors ($Agent_2$) or as an "explicit narrator" (Van Dijk, op. cit. 301) with other actors as agents of the

narrated action, and himself as agent of the narration (I_j)

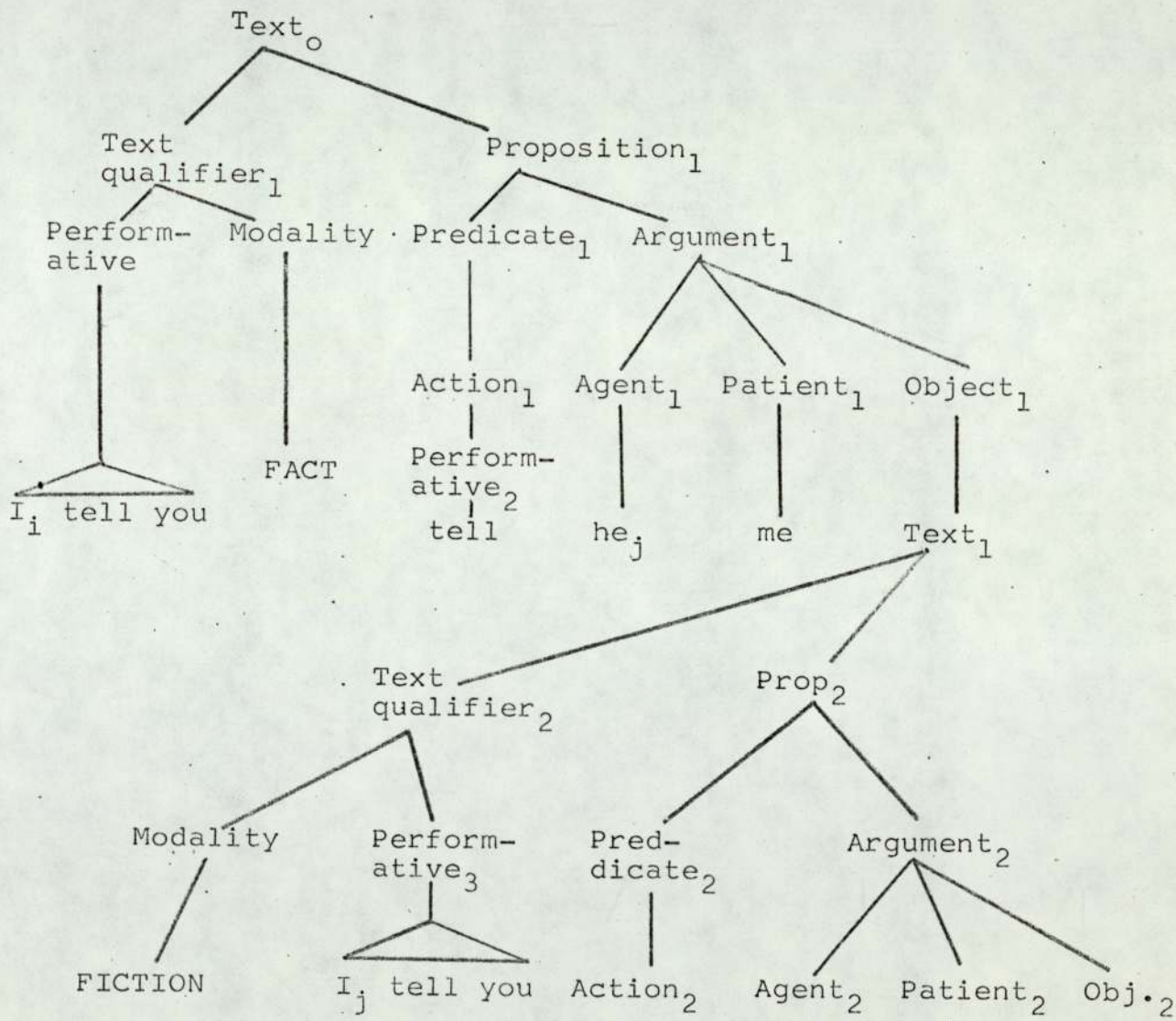

Fig. 3 Tree for derivation of surface narrative structure showing relations between author (I_i), narrator (he_j) or (I_j) characters ($Agent_2^i$). After Van Dijk

(op. cit. p.301) - Slightly simplified.

In factual autobiography I_i (+FACT), he_j and I_j coincide, and $Agent_2$ will also frequently be the author himself. In descriptive passages within the narrative - that is, other than passages describing actions, which is another name for the narrative process itself - $Proposition_1$ will be deleted and $Proposition_2$ will ascribe attributes to $Agent_2$, which may, or may not, be (+ANIMATE). In discussion too I_i(+FACT) is introducing a number of propositions which will only be arguments of a performative predicate in a $Prop_1$ when other people 's views are introduced.

2.1.5.3. The author/narrator distinction is also reflected in Kristeva (1969), where what we have termed "agent of the narrated action" and "agent of the narration" are found in her terms "sujet de l'énoncé" and"sujet de l'énonciation" respectively (p.171), although she introduces the reader as a third variable and is thus able to make more distinctions:

> "La coincidence du sujet de l'énoncé avec le destinataire. La narration est a la 2e personne: "Tu". Tel, par exemple, le mot objectal de Raskolnokov dans "Crime et Chatiment" (3).....
> La coincidence du sujet de l'énoncé a la fois avec le sujet de l'énonciation et le destinataire. Le roman devient alors un questionnement sur l'écriture et montre la mise en scene de la structure dialogique du livre."
> (171)

(3) In "Lord Jim" there are, in fact, also two levels of "destinataire" as well as narrator, since Marlowe is supposedly addressing a group of shipmates; or the "privileged reader" of Chapter 37 & 38: "You, who have knocked about in the Western Pacific must have heard of him."

The study of what might be termed the "horizontal" aspect of narrative, that is to say the relationships, both explicit and/or implicit between the author, his text and his readers, seems to bring us nearer a suitable model for description of the context in which our other two varieties take place. Van Dijk (op.cit. 334) comments of the literary narrative:

> "There is no specific communicative intention, then, with respect to the reading public ..... there is hardly any question of communication in the normal sense: a writer may merely intend to produce a text and not necessarily produce any effect in readers. Similarly, readers of literary texts do not necessarily read the text in order to obtain knowledge about the producer or the world."

In this sort of context the analysis by Brémond and Greimas of nothing more than the world of the narrative itself may be quite appropriate. In texts where "knowledge about the producer or the world" are more essential constituents, however, insights such as those of Barthes, Van Dijk and Kristeva are of more value.

2.1.6. By way of summary the following statement of our present position may be made. The development of narrative content as described by three authors has been examined, and some conclusions about the development of the narrative context reached in the light of their interpretations: the given (thematic) constituents of the narrative context are the animate, volitional agents involved in interaction which in some way changes them, one receiving certain benefits which imply deprivation in his opponents. Although content may be the most important contextual

feature of narrative, since it largely creates its own reality, the other two varieties under discussion show other contextual variables, such as the author and reader interacting with the text. In order to provide a comparative description of the context underlying all three varieties, therefore, the distinguishing values of these variables, must also be taken into account. Our approach in the following pages will therefore be in line with the priciple advocated by sociolinguists rather than literary researchers:

> " One should first examine and define the communication situation and attempt to determine the types of demands imposed for the language user."
>
> (Williams and Naremore,1969:74

2.2. The reader will remember that by establishing a contextual description we hope to be able to predict certain facts about the communicative units of our textual varieties, and hence also the linguistic features by which varying degrees of communicative dynamism are marked (see above, Chap. 1 Secs. 1.5.1.1 - 1.5.1.4.) Our assumptions are behaviouristic, therefore, as are those of investigators of "register": (Ellis & Ure, in Meetham & Hudson, 1969)

> "Register is a linguistic category, a property relating a given text, in terms of its formal, phonological or graphological, or substantial features to similar texts in comparable situations and thereby to features in the situation of utterance or composition."
>
> (p.252)

The findings of such investigations, presenting as they do an inventory of situational features to which language has been shown to relate, may meet our demands for a taxonomy of the extra-linguistic contexts underlying our varieties. At the same time, such studies, like the present research, seek to avoid reference to what Joos terms the "quality theory" of usage; they eschew value judgements on texts or utterances.

2.2.1. Firth's situational parameters (1950) derive, like other features of the context we have already described, from anthropological studies (Malinowski, 1923) and have therefore undergone inevitable refinement in their applications to language usage within our own culture.

2.2.2. Leech (1966), for example, points out the difficulty of obtaining data on the third aspect of the situation mentioned by Firth, "The effect of the verbal action", in the area of usage which Leech studies. Thus, although advertising aims to "draw attention" "sustain interest", "be remembered" and above all, "prompt the right kind of action" (Leech, op. cit., p.27) there can be no ascertainment of linguistic guarantees that it does any of these things. Firth's other parameters, A: The relevant features of the participants (and in particular the verbal action of the participants), B: The relevant objects, are roughly equivalent to Leech's divisions of the situationally relevant factors "Style of Discourse" (the relation between the participants),

"Mode of Discourse" (the medium by which the message is transmitted) and "Role of Discourse" (the purpose of the message), respectively.

As regards "Style of Discourse, varieties such as advertising and our own are directed at a wide or anonymous public, with the receivers in a spatially and temporally removed environment in relation to the sender. The most trivial classification of the participants is thus "speakers - or at least readers - of English". Leech does suggest that there may be varieties of advertising directed at members of different social classes (p.64) but in general, communication of that type is addressed to a generalised audience of consumers. We shall consider the factor of "class" as it might affect our own varieties, below (see Sec. 2.3.3.), although we shall be more concerned with the special status of the sender and only by implication, that of the receiver. Leech's own consideration of "Style of Discourse" concentrates in particular on a four point scale of polarities, defined as:

Colloquial - Formal
Casual - Ceremonial
Personal - Impersonal
Simple - Complex

(pp 74 - 34)

with those values on the right-hand side being more likely to be realised in texts directed to numerous or anonymous receivers. Scales of this type owe something to Joos (1962) who arranged "styles" on a simple five point scale, from which Leech borrows the two terms "formal" and

"casual" (Joos, op.cit., p.11). Leech's last pair, however, are perhaps less"mutually determined" by the others in the same column, than are those others between themselves, since one can imagine texts which are both simple and impersonal (see, for example, our descriptive variety text on Northern Ireland, below Sec. 2.5.) as well as simple and personal; this last pair could be considered hierarchically superior to the other variants. Whereas Joos's values are mutually exclusive (though a text may show a heterogeneity of formality values within it) Leech's show co-occurrence. Since the English composition exercise is generally considered to be directed at anonymous readers, linguistic markers of Leech's right-hand values or Joos's "formal" style, would be considered most appropriate; this would apply to all three varieties, in no way distinguishing one from the other, apart from different styles in narrative dialogue.

Although it has been stated above that Leech's "Role of Discourse" is roughly equivalent to Firth's treatment of the"relevant objects", Leech argues (op. cit., p.57) that:

> "... linguistic differences dependent on such factors are subtle and difficult to analyse".

and therefore limits himself under this heading to a consideration of the uses to which language may be put, in terms of communicative demands. "Conservative"and conventional are contrasted with"creative", which describes

writing that is more "liberal" and original. Of the three varieties studied here, it is possibly narrative where the author is most "at liberty to develop his individual character as a writer" (98). The opening pages of this chapter explored the nature of the "relevant objects" of narrative; but the ascertainment of the "objects" of description and discussion is as complex as that of advertising, since they may treat any aspect of the whole experience.

With respect to "Mode of Discourse" (-"what is the medium of communication?" is a subsection of the relevant features of the participants for Firth-) Leech considers the features which distinguish spoken from written advertising, interrelating them, as Firth's conflation above would suggest, with formality features. Of interest to our own written varieties is Leech's observation (op.cit, p.89):

> "...one of the skills of writing formal English consists in arranging one's ideas so as to make the end of each sense group ..... as far as possible the appropriate place for emphasis."

This is clearly of some importance in a Praguist concept of textual structure.

2.2.3. While individual studies may use their own terms with consistency, as exemplified by the one just reviewed, Gregory's (1966) attempt at clarification is indicative of the terminological confusion that exists in the field of register study as a whole. In view of the exploratory

nature of the present chapter, this may be of some advantage, since different writers suggest differing relationships between a text and its context of composition, according to their requirements, intuitions and "imagination" (Gregory 1966:179). Thus Ure (1969) in her concern with language-teaching emphasises "action" registers (op.cit. p.111); Catford, interested in the production of equivalent tests through translation, gives the term "register" itself to the "social role being played by the performer at the moment of utterance" (1965:85) while some American scholars, concerned with bi-lingualism, have introduced notions such as "domain" (Fishman, 1965) or "dimension" Hymes, 1972). We shall have occasion to return to some of these concepts below. Gregory's (op.cit.) own additions include a category contrasting "personal tenor" (Leech's "Style of Discourse") with "functional tenor" (op.cit., p.185 & 188) in which:

> "More sophisticated investigations may lead.... to the discernment of other related contrastive points in human social relationships, such as didactic and non-didactic, expository and non-expository, which have marked mutually determining correlations with the language used in the context of these relationships."
>
> (p.188)

Any findings in the present research which enable us to distinguish description and narrative (expository) from discussion (non-expository) may make some contribution towards this refinement.

Most register studies of English to date have been concerned with the spoken rather than the written mode. This is natural, not only because more linguistic levels are in operation there (see the quote from Ellis & Ure above, Sec. 2.2.), but also because written English generally conforms much more closely to a standard. Gregory's analysis of the various treatments that written texts may receive (op.cit.,p.191-194), therefore, are also of relevance to our present concerns. Gregory's categories in this area include the "the speaking of what is written" or even "the speaking of what is written to be spoken as if not written" - drama, for instance.

Further, all varieties of written English represent special types of "monologuing" (op.cit.,p. 190), one of whose characteristics is a greater amount of planning and intra-textual cohesion. Although Gregory suggests that, for this reason, monologuing might be considered more typical of the educated speaker (p.191), he also goes on to cite an example of it in the spontaneous speech of Yorkshire mill-workers investigated by Janetta (1966); in this instance the monologuing took the form of anecdotes, which suggests that narrative is a monologue variety compatible with any level of education, and that narrative planning is easier than other types, probably due to its chronological nature (see also studies of narrative in primitive societies such as those of Voegelin (1960) and Malinowski (op.cit.)). In the particular type of monologuing which consists of the whole text written out beforehand, cohesion and self-containedness will be even greater.

It is this self-contained quality that creates the problem of analysing participant relations in this type of text, since they are less frequently indicated by explicit deictic pronouns etc., but implicit, in such items as markers of "contact function" (Davies & Widdowson (1974)) which lead the reader through the text - "firstly", "inclusion" "in short", "as I said before" etc., or the statement of presuppositions:"as is well known... " Such linguistic implications will, however, be considered in greater detail below. For the present it seems that "education of sender" may be admitted as a relevant contextual variable when considering the composition of our varieties. The values to be attached to this variable will also concern us at a later stage.

2.2.4. There seems to be no reason why the categories of the "diatypic varieties" as Gregory (op.cit., p.184) terms them, should not, in time, become as nearly standardised as the dialectal varieties, which he adduces by way of introduction and comparison. Crystal and Davy's study (1969) represents an attempt to provide a broad descriptive framework to account for a large number of dialectic and diatypic varieties in terms of what they call "dimensions of situational constraint" (op.cit., p.64).

From the list of eight dimensions listed by Crystal and Davy (op.cit.;p.66) (one of these, "discourse" is classified into two sub-dimensions of "medium" and "participation") those "relatively permanent features of language" (p.67) which are "time", "dialect" and "individuality" can immediately be excluded from present

consideration. It is evident that for the purpose of providing a textual description applicable to the teaching of composition, we shall only be concerned with present day texts, which, for the purposes of the empirical analysis to be described below, were defined as texts written since 1945 (see Appendix I. : "Varieties of written English; Questionnaires 1&2). Texts with linguistic markers of particular geographical provenance are also irrelevant for similar reasons. Individual language traits will, of course, figure in advanced student compositions, and developing an "individual style" may be regarded as an important aim in an advanced composition course. Such features, however, are independent of the contextual presuppositions pertinent to the variety in general; on the same basis Crystal and Davy's category of "singularity" (op.cit.,p.76),that is, occasional idiosyncratic features as opposed to the more permanent ones as a feature of "individuality", will not be considered. The following discussion will focus, therefore, on the categories of "discourse" (op.cit.,p.73) and modality" (op.cit.,p.74) as contextual variables which may show variety-distinguishing values.

"Discourse" is approximately equivalent to Leech's and Gregory's "Mode of Discourse" (q.v. above) and like its predecessors, suggests an interdependence between the medium used and the nature of the participation in the text event; people normally engage in a writing activity

because their interlocutor is not physically present; in the variety texts which later form the basis of our descriptive statements, the interlocutors were not generally even known - a relationship which the student composition writer must emulate to produce an "adequate" text (McIntosh (1962:p.89) (4)

Although "province" is similar to Leech's "Role of Discourse" and Gregory's "Functional Tenor" in as far as it is made to "relate to the nature of the task" in which the language user is engaged, Crystal and Davy (op.cit.,p.71) appeal to a more objective definition than has been found in any of the variables so far, when they refer to:

> "those variables in an extra-linguistic context which are defined with reference to the kind of occupational or professional activity being engaged in."

which is rather more precise than Gregory's "didactic" versus non-didactic contrast, for example (op.cit.,p.186) since this need not necessarily be limited to activity by a professional teacher in the classroom situation. The notion becomes somewhat less concrete by the inclusion of"conversation" within "province" (73). This presumably refers to conversation that demands particular occupational roles between participants, even though they be as broad as superiority/inferiority (Ager, 1975:8); otherwise it

(4) We find McIntosh's distinction between "appropriacy" and "adequacy" relevant to our present purposes since "adequacy" is concerned with the achievement of specific objects, such as we are attempting to define here (see Table B, below). Appropriacy -"there must always be some

would seem that"province" as

> "the nature of the task (the people) are engaged in"
> (p.71)

was applicable to the mere act of speaking itself, which could obviously not be the intention of these authors. In connection with "professional activity" it might be of interest to reflect in what sort of occupational circumstances the varieties of narration, description and discussion might be expected to occur. Discussion occurs frequently in learned journals and certain areas of the daily press; description would be widely used in the instruction situation. (For the consideration of instruction as another, separately identifiable variety of English, see Appendix I : "Varieties of Written English; Questionnaires 1 & 2," p. 3-4).

Crystal and Davy's dimension named "Status" is more cautious in its assignation of values than the "Personal Tenor" of Gregory (op.cit.,p.188) or, in particular, the "Style of Discourse" categorisation by Leech (see above Sec. 2.2.2.). Crystal & Davy comment:

> "It is likely that a scale of formality exists, but the number of linguistic terms along the scale and the nature of the polarities, are still matters for speculation.

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explanation (whether we can find it or not) of a particular piece of linguistic activity "(op.cit:86) - seems to be more concerned with idiosyncratic or stylistic choice.

> Utterances may be found which fit neatly into (Joo's) five slots; but these are far outnumbered by utterances which do not. As with province therefore, we shall not claim too much for the categories of status which we make use of in our analysis"
>
> (p.74)

Some reference has already been made to the difficulties of analysing participant relations in "self-contained" texts, due to their implicit, rather than explicit nature. Nor, where they are made explicit, does English dispose of formal and informal 2nd person pronouns which render the values more easily observable; we shall have more to say about this matter in our discussion of Spanish variety texts in Chapter 3, below.

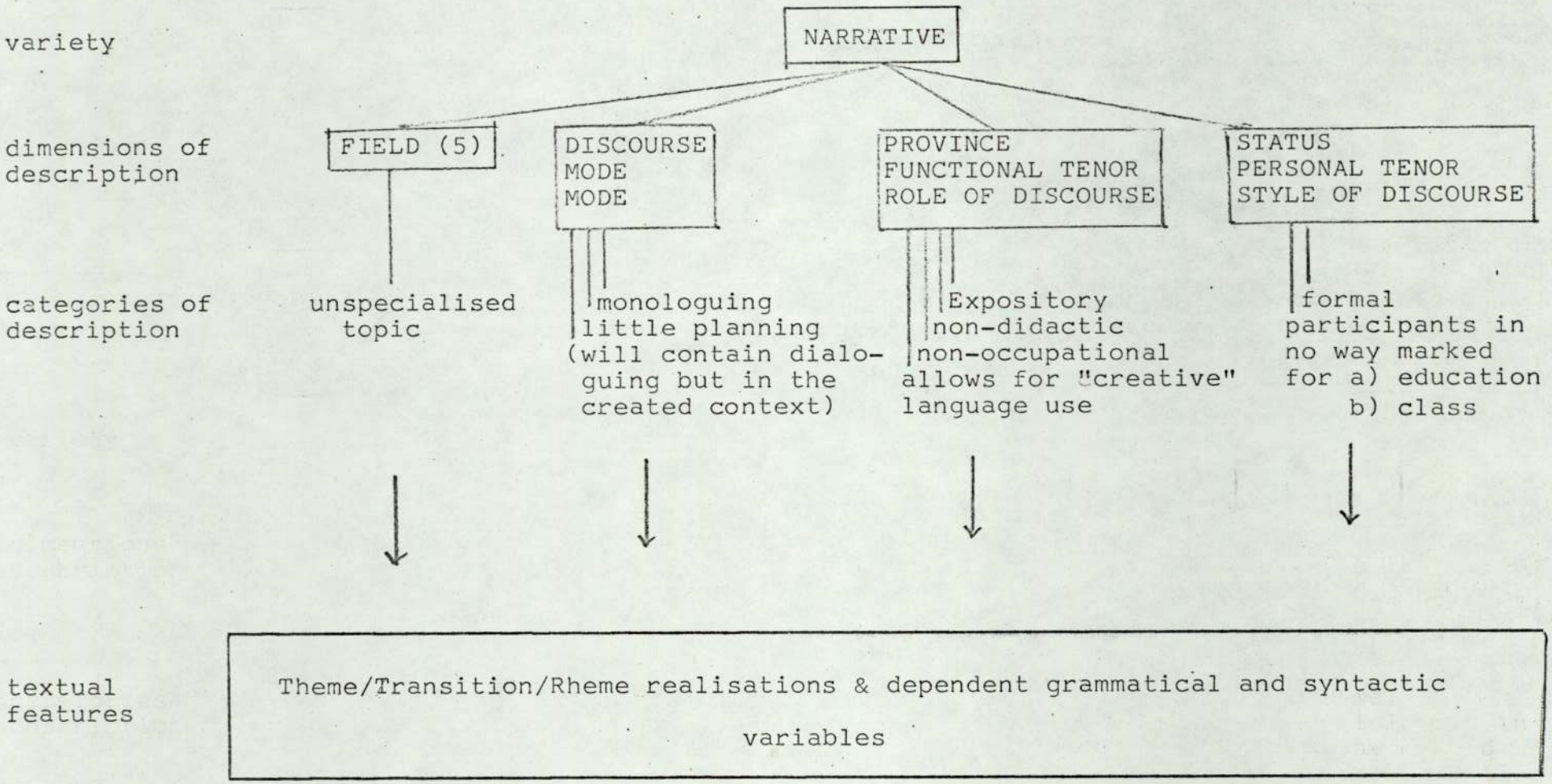
Finally, the attempt to establish a category of "modality" (Crystal & Davy, op.cit.,p. 74-76) illustrates one of the major difficulties involved in register study, and thus partially explains some of the terminological overlap observed in the preceding pages; the problem referred to is the question of dependency between the variables and the degrees of inclusion of one within the other. Thus, for Crystal & Davy, "modality" is "partly a question of the suitability of form to subject matter",(75) and they attempt to argue that:

> "Modality can be described independently of province and status, in that on the whole a choice of some kind exists regardless of a language user's specific occupational role or relationship to other participants."
>
> (p.74)

There is no doubt, however, that certain provinces demand a "conventionalised spoken or written format" (p.74), which leads them, at the end of the same section (p.76) to include "modality" within certain provinces. These problems need not greatly concern us here, since the categories of register are being used as a heuristic device in the establishment of extra-linguistic context. The modality of the object of our research is included among Crystal & Davy's categories as "essay" though we are concerned with the description of essay sub-categories, narrative, descriptive and argumentative.

2.2.5. It is evident from the above brief survey of register studies that there remains much work to be done before we even approximate to a sophisticated description of even the smallest part of "all the psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena which occur in the functioning of signs" (Morris (1938)), and for our own present purposes, it is signigicant that Gregory's diagram of "user's medium" relationships (op.cit.,p.189) shows "writing, to be read" as a terminal point. What has been achieved so far, however, is an isolation of certain areas of the extra-linguistic reality which have demonstrable linguistic correlates, and Fig. 4 below, based on Crystal & Davy's methodological plan (op.cit.,p.84), shows how some of the register variables and their corresponding values might be assumed to affect the compositional context of the varieties in question.

One important difference between our own assumptions so far and those of the register studies cited lies in our eschewal, hitherto, of linguistic data, while the interplay between text and context is fundamental to the concept of register. Our conclusions represent hypotheses which will be tested by reference to texts; for this reason the lower box of the diagram is preceded by one way arrows rather than the two-way mutually informing relationship shown in Crystal and Davy's original version. Like theirs, the top compartment contains the name of the variety being analysed, though for the economy of space we show only "narrative" in an independent diagram of its own, the other two varieties being presented in tabular form together below. The line of categories immediately below the "variety" are those dimensions of situational constraint, contextual categories, etc. postulated by the three authors studied, in the order from top to bottom, Leech, Gregory, Crystal and Davy, whose approximations and differences have been discussed. In the following line, those "categories of description" " (see Crystal & Davy's own diagram) proposed by the various authors and of possible relevance to our varieties are listed in the same order under the appropriate heading. Some of these "values" are still at a level of abstraction such that they will require further sub-classification before they can be of any significance; to this we shall direct our attention shortly. The overlap of terms in the diagram serves as a reminder, however, that these varieties rarely occur in their discrete, "pure" forms, but often one will occur within the other.


variety
NARRATIVE
dimensions of description
FIELD (5)
DISCOURSE MODE
MODE
PROVINCE
FUNCTIONAL TENOR
ROLE OF DISCOURSE
STATUS
PERSONAL TENOR
STYLE OF DISCOURSE
categories of description
unspecialised topic
monologuing
little planning
(will contain dialo-guing but in the created context)
Expository
non-didactic
non-occupational
allows for "creative" language use
formal
participants in no way marked for a) education b) class
textual features
Theme/Transition/Rheme realisations & dependent grammatical and syntactic variables

	DESCRIPTIVE ARGUMENTATIVE			
	FIELD	DISCOURSE MODE MODE	PROVINCE FUNCTION TENOR ROLE OF DISCOURSE	STATUS PERSONAL TENOR STYLE
DESCRIPTIVE:	Specialised	Monologue +Planning	Creative/Conservative Didactic Expository Non-Occupational (or occupational+ didactic)	Formal
ARGUMENTATIVE:	Specialised	Monologue (though dialogue implicit) + Planning	Conservative Non-didactic Non-expository Occupational	Formal Educated Educated

Fig. 4: Table of possible values ascribed to variables from three register studies and with respect to the written varieties, narration, description, argument. Diagram based on Crystal & Davy, (op.cit., p.84)

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(5) One remark should be made about the dimension "Field" not mentioned in the previous pages. It occurs only in Gregory (op.cit:184-186) where he distinguishes it from "Functional Tenor". It is restricted to uses of language where the subject matter "so determines the language that it becomes in many respects restricted to that role and those acquainted with it," (186) although it is not the subject matter itself. Functional Tenor is more concerned with the human relationships.

Despite the tenuousness of this contextual description as it standa at present, it represents a more widely applicable description than the simple actor-process-sequence narrative description reached in the first part of this chapter. To the variable (1)"topic development", which was considered there, have now been added the following: (2) nature of the topic (specialised or otherwise), (3) nature of the participants (education, class), (4) nature of participation (degrees of monologuing), (5) relation of the participants to the topic (occupational, specialised relation, didactic, learning relation).

2.3. In a final brief survey of further writings, sociological, philosophical and psycholinguistic, we shall now attempt to ascribe some values to these categories which point towards a meaningful distinction between the compositional context of the varieties under investigation in this particular study.

2.3.1. Such a distinction will, in the nature of things, be a weak one, due to the complexity of context, as indicated in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, and the corresponding inconclusiveness of present research. If, however, they allow us to make and confirm some few predictions about communicative structure, our present aim of providing an integral model of textual description will have been served. One final limitation must be noted; the values examined below will be those such as truth value, age, class etc. Clearly these are not values in any absolute sense, but represent ranges of values, with one

variety more or less probable at one point than another.

2.3.2. Without wishing to become involved in extensive and complex philosophical discussion, different "types" of truth are exemplified by narration, description and argument, an intuition comfirmed, or perhaps rather corrected by Ellis & Ure (1966:255):

> "..... the distinction between truth and falsehood is hardly material to contextual study as such, that between either and fiction being much more important. In both error or unintended falsehood and intentional lying, as much as in truth, the performer expects the addressee to fit the thesis into the universe of his ordinary experience;.... in fiction, on the contrary (where "the poet lieth not, for he affirmeth nothing"), the thesis creates a secondary universe."

This was brought out diagrammatically in the "tree diagram" from Van Dijk, (above Sec. 2.1.5.2.) where the utterer of the deepest performative sentence is the factual narrator, while the surface narrated propositions show Modality + FICTION; or more traditionally it is seen in Malinowski's "narrative triangle" where the apex is designated "act of imagery" rather than "thought of reference" as in the referential counterpart (1969:324). Different universes of reference therefore seems a further, justifiable sub-division of the category, "nature of the topic".

2.3.3. Under the variable of "nature of the participants" we shall examine findings relating to the class and educational background of the sender, and make certain comments with respect to the receiver. Lawton (1968)

investigated class performance in varieties of written language and found that compositions by working-class boys were generally shorter than those by middle-class ones (p.105) owing to the fact that the former writers required more time to carry out their verbal planning. Furthermore, on topics such as "Home" or "My Life in 10 Years' Time" allowing for some abstract treatment, the abstraction by working-class subjects was notably unsuccessful compared with that of their middle-class colleagues (op.cit., p.112). Such results were not so clearly supported by an exercise involving reproduction of a story - that is, when no original thought was required, and the text was narrative, so the results corroborate the earlier surmise (see above Sec. 2.2.3) that the type of planning and abstraction required by narrative is more generally accessible than that required by varieties related to a "primary universe" rather than to a "secondary" one. Henderson (1970) found the same characteristics in British adults.

Peel (1971) also investigated the process of abstracting, as a function of age and educational background rather than class, but again with particular reference to textual performance. After showing the difficulties involved in distinguishing abstraction from generalisation, Peel uses the following propositions as concrete examples:

1 a) A volcano is a mountain.
  b) Cherries are red.

2 a) Volcano is a geographical notion.
  b) Redness is....."

The first pair would be considered as generalising propositions, while the second show abstractions in subject position defined in the predicate.

Nominalizations of adjectives such as the subject of the fourth sentence above frequently occur in composition titles which the student is asked subsequently to discuss (20% of the titles listed under "Argumentative" in Alexander (1965) contain nouns of this sort or "abstract" nouns). Abstracting would seem to be a feature of discussion compositions in particular, therefore, but the ability to carry out abstracting operations successfully corresponds, according to Peel's findings (op.cit., p.27), to groups only after first year university level, with newly graduate students showing this ability most strongly. This is not to suggest, of course, that subjects who do not fit into this category should not be asked to write argumentative compositions, simply that age is of more significance in the composition-context of that variety, than the others.

Although the above findings indicate characteristics of the sender of the message, such senders will, at other times, be acting as receivers in an environment whose nature will undoubtedly determine their performance. Winter (1964) thus proposes that "styles" may be considered as "dialects" in the sense that speakers in different social areas are surrounded by, and trained in different styles or varieties (p.325). The same argument is implicit in Labov's appeal to newspaper readership as an indicator of socio-economic status (1966:66). In our present concerns narrative may be regarded as a type of unmarked variety, accessible to any reader, while those varieties which involve abstracting and generalising ability on the part of the sender will require similar skills in a receptive mode on the part of the receiver. This may, in turn, of course, determine the sort of narrative that these latter readers find "satisfying".

2.3.4. As regards the fourth variable listed above as "nature of participation", an interesting corollary to the monologuing/dialoguing distinctions offered by Gregory, and Crystal & Davy (ops.cit.) is that of "presenting" and "inner sharing" found in Watson & Potter (1962) as features of an "episode". The latter phenomenon is defined by them in terms borrowed from Newcomb (1953) where two interlocutors refering to a topic of attention can be represented by the formula: A ↔ B, re. X (p.254), which is applicable to written discourse, perhaps with the modification: A → (B), re. X.; the one-way arrow excludes the "overlap" between participants characteristic of the spoken mode and "inner-sharing". Within their configuration the "presenting" speaker:

> ".....offers categorical statements about his opinions, his experience, his identity."
> (p.256)

it is, in other words, a speaker-centred option. As has been observed (Sec. 2.1.5.3.) narrative texts do not necessarily communicate any knowledge about "the producer or the world", (unless non-fiction) and "presenting" would therefore seem to distinguish description and argument from the former variety. The experience/opinion difference may, in turn, be distinctive for these two.

2.3.5. Closely related to our own list of five variables, are certain of those included in Hymes (1972) in the form of the mnemonic SPEAKING derived from the initial letters of setting, participants, ends, act sequences, key, instrumentalities, norms and genre. As the mnemonic and the title of Hymes's paper suggest, these, like those variables of the other

studies mentioned so far, are the results of investigations into the spoken use of language. By eliminating from Hymes's list those variables applicable to speech rather than writing, some of the essential differences between speech and writing as "instrumentalities" emerge. Thus, written texts exist in no identifiable setting of time and place (6). Further, a writer is rarely held to account to make a statement regarding the "ends" or aims of his text - these are only implicit in the relationship between the participants and their relationship - knowledge, etc. - to the topic. Nor can a written text be regarded as a series of "act sequences" in the same way as conversational interchange can; it is rather one act in itself. "Key" has exponence in both spoken and written language, but while anger, humour, etc. will be realised partially through prosodic features in the spoken mode, writing conveys such moods through entirely verbal means, which accounts to some extent for the greater lexical and syntactic variety of that mode (see Introductory Chapter) - in other words, the linguistic "norms" of the written "genres", amongst which figure our three varieties will be correspondingly distinct, according to the "keys" which they admit.

2.3.6. We retain, therefore the five headings reached above (Sec. 2.2.5.) whose relevance to the context of written utterances has been in some measure justified by the conclusions of the preceding paragraph, but whose values with respect to

---

(6) The variability of "setting" as regards the written mode can be illustrated by reference to Trollope's reported habit of returning to the same spot at the same time every day to write; his novels are re-read - an activity which suggests that the same utterance occurs in different places with the same participants (see Daneš 1964 fn. 13)

each variety have hitherto been no more than assumptions based on certain intuitions of variety differences. In order to test such intuitions and determine the values empirically, native speakers were asked, through a questionnaire, to allot texts to one of the three varieties (or none of them) and determine for each text the value of each sub-category of the five contextual variables, which we now list as follows, re-ordering 1. and 2. for obvious hierarchical reasons:

TABLE A

1.	NATURE OF TOPIC	
i)	Actors and processes (Greimas, Brémond)/ abstractions (Peel)	(B8)
ii)	"True" or otherwise (Ellis & Ure)	(B9)
iii)	Modality of underlying question	(B4)
iv)	Part of an "ongoing affair" (Writing Research Unit : 1966)	(B7)
2.	TOPIC DEVELOPMENT	
i)	Chronological (Brémond)/Planned in some other way (Gregory)	(B8)
3.	NATURE OF THE PARTICIPANTS	
i)	Age (Peel), Class (Lawton)(Henderson) Education (Voegelin) (Peel)	(B1)
ii)	Specialised knowledge (Gregory)	(B5)
4.	NATURE OF PARTICIPATION	
i)	Degrees of formality (Joos)(Leech)(Crystal & Davy)	(B6)
ii)	Types of "illocutionary act" (Austin,1962, pp. 147-163)	(B10)
iii)	Presenting (Watson & Potter) the writer	(B1)(B10)
5.	RELATION OF PARTICIPANTS TO TOPIC	
i)	Personal or created experience (Van Dijk)(Kristeva)	
ii)	Ends (Hymes)	

Obviously there is some overlap between these divisions, and the table does not keep their values clearly separate, since the contextual space is a highly complex phenomenon which this research has attempted to reduce to manageable but necessarily over-simplified proportions. The numbers given on the right-hand side of the page refer to questions in the contextual

section of the questionnaire, a full report of which figures in the appendix of the present study. We merely reproduce here the tabulated results on which we then base hypotheses about the text realisations of the context variables. These categories are multi-valued (see above Sec. 2.3.1.) and results can represent no more than tendencies on a cline; they are given, therefore, in terms of the predominant notions occurring in informant answers and the multiple-choices offered. (see Appendix p.10 for further details of this principle) Further comment is made following the table.

TABLE B

1.NATURE OF THE TOPIC	NARRATION	DESCRIPTION	ARGUMENT
Text presents:	events (A), acts (B4), Actors (B4)	features of object (B4), perhaps spatial & other relations (B4,A)	qualitative aspects of facts, people, opinions (B4)
Text gives:	account whose veracity is controlled by the author(B2)	the features of the object, some verifiable within the universe of discourse (B10)	an assessment without any necessary truth or falsity (B9)
Text enquires:	what happened(B4)	what object is like (B4)	if events & opinions are justified (A)
Text responds:	to a creative stimulus (B10)	knowledge about object which may or may not be necessary for text-external purposes.(B2,B10)	a dilemma (A,B4) whose resolution may have effects beyond the text. (B7)
2.TOPIC DEVELOPMENT			
Text develops by sequence of:	experiences (B8) linked chronologically, and by cause-effect(B4)	enumeration of object characteristics (B10)	reasoned arguments (B8) (7)

(7) C.C.C. (1973) separates as distinct functions, "evaluation", "argument", "suasion", "rational enquiry". This is probably a valid division for sentence types, which combined, form an "Argument" text.

	NARRATION	DESCRIPTION	ARGUMENT
3. NATURE OF PARTICIPANTS.			
Text will show writer's:	creativity(B10) & maturity relative to the demands of the topic (B1,B8)	privileged knowledge (B3) and experience (A)	maturity (B1) by his attitudes (B1) and ability to reason (B9)
	No clear answer on the reader forthcoming; topics chosen will likewise indicate maturity	conversely, interested reader will wish to be informed (B4)	reader will require simila ability. (B4)
Writer will have:	his own personal or created experience (B3)	information (B3)	an evaluation of facts & opinions (B4, B5)
4. NATURE OF PARTICIPATION			
Sender treats receiver as:	a confidant(B6) willing to share (B10) the author's own or created experience (B10) informal	possibly a specialist (B3) wishing to learn from the analysis (B10) of an experience.	a potential opponent (B3) on whom he mus use influence (B10)
Receiver's knowledge of sender is due to latter's	negligible (B1) presentation of experience or what he has created	negligible (B1) presentation of object under analysis	appreciable(B1) presentation of his own attitude (B1)
5. RELATION OF PARTICIPANTS TO TOPIC.			
Writing & reading motivated by:	wish to share (B10) a sequence of created (S) & experienced (R) events	wish to communicate(S), learn(R) about (B10) object of which S has knowledge or/& regard	interest in a dilemma which S and R wish to see resolved (A,B4)

Although it has been possible, in constructing the table, to maintain the five major divisions, it will be noted that, clearly distinct and comparable values do not always emerge in the sub-divisions, due to the variable "sensitivity" of the varieties to these more delicate distinctions; thus the entry for DESCRIPTION in the first line of 1. says more about the nature of the topic per se, ie, that some object is distinguished by its features, rather than relating it to the degree of abstraction or process presentation. In 4. neither the DESCRIPTION nor the ARGUMENT entries take any account of "formality". Part of the significance of these sub-categories, therefore, is not only in their different values according to each variety, but also in their varying relevance.

Further, the bracketed references in the table do not always correspond to the references on the variable list; this is because those of the table above refer to where the information occurred in informant answers, whereas the earlier list shows on what variables the <u>questions</u> were based. The complexity and interdependence of the phenomena made it inevitable that the same information should be given in answer to a variety of stimuli, and in fact confirms, rather than detracts from the validity of the analysis.

Two final points about the table should also be emphasised since they will have some importance in our further use of it in Chap. 3 below. Firstly it should be noted that the empirical manner in which the table was drawn up must forestall any charge of prescriptivism in its further application; it represents a list of descriptive statements

which will characterise a variety by the predominance of those in one column over those in another. And this, in turn, must forestall the further criticism that the table suggests the existence of three discrete varieties -"pure" description etc. Any taxonomy involves the imposition of divisions on what, in the real world, are distinctions of degree rather than kind: whether a text "describes", "argues" or "narrates" is a matter of prominence of one of these activities over the other, and our table and conclusions so far in this chapter merely state which variables are likely to predominate over others and we shall now go on to observe the more evident predominance of certain linguistic features. The notion of predominance is in no way "unscientific", but exists in the classification of certain gases in the natural sciences, as well as in linguistics (Lyons, 1968:351)

HYPOTHESES

2.4. We have been concerned in this chapter with the extra-linguistic context believed to underlie the textual varieties under discussion, with the "wide" scene rather than the "narrow" scene (Firbas 1966b:246) of the immediate verbal context which we surveyed briefly in Chap.1 and which we shall return to in Chap. 3 below. It is to be expected therefore, that the linguistic exponents of the variables will be of a different nature than the text internal cohesive features mentioned in the Chap. 1 study, or the perspective of the single sentence suggested by Vachek's statement as our epigraph; our hypotheses will refer, rather, to the wider textual configurations of our varieties, such as their "thematic progression" (Daneš 1970b:11) or "rhematic layering" (Firbas 1966b:252). It is to those hypotheses that we now turn.

2.4.1. If narrative texts present actors involved in a variety of acts and events, personal nouns or pronouns will, as already indicated above (Sec. 2.1.2.), account for the majority of themes in the narrative text, and will remain relatively constant while the acts and events change. It is likely, then, that the thematic progression of this variety will approximate to what Daneš (ops. cits.) terms "Thematic Progression with a Continuous (Constant) Theme" (1970b:17) or "Typus mit einem durchlaufenden Thema" (1970a:76), although he points out (1970a:78):

> "In konkreten Texten werden sie meistens nicht in reiner Form realisiert und werden auf verschiedene Weise kombiniert."

The chronological linking of actor-action nexi also presupposes themes realised by time adverbials and adjuncts which specify the movement of the action through a general time setting. These will occur possibly more frequently than indications of locality which remain relatively more constant. If the text is considered to answer the question "what happened?" it may be supposed that the rhematic layer will be made up of actions and the manner in which they were carried out, answering underlying questions such as "how?" "why?" (cause and effect relation) and also "on whom?"; the latter poin therefore anticipates the occurrence of animate nouns in both the thematic and rhematic sections of the sentence (for a note on "sections" and its non-linear implications see Firbas, 1975:330). Verbs themselves may also be expected to appear as rhemes (this is not to exclude a further rhematic object as rheme proper - see Sec. 1.5.1.3. especially footnotes) as well as transitional elements. Those verbs which introduce new items, characters

etc., will frequently be of the "existence, appearance on the scene" type (see above, Chap. 1, 1.5.1.3.)

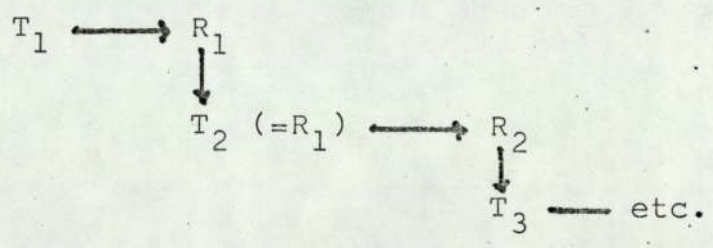
The time element of the transitional action will most usually be "past" as the entry "what happened?" also indicates; we shall investigate Firbas's hypothesis that time may even be a thematic element of narrative (see above Chap. 1, Sec.1.5.1.3.) and Firbas, forthcoming). The table makes no reference to the "creative/conservative" distinction postulated by Leech (see above, Sec. 2.2.2.) since this is a linguistic feature not a contextual one, although it will have greater probabilities of occurrence in certain types of context than in others: it is of some relevance, however, if we wish to make predictions about the distribution of communicative dynamism over the "communicative fields" (for a definition of this concept, see below, Sec. 2.5.) of the text. The "creative stimulus" to which the narrative text is considered to respond, according to the native informants, may suggest that there will be some deviation from the "basic distribution of communicative dynamism" (Firbas 1959a:42) which characterises the more basically informative varieties of writing (Beneš 1972:143,153) and Vachek (1972:14).

2.4.2. The recurrence of the word "object" in the definition of the descriptive context would suggest this as the "Hyper-thema" (Daneš 1970a:75), or what the text is "about" with the "features of the object" forming the rhematic layer. But the "spatial and other relations" could be expected to set some characteristics in relation to others so that they appear in both thematic and rhematic sections. Instruction, for instance, a context in which it has been surmised that

description may occur involves, according to Skinner (1957), a change in our verbal behaviour, whereby the predications of definitions now become known (in our classification "thematic") terms, and usable as such, the process being expressible in a formula of the type:

$$A = B. \# B.....$$

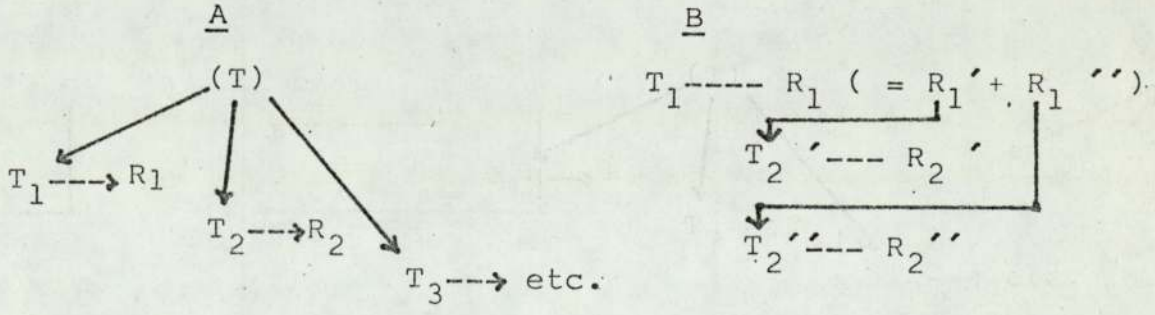
The thematic progression of the descriptive text is therefore more likely to be of the "linear" type with thematization of previous rhemes (Daneš:1970b:16; "einfache lineare Progression" 1970a:75) in the arrangement: (after Daneš ops. cits.)



with the same reservations as given in the case of narrative. As characteristics of an object the rhemes of the text will perhaps be realised by nominal phrases or adjective phrases as subject complements, the rhematic layering formed by an accummulation of specifications expressed in this form; if the relations between such specifications are spatial, place adverbials may also form part of the thematic or rhematic sections of the communicative field; they may ever function as rheme proper. Implicit in the formula given at the top of the present page and what has been said above is the designation of the verb as a copula transitional (see above Sec. 1.5.1.3.) (in a large number of descriptive fields, performing the "intensive" or "equative" transitivity functions described in Halliday (1967-68;3:192). The distribution of the degrees of communicative dynamism are likely to follow the "basic" pattern,

but where the text expresses the writer's reaction, feelings, at what is being described, deviant, "emotive" (see below Chap. 3, Sec. 3.4.) patterns may occur. From the data collected in the above table, the nature of the time and modal elements of the transitional section cannot be predicted for descriptive texts.

2.4.3. In the discussion text predications are made about facts and opinions which, if both reader and writer share the same interest (Table Section 5) or move within the same "province" (see above Sec. 1.2.4.), may be presupposed as known and therefore not introduced as rhemes at any stage of the development, but form the themes of the text about which the rhemes make comment, judgements or draw conclusions. Argument text themes may thus consist of propositions evaluated as one whole idea or, alternatively, split up into constituent arguments (the word being used here in its technical, logical sense) and analysed accordingly. The latter approach may give rise to a textual configuration resembling the "thematic progression with derived themes" Danes, 1970b:18 - Progression mit abgeleiteten Themen" in 1970a:76) shown as A below, or where propositions are first introduced as rhemes and then analysed, the "exposition of split rheme"(1970b:19 - "das Entwickeln eines gespalteten Rhemas" - 1970a:77) may be found, as shown diagrammatically by B:



It is of interest to note, however, that Daneš's own textual examples of these two types of progression are both, according to the contextual criteria in our table, descriptive texts not argumentative ones; it cannot be said, therefore, that any of these patterns of development are variety-restricted, nor, indeed, would one expect them to be. The reader will recall that our present statements represent no more than hypotheses deduced from the table.

With the possibility of the argument variety producing "effects beyond the text", deictic items - "reference to the act of speech in which they occur" (CCC, 1973:136)-may also appear in the thematic function, perhaps as some explicit acknowledgement of that reader who is a "potential opponent", or alternatively as reference to the writer himself, in view of the fact that they are his opinions that are expressed. The "evaluative" aspect of the argument process further suggests that verbs will be of a judgemental type - "seem", "appear", "believe", "opine" etc. or of the more assertive type, such as the verb "argue", "assert", "claim", "maintain", "suggest", etc. Both lists include verbs that are "semantically weak" (Firbas, 1965:172) and require "amplification" (Firbas 1959a:46 and type 5 in our own 1976 classification - see above) most usually by a clause complement. Rhemes in argument texts may, as a result, be both more extensive than those found in the other varieties, and more complex, since within the communicative field "of the first rank" which we have been considering hitherto, may occur "communicative subfields" (for these terms see Svoboda (1968) but also our further consideration of them below, Sec. 2.5.). It has thus been concluded that argument texts may show propositions in both thematic and rhematic

sections of sentences, but while those as rhemes may occur as complete clauses, the uneasiness created by clause subjects in English may result in thematic propositions being nominalised or, alternatively, occurring as post-modifiers to more general terms such as "the fact that..." or "the news that...". Another syntactic device available is that of "extraposition" (Huddleston, 1971: Chap. 4), although this supplies a dummy theme and both judgement and proposition (if these are the semantic elements of the sentence) become rhemes, as in, for example:

"...it seems strange that...Pred (Arg)."

Although respondents to the questionnaire indicated that discussion develops through "reasoned argument" it is unlikely that examples of pure deduction will be found in that variety; nevertheless, the traditional syllogism is illustrative of a type of progression more probable in discussion texts than others. In the development:

All men are mortal
Socrates is a man
. . Socrates is mortal

we find a recurrence of terms as we move from universals to particulars, ie. "a man" is, as it were, a sub-category of "all men". If "evaluation" and "reasoned argument" are considered to involve a certain degree of interpretation of terms, it may well be that argument texts show a greater degree of semantic unity than the other varieties (8), with

(8) For further treatment of the semantic means of discourse cohesion see Davies and Widdowson 1974 (p. 171-173) and the work by Leech (1965) already referred to in Chap. 1 Sec.1.2.5.)

perhaps a term used at one point analysed elsewhere into component semantic features; similarly, synonyms may appear at some stage of the argument as "derived" themes (see diagram A above) or rhemes. Another feature of the syllogism not considered in connection with the other varieties is the logica connector realised linguistically as a conjunction. The communicative status of conjunctions has not been treated in the literature on FSP, but in an earlier paper (forthcoming) we allotted them thematic status on the grounds that a) they represent the starting point of the utterance, b) they are - or at least some of them are - in a sense textually "recoverable (Halliday, 1967-68; 2:204) (9); thus for Koch (1969:54) conjunctive relations may assume foreknowledge, and "but" in the "Pocket Oxford Dictionary" is defined as "introducing a sentence of contrary tendency to the previous one", thus showing some vague type of antecedence. Firbas (personal communication) however, is able to appeal to exactly these facts to deduce that, although connecting communicative fields, "the semantic item of contrariness conveyed by it, is new, underivable from the preceding context" and concludes that it forms a part of the transitional elements. In practice he adopts a somewhat ambivalent attitude to the status of conjunctions in general; the detailed text analysis included in Firbas (1975) indeed shows "but" as transitional, while "and" and "so" remain unclassified. We shall treat these as transitional throughout the following analyses, since, like the TME's awarded this status, conjunctions establish:

> "the relation between the language event and the reported extralinguistic event"
> (Firbas, 1965:174)

(9) Though Halliday's own solution as regards conjunctions in particular is to consider them "as not being constituents of the clause" (op. cit. 220).

- in the case of conjunctions, a logical relation; furthermore

> "their semantic content (plays) an essential part in bringing the sentence elements into syntactic interrelation" (idem. p.173)

We shall expect a number of conjunctions in discussion as propositions are conjoined or contrasted, but fewer adverbs than in the other varieties and which, owing to the factor of "attitude" in the context may be mainly limited to "attitudinal disjunct" types (Greenbaum, 1969). It would seem that the propositional nature of argument will promote a predominance of fields showing basic communicative dynamism, but "emotive" statements and contrast of opinions may cause structures deviating from such a distribution, and even showing second instance sentences (see above, chap. 1).

TESTS

2.5. The above hypotheses are now tested through the analysis of texts representative of the three varieties. These texts were so classified by the native informants involved in the questionnaire enquiry, and they appear in their original form in the following pages. The analysis of the texts into communicative fields and their constituent communicative units forms part of the Appendix to this study (Tables I - IX) to which the reader may refer in connection with the analyses which now conclude this chapter.

In spite of the inclusion of intonation features among the exponents of communicative dynamism (see Chap. 1), the tone-group does not provide a suitable distributional field for the analysis of written texts, due to the following

considerations. Firstly, the prosodic structure of a written text varies from reader to reader in a way that does not allow an empirically reliable analysis to be obtained (although disagreement in this area may provide stimulating discussion in the class-room context - see Deyes, 1975, p.7). Secondly, owing to the greater complexity of sentences in the written mode, nuclear stress will frequently fall on elements in subordinate sense groups, whose inclusion as features of the rhematic layering would distort the description of the development sequence between the major propositions; subordinate clauses, for example, function as arguments of these major predications, and it is therefore the "verbal predication of the entire sentence" (Svoboda, 1968:51) which determines the extent of each "communicative field". The communicative field (C F) will normally, therefore, be co-extensive with the independent sentence, although where this consists of two or more coordinate (independent) clauses, these two qualify as separate communicative fields.

Within each communicative field the carriers of communicative dynamism are "communicative units" (Svoboda, op. cit. p.57). The coincidence of semantic, grammatical and functional roles in the subject, verb, object, adjunct (Daneš, 1964) identify these as the principal units, even where they are realised by subordinate clauses. These "communicative fields of non-zero (first, second, etc.) rank" (op. cit. Svoboda, p.58) are not further analysed in this study, but are indicated by bracketing in Tables I - IX. Only in the verbal element are communicative units below the level of the major constituent analysed, where there are time and modal elements separable from the notional core of the verb. (see Chap. 1, Section 1.5.1.3.)

NARRATIVE TEXTS

1. So now André Massart sat working over his map at the bare table with the raw light of the unshaded electric light bulb over his head, the overwide beret pulled forward to shade his eyes, referring to the mimeographed copy of the orders for the attack and slowly and carefully and laboriously working them out on the maps as a young officer might work a problem at a staff college. He was engaged in war. In his mind he was commanding troops; he had the right to interfere and this he believed to constitue command. So he sat there with Robert Jordan's dispatch to Golz in his pocket and Gómez and André waited in the guardroom and Robert Jordan Lay in the woods above the bridge.

   It is doubtful if the outcome of André's mission would have been any different if he and Gómez had been allowed to proceed without André Massart's hindrance. There was no one at the front with sufficient authority to cancel the attack. The machinery had been in motion much too long for it to be stopped suddenly now. There is a great inertia about all military operations of any size. But once this inertia has been overcome and movement is under way they are almost as hard to arrest as to initiate.

   (E.Hemingway; "For Whom the Bell Tolls", Penguin Books, p.398)

2. June Stoker had paid the taxi and shut herself into the lift. She would have to ring Julian to tell him to pick her up at home, instead of at the Thomases'. She wondered what the dinner party with his parents would be like. Full of awfully clever and interesting people to whom she would not be able to think of anything to say. She sighed, and felt for her latchkey.

   Angus, her Aberdeen, yapped mechanically round her feet, and of course her mother called her into the drawing-room. She was having tea with her old school friend, Jocelyn Spellforth-Jones. June first submitted to being told by her mother that she was late, that she looked hot, and that she never shut doors behind her, and then to a general and very unappetizing invitation from Jocelyn Spellforth-Jones to "tell her all about it". Nobody except Mummy told Jocelyn anything: perhaps that is why she always wants to know so badly, thought June, the inevitable blush searing her face and neck, as she protested weakly that there was nothing much to tell really. Mrs. Stoker looked with mock despair at her best friend, Murmuring something about a headache, June rose to her feet. Immediately, her mother started bombarding her with questions. Had she found a pair of shoes? Did she remember the Thomases? What had Marshalls said about her nighties? Well, what HAD she been doing all the afternoon, and why did she suddenly have a headache? June blushed and lied and eventually fled to her bedroom feeling cross and tired.

   Everything in her bedroom was pale peach coloured. She liked this; but when she had suggested repeating the colour in their flat, Julian had said that cream was more suitable. It was more neutral, he had said, and she expected that he was right.

If she had not spent most of the afternoon in tears, June would certainly have cried now. Just when everything ought to be marvellous, it somehow actually wasn't. Of course it was largely that awful woman sitting there and talking to Mummy with a deathly mixture of silliness and nastiness - and Mummy (although of course she wasn't really like that) at least putting up with it.

(Elizabeth Jane Howard; "The Long View", Reprint Society Edition 1957, p.14 - slightly adapted.)

3. He was wearing pyjamas and bedroom slippers when he came up into the square, but there was no one to see him. It was that hour of the evening in a residential district when everyone is at the theatre or at home. He climbed over the iron railings into the little garden: the plane-trees spread their large pale palms between him and the sky. It might have been an illimitable forest into which he had escaped. He crouched behind a trunk and the wolves retreated; it seemed to him between the little iron seat and the tree-trunk that no one would ever find him again. A kind of embittered happiness and self-pity made him cry; he was lost; there wouldn't be any more secrets to keep; he surrendered responsibility once and for all. Let grown-up people keep to their world and he would keep to his, safe in the small garden between the plane-trees. "In the lost childhood of Judas Christ was betrayed; you could almost see the small unformed face hardening into the deep dilettante selfishness of age.

Presently the door of 48 opened and Baines looked this way and that; then he signalled with his hand and Emmy came; it was as if they were only just in time for a train, they hadn't a chance of saying good-bye; she went quickly by, like a face at the window swept past the platform, pale and unhappy and not wanting to go. Baines went in again and shut the door; the light was lit in the basement, and a policeman walked round the square, looking into the areas. You could tell how many families were at home by the lights behind the first floor curtains.

Philip explored the garden: it didn't take long: a twenty yard square of bushes and plane-trees, two iron seats and a gravel path, a padlocked gate at either end, a scuffle of old leaves. But he couldn't stay: something stirred in the bushes and two illuminated eyes peered out at him like a Siberian wolf, and he thought how terrible it would be if Mrs. Baines found him there. He'd have no time to climb the railings; she'd seize him from behind.

(Graham Greene; "Selected Short Stories and Essays".)

DESCRIPTIVE TEXTS

4. Northern Ireland has an area about the same size as Yorkshire. Climate is mild and humid, not unlike that of Western Scotland, with about 45 inches of rain in the west and 32 inches in the east.

One third of the area is over 500 feet high, but few points exceed 2,000 feet. A glance at the map reveals a belt of hilly country grouped round Lough Neagh. In the north-east is the Antrim Plateau, 600 square miles of lonely mountainous country, broken by the Glens of Antrim, narrow valleys which open north-eastwards to the North Channel. In the south-east are the mountains of Armagh and Down, best known of which are the Mourne Mountains, a group of conical hills, with Slieve Donagh rising from near the sea to a height of 2,700 feet. The north-eastern corner is occupied by the Sperrin Mountains, a bleak upland of north-east to south-west ridges separated by long deep narrow valleys. Reference may also be made to the Belfast Hills, 1,000 to 1,600 feet high, the presence of which, on the northern side of the Lagan Valley, has prevented the expansion of the city of Belfast in that direction.

The largest river basin is that of the Bann. The river rises in the Mourne Mountains, drains Lough Neagh, the largest lake in the British Isles, and flows northwards between the Sperrin Mountains and the Astrim Plateau. The County Down, and after a circuitous course drains north-eastwards to Belfast Lough through the city of Belfast. Of the other rivers, the largest are the Foyle, and the Erne which collects it waters from the low-lying lands of Fermanagh, and expands along its course to form Upper and Lower Loughs Erne, before emptying into Donegal Bay.

(A.Ferriday; "The British Isles", MacMillan & Co.,1958, p.217-218)

5. The Tudor period was not one of church building. Rather the lead and stones of abbey churches were requisitioned for the "gentleman's seats" that took their place, or for the yeomen's farms of the new age. In the manor-houses, now everywhere being built or enlarged, spacious rooms, well-lighted galleries, wide lattice windows and oriels, instead of narrow loopholes, proclaimed the Tudor peace and comfort. The commonest form of large manor-house was now an enclosed court entered through a turreted gateway of gigantic proportions, when the need for fortifying a house had even more completely disappeared from man's minds, it became usual to build an open courtyard with three sides only, or to adopt the E-shaped form.

Every manor-house of any pretensions had a deer-park dotted with clumps of fine trees at various stages of growth, the whole enclosed by a high wooden pale. Sometimes two parks, one for fallow deer and one for red, diminished the arable land of the demesne, and sometimes, it is to be feared, the common lands of the village. On hunting mornings, the chime of hounds "matched in mouth like bells" chased the deer round and round the enclosure, while the gentlemen and ladies of the manor and their

guests followed easily on horseback - and Lady Jane Grey stayed indoors and read Plato.

(G.M.Trevelyan; "Illustrated English Social History" Vol. 1, Penguin Books, 1964, pp. 251-254)

6. "The Republic" starts with a moral question: what is the meaning of Justice or Right? The Greek word is a wide one and from the start therefore the enquiry is concerned with both individual and community, both morals and politics. It soon becomes clear that the question that is being asked is, What is the basis of social and moral obligation? Why should I be either law-abiding or moral if I don't feel like it? More simply still, Why should I be good? The problem is stated in three stages. First Socrates shows that the conventional view that justice is "giving man his due" is inadequate, Then Thrasymachus comes in with what is, in effect, a flat denial of the conventional view. He is, as we have seen, a typical Sophist and is meant to stand as the representative of a line of thought, not uncommon at the end of the fifth century, which rejected conventional morality as a sham, and substituted self-interest. Enough is said about this section of the argument (which is often rather complicated) in the section headings. Its purpose is to advance the argument a stage by showing that though conventional morality may be muddled and inadequate, it is equally unsatisfactory to reject it as a sham. After Thrasymachus has been reduced to silence, Glaucon and Adeimantus, who remain the chief respondents throughout the rest of the dialogue, say that they are still unsatisfied and that they are going to restate his case for him. And what they in effect ask Socrates to do is to show them that morality is more than a matter of enlightened self-interest. Glaucon puts forward a form of what was later to be known as the Social Contract theory, arguing that we are only moral because it pays us, or we have to be, and that given the chance we should all behave extremely badly: Adeimantus reinforces him by stressing the comparatively mercenary motives normally advanced for good behaviour. The problem they put to Socrates is to show that, quite apart from motives of self-interest or social approval, morality is preferable in itself to immorality, right to wrong.

(Plato: "The Republic" Penguin Books, 1955, from the Introduction by H. D. P. Lee, pp. 28-29)

ARGUMENTATIVE TEXTS

7. I shall try to forestall a misgiving which may arise in the mind of a reader who thinks of modern intellectual life in terms of the dichotomy of the "two cultures", arts and science, with literary scholarship in the one camp and linguistics in the other. The analytic approach to literature might appear to such a mind objective and clinical, bent on destroying the sublime mysteries of poetry, and on reducing the study of literature to a set of lifeless mechanical procedures.

To allay that fear, I would first suggest that the division between arts and science, like that between "lit" and "lang", is to be fought rather than accepted.

Secondly, objectivity for its own sake is by no means a goal of science. In fact, though objectivity may be a theoretical requirement of science, a scientist (particularly in linguistics, if that is to be counted a science) in practice can rely so much on his own intuition for discovery and on his own judgement for corroboration, that his method of investigation may prove hardly distinguishable from that, say, of a literary commentator. Linguistics and literary criticism, to the extent that they are both concerned with what and how a poem communicates, perform much the same task, but at a rather different level of abstraction.

Thirdly, insight or understanding is a much more important goal, in any human endeavour, than being objective. Statements of objective fact (for example, that there are eighty-two occurrences of the word "the" in the fourth canto of the first book of "The Faerie Queene") can be as inane in the domain of style as anywhere else. I am fairly untroubled by the thought that I may be criticized for being unobjective, unscientific, or even unlinguistic. But if this book fails to enlighten, and thereby to sharpen appreciation of poetry, it will fail utterly.

(Geoffrey N. Leech; "A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry", Longman, 1969, pp. 6-7.)

8. We were at a dinner party when I innocently asked if anyone had seen a fascinating programme on cancer research the evening before. My hostess, with the slightest smile of conscious superiority, said: "Oh no. We don't HAVE television." And immediately everyone else at the table hurried to excuse themselves for possessing the monster by saying they only bought it for the children, or they only watched the occasional programme on BBC 2.

Now if I had mentioned a newspaper article they hadn't read, they would have been apologetic, even embarassed, that something had escaped their busy idea-harvesting minds. But because it came with pictures they were PROUD of having missed it.

It may be that some people still believe television is so mesmeric it can never be more than moving wallpaper. Or that the spun-sugar of light entertainment stickies and clogs the wheels of the brain so that they gradually slow down.

But a mind-expanding volume of new and interesting thoughts can be planted by an evening's judicious programme-changing. Viewing is not such a passive thing as my anti-box friends seem to believe; it puts the mind into gear. Of course, it doesn't work if you don't THINK. But I think you think, so why should we arrogantly assume that other people don't?

Perhaps if television could magically be turned into a keeper of conscience, impartial interpreter and educator extraordinary instead of mainly (say it in hushed, shamed whispers) entertainment, the non-owners no longer would chalk up an automatic intellectual plus. Somehow I rather doubt it. After all, they could be selecting the best of television and leaving the rest. Their stand is more

extreme than that; they must cut it out of their lives altogether.

Dare I guess they see it as a threat, not to standards, but to the safe little world they are trying to preserve within their own four walls: a place where you can make up your mind with no one to confuse you with facts? Books, newspapers and records all can be carefully chosen to fit in with a narrow, blinkered view of life. Not so television, which may bullet things you don't like to think about right into your own home and throw out comfortably plausible views that challenge your preconceived ideas, like those cold winds whistling round the ivory tower.

(From "Good Housekkeping", August 1973, p.33.)

9. It is difficult to find much excuse for these mass-circulation Sunday papers which have elevated a whore and her pimps into something approaching heroic figures. The Daily Express, in a sensible editorial on Monday, rightly argued that there are a number of questions to be asked about who actually took the photographs of Lord Lambton in bed with his call-girls. If the News of the World took them, or assisted in it, that paper should justify its conduct. There are questions for the Sunday People as well. And how much did either of them pay Mrs. Norma Levy for her curiously similar allegations to the two of them that a third and perhaps even a fourth minister were among her clientele?

These papers are habitual peddlars of scandal; and to be fair to them their muckraking is often in the public interest. They have merely acted in the manner which has come to be expected of them. What should be of much wider concern is why practically every daily newspaper so readily picked up that prostitute's allegation, even though it was corroborated by no evidence other than the word of her husband pimp. The fact that no name was printed, although many were bandied around in private, is no mitigation; on the contrary, the number of ministers who might conceivably be supposed to have an interest in a rentawhore service is not very large, and to smear two anonymously is to cast suspicion on all. That cannot have been other than intentional. It is very unlikely, for example, that most papers would give such prominence to such an allegation of it were made about two members of any similar-sized and readily identifiable body of men. So why are politicians regarded as such easy, and legitimate targets?

Some Tories argue that it is not politicians as a whole but only Mr. Heath's government which is the target of so general a newspaper smear. Mr. Wilson would probably have rather greater justification if he cared to claim that if any of his ministers had been involved in a similar scandal the mud would have been flung around with even greater abandon. Nor can a very convincing argument be made out for the proposition that by giving credence to all the unfounded rumours and allegations of the last week or so the press has been fulfilling its proper function of being the public watchdog over our political masters. The attitude of most of the national press towards politicians generally goes far beyond the scepticism, or even hostility, which is necessary to fulfil that function; and, although

> the national newspapers can largely be exempted from blame for this, in the one area where there is real corruption in British life - at local authority level - the press has been slow to do its duty.
>
> ("The Permissive Age" in the "Illustrated London News", October, 1973, p. 142)

RESULTS

It will be seen from Tables I - IX, which show the texts divided into communicative fields and assign degrees of communicative dynamism to the constituent units, that many of the predictions made in the preceding pages on the basis of contextual features, are, in fact, realised. In the following paragraphs we examine this correspondence more closely, and are able in some instances, to draw further conclusions about the compositional context, now by approaching the same phenomenon through the linguistic features of the texts. Reference to examples in the text will be made by the use of two figures, the first indicating the number of the text (the tables follow the same numeration as that given in the preceding pages), the second, following the colon, the communicative field within that particular text; where it is necessary to refer to sub-fields (communicative fields of non-zero rank) two further indications are included following a stroke(/), the first of these two figures indicates the rheme of the previously given field, the second figure - a lower-case Roman numeral in brackets - refers to the subfield; thus, 1:1 /31(i) indicates reference to some item in the (first) subfield of the first rhematic unit of CF1 in text 1. (Hemingway); 1:1 /32 requires no Roman numeral since the second rhematic unit contains no subfield. The texts will not necessarily be discussed in order.

2.5.1. Attention is given first of all to "thematic progression" in the texts, defined by Daneš (1970b:11):

> "By this term we mean the choice and ordering of utterance themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to the hyperthemes of the superior text units (such as the paragraph, chapter, to the text whole, and to the situation. Thematic progression might be viewed as the skeleton of the plot."

In this section the varieties are discussed in the order argument (texts 7. - 9.), description (texts 4. - 6.) and narrative (texts 1. - 3.)

2.5.1.1. The immediately noticeable feature of the argumentative texts is the low ratio of communicative fields per number of words, thus text 8 of 395 words shows 20 CFs and text 9 (504 words), also only 20CF's in comparison with the 30 CF's of a 360 word narrative text(2), and 360 words filling 19 CF's in a description (6). A glance at the tables will show that, as far as themes are concerned, these figures are accounted for not so much by longer single thematic units as by the greater number of thematic units in each field. Where the theme proper (Th.10 or Th.11) is pronominal we find, apart from the anaphoric textual reference, usual for subject pronouns, the predicted (see Sec. 2.4.3.) "dummy" pronpuns with extraposed subject in post-verbal position: 8:6, 9:1, 9:14, or deictics referring to the participants in the communication: 7:1, 7:2, 7:3, 7:9; 8:1, 8:2, 8:4 and elsewhere; notable is the progression 8:11, 8:12, 8:13, from "I" through "you" to the inclusive "we". This latter text will, in fact, prove to be a rather informal type of argumentative text, with its anecdotal opening, giving a glimpse of the writer's private life and certain linguistic features (eg. the ellipsis of sub-ordinating conjunctions in CF6, question and imperative

forms etc.). Text 7 keeps the reader more at a distance in its more generic reference to "the mind of a reader who..." (7:1 /30 (ii-iii)) a reference repeated in CF 2 / 11. As expected, deictic references and pronouns of this sort occur particularly in the opening sentences of texts where the context is being established. Text 9 includes no such specific items, although "finding excuses" and "asking questions" (8:1/30(i); 8:2/ 30(i - ii)) are both indicative of participant action.

Thematic units realised as nominals or noun-phrases in argumentative texts tend to be of two types. Particularly in subject function they appear to reveal those hyperthemes mentioned by Daneš in the question above, since repetition of the same noun phrases, or at least the same motions, seems to characterise this type of text; the notional range of theme in these texts is thus limited to a few leit-motifs which are not pronominalised as in the narrative (see Sec. 2.5.1.3. below); Text 7 is characterised by objectivity" - 7:4, 7:5, 7:8 and also implicit in "the analytical approach" (7:2) (which is, in fact, the theme that introduces "objectivity" as a rheme (7:2/31)); Text 9 shows "The Daily Express" (7:2), "that paper" (7:3), "the News of the World" (7:3), "these papers" (7:6), "the press" (7:20) alongside "ministers" (7:11) "politicians" (7:15), "Tories" (7:16), "Mr. Wilson" (7:17) - clearly the two hyperthemes of this particular text.

The second type of full nominal theme in argument, and indeed, most second and third thematic units generally, whether they be nominal or of some other class, is most commonly used to convey an attitude of the writer; thus, as nominals in particular are to be noted: 7:6 "to the extent that"; 8:2

"with the slightest smile of superiority"; 9:2, "in a sensible editorial on Monday"; also as "attitude markers" (Weinreich, 1963:150) of this variety one may note adverbials "fairly" (7:9), "rather" (8:15), "merely" (9:8), "probably" (9:17), or fixed expressions such as "in fact" (7:5), "of course" (8:10). Time is seen in relation to the moment of utterance - "on Monday" (7:2).

2.5.1.2. Although the descriptive texts under review have fewer fields with multiple thematic units they show a greater proportion of thematic units realised by forms other than pronouns in comparison with the other two varieties, there being, in fact, only six pronominal subjects in all: and while two of these are dummy subjects with extra-posed clauses in the rhematic section of the field (5:5) and (6:5), another two, although in the first person (6:7) and (6:6) are subjects of a rhetorical question, and cannot be said to refer directly to the participants in the speech act. In fact, as suggested in Table B above the participants' knowledge of each other by means of the text is likely to be "negligible" in this variety, since features of the "object" predominate in both the theme and rheme sections, making the degrees of communicative dynamism in the two parts of the field more equal than in either of the other two varieties. On occasions, there seems to be a study development of ideas from the rheme of one field to the theme of the next, and on to the second theme's rheme. Thus CF1 of Text 5 introduces the notion of "church-building" which provides a "cue" for further development by the theme of CF2 - "the lead and stones of the abbey churches....." (10), or later in the same text, 5:6/30, where "deer parks" becomes modified in the following theme (5:7/12)

(10) Notice in this connection, therefore, the heterogeneity possible in the thematic unit which makes terms like "given" an unsuitable designation for this function (see above, Chap.1 & also Firbas, 1966a, esp. p.268).

to "two parks".

Although, as mentioned above, participants in the compositional context of description are not generally indicated explicitly by deixis or other direct reference, this does not exclude expressions of attitude towards the topic of the text, a function performed by some of the multiple thematic units in the three descriptive texts analysed: 6:7, "more simply still", 4:8 "best-known of which" (notice also in this text the implici reader in "a glance at the map" - 4:5, and the "implicit" writer in "reference....." - 4:10) or within the sub-field 5:7/33(i) "it is to be feared". Second or third thematic units in these descriptive texts may also contribute to a step-by- step acquaintance with the topic; thus 6:4 - 6:5 - 6:9 - 6:10 show the sequence, "from the start", "soon", "first", "then", while , in much the same way, and logically enough, the historical text has chronological markers of "orientation" (Daneš 1970b:21): "now" (5:3 /11(i)), "now" (5:4), "a generation later" (2:5). Text 4 shows only one theme section with more than one thematic unit, but the single themes similarly impose an (in this case, geographical) orientation, in order to help the reader pattern the object. The adverbs and adverbial phrases fulfilling this orientation role in descriptive texts may be contrasted with the "firstly", "secondly" type in evidence in discussion texts. In 7:3 and 7:4, for example, these can be considered as synonymous with the structure "I would firstly say....." (Greenbaum, 1969:82); in other words, there is an orientation towards the writer implicit in this type; the planning is his and is not inherent in the object "Now" "soon" "from the start", etc. in descriptive texts show an orientation dependent on the topic.

2.5.1.3. In the narrative texts under study, three types of thematic elements predominate, namely actors (thematic subjects), time references, and references to localities, these latter two generally in the form of adverbs or as adverbial phrases. From a study of the texts, some important distinctions emerge as to the manner in which these three types of themes derive from the contexts, both verbal and situational This is clear first of all from the fact that, in English at least, a thematic element referring to the actor must normally be present, with the result that these thematic elements are largely repetitive. Time and place adverbials, on the other hand, are generally only introduced when there is a change in either of these two types of setting. But despite the apparent importance of these for narrative orientation, time adverbials are nearly always thematic, regardless of sentence position (see above, Chap. 1 and Dvoráková, 1964), since time is an integral constituent of any action, and will thus still remain sub-ordinate to the new processes (and goals) which the narrative field must also introduce. This accounts for the allocation of thematic status to "when he came up into the square" (3:1). This adverbial clause, despite its final position in the sentence fulfils the same textual function as "now" (1:1) in providing a general time setting in which the following sequence of actions may be understood: "presently" (3:18), "then" (3:20). In text 2 there is no specifically adverbial reference to time-setting, but merely a "natural" sequence of events from paying a taxi (2:1) to finally entering the house, although even this is merely implied by CF7 (yapping dog $\supset$ welcome into a house - in our culture at least) with the subsequent chronological developments seen in relation to this point in time: "first" (2:10), "then"

(2:10 /32), "eventually" (2:22).

Place adjuncts, however, are clearly less suceptible to presupposition, and a general setting, at least, is presented as part of the rheme section of a communicative field before related points can be specified in themes; thus "there" as a thematic element of a sub-field - 2:30/31(i)-refers to the rheme of CF8, while a change of place is indicated by 22/31. - amplification of a verb of motion. Once such specifications of place have been made, however, the text is able to use them, not only as points of reference for further localities, but for other (again, possibly culturally bound) relations by implication and entailment. Indeed, the time implication adduced in the preceding paragraph is only possible since a home may entail the presence of a dog. Similarly in Text 3 "the little garden" (3:4/ 32) ⊃ "plane trees" (3:5) and "an illimitable forest" (3=6) ⊃ "the wolves" (3:8) (note in the last case the definite "exophoric" article (Hasan 1968:36) indicating that wolves are to be expected, once "forest" is given.). While chronological development in the narrative might thus be conceived of as a type of "derived theme" (see above Sec. 2.4.3.) with hypertheme not necessarily made explicit, place is normally derived from a preceding, explicit informative rheme.

Returning briefly to the animate themes realised through personal pronouns, it will be observed that these are given the status of theme proper when they are subjects since, as Lyons (1968:p.277) has pointed out, "third person is essentially a negative notion"; not only because, in the sense in which Lyons uses this term, it does not refer to the actual participants in the communication process, but also, in the

narrative context, the thematic personal pronoun merely indicates that the same person is still being referred to, that is, NOT somebody else. Thus, while it can be stated that 13 of the 30 fields in Text 2 do not show June Stoker as the subject, more significant is the observation that such changes of focus coincide with paragraph changes in such a way that the protagonist retreats into the background as a new setting is established, and new participants present themselves before the principal actor returns; thus in paragraph 2 the pattern is: Angus (2:7), her mother (2:8) she (her mother) (2.9) then back to June (2:10) who largely predominates for the rest of the paragraph; paragraph 3 presents a similar setting sentence in initial position, while in paragraph 4 the position is reversed; June forms the setting 2:28, from which we view the situation "everything" (2:29/ 14) "it" (2:29 /11), "it" (2:30). The paragraphing of Text 3. also coincides with changes in actor orientation, and although Philip is not so consistently subject in the first paragraph as June Stoker in the text commented on above, he occupies a thematic position in 11 fields and sub-fields of the 16 communicative fields that form the first paragraph, is not referred to at all in the second, and appears in the theme section seven times in the final eight communicative fields and sub-fields. Actor as theme - but not necessarily as subject - may prove to be a determining factor of narrative paragraph construction, although further research would be required to confirm to what degree this was true.

We may therefore briefly summarise the thematic characteristics of the three varieties in the following terms. They vary first of all, in the proportions of pronominal to full nominal subjects, narrative showing the highest number

of pronominals, referring to the relatively constant actors. Pronominals in discussion texts may also refer anaphorically to concepts, persons already mentioned, but more usually these are maintained as nominals and slightly varied throughout the text; pronominals in discussion are usually dummy "it" with extra-posed subjects, or refer to the participants in the communicative context. Description is the variety that shows fewest pronominals, the theme - rheme nexus being rather more equally balanced in communicative dynamism than the other two variety fields. Adverbials of orientation, also thematic elements of the variety fields, tend to the topic patterning features in description, argument enumerators in discussion, and adverbials indicating place and sequences of time as regards the action of the narrative.

2.5.2. In discussion of the rhematic sections of the texts, to which we now turn, we shall consider four aspects that may show different types of textual dynamism by which the varieties may be distinguished, different ways, in which the "communication is pushed forward" (Firbas, 1965:170). The aspects of the rhematic system we shall consider are: i) the distribution of rhemes which express similar notions (ie. those rhemes partaking in the "rhematic layers") ii) relations between the consecutive rhemes of a text; iii) relations between the themes and rhemes of the same field (ie, in the same "T-R nexus" - Daneš, 1970b:15); iv) relations between the rhemes and other themes of the text - the textual network.

2.5.2.1. To determine the distribution of "semantically homogeneous" (Firbas 1961:94) rhemes in the text, we cannot expect to find a formal indication of what constitutes a similar notion and what does not; the complexity of the rhematic section of a field and the consideration of variety of expression as important to "good style" means that formal identity will prove a rare phenomenon. We must content ourselves, therefore, with a relatively informal criterion of rhematic identity expressed as follows: two rhematic units may be said to show identity when they include the same lexical item - usually in the head position of one of the constituent groups of the rheme - supported in its recurrences by cohesive (anaphoric) features indicating identity of reference with its previous occurrence in the text. Alternatively, we may admit rhematic identity when different lexical items occur in like relationship, and which can be said to be synonymous, or in a relation of hyponomy and superordination (Lyons, 1968:455). Thus, in text 9, rheme 5/33 reads:

"…..for her curiously similar allegations to the two of them that a third and perhaps even a fourth minister were among her clientele."

with "identical":

9:9/ 30(i) why practically every daily newspaper so readily picked up that prostitute's allegations

9:14/30(i) very unlikely that most papers would give such prominence to such an allegation

9:18/30(ii) by giving credence to all the unfounded rumours and allegations of the last week

9:14/30(ii) if it were made about two members of any similar and readily identifiable body of men

9:16/30(i) that it is not politicians as a whole but only Mr. Heath's Government

As well as illustrating what is meant by rhematic identity on which our statements about rhematic distribution will be based, this example provides a useful starting point for the analysis of distribution in discussion texts. Following this we shall consider rhematic distribution in descriptive and narrative varities.

2.5.2.1.1. Two factors may be observed from the example above; firstly, the more extensive rhemes of argument texts give scope for the antecedents of more than one set of identical rhemes to be found there. Attention to the reference figures in the following paragraph will make this overlap clear. Secondly, as regards the actual distribution itself, the figures above show that identical rhemes are distributed well throughout the text; in addition to the two shown in the example above, the same text (9) includes a sequence of references to the national press, starting from the first communicative field and recurring in CF's 4, 8, 9, 14 and 18. The discussion on television (Text 8) has the following "rhematic layers": "the passivity of television" in the rhemes of communicative fields 6, 8 as opposed to its potential for "expanding the mind" in 9, 10 and 20:35(ii) and (iv); "judicious selection" is the underlying notion of fields as far apart as 7 and 16 and 20, in contrast of the "non-selection" in the rhemes of CF's 18 and 19. Television as "entertainment" is a recurring notion in 6, 14 (rheme of a thematic subfield) and 3 also, if being only suitable for children is to be regarded as synonymous with its entertainment value. Text 7 allows identification of 2 layers: the antithesis between art and science is displayed in 7:1/30(iii), 7:3/30(i) -with a further antithesis in (ii) of the same rheme - and in 7:6/31 contrasted with /32 ...

field 2, becomes the theme of fields 4 and 5, passes into the rheme of 7 as the "negative" side of a comparison ("...more important...than being objective") which leads to the full negative form as "unobjective" in field 9. More will be said about antithesis as a feature of discussion texts in section 2.5.2.2.2. below.

2.5.2.1.2. Two of the three descriptive texts show much less extensive recurrence of identical rhemes, that is to say, the rhematic layers are more compact - although the same notion may occur a number of times, such recurrences will be separated by fewer communicative fields than has been the case in the discussion texts. This "bunching" of notions will be seen to contribute to a closer networking of this variety when we consider that aspect in Section 2.5.4.1.3. Reference at this stage may, however be made to the "distribution graphs" Appendix III for a graphic comparison between the two types of texts in this respect. This characteristic is particularly clear in Text 4 - possibly the "purest" of the three descriptive texts -where the rhemes of fields 3 - 10 are concerned with "mountains" and the recurrent notion of the rhemes in fields 12, 14 17 and 18 might be summed up as "water-courses". In both this text and Text 5, the rhematic layering will be seen to coincide with the paragraphing; the first paragraph of Text 5 shows the rhematic layer corresponding to "the form of the manor house", while the second details the features of "the deer park".

Text 6, on the other hand, presents a rather different type of description, in that it is a description of a discussion, and thus also shows some of the features of this latter

variety; some of the rhemes are clause complements (6:9), while other fields show extra-posed subject clauses (6:5); furthermore, the notional labels attached to the rhematic layers of this text are abstract nouns, more usual in discussion layers than description; one may cite, for example "individual and community," "morals and politics", "self-interest," etc. However, on examining the distribution of these notions, one finds a similar bunching tendency to the one already observed in the other two descriptive texts: "individual and community" are rhemes of fields 3 and 4, "morals and politics" figure in 4, 5, 6, ("morality" by itself might be considered the hypertheme of the whole text), "the inadequacy of conventional views" is seen in 9, 10, 12, 14, etc.; the rhematic layering following the features of the object being described, the chronological adverbs patterning that object, and other features mentioned in the second column of Table B mark this as a text of the descriptive variety.

2.5.2.1.3. Narrative rhematic layers are also closely "bunched" but in this case the notional labels represent the episodes in the action continuum, which constitutes the special type of "object" that narrative "describes". A list of the rhematic layers of a narrative, gives a fairly clear idea of what the text "is about" and the order in which the events take place. Thus, for Text 2 we find in CF's 1 and 2 "arrival at home", 8, 10, 11, 12, "being told"; 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, represent the "bombardment of questions" and June's sentiments in the bedroom are found in 22, 25, 27, 30. Text 3 moves away from the general setting of time and space in the rhemes of fields 3, 4, 5, 6, to centre on the activities and thoughts

of Philip in 12, 13, 14, 15, those of Baines and Emmy in 18 - 25, before returning to give more specifications on the locality in 27 - 34. New items are sometimes introduced into narrative by use of the existential "there..." pattern, or, frequently where a new actor is concerned, through sentences with rhematic subjects. The scene setting of Text 3 begins when we are told why, "there was no one to see him" (3:2), and the thoughts of Philip centre round the notion of "keeping secrets", introduced by an existential sentence in 3:12. Similarly, Text 1 shows "there was no one at the front with sufficient authority to cancel the attack" at the opening of the layer dealing with the cancellation of the attack (CF's 10 - 13).

2.5.2.2. We now consider the second aspect of rhematic configuration, in which we pass from the semantic homogeneity underlying sets of rhemes to the more abstract level of semantic relations between the rhemes of a text, investigating some of those categories in this area outlined by Daneš (1970b):

> "But by far not all intersentential relationships belong.....to the type of "causal" or "logical" relations (such as cause, consequence, concession.....) Another type is represented by the temporal ... relations; to another kind of abstraction belong such notions as "explication", "enumeration" or again, "adversative", gradation," "confrontation" etc.
>
> (26)

We shall here be only concerned with such relationships between consecutive rhemes or fields, which will not, therefore, necessarily correspond with those rhemes that have figured as parts of the rhematic layers in the previous section. Markers of these relationships such as conjunctions will also contribute to the analysis.

2.5.2.2.1. Each paragraph of Text 1 contains what may be termed a sequence of "exemplification" in fields 4-8, and 9 - 11. The opening rhemes of these two sequences make a generalised statement followed, in the first series, by a number of rhemes listing the effects of the general statement: "so he sat.....Gómez & Andrés waited...Robert Jordan lay in the woods". In the second series the effect (CF 9) precedes the causes (CF's 10 and 11) which are adduced as justification for the general statement. What is of interest in both cases is not simply the cause-effect relationship predicted in narrative in Table B since by this, native informants were probably thinking of one action causing another; in the present case the two general statements come from the "privileged" author and are supported by the "facts" of the narrative. Such a relationship can only occur in narrative due to the double contextual level (diegesis and mimesis - see discussion above in the present chapter Section 2.1.4.3.) on which it moves. The resultative conjunct "so" is typical of the Hemingway narrative for this reason, but it is not, of course, always so marked in other narratives. The same movement from the world of the action to the author - reader world is observed in CF's 5 and 6 of Text 3., while 9 and 10 are similarly related but in the other direction, from inward cause to outer effect. On a number of occasions in Text 2 diegesis and mimesis are combined by the author's use of "descriptive verbs" (Genette, 1966), which colour the action from one character's point of view: 2:10 "fled to her bedroom..." etc., while the cause-effect relationship in CF4 and 5 is similar to the interior-exterior movement noted in 1. and 3.

Text 2 also includes further types of rheme relationship that would be considered typical of narrative and which arise from a change of modality that brings with it its own particular types of development. Although Text 2 does not contain examples of speech in its direct form, the series of reported statements in field 10, subfields 31 i, ii and iii and the "style indirect libre" of fields 16 - 20 show inter-relationships of which are rhetorically additive and contrastive, both more typical in their form here of the spoken mode, rather than the written. As regards contrast in particular, field 19 of Text 2 shows the only example of a "second instance sentence" (see above, Section 1.5.1.4.) in the nine texts examined, although three other fields contain directly contrasted elements alongside further new information which disqualifies them from second instance status as such; these three fields are 2:25 3:15 and 8:2.

The latter, the reader will observe is in a discussion text, but significantly in a field also showing direct speech; it may be said therefore, that directly contrastive relationships of this type are typical of texts in which dialogue occur, that is, most usually, narrative. With the evident temporal and local relationships between rhemes in narrative (2:21/31, 2:21/32, 2:22/31, 2:22/32 and 3:4/ 31, 3:4/32, 3:5/32, 3:6 respectively - though temporality at least need not always be made explicit, as in the first series here) the causal and contrastive relations examined may be said to constitute features typical of narrative in this area.

2.5.2.2.2. Borrowing further terms from Daneš's classification, discussion texts may show causal, explicative enumerative and adversative relations, according to our analysis of the three discussion texts at our disposal, although the measures to which these occur in each, or whether they occur at all naturally varies from text to text.

Texts 8 and 9 each observe effects that have taken place, and opinions that have been expressed, and attempt to find the underlying causes of such events, herein lies their causal element; Text 9 makes the search explicit: "why practically every daily newspaper so readily picked up that prostitute's allegations" (9:9 /30) is attributed to a desire "to cast suspicion on all", which raises the further question, "why are politicians regarded as such easy and legitimate targets?" (9:15/31), paraphrased in CF18 with a cause immediately suggested (and dismissed) in the same rheme: "the press has been fulfilling its proper function....." etc. Finally the writer abandons his search, unable to find a definitive explanation for these events. Text 8 searches for a cause for everyone "excusing themselves for possessing the monster". After demonstrating that other circumstances ("a newspaper article") would have produced different effects, the following rhemes explore causes: "so mesmeric", "clogs the brain" etc. A further effect is still to be observed, however, in CF18, and in this text more definite causes are hypothesised in CF's 19 and 20.

This search for a cause to other people's opinions, by which certain discussion texts might be characterised, as demonstrated above, also involves the adversative aspect, since

the search itself is motivated by not understanding (see 9:1) and the inevitable final dismissal of the other's point of view. Text 9 includes a series of "adversatives" (or confrontations"- Daneš does not actually examine or give examples of each of his terms) in the fields 9 to 14: "no mitigation","not very large", "not other than intentional", "very unlikely.....", and it is likewise an adversative text through many of its lexical choices such as "scandal" (6/30) "allegations"(5/33 and elsewhere) " scepticism" and "hostility" (18/30); these, however, are isolated examples, and not part of the rheme relationships which it is our present task to clarify.

Text 7, rather than being a post facto critical discussion, is a type that might be characterised as "defence of a point of view" or "forestallment" to borrow a term from the opening field. The predominant inter-rheme semantic relationship is an "explicative" one. Rheme 7:8/30 explains why being objective is not, in itself, of importance, while the relationship between 2:31 and 2:32 is one of apposition and expansion,which we shall see to be typical of descriptive rheme sections (below Sec. 2.5.3.1.). In identifying the rhematic layers of this text, above, one sequence was named "the antithesis between art and science", and it is the resolution of this antithesis, the imagined adversary and the author - centred implications of its "enumerative" features (see Daneš,

quotation at the opening of this section) that maintain this text, too, within the parameters of discussion.

2.5.2.2.3. Our descriptive texts, finally, are illustrative of "gradation" in the present writer's interpretation of that term, which can again best be illustrated by the "purest" of the descriptive texts, but it is present in the others to varying degrees also. Thus, the general topic of the first paragraph rhemes in text 4 is "mountains", as has been noted in section 2.5.2.1.2. above, but from this the author enters into smaller degrees of detail; we have a particular group of mountains mentioned in CF7 - "the Mountains of Armagh and Down," these in turn are further subclassified in CF 8 as their best known part "the Mourne Mountains" while in the subfield of that same rheme, one mountain in particular is identified. The course of the rivers, too, in the second paragraph, seem to follow a similar pattern, their source being identified in a rather indefinite area (4:16) but becoming more particularised in their route until the clear location of (4:17/32).

Such a progression, "gradation", is, of course, easy to achieve with some object that develops in time, such as a river; nevertheless, the other two descriptive texts, show

similar developments. In the second paragraph of Text 5 the development from the general to the particular is almost cinematographic in its effect; "a deer park" (notice the indefinite article) is introduced in 5:6/ 30, becomes a definite location later in the same rheme, "the whole enclosed by a high wooden pale" related to other aspects of the environment in field 7; the order of the locatives in the final field captures the increasing detail: "round and round the enclosure", "on horseback", "indoors". The same process in Text 6 might be characterised by the term "simplification" as the writer, sometimes explicitly so (6:7 /12), reduces the arguments of "The Republic" to a comprehensible form. CF1 presents the concepts of "Justice" and "Right", CF 3 expands these terms but still maintains them within one rheme; in CF 3 they are separated into two rhemes, each of parallel "double-headed" structure, the whole paraphrased in a question that, now better understood, replaces the first; this is in turn replaced by successive questions in the subsequent two rhemes, arriving in CF 7 at the ultimate simplification alluded to above.

2.5.31. In passing from interfield relationships to the relationships between the communicative units in each field, we notice that the above descriptive progression is also typical of the structure of the rhematic sections and their semantic relationships to the themes of their own fields. It has been remarked

in the treatment of thematic realisations (Sec. 2.5.1.2.) that those of the descriptive text are more usually nouns or nominal groups, when subjects, than pronouns; it was also observed that there was a greater equilibrium of communicative dynamism of the two poles of the sentence than in other varieties; the descriptive text, is in effect, a series of "equative" relationships (as we shall see further in our examination of transitional elements) with the theme representing a "variable" to which the rheme gives a "value" (we borrow these concepts from Halliday's study of transitivity relations, 1967-68; 2:227 - 231; 3:190 - 192); many of the rhemes themselves carry such a relationship further, with their appositional groups or non-finite clauses following the head noun. Typical descriptive fields can thus be represented by the following formula, where the = sign shows an "equative" verb, and, when enclosed in brackets, the same relationship implicitly present in the post-modific tion:

(6:1)	The (beginning of the) Republic	=	a moral question	(=) What is the meaning of justice?

(5:4)	The commonest form of manor house	=	an enclosed court	(identified by)	turreted gate
(4:9)	The north-east corner	=	the Sperrin mountains (=)	a bleak upland.....	

2.5.3.2. To narrative layers (see Sec. 2.5.2.1.3.)we have generally given identifying labels in the form of nominalised verbs, thus in some way following Propp's "fonctions des personnages" (above Sec. 2.1.1.). With this comparison in mind it is perhaps easier to understand, looking at the rhemes of the narrative fields, why Propp was less concerned with the "anthropomorphic" elements of narrative, particularly with the role of "patient" (see references to Brémond, above Sec. 2.1.2.). The rhemes of the three texts studied in this analysis show few animate nouns as heads of rhematic units in "goal" relationship to the verb; Julian (2:3/ 31), Jocelyn (2:11/ 31), the Thomases (2:17/31) are the only instances ("that awful woman" and "Mummy" in CF 30 in the same text, while heads of rhematic units, are subject complements of "be" and not "goals" or "patients" of processes). A number of human nouns do occur as modifiers in noun-groups, or participants in subordinate clause (subfield) processes, but in neither of these cases is the human item a rheme, even in the subordinate subfield: "...Robert Jordan's dispatch to Golz" (1:6/ 32), "...a very unappetizing invitation from Joclyn Spellforth-Jones" (2:10/ 32), ".....as if they were only just in time for a train..." (3:22/ 30) provide an illustration of the point from each of the texts. The patient, like the actor, then, is usually a known item, and some other non-human goal or some process occupies the attention as carrier of the highest communicative dynamism.

There are 14 clauses in the narrative texts in which the causer of the action could also be considered to be the "affected" (Halliday's "middle" type transitivity relation: 1967-1968; 3:185) as in 2:24,

"She liked this"

or 3:2: "You could tell how many families were at home"

lending some support to the prediction of such a relationship in the narrative (see Sec. 2.1.2. above) as a particular characteristic of its anthropomorphism.

2.5.3.3. Discussion theme-rheme nexi resemble narrative in the proportions of communicative content in the thematic and rhematic sections of the field; of the three varieties studied, the extensive rhemes of discussion texts, often themselves consisting of one or more embedded fields, are those which most "energetically" (to extend Firbas's metaphor) "push the communication forward" (Firbas, 1965:170). In order to determine their semantic relationship to the themes of their fields appeal must be made to findings reported in two sections below. Firstly, it will be noted in 2.5.5.1. that, as in narrative, few communicative fields (11 out of the total of 50 fields in the three discussion texts) are "simple", that is, consist of just one thematic unit and one rhematic one, plus the necessary transitional elements. The multiplicity of thematic units is due to the inclusion of adverbial elements; but whereas such adverbial items were not of great importance to the description of theme-rheme semantic relationships in the narrative, since the majority of them merely fulfilled a supporting role setting time and

place, in discussion, many of these adverbials are what have been referred to above as "attitude markers" which "colour" the nexus relationships. Thus, one may observe fields with a human subject, as in narrative, but with important adverbial qualifying phrases:

(7:3) "To allay that fear I would firstly suggest that the division between arts and science....." (11)

the same effect is achieved by "somehow" and "rather" in 8:15. Similarly, "descriptive" fields, of the form subject/theme + copula transitional + subject complement/rheme may be "coloured":

(9:11) "On the contrary the number...is not very large"

Discussion texts thus show similar nexi relationships to those of narrative or descriptive writing; but more frequently colour this with the writer's attitude; this may be achieved too, of course, by lexical as well as constituent means, as in an equative field from text 9:

"....to smear two anonymously is to cast suspicion on all"
(9:12)

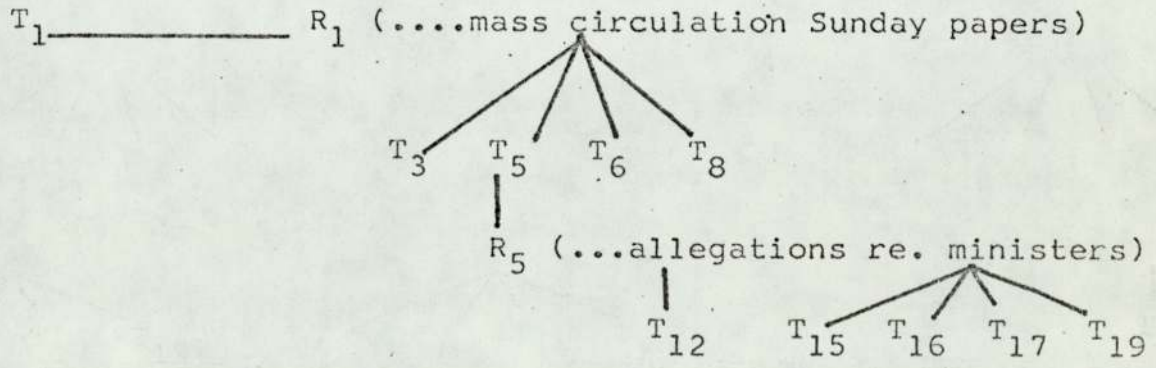
Secondly, and to further distinguish discussion "light"-"heavy" theme-rheme proportions from the same weighting in narrative, mention may be made of their progression through the text; it has been demonstrated that narrative themes are relatively constant as they are generally realised by a limited number of actors; discussion thematic subjects, however, frequently derive from previous rhemes of the text and, as a consequence, change more frequently. These remarks bring us to the final aspect of theme-rheme relation-

(11) For an analysis of the infinitive of purpose, and in particular its occurrence in initial position in non-fictional ("educational") prose, see Golková (1968, especially pp.122-125)

ships in these varieties, where we examine the "networking" between the fields of the texts.

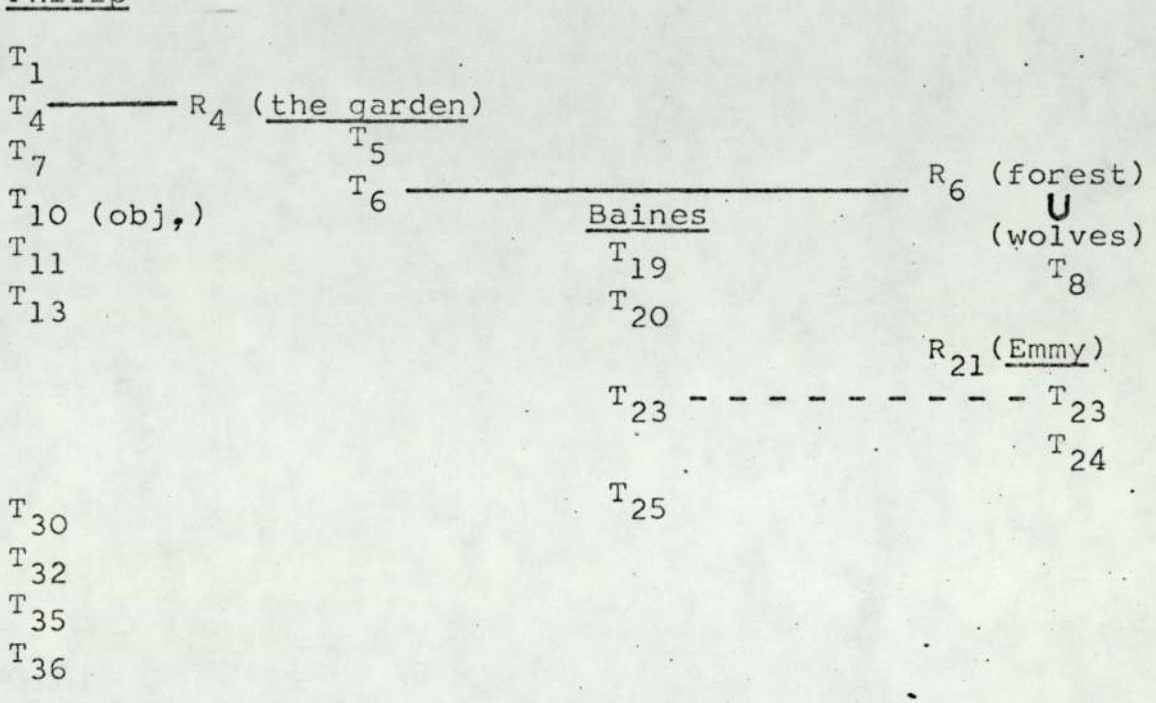
2.5.4. In the predictions made with respect to thematic progression (Sec. 2.4.2.) reference was made to the diagrams offered by Daneš (1970a & 1970b) as well as to his clarificatory statement that a text would normally show a variety of interfield relationships. In the analysis of extensive stretches of discourse, such diagrams become impossibly complex, and we have therefore devised the "distribution graph" (Appendix III) as a way of representing relationships on separate axes, as well as summarising the findings reported in the previous pages. On a more limited basis, however, certain networking tendencies may be captured in diagrams of the Daneš type. We show three below, taken from texts of each variety, that of a discussion text being placed first followed by a narrative one to illustrate the point of contrast mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

2.5.4.1.1.We show one case of rheme-theme networking in Text 9; (sub-scripts refer to the communicative fields):

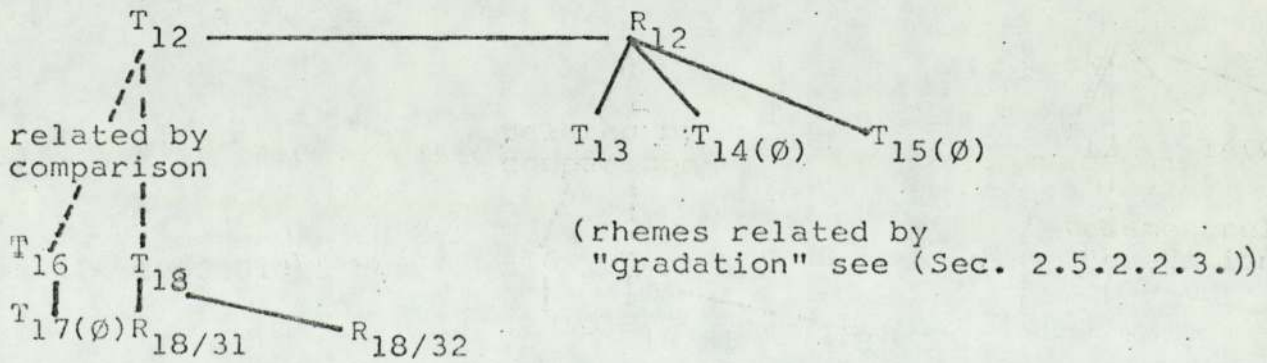


Like the rhemes of discussion, themes derived from them are well spread throughout the text, many rhemes providing more than one notion for further predication.

2.5.4.1.2. In an analysis of narrative on the same lines the actor subjects as theme may be used as a basis of classification. These need never actually be introduced as rhemes; Text 3 provides an example:



2.5.4.1.3. Discussion textual unity seems to be achieved by notion distributed throughout the text, while narrative unity seems concentrated in its thematic consistency. Descriptive thematic units generally derive from rhemes, as in discussion, but tend to occur closer to these rhematic antecedents, or may even "expand" on previous themes as illustrated by the networking of the final paragraph of Text 4:



The distribution graphs showing theme-rheme relationships throughout whole texts as well as in individual paragraphs are to be found in the Appendix. A few clarificatory and concluding comments are here in order, before passing on to consideration of the transitional elements in the varieties and the communicative constituents of their fields.

2.5.4.2. The figures down the right-hand side of each graph represent the rhematic units of the text with the blocks inside the triangle showing recurrent notions; each rhematic layer is thus indicated by a series of blocks on a vertical line, with the notional label placed at the end of a dotted line connecting the blocks. A new layer always begins with a half block on the hypotenuse of the triangle and its placement in the text can be found by reading off the figure on the right-hand axis. It is thus clear that where a number of rhematic layers are introduced in close succession (discussion graphs 7 - 9, for example) the notional labels will be closer together along the base of the triangle than where rhematic layers follow each other episodically or in paragraphs (see narrative graphs 1 - 3, and descriptive graphs 4 - 6). Paragraph divisions are indicated by the continuous horizontal lines running across the graph.

Numbers on the left-hand side refer to the communicative fields of the text, their varying degrees of separation being indicative of the number of rhemes in the field (see right-hand column). Lexical entries between the two left-hand lines show dummy subjects such as "it-" symbolising "it" with an extraposed clause subject, or "there". Both are

almost completely absent from descriptive texts, while narrative shows a slightly greater number of introductory "there" than discussion. Other themes are not indicated except for those derived from rhemes of the text, and these, where they are thematic subjects, are indicated by points on the second vertical line, with their rhematic origin denoted by an R followed by a sub-script for the field in which that rheme occurred; these figures may be cross checked by similar symbols on the hypotenuse. From these sets of symbols we may, thus, make some comparison of networking between the fields of the various texts.

2.5.4.2.1. It will be noted that in narrative, connections between rhemes of one field and theme subjects of following fields are extremely few in consideration of the number of fields in these texts, and by comparison with the other varieties. The new themes of narrative fields most typically derive from the situation and may be described as being introduced "exophorically" (Hasan, 1968:36) rather than anaphorically; neither the house, nor its number need have been mentioned for the reader to understand the theme subject of 3:17 ("the door of 48"), for example. There is a cultural understanding that makes explication unnecessary.

2.5.4.2.2. The arrows indicating linkage are noticeably more numerous on the descriptive and discussion graphs, but there are distinctions here too. Firstly, several of the arrows on the hypotenuse of discussion graphs show rhemes as precursors of a number of themes, while this is true to a

lesser degree of descriptive rhemes. A glance at the subscripts shows a further difference as regards the distance between the rheme and its recurrence as a thematic subject, which is less in descriptive writing than in argument, and contributes to that step-by-step progression in the former variety already mentioned. (Sec. 2.5.2.2.3. above). It will be noted, further, that the opening fields of discussion are particularly important in this respect, announcing notions related to the matter in hand, and to be considered during the argument. In descriptive writing, from the few texts and few paragraphs at our disposal, it seems that the announcement of themes co-incides more usually with paragraph openings in that variety, and in the one paragraph of Text 6 they are scattered throughout the text.

2.5.4.2.3. The graphs serve, too, as a summary of a number of distinctive features that have been noted in previous sections. The absence of points on the thematic vertical of the narrative graphs suggests the consistency of theme in this variety, where there is little change of subject, and where the development lies in the rhematic section of the sentence: there are a large number of narrative rhemes that do not enter into rhematic layers simply because of this forward development. Narrative texts, it will be observed, do show the "dummy" "it" subject, but by reference to Tables I - IX showing fields and their constituents, it will be seen that such instances of this structure in narrative occur in what might be termed "reflective" fields, which makes it a pattern more typical of discussion, as the left-hand column of the graphs for that variety show. The graphs show, too,

the greater "bunching" of rhemes in the descriptive and narrative varieties, as opposed to their dispersal in the layers of the argumentative text, but while the bunched layers of descriptive writing are given concrete notional labels (apart from Text 6, for which see Sec. 2.5.2.1.2.), those of narrative are primarily nominalised verbs. Discussion notional labels are predominantly abstract nouns, some of which could be (or already have been in the analysis) paired off into antitheses. The figures on the right-hand side give some indication of the composition of the rhemes in terms of the number of rhematic units, and it is to a brief comparison of the varieties in terms of their field constituents that we now turn our attention.

2.5.5. In the analytical Tables I - IX the symbol * is placed at the beginning of certain fields to indicate "basic communicative dynamism" in that field; the concept is defined by Firbas (1966b, and elsewhere):

> "The basic distribution of CD is a consistent theme-transition - rheme sequence"
> (240)

which serves to underline the fact that "theme" "transition" and "rheme" are not, of themselves, ordered concepts; it is merely from the tendency of most languages to order their sentences with increasing CD from left to right (Bolinger, 1952:1117, Firbas, 1964, Halliday, 1967-68:2:205, Lyons, 1968:392 etc., and many authors quoted in Firbas's work Beneš, Dubský, Weil etc.) that the theory of FSP has been arrived at. This is, clearly no more than a tendency since

there are other factors working against this principle of linearity; thus, when Firbas, in a later paper (1975:318) states:

> "...the most powerful factor working counter to linearity is context. Irrespective of position a context-dependent element becomes "de-dynamised" and carries the relatively lowest degree of CD...."

he adduces examples such as "He saw him" where the post-verbal pronominal object is also thematic, producing the sentence-perspective, theme / transition/rheme (assuming unmarked intonation and context).

It will be observed from those fields that do not carry *, however,that we adopt a stricter criterion of basic CD, since not only must theme, transition and rheme appear in that order of increasing communicative dynamism, but we demand this developing relationship between the communicative units constituting these sections, as well. This proves to be both a more sensitive variety marker, and more relevant to the contrastive study made in Chapter 3 below.

2.5.5.1. By way of introduction to variety differences in this area, the following statistics are of interest: out of the 80 narrative fields in our three texts, just over half - 43 - show basic CD as it has been defined, a figure that compares with just under half in the discussion variety - 22 out of the 50 fields, whereas 75% or 33 out of the 45 descriptive fields show the basic pattern. It is to be further noted that in the total 77 fields from all the nine

texts which did NOT show the basic distribution of communicative dynamism, only 19 such deviations were caused by some characteristic of the rhematic section of the sentence, and, as some of those cases were attributable to the small matter of rhematic "not" being necessarily separated from the remainder of the rhematic section (See above Sec. 1.5.1.2.), deviance from basic CD in the rhematic section of the field becomes a comparatively rare occurrence. Now since it has been stated above that descriptive texts have fewer instances of multiple thematic units, Beneš's claim that informative texts help the reader forward by the predominance of basic CD (1972:153) can be explained in this way. It will be remembered that questionnaire respondants classified descriptive texts as giving information.

2.5.5.2. But there are qualitative distinctions to be drawn between the deviance from basic CD in the narrative and discussion texts. The deviation from T_n , T_{n+1} etc. was found principally in the placement of the known subject, indicated by pronominal forms or anaphoric determiners, at a position later in the field than adverbials; but these adverbials would be time phrases, principally, in narrative, while the analytical tables will show adverbial concessive or conditional clauses etc. in discussion (see, for example, 7:10, 8:14, 9:3, 9:20 etc.). Adverbials relating to the setting of time and place, typical of narrative writing, are, moreover, likely to be thematic wherever they occur in the field; even in final position they will normally only achieve rhematicity if every other item is considered "known", less important (see Dvořáková, 1964, and our further discussion of adverbial placement in Chapter 3, below), otherwise they

are thematic as in 3:1, for example. When adverbial concessive or conditional clauses appear in final position, they are likely to form part of the rheme, since they participate in what Bolinger (op.cit., p.1126) terms "selective contrast", a quality illustrated by the same writer in comparing:

"I'll help you if you come"

and

"If you come I'll help you"

where in the latter, the initial clause merely "serves as a frame for all that follows.", as in 7:10, compared with 9:17. Further, the "weight" of the discussion subject is frequently such that, even in the presence of an adverbial theme, it may convey enough new information to show a communicative dynamism commensurate with its post- adverbial position; not so with the weakly communicative themes typical of narrative, where, in view of the above details, an adverbial in initial or final position will be almost sure to create deviation from basic CD as it is here defined.

2.5.5.3. Four fields of text 3. show complete reversal of basic CD as may often be the case with fields predicating "existence" or "emergence on the scene" (Firbas, 1959a:48ff.) The fields are analysed as follows:

(3:21) and(Tr) Emmy(Rh) past(Tr) come(Th)

(3:27) (12)the light(Rh) past(Tr) be(Tr) lit(Tr) in the basement(Th)

(12) 3:27 is admittedly doubtful, since both the subject and the adverbial phrase contain the definite article, and their place in the word order would indicate basic CD; the semantic notion of "appearance" and the proximity of 3:28 suggested the present analysis, however.

(3:28) and(Tr) a policeman(Rh) past(Tr) walk(Tr) round the square(Th)

(3:34) and(Tr) two illuminated eyes..(Rh) past(Tr) peer out(Tr) at him(Th)

In the majority of the fields of Text 4 the demands of communicative dynamism replace the grammatical order of Subject-Verb-Object/Complement, but there are other texts which employ devices allowing the two principles to coincide to some degree; mention has already been made of the use of "there" in narrative and discussion texts, which acts as a "dummy" subject allowing the rheme to follow the verb, although it still shows concord with it. Typical of the discussion variety is the use of the passive as seen in 8:7, 7:9, 9:15, 9:18, the discussion type description 6:8, and of course in the other varieties but to a lesser degree;

> "These are some of the means which can help reconcile the antimony that exists in English between the requirements of the functional sentence perspective which insists on the theme being placed before the rheme, and the requirements of the grammatical word order which reserves the first place in the sentence for the grammatical subject."
>
> (Vachek, 1966:91)

2.5.6. Our final concern is with the transitional section of the communicative f eld. In our present analysis we regard as transitional the conjoining elements between fields, the tense element of the verbs and a semantic range of verbs according to the divisions tentatively established in Deyes (1967:12) (see Sec. 1.5.1.3.).

2.5.6.1. Discussion distinguishes itself from the other functions by the outstanding variety of conjoining, tense and verbal elements; "but" and "and" occur almost in equal measure in discussion along with "so", "nor" and the occurrence of "therefore" in the "argument description" of Text 6. The descriptive and narrative texts show a predominantly additive relationship between their fields, apart from the resultative "so" of the first text, a feature typical of Hemingway's style in particular, not narrative in general.

2.5.6.2. Description and narration are practically devoid of modal verbs; two of the three occurrences of "can" in Text 3. result from author comment:

(3:17) "You could almost see the small unformed face....."
(3:29) "You could tell how many families were at home...."

and this is true also of the occurrence of "may" in 4:10, it is therefore understandable that in the variety where the author is most in evidence, modals should occur most frequently. The three discussion texts show six occurrences of "can", along with instances of "may" and "might" in 7:2 and 8:6 which surmise on opposition opinion: "should" in 8:13 and 9:3 questions or makes demands. The use of the verb "be" is also different in this variety from its use in description which, as has been shown above, is largely "equative", ie. X is identifiable as Y; in discussion, items are classified X is included among those objects showing Y (these formulae are borrowed from Halliday op.cit.;3,p.192) as in 8:4, 8:5,8:8

"Viewing is not such a passive thing as...."

with 9:7, 9:11, 9:13:

"...that cannot have been other than intentional"

etc. showing an "intensive" relationship. Verbs of this type reduce the proportion of verbs at the semantically "stronger" end of the scale, such as characterise narrative. In this variety, 75% (59 verbs in 80 fields) fall under the last two sections (4 and 5) of our above classification, as compared with 57% in descriptive writing (28 verbs in 45 fields) and the similar 56% of the discussion texts, although in this latter case 12 of the 28 verbs so classified occur in the "narrative" type discussion Text 8. Transitional elements were described by Firbas, (1965) as:

> ".....establishing the relation between the language event (the sentence or clause) and the reported extralinguistic event..." (174)

They thus crystallise, as it were, the overall purpose of this chapter and lead us into drawing our final conclusions.

CONCLUSION

2.6. In this chapter we have matched a functional model of text against an extra-linguistic description of three varieties of written English and found close correspondences and inter-relationships between the two.

Not all the predictions were realised, of course. There were, for example, no cases of "second instance" sentences within the discussion texts, but contrasts there

were expressed in other ways - by conjunctions for instance. Although narrative texts showed deviation from basic CD, this was not so much for "creative" reasons, but due to the grammatical demands of placing adverbs before the subject of the sentence, which, in narrative, generally bears the lowest CD. Development of ideas in description was seen to derive from the thematic sections of sentences, almost as frequently as from the rheme.

But there were also refinements of the variables existing alongside the generally confirmatory factors; discussion texts were shown, by the question modality of certain fields, to ask "why" as well as "if"; cause and effect was not simply a relationship between events, as stated in Table B, but moved between the two levels of narrative, the mimetic and the diegetic, and served as a link between them - a fact brought out by the semantic relationships between consecutive rhemes. Most convincing, however, was the sensitivity of the linguistic analysis to a point obscured by the situational variables; it was possible to identify those texts showing a heterogeneity of function, varieties of varieties, as it were, exemplified by the "narrative discussion" of Text 8 or the description of a discussion in Text 6. The predominant function of these texts could be decided by their texture of theme/rheme configurations. Such textual constituents have thus enabled us to provide a text-internal definition of text (Chap. 1) and a text-external definition in the present chapter. This integral model of textuality will be applied in a contrastive study in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

From the data collected in previous chapters, errors in the texture or textuality features of student compositions may be identified and described. The present chapter seeks to test the hypothesis that such errors are in some measure attributable to interference from forms in the native language. This hypothesis is largely refuted, as regards "texture", but native language reconstructions largely account for textual errors by differences in the FSP means of the two languages. On the basis of this probability of transfer, some recommendations are made for a teaching strategy in which translation and comparative analysis of texts become the basic elements of a programme aimed at improving student composition writing.

> "In our own society language can serve many distinguishable functions, and it becomes plausible that in some other society the balance among those functions...might be considerably different." (Fischer, 1972:503)

> "...by stressing the virtual identity of the facts to be expressed by all languages of the world and by directing the analyst's attention to the diversity of ways by which these identical facts are referred to in various languages...was to become the specific difference of the Prague structuralist conception." (Vachek, 1966:7)

AIMS & HYPOTHESES

3.0. The present chapter consists of an analysis of textual errors in English compositions written by (peninsular) Spanish native speakers. Error analysis, as developed by Corder, proceeds in three stages (1974:126) - recognition of the error, description of it, and explanation.

The intuition of the L2 speaker will allow him to recognise errors in the student's text, and it is to be hoped that our previous analyses of the characteristics of texts and text-types in English have provided a framework within which the errors may be described; the Prague model may be considered an appropriate one for this purpose in that it meets successfully Corder's demand for a description:

> "...which aims to relate the semantic structure of a sentence to its surface structure by a set of specific rules...."

which in this case will be the FSP means of the language. These means can be described in categories generally agreed to be common to the two languages.

The explanation of errors which we shall here investigate will be that most widely studied in error-analysis and variously known as "interference" or "language transfer" (Richards; 1971:5). In offering "plausible reconstructions" (Corder, op.cit. 128) of errors by translating them into the learner's native language, we shall attempt to ascertain to what degree his learning difficulties derive from (text) features in the native language as suggested by Lado (1957), or whether they may be attributed to some other cause.

Since, however, our analysis will be made on texts purporting to represent different varieties of written English, it would be well to establish in the first instance, how far the inadequacies noted by the teacher/reader might be the result of differing conventions governing the textual structure of the varieties in the two languages, rather than text-internal ones. It is not sufficient to assume that because, in Spanish culture, there is a tradition of written argument, that that variety will necessarily represent the output of the same situational parameters as were deduced for English argument texts in Table B of Chapter 2. The acknowledgement by the two speech communities of a discussion variety within their respective conventions merely indicates, in the terms of van Buren's argument (1974:281):

a) there is written discussion in English
b) there is written discussion in Spanish
c) therefore written discussion in English can be compared with written discussion in Spanish. (our underlining)

and this we attempt in terms of the situational context in order to examine how far inadequacy may be attributed to interference at that level.

One problem in this area, of course, is that the contextual categories determined in the previous chapter are as yet far less clearly definable than the grammatical categories common to the two languages referred to above; we cannot ascertain to what degree the contextual categories are, in fact, common. As, however, a degree of correspondence was found between the configuration of a text and the situational variables, we shall compare the English and Spanish varieties from the point of view of "texture", and determine to what degree English essays by Spanish students might show native transfer at this level. This will then be followed by a consideration of text-internal errors.

TESTING INTERFERENCE - TEXTURE

3.1. As was stated previously, native speaker judgements provide acknowledgement and identification of terms in their linguistic (in the present case, textual) system. Spanish graduates were therefore asked to collect representative discussion and descriptive texts in Spanish (1); the English terms "discussion" and "description" were used, since it was the Spaniard's response to the use of these terms by English teachers and examiners that was being investigated.

3.1.1. Of the fourteen discussion texts, most proved divergent to a greater or lesser degree from the sort of texture observed to be typical of this variety in English (see previous Chapter). One could be dismissed immediately, since it was a discussion of a type frequent in the lower

(1) In the light of studies by Greimas (1970), Malinowski (1923) etc., narrative is assumed to be a universal type producing only delicate degrees of cultural interference.

echelons of the Spanish press, where a face to face interview is reported verbatim; it does not therefore represent the "monologuing" type of prose text that is the concern of this study. A number of the other texts offered under the rubric of "discussion" showed a tendency to report the views of others rather than those of the writer himself, resembling in some way the text dealing with "The Republic" analysed in the preceding chapter, and there classified as, and demonstrated to be, a descriptive text. Thus, one case offered as an example of discussion reports what was going to be said at a lecture that was cancelled due to police intervention:

> "¿Qué nos iba a decir el padre González Ruiz? Pues, con conocimiento de causa y la erudición oportuna, que Machado creía en Diós a su manera, cosa que ya sabemos pero que en las manos y la palabra de un teólogo profesional quedaría más a las claras y acaso con aspectos que a los lectores no especializados se nos han podido escapar. No deja de ser posible que la demostración de que el poeta creía en algo resulte a la postre inquietante, porque es más fácil de entender y de anatematizar si se le presenta resueltamente como ateo. Con los ateos, como con los radicales, la cosa es más mollar. Me han contado de un colega mío, creo que muerto ya, que se negaba, no ya a tratar en clase de ciertos escritores más o menos vitandos, sino a hablar de ellos en la conversación privada."

This extract, quoted at length, is of interest for the variety of contextual variables revealed by the thematic and rhematic sections of its six communicative fields and their several subfields. In the second of the principal fields (that following the opening question), the rheme, "que Machado...." represents a reported proposition of what González Ruíz was going to say, a proposition expanded by an appositional noun-group, "cosa que...." with a further equative

verb within its post-modifying clause whose complements represent attributes of the subject (the nominalised adjective "las claras" makes this particularly clear); these fields represent a description of González Ruíz's proposed discourse. The section indicated by the square bracket opens with an empty thematic position (in English this would be filled by "dummy" 'it') and an extra-posed proposition subordinate to an evaluative adjective ("possible"); the second field within the section presents a similar construction with a comparative form of the evaluative adjective ("más fácil"), a dependent conditional clause, the whole conjoined to the preceding field by a conjunction which indicates reason or cause; this section represents a justification of evaluative statements made by the writer. Along with another, four lines later in the text, these represent the only sections of a 567 word text that conform to the criteria of discussion as shown in Table B in Chap. 2 above. The subsequent lines of our cited extract show the beginning of a narrative section as the rheme of a reporting verb at this stage, but later to develop into fields showing animate themes, verbs of action and also direct dialogue. This narrative element is brought in to justify the statement by the writer: "Con los ateos, como con todos los radicales, la cosa es más mollar."

The opening question of the above extract is a further typical feature of Spanish discussion texts. In the fourteen texts submitted (but discounting the interview text) no less than 26 occurrences of questions could be counted. This device, probably less frequently used in English texts of the same variety, represents a means of involving the

reader more directly, a system of clarifying the issues by clearly isolating a rheme which may become the theme of subsequent fields.

Three texts classified as discussion seemed, in fact, to do little more than pose questions and answer them, with some expository defence of the author's point of view, but without acknowledgement of possible opposition:

> "¿Cómo no ver, por otra parte, la diferencia entre Boston y Nueva Orleans, o entre el bávaro y el hanseático, o entre el siciliano y el lombardo? Sí; puras obviedades.
> Ahora bien: la diversidad de España es "sui generis" tanto en calidad como en cantidad. Veámoslo a la luz de los más importantes motivos de aquélla, el idiomático y el ideológico."

The article then goes on to deal with the languages and "ideologies" of Spain in a manner that conforms more closely with our descriptive criteria than the discussion ones. Remarkably similar is the following extract from another of the discussion texts:

> "¿Cuál sería en este caso el utensilio principal del oficio del escritor? No hay duda al respecto. Esa herramienta imprescindible y fundamental es el lenguaje.
> Ahora bien: cuando decimos que la tijera es la herramienta principal y heráldica del sastre, apenas estamos diciendo la mitad de lo necesario...."

The writer then describes different registers of Spanish in answer to the further question: "¿qué lenguaje?"

The question of non-discreteness of the varieties and the related notion of "prominence" has already been discussed in the previous chapter (see above, Sec. 2.3.6.).

The above findings show that Spanish discussion texts - and we must retain here the classification by Spanish native speakers, our earlier taxonomy in Table B relating solely to English varieties and providing nothing more than points of comparison - seem to admit more extensive inclusion of passages typical of other varieties and show less consciousness of the reader or others as potential opponents to the writer's views, such as was postulated in Section 4 of Table B for English discussion writing. The reader's role may perhaps rather be described as an imaginary poser of questions which the writer makes explicit in the text, and then proceeds to answer. Furthermore, such questions were generally found to be of the Qu- type (¿quién?, ¿qué?, ¿cuál?), that is, requiring "explanation" rather than the simple questions suggested as the underlying enquiry of English discussion texts (Table B, Section 1.). We may expect that such differences of "convention" in the nature of the discussion text may affect the production of that variety by Spanish students of English.

A number of the extensive rhemes in the Spanish texts extend beyond sentence boundaries, as illustrated in the following examples from each:

> "Dicho sea sin sugerir, desde nuestra publicación, ningún criterio estimativo que pueda perturbar el sereno razonamiento de los jueces...y sin que nos guíe otro interés distinto o ajeno al interés público. Al interés social que enjuicia cualquier "affaire"...."

> "En 1950 comenzó la dura peregrinación que desolaba los pueblos y los campos andaluces. Una peregrinación creciente al mismo ritmo que su indigencia en relación con el resto del país. Al mismo ritmo que su paro, el más alto de todos...."

These rhematic units should be compared with those of fields 6/32 and 20/34 of Text 8 in the preceding chapter. The observation was also made (Sec. 2.5.1.1.) that Text 8 "would probably be regarded as a rather informal type of argumentative text", and this informality was ascribed to its narrative content and the more direct involvement of the reader, as well as to certain grammatical features. The more extended occurrence of narrative and descriptive passages in Spanish discussion texts, the involvement of the reader through direct questions, have already been alluded to; alongside colloquialisms such as:

> "....¿qué diablos significa Matesa para el pueblo español medio?"
>
> "Pero "affaire", ¡vaya si lo hay!"
>
> "...es cierto que a los andaluces se nos está tocando mucho las narices. (No es la primera vez que escribo sobre el tema de las narices andaluzas)."

it may be conjectured that formality and informality are differently distributed over the functional varieties of the two languages; furthermore, while an evident marker of formality in English is to be found in the vocabulary of the text ("the High style may have a much more learned and classical lexicon than the Low", Richards (1971:14) - see also Ferguson, 1959) the predominantly latinate vocabulary of Spanish does not admit of the same distinguishing feature of formality. The Spanish learner may, indeed, find the Germanic word stock of English the "marked" set, as far as its familiarity is concerned. Such speculation is beyond the concern of the present study, and the observations regarding the formal differences between the

discussion varieties in the two languages would require further research on a larger corpus.

3.1.2. The texts in Spanish contributed by native speakers as representative of descriptive writing in that language showed little difference in "texture" from the equivalent variety in English. The appositional relationship of noun-groups observed in the English texts also find their equivalents in Spanish:

> "Barcelona se va desplegando desde las montañas hasta el Mediterráneo, un Mediterráneo cargado de humos...."

as do non-finite participial clauses as post-modifiers:

> "En el término del horizonte...se extendía la cadena de montañas de la sierra...coronada en la cumbre por ingentes pedruscos...."

These structures produce the same effect of enumeration of qualities and features that form the content of descriptive texts in English.

Similarly, the Spanish description enables the reader to better pattern the content through "orientation" by means of initial enumerative conjuncts, generally indicating spatial relations between objects or features: "Arriba del otero de la huerta....", "En la hondonada del monte, junto al lecho de una torrentera....", though these may be translated into temporal adverbs if the writer wishes to indicate movement through the scene being

described: "Luego....", "Después....". Three of the four examples given above occur as the first element in a paragraph, and in indicating the location which the following fields describe, provide the same paragraph unity, or rhematic "bunching" noted in the English text. In none of the texts offered does direct allusion to the author appear, although deictic demonstratives such as "esta casa" relate the object being described to the author's own experience, or render the situation more present.

None of these features, therefore, appear surprising in any way, but provide a replica of English descriptive texture. With regard to one particular English text - that describing Northern Ireland - attention was drawn (Sec. 2.5.5.2.) to the frequent occurrence of post verbal rhematic subjects whose existence or appearance on the scene was predicated; it was there noted that in such fields an adverbial phrase or other element (e.g. "dummy" 'there') was required in initial position. The same structure was encountered in Spanish description, but with much greater frequency and with a greater variety of existential (or appearance) verbs:

> "En la hondonada del monte...crecían (there grew) arbolillos...."
>
> "Entre chopos, hortales y masías suben (rise) las chimeneas..."
>
> "Luego venían (came) los frutales...."
>
> "En el término del horizonte...se extendía (spread) la cadena...."

3.1.3. · As a conclusion to this brief investigation into differences of texture between English and Spanish discussion and descriptive texts the differences may be summarised as follows. The Spanish discussion texts show a greater heterogeneity including larger proportions of narrative and descriptive type discourse than would normally be expected in the equivalent English variety; such passages may be adduced to support or illustrate arguments, to introduce the background to discussion which provided the original stimulus or, alternatively, report on other people's works and views. The Spanish discussion writer frequently uses questions - generally of the non-polar type - which mark stages in the argument by introducing new points for discussion. The text may be further punctuated by interjections or idiomatic expressions whose English equivalents (I'll say there's a Matesa "Affaire") would normally be regarded as more typical of the spoken mode. A number of these same features were found in what was regarded as a less formal type of discussion text among our English examples; bearing in mind the fact that formality is not so clearly marked in the Spanish lexical items, there are reasons for supposing that the level of formality that provides a distinguishing characteristic of English discussion writing may not always be appreciated by the Spanish learner; as to the conventions of the descriptive variety in Spanish, these were found to differ little from those of the English sample; only the communicative dynamism balance between theme and rheme, which in English is reflected in the surface features of the field, the equative verb being placed in mid-position between the two sections, may not be immediately evident from the

structure of the Spanish descriptive field, due to greater possibility in that language of placing subjects after the verb.

3.2. Our hypothesis suggests that some of the dissatisfaction experienced in the reading of discussion and descriptive essays by Spanish students may be attributable to these differences of texture observed in the texts of the two languages, which reflect different contextual conventions in the two cultures. We therefore now proceed to examine some features of the texture of student compositions which strike the English reader as inadequate in some way. The observations are drawn from 9 descriptive and 17 argumentative compositions written by Spanish undergraduates during their five-year course of study for a degree in English; those of the first variety cover topics clearly inviting descriptive treatment such as, "My favourite café", "An interesting building", "A seascape". Discussion titles: "The Death Penalty", "Religion is the opium of the people", "Personality is more important than beauty" and others were generally followed by the specific instruction: "Discuss".

3.2.1. In the three discussion texts analysed in the preceding chapter, it was shown that subject clauses, nominals, or most typically, impersonal or "dummy" pronouns were used when the actual expression of opinions was involved, (8:6, "It may be that....", 9:14, "It is very unlikely that...." etc.). Spanish students, expressing their

own opinions in argumentative compositions show a tendency to use the first person pronoun as the thematic subject, as in:

"The only thing I shall add is that...."

or

"I'll say that history is cyclic"

The first of these shows a self-conscious organisation of the text, while the second - and this was certainly true of this particular text - lays the writer open to the danger of introducing statements in no way supported by fact; fields of the pattern: "Proposition x indicates that Proposition y" as in fields 9 or 12 of Text 9 avoid this danger.

This "ego-centric" approach to the composition often led, too, to little or no consideration of the opposite point of view. Some texts consisted of little more than strings of unsupported facts, whose arrangements as a series of fields showing thematisation of preceding rhemes (Daneš 1970b:16) may give an impression of pseudo-argument, but the absence of logical connectors may produce no more than non-sequitur statements, and a conclusion at exactly the point where discussion might begin; the following extract serves as illustration:

CF11 "In fact, there are men who kill others and obey their lowest vices. T R
CF12 This should be punished because society has the right to live. T R
CF13 To do so, society has been provided with security systems which allow the individual to enjoy life. T R
CF14 These same systems carry out justice by judging people.... T R
CF15 The final step of this judgement is to decide a penalty. T R
CF16 The penalty must be applied T R
CF17 but it should not reach its extreme, the death penalty.... T R
CF18 ....
CF19 Justice cannot be as cruel as crime." TR
(end of essay)

In other essays, the attention given to an opposing point of view is present but minimal, occurring, perhaps in the concluding fields, or embedded in a subfield; in a case where the opposition was given in the title ("Personality is more Important than Beauty") one candidate produced a series of communicative fields which did little to "push the communication forward" with the definienda alternating as themes, and the rhemes showing the definiens:

CF11 "Beauty is more or less given to a person,
CF12 but personality is something of her own, something she has built up by her life and experience....
CF14 Personality is the person's inner self,
CF15 whereas beauty is the superficial appearance.
CF16 Beauty is the first thing that appeals to you...."
etc.

Only one instance of an anecdotal passage adduced to support a point of view appeared in this collection of student essays; a number of the texts previously cited, that dealing with the death penalty, for example, or the definitions of beauty and personality, might have benefitted from a narrative or factual illustration, but the students did not seem to follow their native cultural models in this respect; in the one example, the expected

features of narrative are present - animate theme subjects (Henry, Peter, he, his mother) as well as human processes such as "want", "eat", "scold" etc. Ironically, perhaps, the narrative appears unsuitable in this context; this may be owing to its length in proportion to the rest of the text - 9 fields in a text of 25 (some feature of the "predominance" phenomenon may be involved here) or, owing to the nature of those fields, since all show basic CD and the majority are "simple CD", i.e. showing one thematic unit, one of transition and a single rhematic one; or it may be due to the fact that the anecdote is merely an imagined one that illustrates what is in no way a complex proposition of the argument requiring illustration:

> "(Children) are carefree of what happens around them;/nothing disturbs them if it is not/that Henry has grasped Peter's ball/ and the latter has burst out crying; /or let us imagine little Peter at table/ he does not want to eat bananas/ he wants oranges. /His mother scolds him/ and tears soon come to his eyes. /Nevertheless these small incidents are soon overcome/ and in a few moments Peter is all happiness/.

The introduction of the author's own opinion immediately following the narrative passage quoted above is brought about by the inclusion in the text of two simple questions, which may be understood as directed at the reader, or merely as a means of exteriorising, making explicit, the author's reflective process:

> "But are they really happy? Are they at least aware of their happiness?"

In either case they introduce new rhemes which form the "hyper-theme" of the ensuing discussion, and as such must

be distinguished from rhetorical questions found in a number of other essays. Other instances of "development questions" such as those cited above include:

> "Are the good old days, the past, better than the present time?"
> "What about the problem of freedom and authority?"
> "Can this charge be accepted as true?"
> "Are they speaking of something spiritual, something belonging rather to the internal life of the individual?"
> etc.

Questions of this type were not found in the English discussion texts apart from those of 9:9 and 9:15, which were described (Sec. 2.5.2.2.2) as making explicit the author's "search" for reasons; nor is their appearance in student essays like the use of questions in Spanish professional writing, where Wh- forms are most frequent (see Sec. 3.1.1. above).

From what has been said in the preceding pages, the student discussion compositions examined seem to be more concerned with enquiry than the search for solutions found in the three English texts; they are characterised by definitions rather than argument or opinion; such definitions are often of highly abstract concepts exemplified by the following:

> "Man is free and this right is rooted in the deepest part of his soul."

or:

> "History, like everything else, has various sides to look at, and people must know the truth."

Nor do the thematic sections show enumerative conjuncts or the other markers of "orientation" (see above Sec. 2.5.1.2.) found in the English texts. Rhemes, while frequently formed by full propositions, appear to stand in greater isolation, both from other rhemes in the text - rhematic layers are rather more difficult to establish - and from the subsequent themes. The whole impression given by the text is one of greater discursiveness, consisting rather of comments than a reasoned argument, an "essai" rather than composition.

Clearly the above analysis has been concerned with the salient instance of "inadequacy" (see above Sec. 2.2.4. fn.4.) in the student essays examined; a minority showed a structure either in their entirety or in isolated paragraphs, more closely resembling the "texture" of the English texts analysed in Chapter 2. The opening paragraph of an essay concerned with the preconceptions of the human mind may serve as an illustration:

> "However much we all plead for objectivity in other people's statements and claim that we are objective in our opinions, nobody can escape the limitations of their mind and judgement when forming these opinions. The mind is in constant activity, and whenever it is stirred by an exterior stimulus a process of reaching a conclusion is created, even though it lacks all the information necessary to reach a true conclusion. In this way, what we get in our minds is a series of preconceptions about the reality of things."

3.2.2. As regards student descriptive work, the main weakness to be observed in the communicative fields is the meagre extent to which either theme or rheme push the communication forward; it has been observed in the analysis of descriptive

texts in the preceding chapter that noun groups are generally to be found both in subject and complement position of the equative verb, but the student descriptive field frequently opens with a pronoun which has the object being described as its referent, leading into a rheme indicating some attribute of that object; this produces a particularly uninteresting and slow-moving text when the same pattern is employed in a number of consecutive fields:

> "In the old part of Bilbao, just on a corner ..... of B. Street we find the Arriaga Café. It is a well known café on the right bank of the Nervion river. It is one of the few old cafés that Bilbao preserved..... It is no longer the old and familiar café that we knew."

Frequently, predicative adjectives occupy rhematic position, achieving undue emphasis on what is little more than an inherent quality of the noun subject, to which they could be preposed as attributive adjectives (see Bolinger - 72 1952:1130-1138), thus achieving greater textual economy and dynamism and the more balanced fields of descriptive writing. Such a change could be illustrated by means of the following example:

> "The promontory from which this panorama is seen is nearly flat at the top, but nevertheless crossed by sharp ridges and by round cavities, doubtless shaped by flowing water in times past. Its colour is grey, and the ridges form a sort of network extending over the whole surface."

Rewriting this in the form:

> "The flat, grey promontory from which this panorama is seen is crossed by a network of ridges extending over the whole surface, and by round cavities, doubtless shaped by flowing water in times past."

provides a communicative field which is both more compact and balanced, and suggests a greater degree of pre-planning.

The student descriptions examined also showed a tendency to "anthropomorphise" the account of the object in their over-use of personal pronouns, principally referring to the writer himself, but also addressing the reader, or, at least, using the impersonal "you". Table B showed that we learn little of the writer from descriptive texts, and while "My Favourite Café" may invite such treatment, the following sentences from descriptions perhaps introduce too much self-consciousness on the part of the writer about himself and the writing process:

> "Sometimes they walk without knowing where to go until they decide to ask at the information table. I say information table because it is only a table where a man is sitting ready to solve the problems....."

> "...the access to the fields across a moderate slope of sand and gravel is not really arduous as in the one described first..."

The final pronominal group is not appropriate to this particular register.

3.2.3. What has been attempted in the preceding pages is an examination of the differences between English and Spanish variety texts, and an enquiry into whether those "inadequacies" found in student compositions could be attributed to native cultural influences, in the same way as contrastive linguistic studies have demonstrated language transfer at lower levels

(Lado,1957, Richards,1971, Corder,1974, etc.). While recognising that the size of the corpora in all three texture investigations reported in this study is extremely small and that there remains much room for refinement and further research into "cultural" influences, some tentative conclusions emerge from this programmatic comparative exercise. Such findings are relevant, not only to an understanding of student difficulties but also in the teaching strategy to be advocated below, particularly in the selection of translation texts.

The student compositions certainly show more differences than similarities in relation to the texture of the "professional" writings from their own culture. The latter it was observed, produce texts which may include extensive narrative or descriptive passages within the discussion supporting the writer's point of view. This feature was notably absent from the discursive string of statements and definitions which make up student versions of the discussion variety. On the other hand, some similarity may be observed in the scarce attention both the "professional" and student texts pay to what might be termed an opposing point of view; this ego-centricity (a term used with no derogatory connotations here) was further underlined in the student work by more frequent reference to the writer himself, by means of the first person pronoun. The eschewal of this particular item in the English discussion variety texts is one contributory factor to the greater formality of this variety as compared with others, and hence its inclusion by the student writer contributes to the "inadequacy" of his version.

Thirdly, although both student and "professional" writings included question forms, they differed in their "polarity"; student compositions made use of simple questions, while those of the Spanish representative texts were non-polar.

Due to the similarity of texture in the descriptive writings of both English and Spanish, inadequacies in student compositions in this variety would possibly be regarded as anomalous in terms of their native conventions too. Once again, personal reference to the writer coloured the texts presented by students, but this was not a feature of native description; secondly, student texts did not capture that "equative balance" characteristic of the variety in both the cultures, though such a balance is not necessarily reflected in the structure of the Spanish sentence.

The latter point however, is more concerned with a feature of textuality, rather than texture, and of this aspect of student compositions more will be said below. It would seem, as regards student writing, that the anomalies noted can be explained neither in terms of texture due to cultural transfer, nor by poor imitation of English models.

Two tentative explanations of the inadequate texture of student discussion compositions do, however, present themselves. Both "professional" and student writing show a discursive quality of discussion not found in the English texts; the discursiveness is of two distinct types, the "professional" making use of personal experiences and

anecdotes, the student stringing together exploratory statements, definitions, which are often highly abstract and naïve; the "thinness" of these attempts at reasoning and reaching conclusions may be attributable to a lack of maturity and experience on which to draw; it is clear that the ability to abstract (see our remarks on Peel's findings, Sec. 2.3.3. above) is not the only aspect of maturity that may affect the production of a successful discussion essay.

On the other hand unsatisfactory performance in the writing of compositions may be due to what Richards (op.cit. p.16) terms, "strategies of communication"; in point of fact, Richards uses this term to describe the source of errors at lower levels of language; and particularly in a second language situation:

> "The communicative demands made on the second language may far outpace the speaker's actual competence in the second language, thus the speaker may have to create the means of expressing himself for which the language course has not prepared him."
> (17)

The type of competence with which we are here concerned is "textual competence" and in regard to this Richard's more general remarks are significant:

> ".....inevitably the learner finds himself having to cope with circumstances which the school syllabus has not covered.."

since in general the problems of texture and textuality are NEVER covered, or if so, inadequately or misleadingly. Although our hypothesis of interference from native text

structure has been largely refuted, the variety of textual patterning that has emerged shows that textual competece is language-specific and cannot, therefore, be either ignored, dismissed or simply taken for granted in composition programmes. This section has merely provided a basis for directions which future research might take. The comparative hypothesis did, however, refer to linguistic interference, as well as the cultural aspect studied hitherto; it is to the linguistic aspect that we now turn, in an examination of errors of textuality, which we shall again approach on the hypothesis of interference from textuality features in the native language.

TESTING INTERFERENCE - TEXTUALITY

3.3. Textuality features are the means of text internal coherence within a given language; they are concerned with the verbal context, the "narrow scene" (Firbas: 1966b:246) and thus operate within relationships that are much less tenuous, more readily identifiable than those with which we have been concerned both hitherto in this chapter, and in the previous one; they are, in fact, examples of Corder's "textual errors":

> "...when the speaker does not select the structurally correct form to show the intended relation between two sentences in a discourse."
> (1974:123)

The hypothesis will be systematically tested by "recognising" thematic (3.3.1.), transitional (3.3.2.), and rhematic (3.3.3.) errors in turn; after presenting sets of similar errors taken from the student compositions, comments will "describe" in what way they are textually incorrect, while a subsequent examination of Spanish features in a similar context will "explain" them and indicate to what degree the errors can be attributed to interference. Apart from the specific task of error analysis undertaken here, in a more general context the following sections represent an approach to a "linguistique constrastive du texte" (Kassai,1975) for English and Spanish.

3.3.1.1. The first set of examples show misuse of the neuter pronoun "it". The context is given in brackets where necessary.

i) "(From a composition describing "My Favourite Café") "A semi-circle in the middle of it gives a strange, unusual air to it."

:ii) "(This belief is essentially pessimistic, and rather too simple to be applied to life in general), according to it every day would not be as good as the previous one"

:iii) ("Autumn days remind me of people who are dying, losing their strength and their interest in living), but in spite of it they are happy."

:iv) ("Are they at least aware of their happiness? Here is the point, I believe, which makes me think that childhood is not the happiest time in one's life), is this unawareness about their own happy state."

In these four extracts from student essays, three show "it" included wrongly, or wrongly placed, while in the final example "it" is omitted where it should, perhaps, appear.

The use of the sentence final prepositional group after di-transitive verbs such as "give", "show" etc. "is associated with the function"new "(Halliday, 1970:164), whereas the neuter pronoun is clearly anaphoric - "given" . Pronouns do occasionally occupy this final position of the di-transitive construction, but this would be in a contrastive context and normally referring to an animate beneficiary. The example in (i) is even more anomalous owing to the close proximity of two neuter pronouns, and a more satisfactory version would possibly be:

"A semi-circle in the middle gives it
a strange and unusual air."

Pronominal direct and indirect objects precede the verb in Spanish; the writer of (i) was probably aware of the predominant SVO order of English sentences but did not apply the rule within the double object slot whereby thematic objects precede rhematic ones.

(ii) and (iii) also show the neuter pronoun in prepositional groups, in this instance constituents of initial adverbial phrases. Such adverbial phrases frequently form a separate tone group from the one operating over the rest of the clause (Halliday, 1967-68;2:219), as in the case here, and as such require their own nucleus; while (iii) may be just acceptable, since "spite" may bear the tonic stress, "according to" in (i) cannot, nor can "it"; what is required is a thematic marker which can accept a tonic, and "this" would be more suitable in both the examples given. Spanish "ello", like English "this", has both stressed and unstressed

forms and it is the former which would be used in groups such as "según ello), or "a pesar de ello"; the unstressed form of this item, hardly ever used, is the neuter pronoun. Thus, where Spanish shows only a presence or absence of stress, English, in this case, requires a different grammatical item.

The absence of the pronoun in (iv) suggests interference by one of the principal markers of thematicity in Spanish, namely ellipsis of the subject pronoun, only available in a limited type of co-ordinate construction in English. An alternative explanation might be that the writer lost the thread of the sentence and that there is superfluity of the second "is" rather than omission of "it"; a change in the sentence to account for this would produce the appositional construction:

> "Here is the point, I believe, which makes me think that childhood is not the happiest time in one's life, this unconsciousness about their own happy state."

Anaphoric "here" at the beginning of the above example might also appear to be of dubious acceptability; Spanish has a pronominal "ahí" related to the locative "allí" (there) but in Spanish colloquial phrases where the former is used an English translation would require a demonstrative:

"Ahí está" = "That's the point".

The text-referring demonstrative "this" (as opposed to "that" used deictically in the above quoted colloquialism) would possibly provide a less questionable version than our student example, though Hasan (1968:61) regards "here" and "this"as interchangeable in such contexts.

3.3.1.2.:

i) "(Historians have often exaggerated the glory of the good old days because by doing so they think they contribute to the greatness of the country in the present times.) These who have wrongly misunderstood the function of history mislead and confuse those who believe their assertions."

:ii) "(They ask people to believe in another life after death, and that their sufferings must not worry them) because they are the agents which prepare the way for a happy future."

:iii) "There is something to be borne in mind and it is the evolution.

The errors illustrated by the above examples are concerned with demonstrative pronouns as theme markers; the first example illustrates a misapplication of one form of this class, while the other two show failure to use demonstratives where they are required.

"These who...." and "those who...." in (i) illustrate cataphoric use of the demonstrative as head of a noun-group - ie. pronominal function as opposed to adjectival. While the second group, "those who..." is acceptable, the strangeness of the first is attributable to a semantic difference between the two pronouns. "That" and its plural form "those" refer to something removed from the speaker either in the situation or the text, something which may thus need further specification or definition; "this" and "these" refer to something close to the speaker or something recently said, and by virtue of this proximity, are already defined, and thus do not require the defining relative clause present as a post-modifier in the student text. This is also true,

as would be expected, of the Spanish demonstratives, "ésto" ("éstos"), "éso" ("ésos"), "aquéllo" ("aquéllos") (Spanish has a three term demonstrative system), where a defining relative clause after the first would appear equally anomalous; the student error could be considered, therefore, as thoughtless tautology on the part of the writer and in no way attributable to native language interference.

If, however, the relative clause was intended to stand in non-defining relationship to the demonstrative - and there are contextual reasons in addition to the common sense ones given above for believing that this might be so - there emerges an important difference between the two languages which involves their thematic markers beyond the simple presence or absence of a comma:

"These, who have wrongly understood....."

with now an anaphoric pronoun is also unacceptable in English since "demonstratives as head never show human referents except in equative clauses", (Hasan, op. cit., p.54 is here referring to the anaphoric use). "Ésto(s)" does not suffer this selection restriction, and thus a difference in the distribution of thematic exponents in the two languages does not allow, in English, a structure reflecting the agreeable rhetorical symmetry provided by the writer's native language: "Éstos que.....aquéllos que .....", both with human antecedents.

The writer of (ii), on the other hand, did not use the pronoun "these" where it could have helped to disambiguate a sentence, by means of the semantic features and restrictions ascribed to it in the preceding paragraph. The ambiguity of (ii) originates in the writer's use of "they" as subject of the subordinate causal clause, which may have either "sufferings" or "people" from the superordinate clause as its antecedent; the latter possibility is made even more probable due to the use of the term "agents" as the subject complement of the ambiguous item, "they", since "agents" suggests the presence of the semantic feature +HUMAN . "Agents", however, in the present context, could be a neutral term as is its post-modifying relative pronoun "which"; if the antecedent of "they" and "agent" is in fact "people" (and the ensuing context never makes it clear which item is understood) the relative pronoun "who" would have been a means of clarification. Since "these" as an anaphoric pronoun may not have a human antecedent, the replacement of "they" by this item would have clarified the subject of the verb "are" as "sufferings". A Spanish translation of the sentence makes it clear why an inattentive Spanish writer - inattentive that is, to textuality features marking relationships between sentences and items of the text - would feel no need to concern himself with such requirements:

(ii') "Piden a la gente que crea en otra vida después de la muerte, y que sus sufrimientos no deben preocuparles porque son los medios que preparan el camino para un futuro feliz".

Firstly, Spanish "que" is the relative pronoun regardless

of whether its referent is human or non-human; but such a distinction is not required here due to the rule of thematic ellipsis whose operation has already been observed in another context (see above, Sec. 3.3.1.1.); if it is "sufrimientos" which is the subject of both "deben" and "son" no pronoun is required before the second of these, and it will be seen that this is the interpretation offered in the translation given here; if, however, the subject of the two verbs is not the same, i.e., "suffering" in the first case, and "people" in the second, some indication of this change of subject ("ellos"/"las personas") would be required. Spanish distinguishes: subject not previously mentioned (this would normally be a full nominal), change of already given theme (pronominal), continuance of already given theme (ellipsis of subject pronominal). The English requirement of an explicit subject in the majority of sentence types obscures the distinction between the last two possibilities and requires that the antecedent of the subject pronoun be made clear in some way or other. This the writer of (ii) failed to do.

Similarly, a translator of:

(iii') "Hay algo más que considerar, y es la evolución"

would be required to find a theme marker as subject of the verb "be" which would be commensurate with the post-modified indefinite pronoun antecedent in the first clause. A suitable pronoun in this context is "that" rather than the "it" used by the writer of (iii), since of the three

anaphoric forms, "it", "this" and "that", the latter is used for reference to less specific antecedents. The misuse of the definite article in (iii) is further discussed in Sec. 3.3.1.4.; the translation postulated above already indicates that this, too, may be attributed to language transfer.

3.3.1.3.

i) "...people must know the whole truth. Moreover this should be so when we come to realise the importance that history has in today's life."

ii) "This (public ownership) is a widespread idea among many who would like to see the world as a brotherhood, where anyone can take anything he likes from a common stock. In fact, this is not so."

iii) "...it is the time when character is formed and tendencies or likings fixed, to say it so."

iv) "There is something to be borne in mind and it is the evolution, and more nowadays when the phenomenon is greater and quicker."

The use of "so" in English is a complex feature which has been extensively studied by Hasan (op.cit.), Karlsen (1959), Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), and can only be touched on here in description of the above errors, though it will also enter into the discussion of "pro-verb" 'do' below. Its complexity derives, not only from the varying nature of its antecedents (predicates; Quirk & Greenbaum, op.cit. pp. 296-300, Hasan, op.cit. pp. 301-302, which Hasan terms "extended text reference" op.cit. pp. 115-117; attributes of copula verbs Hasan op.cit. pp. 120-124), but also from its distribution with the copula verbs mentioned last in

the parenthesis; Hasan (op.cit. p. 120) reports of the latter:

> "Since "seem", "appear" and "look" can also be followed by an attributive complement, a clause such as 'it seems so' is ambiguous: either it is impersonal and 'so' substitutes for a reported clause, or it is 'personal' and 'so' substitutes for an attribute."

With the verb "be", however, distribution and meaning are somewhat different; in the clause "it is so", "so" does not have the ambiguity seen in its collocation with the verbs mentioned above, since reference to an adjectival antecedent is signalled by ellipsis (2).

The student examples (i) and (ii) are, however, illustrative of a further meaning of the be+so pattern, linked to the presence of the referential "this" as subject in both cases, where, Hasan explains (op.cit. p. 122):

> "...'so' (is) not a substitute at all but a generalised exophoric reference item meaning 'the case', 'a fact', and often replaceable by one of these."

The problem is to locate the "facts" or "cases" to which "so" in (i) and (ii) refer. The sentence preceding "this should be so" in (i) contains a modal verb "must" that presents no fact, but merely advocates a desirable state of affairs. (ii) is more complex still, but this time due

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(2) Karlsen (op.cit.) rightly argues that ellipsis is as powerful a means of cohesion as the inclusion in the text of explicit cohesive items.

to the number of predicates in the preceding sentence, whose denial ("This is not so") would not make sense in the circumstances. Clearly, the writer cannot be denying the statement that public ownership is a widespread idea, since this he has introduced as his own opinion, to deny which would amount to contradiction; nor can he be denying that "anyone may take what they like from a common stock"; the use of the conditional tense indicates that the world which this clause qualifies has not yet come into being, and therefore is not yet "a fact". The meaning is by no means clarified by the pronominal subject, "this", which itself may have either a single nominal antecedent (see its use in initial position of the student's first clause) or "extended text reference" (Hasan op.cit. p. 59). Although, therefore, no definite solution is forthcoming, "world" and "brotherhood" might appear to be the most probable intended antecedents of "this" and "so" respectively. We may hypothesise that what the writer intended was:

"In fact it's not like this"

but he mistranslated the cohesive aspects of

"De hecho no es así."

"Así" may, indeed, be equivalent to, and translated by, "so" when it has a clause antecedent as in:

"Puede ser que así sea"

= "This may be so"

When it is comparative, however, its English equivalent would be "like this". As regards the use of "this" in

subject position, this again arises from the writer's need to find a pronoun that will suitably fill the subject slot, empty in the Spanish sentence. The choice of "this" is clearly inappropriate here, since, for an antecedent as distant as "world", "it" is the only suitable form.

The Spanish form "así" may also be translated by "so" when it functions as an adverb of manner, but the use of "so" in this function is rare in present day English, where "thus" or "in this way" are more usual. It is, however, "fossilised" in idiomatic expressions such as "so to speak" where its unusualness is further indicated by the pre-verbal positioning of the adverb; the writer of (iii) unaware, it seems, both of its unusualness and its positioning, translated,

"--por decirlo así...."

by placing the adverb of manner "so" after the verb. "So", after verbs of saying, however, may only have reference to a clause antecedent, for which it functions as a substitute as in:

"He said so"

"They told me so"

etc.

iv) shows omission of substitute "so" required after "more" when this indicates a comparison of degree between two clauses, although the same function may be performed by other items such as "even"; this is, in fact, the case in

Spanish:

"...y aún más...."

3.3.1.4. We now turn to consideration of the misuse of the article in example (iv) of the preceding section.

It has been observed above (Chap. 1) that the markers of thematicity will generally be drawn from the grammatical level in the area of pronominals, deictics, determiners and anaphoric items, while rhemes are marked by "tonicity" (Halliday, McIntosh, Strevens, 1964:52) word-order, and semantic considerations. Since, to date, more contrastive work has been done in the former area, rather than the latter (e.g. Stockwell, Bowen, Martin, 1965; Lado, 1957 etc.) it is at this level that a workable "Linguistique Contrastive du Texte" is most likely to be realised. Of interest in this connection is a comparative study of the distribution of the article in English and Spanish, since while its presence in English frequently marks its noun as known and/or thematic (see Firbas, 1966b) this is less generally the case in Spanish.

The generic plural of the noun in English in statements of the type:

"Dogs bark"

shows no article, since the inclusion of an article in plural noun-groups indicates that the head noun is known either from the "wide" or "narrow" context. The equivalent Spanish sentence:

"Los perros ladran"

demonstrates that, in that language, context and article are independent. Whether the noun-group is being used generically or with definite reference can only be determined by the discourse in which it occurs.

Similarly, the distinctive degrees of familiarity denoted by "beauty" as opposed to "the beauty" in English (although in this case the familiarity in the second case will be derived from some post-modifying element, the article being cataphorically used) is neutralised in Spanish by the presence of the article as a regular feature of the abstract noun-group "la belleza" as in "el amor" and abstract noun-groups in other European languages (3). It would seem that the use of the article in these latter cases might be attributed to a relic of Platonic absolutism, where "la belleza", like English "the sun", "the earth" refer to unique "objects". The use of the article with "perros" in our generic sentence above may also be justified on the same grounds: the quality which it predicates is found in all individual members of the species; in this way Spanish makes explicit the abstracting process by which generic statements are arrived at.

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(3) The appearance of the article as a quasi-obligatory element of the noun-group has led some linguists, including Alarcos LLorach (1973:168) to define it as a bound morpheme. Lyons (1968:204) points out, however, that such an analysis is less valid in English (and by analogy, Spanish) than in e.g. Rumanian (to which Alarcos Llorach makes appeal) owing to "interruptibility" - the possibility of inserting items between the article and the head noun.

There are, nevertheless, in Spanish, instances of nouns both singular and plural appearing without the definite or indefinite articles: "tengo casa", "entra frío", "me gustan perros" are examples which may be extended to include "ladran perros". Alarcos Llorach (op.cit.) sums up the difference between presence and absence of the article in the following terms (the italics are his):

> "...la función del artículo es señalar la 'e x i s t e n c i a' efectiva de lo designado por el nombre, mientras que éste, aislado, sin artículo, se refiere a la 'e s e n c i a' que designa." (171)

A similar distinction is not absent from English in the difference between countable and mass nouns; "I want wine" refers to "essence" as does "quiero vino", and the latter is more readily understandable for the English speaker, therefore, than "¿tiene coche?" (has he a car?). The distinction may, perhaps, be further clarified by comparing:

"el hombre es mortal" = man (as an existing fact) is mortal

with: "Hombre no es lo mismo que caballero" (cited in Roca Pons, 1970:207) = Man is not the same as gentleman

But what are the implications of these facts for FSP, and more particularly, for the foreign student encoding?

In answer to the first part of the above question, it may be noted that Firbas's paper (1966b) about articles was partially prompted by a statement in Ilyish (1948) that the articles are a means of indicating FSP;

Firbas demonstrates that, on the contrary, they are only so in co-operation with other means; Firbas (op.cit.) adduces examples of nouns with the definite article functioning as rhemes of their sentence, and indefinite articles as part of a thematic noun-group to prove this hypothesis. The above examination of the Spanish article system shows that it is an even less reliable indicator of communicative status, and we may expect to find compensatory means of indicating this, as in Czech where it seems there are no definite and indefinite articles (Firbas, op.cit.:254). Indeed, as in Czech, we shall find that one of these means is word-order (see below, Sec. 3.3.3.5.) (4).

The problem for the encoder is that English abstract nouns show both the "unique object" and "essence" types distinguished above, and these must be learnt; the first is exemplified by, for example "the Church", the second by "evolution", whose "unique reference" as a Spanish abstract noun led to the error noted in 3.3.1.3. (iv).

3.3.2. The transitional section of the sentence is considered, in this study (see Sec. 1.5.1.3.) to be realised in the conjuntions, time and modal elements of the verbs, as well as certain semantically weak verbs themselves.

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(4) In this connection it is of interest to note that a preference for "indefiniteness" in post-verbal position is not entirely absent from Spanish syntax. Of the examples quoted above, neither of the sentences "entra frío", "ladran perros" would admit their subjects in pre-verbal position.

3.3.2.1. Although the logical, causal, chronological etc. relationships between propositions are likely to be of a universal nature (Weinreich, 1963), their exponents, the "propositional operators" to which the above author refers, will not be equivalent between one language and another:

> "...parce que ce qui peut-être directement articulé varie encore d'une langue à l'autre."
> (Kassai, 1975)

An example of this in a comparative study of English and Spanish in this area, is the Spanish "sino" (compare German "sondern") used as a contrastive conjunction between two propositions when the first is negative; English "but" remains unaffected by this condition. This or similar distribution differences were not found to cause any difficulty to student writers, although there is a noticeable tendency to show lack of variety through repetition of "and" and "but" rather than alternatives such as "moreover", "furthermore", "however" etc. One of the main connective failings lies in a misunderstanding of the phrase, "on the other hand", used, for example, in the following context:

> "All this proves how perverted the ideology of the older generation has become....The older generation, on the other hand, seems to live under a feeling of guilt...."

Such misuse can probably be traced to the Spanish, "por otra parte", meaning "furthermore", "in addition".

3.3.2.2. More contrastively interesting among the transitional elements of the two languages (though see below for

a more accurate statement of the functional status) are those uses of "do" listed as "operator" and "pro-forms" (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973:296-299), but more exhaustively as "pro-verb", "verbal-substitute" and "verbal operator" in Hasan (1968:127) along with its functions as "lexical verb" and "general lexical verb".

The last two mentioned need not enter our discussion of textuality markers, since they represent merely lexical problems for the foreign learner, such as the "lexical verb" "do battle" being equivalent to a single word item "luchar" in Spanish, and similarly the general lexical verb "do a dance" (bailar). The main uses of "do" as a "verbal operator" to signal negative and interrogative sentences would also, hopefully, present little difficulty by the time the student reaches the composition course at the level described here, although its emphatic, contrastive and elliptical functions may need to be activated to better deal with contrasts such as:

> i) "Perhaps ancient civilisations needed (did need*) the death penalty so that they could maintain their political integrity. Nowadays we can see special attention being given to avoid certain kinds of crimes."

But the main interest lies in the verb "do" as a pro-verb and verbal substitute, the last of which Hasan sees as being "one extreme in a chain of functions" (131) represented by the others, since this verb is the semantically weakest of them all (apart from the verbal operator); the pro-verb is closer to full verbal meaning since it:

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* Our version.

> "...stands for any unspecified process which could be expressed in a verb of action." (131)

The substitute verb thus conforms to that definition of "substitution" quoted earlier (see above Sec. 1.5.1.2.); its relation to its antecedent is verbal rather than semantic. As such, the substitute verb "do" frequently acts as a "dummy" element - it stands in place of a known verb while some other item in the sentence is emphasised; this contrasting function may be seen in examples adduced by Hasan (op.cit.):

(1) "I don't know the meaning of half those long words, and, what's more, I don't believe you do either!"
(p. 126 - from "Alice in Wonderland")

(2) "He never really succeeded in his ambitions. He might have done, one felt, had it not been for his restlessness." (126)

(3) "Does she sing?" "No, but Mary does." (130)

(4) "He talked more than he should have done." (134)

(5) "Why do you smile?" "I didn't know I was 'doing so."(138)

The items highlighted by these contrasts are, respectively, "you", "might have", "Mary" and "should have" in (1) - (4). In (5) however, "doing" seems to merely refer to the previous action, as the stress pattern implies. Indeed, it would seem to be a pro-verb use of "do" rather than the substitute function that Hasan suggests. A substitute use of "do" in a sentence similar to (5) would not include the final "so", thus bringing about a contrast of tense:

(6) "I didn't know I 'was doing"

as in another example of substitution quoted by Hasan:

> "Is she watching television?"
> "She was doing, but she's gone out."
> (131)

Hasan is unclear about the distinction between substitute "do" and its pro-verb function; he writes at one stage that the pro-verb "will be treated as a kind of substitution" (127), and in a footnote observes:

> "The form "do so" is clearly derivable from "pro-verb" 'do' with anaphoric "so". Effectively, however, it operates as an alternative form of the substitute "do", and is so regarded here."
> (fn. 21, p. 135)

We would dispute that it operates "as an alternative form of the subsitute 'do'", since its use in sentences seems to conform closely to Hasan's one definite statement about pro-verb function:

> "...there being no "reference verbs" as such in the language - we say 'he did that' (to which the present writer would also add, 'he did so' - AFD) because we cannot say 'he thatted'".
> (132)

In sum, (5) above is thought to represent a pro-verb usage of "do" as are all occurrences of "do" with "so" or other anaphoric object; we regard "substitute 'do' as that use of the verb to bring out a contrast elsewhere in the sentence; in such a function it then corresponds to the use of the "noun substitute" found in English cited by Hasan in sentences such as:

"This applicant's manner didn't impress me.
I rather favour the first one."
(86)

and all the instances of that function referred to in his summary table on p. 109. To return to the verbal situation, one final example cited by Hasan showing two instances of substitution will clarify our reasoning:

A: "Shall I telephone them?"

B: (a) "You 'can do if you like"
(b) "You can 'do so if you like"
(136)

The first shows substitute "do" with "can" as the contrasted rhematised item. The intonation shows nuclear stress on that element and implies "but....". The second has "do" as a pro-verb referring back to the action. No contrast is made. The matter is clearly a complex one, but it is to be hoped that the above explanation clarifies the situation of "substitute" and "pro-verbs" in English, before moving on to a study of Spanish equivalents.

These can be observed in the translations of (1) - (5) by a bi-lingual informant:

(1') "No entiendo ni la mitad de esas palabras largas, y lo que es más, creo que tampoco las entiendes tú."

(2') "Nunca tuvo éxito en sus ambiciones. Uno pensaría que podría haberlo tenido, de no ser por su falta de constancia."

(3') "¿Esta niña canta?" "Ella no (canta), pero Mary, sí."

(4') "Habló más de lo que debía."

(5') "¿Por qué sonríes?" "No me daba cuenta de que lo hacía."

In the cases of substitution (1) - (4), Spanish uses a different thematising device for the verb than the English "dummy" substitute "do"; in (1') and (2'), as well as one of the alternatives for (3'), the context-dependent item is thematised through repetition - the thematisation device par excellence, as seen in "second instance sentences". In (4') and the other version of (3') the known item is omitted by ellipsis, as it can be after modals (4') in both English and Spanish (for a study of ellipsis as a cohesion device, see Karlsen, 1959; the "explicit connector" (op.cit.:31) which would be inserted here would be the antecedent verb). (1') further heightens the contrast by placing the rhematised personal pronoun "tú" in final position.

For sentence (5') (in our view, it will be remembered, the pro-verb form) Spanish uses the verb "hacer" as it does in other pro-verb sentences, since this refers (as does the equivalent of "do" in other European languages) to:

> "...any (unspecified) process which could be expressed in a verb of action."
> (Hasan op.cit.:131 - see footnote below)

The substitute use of "do" in (6) would be rendered in Spanish as:

(6') "No me daba cuenta de que lo estuviese haciendo."

(note) The word (unspecified) is now bracketed - see the original form above - because we are now thinking of anaphoric uses of the pro-verb, while Hasan's reference was to exophoric uses such as, "I wasn't doing anything."

"Hacer" is used as a substitute verb here since, with the auxiliary "estar", it is a carrier of the continuous tense marker, "-iendo", but when other forms than tense are being contrasted, it would not normally be used; thus the dialogue above concerning the telephone would show the Spanish equivalent "Sí, puedes." It will be noticed that both substitute and pro-verb uses of "hacer" are transitive with pronominal object, "lo".

To sum up; Spanish will use "hacerlo" regularly in pro-verb function, that is, when anaphoric or cataphoric (or exophoric) reference is being made to some action; when contrast is required, and the verb "do" is merely a "dummy" in English, "hacerlo" will not normally be used in Spanish, except as a tense carrier; some other device for thematising the contextually-dependent verb (eg. ellipsis/repetition) will be found. In both languages, the replacement form may have reference to a preceding verbal group or to more extended sections of a predicate.

Errors involving failure to use "do" correctly as a lexical verb, or general lexical verb largely arise from an incorrect choice between "do" and "make":

(ii) "...surely not when a criminal action was made because of a special psychological situation...."

The following two extracts show familiarity with the function of the pro-verb but may lead to a momentary doubt as to what item in the preceding context is the referent:

(iii) "Man has spiritual values which he cannot let pass by without taking advantage of them, so let him do so."

(iv) "This (killing) should be punished because society as well as murderers has the right to live. To do so society has been provided with a system...."

In both cases the antecedent verb is in a subordinate clause, and there may be some restrictions on this type of reference which further research will have to discover.

Identifying cases of failure to use a substitute feature in a text is, as has been seen previously, frequently a matter of subjective judgement on the part of the teacher/reader concerning that elusive notion, "style", (a notion, incidentally, which we have been at pains to avoid in this study) since the writer may repeat an item intentionally and have no wish to substitute. In the present instance, however, verbal repetition may indicate where a proverb might have been more suitable:

(v) "A person who really loves another person loves her (does so - AFD) for what she is, not for her beauty."

(Notice that this is a pro-verb usage and not a substitute for contrast, since the contrasting items occur together in the second clause and not between the clauses.)

The following may similarly reflect a need for "do" as a substitute:

(vi) "First of all I shall try to consider to what extent this is true, and then the harm it brings to people if there is real harm in it."
(if it does - AFD: contrast in the condition)

(vii) "If a guilty man doesn't deserve death why does a good man deserve it?"

3.3.3. The following sections are concerned with errors which indicate a failure to understand the means by which the communication may most successfully be "pushed forward" in an English text. They are not necessarily "rhematic errors" in the same sense as the clearly "thematic" ones in 3.3.1.

3.3.3.1. The first set, for instance, show faults within the noun-group and the communicative dynamism of the modifiers:

(i) "...a process of reaching a conclusion is created, even though it lacks all the information necessary to reach a true conclusion."
(for the full context, see Sec. 3.2.1.)

(ii) "Today's society differs from that of the past; today we have created so developed a society, that man finds himself surrounded by a hostile environment."

(iii) "It is surprising in the midst of a modern street to find a house with the appearance of a fairy-tale house."

(iv) "It is a very high building. It seems to be a bank, and in fact it is a modern bank."

Extract (i) would probably be regarded as acceptable by most readers, though it might be felt to be somewhat clumsy in style; such "clumsiness" derives, in this, as in the other examples, from the repetition of the noun ; in (i), however, the parallelism between two clauses containing "reach a conclusion" reflects the high communicative dynamism of the modifier "true" by its contrastive status; the example illustrates the phenomenon of "second instance" operating between two subfields; but a predicative clause with the modifier as a subject complement would

allow a co-operation between grammatical and other FSP means (word-order) that would cause less hesitation during the reading process. (In this connection see Leech's observation, Chap. 2, Sec. 2.2.2.).

In (iii) the two appearances of "house" so close together may appear odd to the reader, but it is not simply their proximity that causes the difficulty (the alternative suggestion below brings them even closer) but the anomalous placement of a thematic content word in a stressed position at the end of a clause, causing the "new" content of the modifier to be obscured, since there is no parallelism as in (i) or other device to highlight its rhematic status. Recurring nominals in a modified group are usually substituted by "one", although this is not always collocationally possible, as in the present instance, and so the suggested alternative equates with Bolinger's solution (1952:1122):

> "Take the example of a man house-hunting in a certain neighbourhood. He is asked "Are you looking for something?" and replies, "I'm looking for a vacant 'house". Or if he assumes that house-hunting is obvious under the circumstances, he may confirm it selectively by replying, "I'm looking for a house that's 'vacant". Unable to say "a house 'vacant" he does the next best thing and expresses the selective contrast by means of an adjectival clause."

In the case of (iii) an adjectival phrase may be selected to give, "with the appearance of a house in a fairy-tale". But, of course, "house 'vacant" is a gloss of the normal modified noun-group order in Spanish and a number of other languages, with the modifier in a position of potentially

higher CD than its noun head. This does not mean that the communicative status of the adjective in these languages is generally higher, since the "domain" of the nuclear stress (Halliday, 1967-68;2:207-208) - or more accurately information focus, since we are dealing here with communicative systems, not phonological ones - is as exclusive or inclusive as the context indicates; the informationally unmarked noun-group in English and Spanish show exactly the same stress pattern with the domain spreading over the whole noun-group, thus:

ENG: Det. M H′ SP: Det. H M′

but the difference between the two languages in this respect can be illustrated by reference to error (iv) above. The Spanish equivalent of that sentence would, in the spoken mode, have unmarked placement of the nuclear stress, but a marked domain, limited to less than the whole of the noun group, to the adjective itself, in fact. (This difference of domain is, of course, indicated also by a different intonation contour over the whole group), while the English version, as given by the student, is marked both for information focus AND domain, thus, in the symbolisation used above:

ENG: Det. M′ H SP: Det. H M′
a 'modern bank un banco mo'derno

The fact that the Spanish marking is now not equivalent to English in this particular context creates the need for different structures between the two languages in order to bring out the same meaning. The student, knowing that

English adjectives normally occur before the noun they modify, applied the rule indiscriminately without considering the contrastive nature of the context, and the preference in the written mode for the stressed item to occur, as far as possible in final position, or at least preceding some non-content item such as a pronoun. The Spanish adjective already occupies post-nominal position, and thus in no way draws attention to the need for a different ordering in English. We suggest that the student, intuitively "textually competent" in his own language, needs to be made aware of the concept of "textuality" both as regards his own language and the foreign one, before he can understand the contextual limitations and variants of the text-free rules he has learnt from his sentence grammar (see also our comments in the Introductory Chapter).

In (ii) it seems that the student was attempting to avoid overloading one clause with too much new information (create+ society + developed + result) and therefore divided these items between two clauses; whether this was her intention or not, the example shows a number of faults occurring also in the other three; a nominal item is repeated in two consecutive clauses, and the second occurrence falls in clause final position, whereas a direct reproduction of the Spanish adjectival clause or phrase as in (iii - "de hadas") would have perhaps made the development of ideas both clearer and less clumsily expressed; we suggest:

> "Today we have created a society so developed that man finds himself surrounded by a hostile environment.."

3.3.3.2. That "the sequence of elements in the clause tends to represent thematic ordering rather than ordering in transitivity of the "actor - action (- goal) type" (Halliday, 1967-68;3:205) is most clearly illustrated by the widespread use of the passive in English; furthermore, it allows the grammatical SV(A) order to be retained, even where the actor is non-thematic. In fact, focus on the actor being one of the main reasons for use of the passive form in English makes it an unsuitable choice when the actor is included but does not bear the highest degree of dynamism, as illustrated by the following examples from student essays:

(i) "It is worthwhile reaching one of these parts of the seaside because they are very little visited by people."

(ii) "'The world is crazy', is shouted at the tops of their voices by angry, elderly ladies."

In the first case the agent is specified but cannot be considered the information focus, since visiting is a process carried out only by human agents; it is thus superfluous to specify that the beach is visited <u>by people</u>. The sentence should, in fact, exemplify not the agentive use of the passive described above, but its other principal use in English to focus on an action, omitting the actor (Halliday, 1967-68;3:205, bii) and bi) respectively).

In contrast to these two principal functions of the passive in English, however, it is the first of them which predominates considerably in Spanish, where the second function is more frequently expressed by a reflexive construction. Thus, while English must render the process-orientated sentences cited by Lyons (1968:37) by a passive construction, all of them may be translated into Spanish using a reflexive pronoun (see Lyons' further remarks on p. 375) as:

"La primera edición se agotó a las cinco."

or:

"La música se oyó bien...." etc. (5)

The writer of (i) wished to use the passive, but we suggest that the frequent "agentive" use of that form in Spanish led to his automatic inclusion of the agent in the English version.

In the second case it is probable that the writer did want to emphasise the agent, coming as the sentence does from an essay on the generation gap, where these "angry elderly ladies" are contrasted with "the rebellious teen-aged boy in jeans"; what the writer did not realise is that in fields including direct speech, the speech it-

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(5) In connection with the verb "hear" etc., and on the subject of the passive, Firbas's observation (1966b: 244) that the grammatical subject of the passive can in fact be rhematic, is of interest; he cites "Sometimes a terrible cry was to be heard..." to illustrate that "the passive voice is resorted to as a means of arranging the sentence elements into the theme-rheme sequence...provided the co-operation of means permits it." In his quoted sentence the means interfering with such a sequence is the presence of a verb denoting "appearance or existence on the scene".

self must be the rheme proper, as the "effected goal" (Firbas, 1975:326), and thus the agent is again not the communicative unit carrying the highest CD.

These assumptions might lead one to suppose that the frequency of the agentive passive in Spanish would tend to show, in essays written by these students, frequent passive forms plus agent where the latter was not required. This was not found to be the case; instead, there appears to be a reluctance to use the process-emphasising passive where it might be expected - though this is obviously difficult to confirm for stylistic reasons etc.; thus:

(iii) "Nowadays the death-penalty is not in use."

(iv) "There were a lot of people who thought beauty more important than personality"
(Beauty was thought... - AFD)

(v) "We see change in ideas and people trying to apply new concepts."
(Change is seen in ideas... - AFD)

The following three examples are superficially similar to each other since they involve errors of word-order in the post-verbal section of the sentence, but they are concerned with differing constituents of the predicate and must therefore be treated as separate problems:

3.3.3.3. (i) "Reality with its changes embodied in younger rebels has made possible the miracle of transformation."

3.3.3.4. (i) "Air currents move from left to right pretty mobiles attached to the ceiling."

3.3.3.5. (i) "...and making glitter the lights reflected in the window pane."

Section 3.3.3.3. involves the positioning of object comple-

ments in English, and 3.3.3.4. that of adverbs, while 3.3.3.5. is concerned with the structure of non-finite clauses as direct objects.

3.3.3.3. To some, the first may not appear incorrect at all, and Bolinger (1952:1128) indicates that adjectival object complements show variability in their placement that represents a meaningful choice:

> "'This thanklessness will make any further effort on our part useless' is more appropriate for selective contrast than 'This thanklessness will make useless any further effort on our part'. Note the resemblance of the...example to the corresponding adverbs in, 'Why protest uselessly?' and 'Why uselessly protest?'"

According to Bolinger, therefore, though possibly only with a small number of verbs and single adjectives, not with adjective phrases, adjectival complements participate in that principle of linear modification expounded in Bolinger's paper, whereby end-positioning of items that may also appear elsewhere gives them both contrastive force and, where appropriate, more literal meaning. It is thus a principle which accords well with the word-order means of FSP and we have had reason to refer to it in that connection on a number of occasions in this study (see, for example, Sec. 3.3.3.1.); it is a principle, however, that does not apply to the Spanish adjectival complement, which has an invariable position immediately following the verb, to which we attribute the error in the first example above.

3.3.3.4. How far the adverbs of the two languages are

susceptible to the same principle may be discovered by an examination of possible causes underlying 3.3.3.4. (i) and two further instances of adverbial misplacement:

(ii) "It looks as if the water stops quite short of the inland rocks, since these are covered by vegetation and grass of various kinds in some spots."

(iii) "Most of them are being transformed (cafés into clubs) because it seems they give more money to their owners in this way."

Our consideration of time and place in the narrative (Chap. 2, Sec. 2.1.4.1.) made the point that time and place are generally subordinate to the action itself, while our table for "description" (Appendix I) shows settings and spatial relationships subordinate to objects and their features in that variety. Dvořáková's study (1964) makes the same point (133), and her analysis of these "situational adverbs" seems to indicate that where those of time and place are rhematic they achieve such status by elimination as it were, when all other sentence items are context-dependent, as shown by the following rules (The Roman numerals refer to the sections of Dvořáková's paper, pp. 134-137). Situational adverbs are rhematic when:

I "...all the elements except the adverb express notions known or at least inferable from the context."

II "The adverb follows a verb that...states the existence of somebody or something while...the person or thing is known or can be gathered from the context."

III "The adverb of place follows a verb that <u>needs</u> (our underlining) an amplification..."

IV "...the adverb answers one of the following

questions: how long?, how often?, since when?, till when? or how many times?"

V "A high degree of CD can be observed with an adverb that is extended by many attributes...."

Only in IV and V do we find a case where the adverb is rhematic in its own right. Adverbs of time and place are, in the vast majority of cases, thematic units.

More important to our present concern are Dvořáková's findings that 25% of all English place adverbs were not in a position in the sentence that, on the word-order principle, would accord with their degree of communicative dynamism, and the same was true of 33% of time adverbials; these figures include both thematic and rhematic adverbs, but the author makes it clear that the majority of "disagreements" are accounted for by thematic adverbs appearing in sentence final position on the grammatical principle of SVOA; similarly, those which showed accord between position and CD would largely be thematic adverbs in initial position, although even here a grammatical principle operates; in English, where a known subject is required to be made explicit, ASVO still does not conform to basic communicative dynamism in its narrower interpretation at the level of communicative units rather than sections (see above, Chap. 2, Sec. 2.5 5.). This was a further feature that led Mathesius to speak of the "insusceptibility" of English to FSP (1943 :188, quoted in Firbas 1964:114), but he was of course thinking of FSP as a word-order principle, and not as a function of the various other means later indicated by Firbas and other Prague scholars, and which it is our task to describe within

this study. The writer of 3.3.3.4.(i) above seems also to have been appealing to a word-order principle in the placement of adverbs, when it is the grammatical SVOA principle that provides the correct version:

(i') "Air currents move pretty mobiles attached to the ceiling from left to right."

In the second example, for which we suggest the following version:

(ii') "It looks as if the water stops quite short of the inland rocks, since these are covered in some spots by vegetation and grass of various kinds."

we are concerned with a passive sentence, and thus, not a choice of OA/AO ordering but A+A. The adverbial phrase formed by the agent in the passive is rarely followed by a further adverbial, possibly to give the maximum rhematisation to the agent, which is one of the prime functions of the agentive passive, possibly to avoid ambiguity which could be caused by interpreting a further adverbial noun group as post-modifier of the agent, as is a danger in the present case.

A glance at the quotation from Bolinger above, (Sec. 3.3.3.3.) would seem to indicate that English manner adverbs are more susceptible to "linear modification" in relation to the verb, than is the case with time and place adverbials. Conversely, this would suggest that adverbs of manner grammatically marked as thematic appear out of place in sentence final position; this is the case with (iii) above, where the adverbial is a noun-group whose

context dependence is indicated by the anaphoric demonstrative adjective; the adverbial phrase is correctly placed, therefore, when in the initial clause position:

(iii') "...because it seems that in this way they give more money to their owners." (6)

Single adverbs (simple adverbial groups) of manner appear to be even more mobile. The term "descriptive adverb" captures that closer, modifying relationship between verb and manner adverbial which does not exist between a verb and its "setting", and which might lead one to expect a closer approximation to the word-order principle. Bolinger produces no statistical evidence, as does Dvořáková, but his numerous examples are convincing; we cite a few:

"Why did you abruptly back away?"
v.
"Why did you back away abruptly?" (1120)

"A man she respected too highly to deliberately tease"
v.
"A man she respected too highly to tease deliberately" (1124, from Poutsma 1928)

"He made himself generally agreeable"
v.
"He made himself agreeable generally" (1125)

"I believe it absolutely"
v.
"Absolutely I believe it" (1126)

To summarise the question of adverbial placement in English,

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(6) "that" seems to be required here in order to make it clear which clause the adverbial phrase belongs to. One might also reverse the direct and indirect objects on the basis of the word-order principle mentioned in Sec. 3.3.1.1. above.

therefore, while the placement of manner adverbials, particularly in simple adverbial groups, shows a correspondence to the principle of linear modification, or, in Praguist terms, the word-order means of FSP, this is not true of situational adverbs of time and place, which generally occur in either initial or final position, often contrary to their communicative dynamism, which is usually thematic. Of the confused situation in respect of these, Bolinger says:

> "The adverb 'again' may be both more 'important' and more 'emphatic' (he is commenting on a statement in Curme, 1931) in 'Again he told me' than in 'He told me again', but it precedes, nevertheless, for a reason that neither importance nor emphasis can explain."
> (1122, fn. 9; our underlining)

As to the placement of Spanish adverbials, that language, as has been shown by Hatcher, (1956a & b), Dubský (1960), Bolinger (op.cit.) and others, employs the word-order means of FSP a good deal more extensively than does English. One of the most powerful indicators of this difference is the possibility that exists in Spanish of placing adverbs between the verb and the object, so that the latter, where context independent, may occupy a position commensurate with its degree of communicative dynamism; this was undoubtedly the cause of error in 3.3.3.4.(i) above, which represents a translation of:

> "Las corrientes de aire movían de derecha a izquierda los bonitos móbiles que pendían del techo."

The following few examples taken from a Spanish text with

an English translation printed "en regard" clearly demonstrate the differing tendencies in the two languages in this respect: (7)

(time) "...y el cabeza de familia y la Encarnita se fueron a dar un paseíto para contemplar un poco la naturaleza." (110)	"...to contemplate nature a while." (111)
"Tomaron de primer plato fabada asturiana...." (110)	"They had Asturian stew as a first course."(111)
(focusing adjunct) "...ni denotaba, tampoco, un interés excesivo...." (110)	"...nor did she express excessive interest in it either." (111)
(frequency) "...cuando contaba el incidente...decía siempre "el pronunciamiento" (116)	"...he always referred to it as 'the revolution'." (117)
(manner) "...y le dijeron a gritos que éso se pedía antes de salir de casa." (112)	"...and they shouted at him that one asked..." (113)

and one example of "place" may be cited from another source:

"En mis visitas anteriores había colocado allí una silla" (W. Fernández Florez)	"On my previous visits I had put a chair there."

But where, according to the criteria cited by Dvořáková (see above), the adverb is seen to have the highest degree of communicative dynamism in the field, it will be placed after the object, and will thus, most probably coincide with the placement in the English sentence:

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(7) 'Cuentos Hispánicos' Vol. 1: Penguin Double Texts Series. Harmondsworth (1966), pp. 105-123
"La Romería" by Cela. Translated by Gordon Brotherton.

(Dvořáková,I) "Levantaron a los niños media hora antes..." (106)

"They got the children up half an hour beforehand." (107)

(III) "El cabeza de familia...había echado la americana en la silla de Adelita." (114)

"Father...had thrown his jacket on to Adelita's push-chair." (115)

etc.

However, as with the English so-called grammatical principle, so the Spanish linear-modification principle does not invariably operate in determining the position of the adverb within the Spanish sentence, as seen in:

"...Y se pasó el resto de la mañana apretándole una perra gorda contra la picadura." (108)

"...pressing a ten-céntimo piece against the sting." (109)

and the structural dispensability of adverbs makes them useful in any language as markers of style, emphasis, emotion, etc. by variable placement. Nevertheless, it can be said that the principle controlling object/adverb placement is more readily identifiable and more consistently applied in Spanish than in English. One may tentatively suggest that the misplacement of adverbs in (ii) and (iii) above was due to a mistaken belief in the exclusiveness of the positioning of adverbs of time and place at the extremities of the English sentence.

3.3.3.5. The influence of the Spanish word-order means of FSP is, we contend, as clear in 3.3.3.5.(i). Here, the source of error is the positioning of the subject in the Spanish clause, to which we now turn our attention.

Errors resulting from the same transfer of textuality features from the native language as evidenced in 3.3.3.5.(i) are listed below, with (i) repeated at t he head of the list for convenience and comparison:

(i) "...and making glitter the lights reflected in the window pane."

(ii) "It could be appreciated its windows and doors wide open, letting the sunshine in...."

(iii) "The afternoons were, however, which announced the time of entertainment."

(iv) "Then the problem of pollution threatens us."

What all these examples show is unfamiliarity with the means by which the rhematic subject of the English sentence may be signalled as the bearer of the highest degree of communicative dynamism.

The word-order means available to Spanish may best be demonstrated by reference to translations of those fields showing rhematic subjects in our variety texts (see the analytical tables in Appendix II) where the contextual independence of these items may be fully appreciated. Of the rhematic subjects to which we drew attention in that analysis, two were translated by our informant to show the subject in a post-verbal position in Spanish as compared to the pre-verbal one in English; thus:

(3:20-21) "...then he signalled with his hand and Emmy came."	"...y se acercó Emmy."
(3:34) "...and two illuminated eyes peered out at him like a Siberian wolf."	"...y le miraron dos ojos incandescentes como los de un lobo siberiano."

All those fields in Text 4 which show the post-verbal subject in English do so too in the Spanish version of that text. Field 4 of the same text was worded by the translator as an equative clause, also with VS order:

(4:4) "...but few points exceed two thousand feet."	"...son pocos los puntos que exceden los 2.000 pies."

Some other subfields, whose rhematic subjects were not noted in our analysis, since this was carried out at the level of "zero-rank" (see Sec. 2.5.), may also be mentioned as relevant to the present discussion; thus:

(2:4) "She wondered what the supper with his parents would be like."	"Se preguntaba como sería la cena y fiesta con los padres de Julián."
(4:8/30) "...a group of conical hills, with Slieve Donagh rising from near the sea to a height of 2,700 feet."	"...y de las que sobresale ya cerca del mar Slieve Donagh con sus 2.700 piés de altura."
(9:3/12) "(Who actually took the photographs?)....If the News of the World took them.."	"...Si las sacó el News of the World...."

We quote the final example with its preceding context, since the question there occurring indicates explicitly that "underlying question" (Hatcher, 1956a:244), "Who, what is the subject?" which is one of the reasons for adopting the VS order in Spanish. Finally, the VS order is found in the translation of one of the existential "there" sentences in the variety texts:

(9:20/13) "...in the one area where there is real corruption in British public life..."	"...en el área de la vida Británica donde realmente existe la corrupción...."

although the other "there" sentences are translated by

the equivalent Spanish "Hay..." structure, which incidentally, in Spanish, bears a transitive verb-object relationship to the item whose existence is predicated.

Fields 3:27 and 3:28 where a rhematic subject was observed in our analysis, do not, on the other hand, show a change of order in the translation:

(3:27) "The light was lit in the basement."	"la luz estaba encendida en el sótano..."

(though some doubt was expressed, (Sec. 2.5.5.2.) as to whether this field does, in fact, show a context-independend subject of higher CD than the adverbial phrase):

(3:28) "...a policeman walked round the square looking into the areas."	"...y un policía dió una vuelta por la plaza."

Nor is there inversion of verb and subject in some subfields showing rhematic subject:

(9:5/33) "...that a third and perhaps even a fourth minister were among her clientele."	"...que un tercer o incluso un cuarto ministro figuraban entre su clientela."

Furthermore, some Spanish fields show post-positioning of the subject where there is evidently some other reason for selecting this order; the following example from the variety translations, for example, seems to adopt VS in order to avoid final positioning of the verb, and not due to any rhematic dynamism in the subject:

(8:8) "Viewing is not such a passive thing as my anti-box friends seem to believe."	"Ver la televisión no es una cosa tan pasiva como parecen creer mis amigos no partidarios de la 'tele'."

In point of fact, the search for a rationale behind the various occurrences of the VS order in Spanish (fully explored by Dubský - 1960 - who discusses numerous interpretations of the choice) need be of no great concern to us here. What is of interest as regards our hypothesis is that Spanish has a widely used means of indicating rhematic subjects, to which the errors noted in (i), (ii) and (iii) can most probably be attributed, as shown by the following translations of those sentences:

(i') "...y hace brillar las luces reflejadas en el cristal de la ventana."

(ii') "...se podían apreciar sus ventanas y puertas, abiertas de par en par dejando entrar la luz del sol."

(iii') "Eran las tardes en cambio las que anunciaban la hora de la diversión."

What may be of interest as regards the establishment of a contrastive text-linguistics for the two languages, are the alternative English versions offered, and the comparative comments that follow.

(i'') "...and making the lights reflected in the window pane glitter.";

here, while Spanish allows the insertion of the noun-group between the finite verb and its dependent infinitive (Stockwell et. al., 1965, pp. 247-248) its preferred form, particularly with the extended noun-group in the present instance, is that given in the translation. The English reader may also find the extended group awkward, but English does not offer the same alternative solution. This may be due merely to the greater flexibility of Spanish word-order

in general, but it may also be traceable to two differences in the clause structure of the two languages that we have already had reason to comment on elsewhere.

The medial noun-group in causative and perceptive sentences of this type is the object of the finite verb and bears a subject relationship to the non-finite verb. The English object is rarely separated from its verb although this is relatively common in Spanish, as observed in our discussion of adverb position above (Sec. 3.3.3.4. above). Now whereas, of course, in the above structure (i') the whole non-finite clause is the object of the finite verb, it may be that the verb+noun-group ties prohibit a similar order to that of Spanish; secondly, while the Spanish subject may follow its verb, as we have just observed, in order to avoid a "dangling" verb in sentence final position, this, too, is less frequent in English, and impossible here. English, on the other hand, shows a tendency to avoid long subjects (Quirk, 1962:175) in pre-verbal position, though the restraints operating on the present structure allow only the alternative (i'') as a means of alleviating the awkwardness referred to previously:

(i'') "...and causing the lights reflected in the window pane to glitter."

The verb "cause" appears to more readily anticipate an infinitive construction than "make", while the "to" infinitive may reduce the resemblance to a subject-verb relationship in the dependent clause.

An alternative version of (ii) is as follows:

(ii'') "...One could see its windows and doors wide open and letting in the sunshine."

A number of changes have been made in this version, but those concerning textuality again relate to the ease with which the subject may be post-poned in Spanish. A gloss on the Spanish translation, which, it will be noticed, includes the process-orientated reflexive construction (see above, Sec. 3.3.3.2.) that we must translate as a passive, reads:

"...could be seen its windows and doors...."

The reflexive, process-orientated sentence in Spanish has, as we have seen, the same effect as the English process-orientated passive transform; the object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the transform, and the verb occurs in sentence-final position unless accompanied by adverbs. "Se podían apreciar sus ventanas...." represents a process-orientated reflexive, therefore, with its subject (i.e. the object of the non-reflexive form, which would be the grammatical object of the English active sentence), brought into sentence-final position. Although verb and object revert, therefore, to their non-reflexive order, they now do so without reference to any agent, and with the non-reflexive object again in a position that accords with a high degree of communicative dynamism. The only way in which English can meet the same conditions is in the form of the sentence given as (ii''), an active sentence with the agent depersonalised by means of the

indefinite pronoun, "one"; the student was evidently looking for some passive equivalent of the reflexive form, but this would result, either in:

> "...its windows and doors open and letting in in the sun could be seen."

or

> "...its windows and doors could be seen letting in the sun."

The first wrongly stresses the semantically weak verb, and again shows the awkwardness of a long subject in English; the second, while avoiding these difficulties, perhaps conveys a rather different meaning than the writer had intended.

What the writer has in fact done, in order to achieve the degrees of communicative dynamism indicated by the Spanish sentence, but knowing that English sentence initial clauses require a preverbal subject, is merely to add a "dummy" 'it' to the gloss translation given above, an error frequently also made with other sentences whose semantics would be likely to require a VS order in Spanish such as appearance on the scene; thus:

> "It comes into the room a man."

will be familiar to any teacher of English to Spanish native speakers, and lends further support to the hypothesis of textual transfer.

The change from the student example with "letting ...in" to "letting in the sunshine...." in (ii'') is also due to the principle of linear modification, the former

being more typical of selective contrast with "out", for example. (see Bolinger, op.cit., p. 1128).

The problem illustrated by (iii) represents a case where English can in fact employ "it" in place of a VS construction in Spanish, since the obvious solution to the student's search for a rhematising device in this case, is the use of the "cleft" sentence:

(iii'') "It was the afternoons, however, which announced the time of (provided) entertainment."

The student is evidently aware of different principles of sentence organisation in the two languages, since he renders the VS order in Spanish by the English SV order; but he is either unaware of the functional significance that VS may have in Spanish, or of the means by which the same subject emphasis may be achieved in the foreign language.

The cleft device is one of the most frequently used means of emphasis both in spoken and written English, possibly because it allows the rheme proper to be marked phonologically and grammatically while maintaining the "favourite" SVC order within the two conjoined clauses. Phonologically the two clauses form a single tone group with the fall-rise tone, the fall, that is the "primary focus" (Halliday, 1967-68; 2:204), being on the complement of the "pivot" sentence (Lees, 1962). The cleft construction is able to give this focus to any sentence constituent, apart from the verb, since it is impossible to say:

* "It's write that I did."

for which the "pseudo-cleft" (Huddleston, 1971, Chap. 5) provides the form: (8)

"What I did was write a letter."

with the values assigned by Halliday (op.cit., Section 6) of "identified" for the nominalised subject clause, and "identifier" for the complement. Since the "identifier" obviously carries a higher degree of communicative dynamism, English here also produces an emphatic structure conforming both to the SVO and Theme/Transition/Rheme order.

The range of items that may be inserted in the "identifier" slot is possibly wider for this construction than the cleft structure admits at its primary focus, although in the pseudo-cleft form a single or short item at complement position may produce that same awkwardness of a relatively long subject noticed before; thus:

"When I visited him was yesterday."

would be better rendered by the cleft form:

"It was yesterday that I visited him".

Klima's suggestion (cited in Lees, op.cit.) that the second above may be derived from the first is discussed in Lees (op.cit. 374-375), but the latter's rejection of this possibility seems to be based principally on the "outlandish"

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(8) Halliday (1967-68) in fact terms this second structure, "cleft sentence" (223) and the former as "predication" (op.cit. Part 7.) We note his observation (p. 238) that Celtic dialects may predicate verbs.

source sentence it would be necessary to postulate for indirect object emphasis, such as:

"Where I gave it to was him."

as the sentence underlying:

"It was to him that I gave it." (374)

It is not clear why Lees should propose this as a source sentence (it seems to indicate a confusion of "case" markers, though Fillmore's seminal paper on that subject (1968) had not yet appeared) rather than:

"The person whom I gave it to was him."

in the same way as:

"It was a ghost that I saw."

may show the underlying:

"What I saw was a ghost."

or

"The thing I saw was a ghost."

In Spanish, "what I saw" or "the thing I saw" is realised through a clause nominalised by a preceding definite article; thus the above sentence of the English examples:

"Lo que vi era un fantasma."

emphasises the object of the verb "ver"; in order to emphasise a verb itself, Spanish will use this same type structure resembling the pseudo-cleft, identifying structure, of English:

"Lo que hice fué escribir una carta."

These examples all show presence of the neuter pronoun form used in cases of abstract or indefinite reference; when the identifier shows a known gender, however, this will be used in the nominalisation of the "identified", thus confirming Alarcos Llorach's definition of the function of the Spanish article:

> De ahí que pueda indicarse como una de las funciones del artículo la de ser 'traspositores' (9) de cualquier signo léxico a la categoría de los nombres." (1973:181)

This rule will explain such sentences as:

"El que vino fué Juan." (subject emphasis)

"La que ví fué María." (object emphasis)

but despite the apparent similarity of such sentences to the equivalent English forms:

"The one who came was John."

"The person I saw was Mary."

an important difference of relationship may be demonstrated by rendering the first with the first person emphasised and in the present tense:

"El que va a venir, soy yo." (=) "The one who is coming is me."

English shows the identifier in the object case, whereas the identifier of the Spanish sentence is the subject of the equative verb; in a language where it is possible to

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(9) "Formal class marker"

reverse the subject-verb order with ease there is no need to find the "dummy" 'it' device of the English cleft sentence; Spanish offers the following possibilities:

> "Las tardes eran las que anunciaban la hora...."
>
> "Las que anunciaban la hora de diversión eran las tardes."
>
> "Eran las tardes las que anunciaban la hora de la diversion."

representing respectively SVC, CVS, and VSC; it was the last that was used in (iii') as a reconstruction of the Spanish sentence with the type of emphasis that the writer of (iii) wished to achieve, but, knowing the VS order had to be avoided in English, he probably attempted to render the first above, and erroneously produced:

> "The afternoons were, however, which announced the time of entertainment."

His use of the relative pronoun "which" necessitates the pronoun "it" + extraposed subject. His confusion results from the fact that cleft and pseudo-cleft are formally distinct in English, but represent only word order variants in Spanish.

In the comparison of languages we encounter complex overlaps of linguistic means towards functional ends, and an overlapping distribution of those means, so that comparative statements may be quantitative as well as qualitative; this is no less true of statements at the textual level than at any other, as the following observation by Kassai (1975:10) on the subject of the cleft sentence illustrates:

> "Ce qui nous intéresse ici...cést la diversité des procédeés auquels recourent les différentes langues pour marquer cette relation et constituer ainsi leurs textes. Ainsi, la phrase française: 'C' est Jean qui a cassé la vase' sera traduite en allemand par la mise en relief accentuelle de l'élément qui correspond à Jean. Mais ceci ne veut pas dire que le français ne peut pas recourir a la mise en relief par l'accent, ni que l'allemand ignore la tournure 'es ist...'. Mais ce qui est un procédé courant dans une langue peut être marginal dans une autre."

Our studies have shown that verb-subject order is a feature not unknown in English (see also our remarks on emotive sentences in Sec. 3.4. below), but far more widely used in Spanish.

There will also be differences of distribution over the range of varieties within the two languages, or appropriate to different points within the text. Example (iv) will be briefly considered as an illustration of this latter point.

The sentence:

"Then the problem of pollution threatens us."

provides a good illustration of the difference between grammaticality and textuality. Some of the sentences we have considered above have been inadequate on both criteria and we have had to correct the first before being able to comment on the second; the above sentence presents no difficulty on the first count, and would, indeed, present little difficulty on the second, were it not for the fact that it occurred as the initial sentence in a paragraph which went on to deal with the problem of pollution in our modern

technological society. As such, the item which most "pushes communication forward" is the noun-group subject. A brief glance at Spanish paragraph openings, particularly in discussion texts, will demonstrate the frequency with which that language places the verb before the subject when the latter represents the topic of the paragraph; the opening of seven consecutive paragraphs from pp. 242-246 of Alarcos Llorach (op.cit.) will serve as an illustration:

> "Sucede algo análogo con las unidades de valor léxico 'locativo'. (VS)
>
> También tienen valor 'locativo' las unidades autónomas.... (VS)
>
> Resumiendo lo dicho en los párrafos 17-18 resulta que los llamados adverbios... (A(S)VO)
>
> Es clara la función de aditamento... (VOS)
>
> La función de los llamados adverbios...ofrecen (sic.) otra problemática. (SVO)
>
> La situación de 'sí' es diferente. (SVO)
>
> Todavía han de examinarse las relaciones existentes entre usos...." (AVS)

Four out of the seven openings thus show the subject in post-verbal position, where it is to become the topic of the subsequent paragraph. We therefore suggest:

> "Entonces surge el problema de la polución."

as the Spanish equivalent of what the author wished to express; the "over-generalisation" (Richards, 1971:9) in following the SVO rule in English produces a weak version, and the use of a semantically strong verb further runs counter to the dynamism of the subject. An agent-orientated passive as a means of bringing the subject into a

position commensurate with its dynamism makes a more positive opening to the paragraph:

"Furthermore, we are threatened by pollution."

producing a more successful structure of the text as a whole.

CONCLUSIONS

3.4. Our hypothesis of native language interference in the production of foreign language texts was not borne out as regards transfer at the level of "texture" (see our conclusion to section 3.2.3.). In our examination of textuality errors, and explanations in terms of textuality features in the two languages, however, ample evidence has emerged to support the view that a number of errors may be accounted for by different FSP means in the two languages. The postulated sources of errors in English compositions seem to indicate two different ways in which this fact influences student production. Firstly there is "transfer", or "interference" , demonstrable by word for word translation of the erroneous English sentence in order to reconstruct the student's intended meaning. Secondly, we have evidence of awareness of difference between the two languages, but an inability to deal with it appropriately.

The errors of the first type resulting from interference may also be further sub-divided into those that are incorrect in any circumstances, that is, they are grammatical errors arising from textuality features of the

foreign language, and secondly, those that are "inadequate" for the task in hand (see Sec. 2.2.4., fn. 4), but might be acceptable in a different textual environment or variety. As examples of the first, we would cite the failure to include a (pronominal) subject in the first clause of a sentence, attributable to the fact that the thematicity of the subject may be marked in Spanish by ellipsis of this element (see above, Sec. 3.3.1.1.), the use of the demonstrative pronouns "this" and "these" as head of a noun-group with reference to objects of the category "human" (Sec. 3.3.1.2.). Among the second type are those mistakes which arise from the student's use of an agentive instead of process-orientated passive (Sec. 3.3.3.2.), or the repetition of a verb to bring out a contrast somewhere else in the predicate (Sec. 3.3.2.2.); the use of a preposition plus pronominal in circumstances where it was not required to stress the latter (Sec. 3.3.1.1.) would also enter this category of errors of inadequacy.

Errors of the second type represent "over-generalisations of target language rules" (Richards, op.cit., 1971: 9) rather than interference, which the student (possibly consciously) avoids. They were seen largely in instances of word-order variations on the underlying Spanish form; students assumed that the VS order was inadmissible in English or that situational adverbs may be placed only in initial or final position (Sec. 3.3.3.4.). In addition, it was noted that many writers were clearly aware of the necessity of including a thematic pronominal where none was present in Spanish, but were uncertain as to the accepta-

bility of "it", "this" or "that" (Sec. 3.3.1.3.).

The discussion of emphasis (cleft-sentences etc.) in the final section brought us close to a third aspect of analysis, in addition to that of grammaticality or textuality - that concerned with the problem of "style"; although the development of individual style may be regarded as one of the ultimate ends of an advanced composition course, we do not wish to go into this highly complex problem here. It seems important, first of all, to ensure that the notion of textuality, and the means of producing a "textual" discourse are mastered as prerequisites of any further development of style in composition. We feel it necessary to make this distinction here, since our discussion of FSP in general and of emphasis in particular has been directed at the achievement of an acceptable, coherently developed text, and not with the production of "agitated...emotive sentences" - a phrase used by Mathesius (quoted in Firbas, 1964, p. 117) where the suspension marks represent our omission of his term, "emphatic". There is clearly a difference between an emphatic device used in order to make the development of a text, or relations within a text, clear, and one used in order to produce some special effect on the reader; the two might be distinguished by the terms, "objective" emphasis, and "subjective" emphasis - the words in inverted commas, again borrowed from Mathesius. As such, the use of the subject-verb order, and the verb-subject order may both be said to be characteristic of the Spanish unmarked word order, and for that reason w e have avoided using the term "inversion" when referring to

the latter (see Dubský, 1960 p. 114); in English, however, the verb-subject order in sentences such as:

"Down came the rain."

must be regarded, as marked and emotive, as is the OV order in both English and Spanish in such sentences as:

"¡Qué catarrazo tengo!"

"What a cold I've got."

the former taken from Hatcher (1956b:41) where she comments on the OV order:

> "...there is indicated some concern of the speaker with the truth (significance, relevance, importance) of what he is saying, as he appeals to his partner for belief, sympathy or confirmation."

We have not considered any errors arising from these sorts of devices. The question of how to produce special effects on the reader and the different means of doing so in various languages will require much extensive study. As a concluding statement we may therefore describe the source of errors examined in this chapter as arising from:

> an important difference between Spanish and English "...due to a different kind of co-operation between the semantic and the grammatical structure of the sentence in bringing about the FSP....As to Spanish, the grammatical structure of its sentence seems to be such as to allow ordinary non-marked, and hence non-emotional word-order to attain a comparatively high degree of conformity with the basic distribution of CD."
>
> (Firbas, 1962:143-144) (10)

This fact holds some important implications for the teaching of composition to Spanish learners which we discuss in the following section.

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(10) I am indebted to Prof. Firbas for the transmission ./.

SUGGESTIONS

3.5. It is doubtful that a student, unless to some degree trained in linguistics, will have any acquaintance with the notion of textuality even as regards his own language; his "textual competence" (Van Dijk, 1972) is likely to be as unconscious as his grammatical competence, if such a distinction can be made. For the practical corrective or preventive application of our findings in the teaching of composition, it is evident that both teacher and student will require some familiarity with the meta-language of text linguistics and in particular the Prague model.

3.5.1. The conclusions crystallised in the quotation from Firbas above show the Spanish learner to be in a particularly favourable position as regards the Prague categories, since the contribution of FSP towards the development of a Spanish text is extensively realised through the linearity of the clause structure, providing more obvious indications of degrees of communicative dynamism than is the case in English and other languages, where there is

> "...tension between the sentence positions as carriers of the basic distribution of CD and the other means of FSP." (Firbas, 1959:43)

The Spanish text analyst, after studying his own language from the point of view of FSP, will be in a good position

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./. of this paper along with many other personal communications, particularly in connection with the question of marked and unmarked word-order, emotive/non-emotive sentences etc., briefly discussed here.

to identify those "other means" in a foreign language, seen in his own as concomitant with the ordering of the constituents (communicative units). We suggest, therefore, as the first stage of a teaching strategy, the study of FSP means in the structure of the text by an analysis of Spanish texts meeting the following specifications: a) their communicative fields should, as far as possible, show basic CD; b) their networking, particularly "thematic progression" (see above Chap. 2) should preferably be of a relatively simple (though not over-simplified) type.

3.5.2. The second stage towards guided, and later, free, composition would be the comparative analysis of FSP means in the two languages. For that reason, a third criterion might be borne in mind in the selection of the English texts of Stage 2, namely they should maintain the SVO order of English to a degree that would indicate this as the guiding principle of sentence formation in English, and thus illustrate the compensatory means of indicating CD in the English field, and the tendency of the theme to coincide with the subject. As stated above, such an analysis should be comparative rather than contrastive in the sense that it should reflect:

> "...the respective positions of the discussed patterns within the systems of the two languages."
> (Firbas, 1961:86)

3.5.3. Stage 3 would introduce the controlled production of written texts by means of translation from the native to the foreign language; this can begin only when the different FSP means in the two languages have been extensively

compared; since:

> "...the art of translation begins only when there is a vivid awareness of the difference in structure between the two languages, a sense for their functional stratification...."
> (Procházka, 1942:96; our underlining)

Intuitively the functional division of the sentence into communicative units of varying degrees of dynamism seems to provide an objective means of judging a text that has been translated from one language to another; Firbas implies as much when commenting on the differing FSP in Czech and translated English versions of two sentences (1966b:250):

> "We have to leave aside the question whether the translator should not have attempted an adequate translation."

"adequate" meaning equal in their communicative structure. This is certainly a basis for the selection of texts in the early stages of this controlled production phase; they should require the student to be concerned only with activating those means of achieving equivalent communicative effects, discovered in Stages 1 and 2.

In practice, however, the differing distribution of patterns and "values" (11) or the different divisions of texts into communicative fields, occasioned by rhythmic

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(11) We use the term "values" in the sense in which it bears in the article by Firbas, 1959a:74, and a contemporary article examining the "Communicative Function of the Verb..." in greater detail (1959b); examples and comments in these two papers are instructive in the way in which different word classes used for the communication of the same content may affect the FSP of the respective sentences.

or grammatical differences between two languages indicate a far greater complexity in the relationship between translated texts than a simple equivalence of FSP. The notion of communicative field, the functional division of that field into thematic, transitional and rhematic sections, and the realisation of these degrees of dynamism by identifiable communicative units does, however, provide a "découpage" of the text which, perhaps rather more objectively and successfully than that of Vinay&Darbelnet (1958), from whom we borrow the term, allows the translator to:

> "...Vérifier qu'on a tout traduit."
> (275 - see note)

In fact, the communicative units become, in this particular application, "unités de traduction". From the point of view of the learner, such use of the translation exercise is more highly motivating than is usually the case, since the exercise becomes a means towards a relevant end. The use of translation as little more than a method of activating or teaching vocabulary is not of sufficient generality to justify the time thus spent; furthermore, the evident interest that semantic differences between languages holds for the literary translator, and on which grounds the inclusion of translation in a language course seems to be frequently

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Note: Vinay and Darbelnet's illustration of their system of découpage pp. 275-277 (op. cit.) seems to reveal arbitrary and confusing divisions; one clause is analysed, for example, as "Comme il sent qu'on se moque de lui", while in the subsequent clause the "unités de traduction" appear to be more delicately applied: "...il | n' | ose | y...etc."

justified further increases its irrelevance by the selection of "literary" texts as translation material. This traditional use of translation may indeed be "error-provoking" (Corder, 1974:126), but, conversely, if what provokes error has been contrastively analysed previously, translation of texts containing such features can become a means of error-prevention at a level which is of sufficient generality to allow repeated activation of the contrast.

3.5.4. The final stage of the controlled process will also involve further analytical work, since it concerns the production of the different varieties of written English. This would involve the recognition of situational contexts and adequate linguistic and textual features of the foreign language:

> "The material determined by considerations listed under ... Conditions Given, will be translatable in various (forms)...." (Ure, 1963:137)

The varieties chosen would be those most relevant to the students' writing needs in the foreign language, as examined in the Introductory Chapter.

3.5.5. Although these stages have been presented separately with some necessary sequential constraints, there would, in practice, be a certain amount of dovetailing between them. Furthermore, as a means of concentrated activation of textuality features likely to cause some difficulty, or not occurring with sufficient frequency in the texts selected for translation, exercises of the type described in Deyes (1975: 19-23 - see Appendix IV below) supplement the textual production elicited by translation. The trans-

lation exercise allows one to concentrate on the means of expression, and in the present instance, particularly on the means of FSP within the structure of a text; the supplementary exercises move the student gradually towards the provision of his own content. We may conclude by repeating and extending, as well as adapting (our terms are enclosed in brackets) the quotation from Procházka given above (Sec. 3.5.3.), where he referred to translators; we now refer to composition writers:

> "...it is merely a beginning which in and of itself will not make anyone a (writer); the art of (writing) begins only when there is a vivid awareness of the difference in structure between the two languages, a sense for their different functional stratification, and the ability to overcome these differences (working with one's own content and) by one's own expressive devices." (op.cit., 96)

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